

THE CONTEXT OF SCRIPTURE

VOLUME ONE

GENERAL EDITOR
WILLIAM W. HALLO
ASSOCIATE EDITOR
K. LAWSON YOUNGER, JR.

Canonical
Compositions
from
the Biblical
World

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THE CONTEXT OF SCRIPTURE

VOLUME 1

Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World

THE CONTEXT OF SCRIPTURE

Canonical Compositions, Monumental Inscriptions,
and Archival Documents from the Biblical World



General Editor	William W. Hallo
Associate Editor	K. Lawson Younger, Jr.
Project Editor	David E. Orton



The Context of Scripture

VOLUME I

Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World

Editor

WILLIAM W. HALLO

Associate Editor

K. LAWSON YOUNGER, JR.

Consultants

HARRY A. HOFFNER, JR.

ROBERT K. RITNER



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PREFACE

The genesis of this project may be said to lie in the four Summer Seminars for College Teachers which the undersigned conducted under the auspices of the National Endowment for the Humanities at Yale in 1978, 1980, 1987 and 1990. In these, I sought to salvage what was worthwhile of the older comparative approach to biblical history and literature by replacing it with the more nuanced "contextual approach." Nearly fifty papers by the participating scholars resulted from these seminars, and most of them were published, together with my introductory essays, in the four volumes that go under the general title of *Scripture in Context*.¹ The fourth of these volumes was edited by K. Lawson Younger, Jr., who had written and published his doctoral dissertation at Sheffield.² He was in contact with David Orton at the very time that Dr. Orton was moving from Sheffield to Leiden to take up the post of Senior Editor (Religion) for E. J. Brill. At the same time (Spring 1991), I was spending a sabbatical in Leiden, so Orton sought me out at Younger's suggestion to assess my interest in a major new project to bring ancient Near Eastern texts to bear on the study of biblical literature and history. I was interested in what promised to serve as a test of some of my long-held and long-taught methodologies: not only the contextual approach, but also my taxonomy of ancient documentation, and my theories of translation. I submitted a detailed proposal in which my conception of such a project was outlined. This became the basis of further discussions with Dr. Orton in Leiden, at the International Conference of the Society of Biblical Literature in Rome (1991), and the World Congress of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem (1993). At the last venue, in particular, I had the opportunity to test some of the proposals on a well informed and critical audience by presenting portions of what is now the introduction to the present volume.³ Trenchant advice was offered, i.a., by the late Jonas C. Greenfield.

After lengthy negotiations, a contract was signed and I then proceeded to secure the collaboration of Prof. Younger as Associate Editor. He has been a tower of strength to the project, lending his expertise in all matters relating to West Semitic and often enough to the other four sections as well. In addition, he prepared camera-ready copy of all the contributions. In matters Egyptian, I consulted my then Yale colleague Robert Ritner (now of the University of Chicago), and in matters Hittite, I benefitted from the wise counsel of Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. (University of Chicago).

My own task consisted in the first place of preparing the initial outline of texts to be translated. In their selection I was guided by a number of principles. Other things being equal (though they rarely are), preference was given to newly recovered or newly (re-)edited texts, though place was also made for some of the well-known older stand-bys; to texts able to be presented in their entirety; to well-preserved rather than fragmentary texts; and to texts whose relevance for biblical studies, by way either of comparison or of contrast, had been demonstrated or argued in the secondary literature. All four of these criteria were rarely met by any one text, and when they were, it was not always possible to find a translator for them.

On the whole, however, we consider ourselves fortunate in attracting so many of the leading talents in the field for this ambitious enterprise. All of them deserve unstinted thanks, with special credit to those recruited late in the day who thus had to meet tight deadlines (see the List of Contributors to Volume 1, below).

The aim was to provide the best and latest possible translations in every case. In a few instances this combination could be achieved only by reprinting previously published versions, and making special arrangements to this end. A list of the publishers who graciously cooperated in this regard follows this Preface.

To deal with so many contributors and publishers required the capable help of an administrative assistant furnished by the publisher in the person, initially, of Anne Folkertsma and, subsequently, of Mattie Kuiper. Thanks to the marvels of modern communication, it was possible to maintain almost instantaneous three-way contact among them and the three editors. But even the best mechanical devices are only as proficient as those who handle them, and Mesdames Folkertsma and Kuiper both performed to perfection. Without their steady ministrations, the project could not have reached its present milestone. A special tribute is due to David Orton, who not only conceived the project, but who lent it his unflagging support and provided experienced counsel at editorial meetings in Leiden (1992-96), and at SBL meetings in Chicago (1994) and Philadelphia (1995).

¹ See below, Abbreviations and Symbols, s.v. *SIC* 1-4.

² K. Lawson Younger, Jr., *Ancient Conquest Accounts: A Study in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical History Writing* (JSOTSup 98; Sheffield, JSOT Press, 1990).

³ See below, Introduction with n. 1.

Some of the aids to the reader, notably the index, glossary, and gazetteer, are of necessity postponed to the third and concluding volume in the series. But it is hoped that even without them, the present initial volume will take its place as a *vade mecum* in the libraries of all those interested in the ancient Near East, its ongoing rediscovery, and its bearing on "The Context of Scripture."

William W. Hallo
October 3, 1996

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger.</i>	Arch.	<i>Babylonia.</i> 2 Vols. Chicago, 1926-27.
ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen.	Archaeologia.	
AAA	<i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i> (University of Liverpool).	ARI	A. K. Grayson, <i>Assyrian Royal Inscriptions.</i> 2 Vols. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1972-76.
AAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament.	ARM(T)	<i>Archives royales de Mari</i> (texts in transliteration and translation).
AB	Anchor Bible.	ArOr	<i>Archiv Oriental.</i>
ABC	A. K. Grayson. <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles.</i> Locust Valley, NY: J. J. Augustin, 1975.	AS	Assyriological Studies.
ABD	D. N. Freedman, Editor. <i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary.</i> 5 Vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.	ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.</i>
ABL	R. F. Harper. <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters.</i> London/Chicago, 1892-1914.	Asarh.	R. Borger. <i>Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien.</i> AfO Beiheft 9. Graz: Ernst Weidner, 1956.
ACF	<i>Annuaire du Collège de France.</i>	ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research.
ACH	C. Virolleaud. <i>Astrologie Chaldéenne.</i>	ASORDS	American Schools of Oriental Research Dissertation Series.
ActOr	<i>Acta Orientalia.</i>	ASSF	Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae.
ActSum	<i>Acta Sumerologica.</i>	Assur	<i>Assur.</i> Monographic Journals of the Near East. Malibu: Undena, California.
ADAIK	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo.	Aspects	A. Spalinger. <i>Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians.</i> YNER 9. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983.
AEL	M. Lichtheim. <i>Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings.</i> 3 vols. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California, 1973-1980.	ASTI	<i>Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute.</i>
AEO	<i>Ancient Egyptian Onomastica. Text.</i> 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947.	ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments.
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung.</i>	BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist.</i>
AGI	<i>Archivio Glottologico Italiano.</i>	BAH	Bibliothèque archéologique et historique.
AHAW	Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften.	BAE ²	R. Borger. <i>Babylonische-assyrische Lesestücke.</i> 2nd ed. AnOr 54. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1979.
AHw	W. von Soden. <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch.</i> Wiesbaden, 1959-1975.	BAM	F. Köcher. <i>Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen.</i> Berlin, 1963.
AION	<i>Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli</i>	BaM	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen.</i>
AIONSup	<i>Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Supplemento</i>	BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review.</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>	BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.</i>
AJBI	<i>Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute</i>	BASORSup	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research Supplementary Studies.</i>
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages</i>	BBVO	Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient. Berlin.
ALASP	Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.	BdÉ	Bibliothèque d'étude.
ALASP 1	M. Dietrich and O. Loretz. <i>Die Keilalphabet. Die Phönizisch-kanaanäischen und altarabischen Alphabete in Ugarit.</i> 1988.	BE	Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts.
ALASP 2	J. Tropper. <i>Der ugaritische Kausativstamm und die Kausativbildungen des semitischen. Eine morphologisch-semantische Untersuchung zum Š-Stamm und zu den umstrittenen nichtsibilantischen Kausativstämmen des Ugaritischen.</i> 1990.	BeO	<i>Bibbia e oriente.</i>
ALASP 3	M. Dietrich and O. Loretz. <i>Mantik in Ugarit Keilalphabetische Texte der Opferschau — Omensammlungen — Nekromantie.</i> Mit Beiträgen von H. W. Duerbeck, J.-W. Meyer, and W. C. Seitter. 1990.	BES	Brown Egyptological Studies.
ALASP 7	M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, Editors. <i>Ugarit — ein ostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient.</i> 1994.	BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament with an Appendix containing the Biblical Aramaic.</i> Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907.
AnBib	<i>Analecta Biblica.</i>	BFOP	Babylonian Fund Occasional Publications.
ANET	J. B. Pritchard, Editor. <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament.</i> 3d ed. with supplement. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969.	BHLT	A. K. Grayson. <i>Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts.</i> Toronto and Buffalo, 1975.
AnOr	<i>Analecta Orientalia.</i>	BHS	K. Elliger, W. Rudolph, et al., Editors. <i>Biblica hebraica stuttgartensia.</i> Stuttgart, 1977.
AnSt	<i>Anatolian Studies.</i>	BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.</i>
AO	<i>Aula Orientalis.</i> Revista de estudios del próximo oriente antiguo.	BiMes	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica.
AOAT(S)	Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Sonderreihe).	BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis.</i>
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen.</i>	BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.</i>
AOS	American Oriental Series.	BJS	Brown Judaic Studies.
AOSup	<i>Aula Orientalis Supplementa.</i>	BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament.
APAW	Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.	BM	British Museum.
ARAB	D. D. Luckenbill. <i>Ancient Records of Assyria and</i>	BM	B. R. Foster. <i>Before the Muses.</i> 2nd edition. 2 vols. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1996.
		BMOP	British Museum Occasional Paper. London: British Museum.
		Bo	Inventory numbers of Boghazköy tablets excavated 1906-12.
		BP	William W. Hallo. <i>The Book of the People.</i> BJS 225. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991.
		BR	<i>Biblical Research.</i> Chicago.

- BSOAS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.*
- BSag *Bulletin of Sumerian Agriculture.*
- BTAVO *Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients.* Wiesbaden.
- BTB *Biblical Theology Bulletin.*
- BWANT *Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament.*
- BWL *W. G. Lambert. Babylonian Wisdom Literature.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960.
- BZ *Biblische Zeitschrift.*
- BZAW *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.*
- CAD *A. L. Oppenheim, et al., Editors. The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.* Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1956-.
- CAH³ *The Cambridge Ancient History.* 3d ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973-75.
- CANE *J. M. Sasson, Editor. Civilizations of the Ancient Near East.* 4 Vols. New York: Scribner, 1995.
- CBC *Cambridge Bible Commentary.*
- CBQ *Catholic Biblical Quarterly.*
- CBQMS *Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series.*
- CCT *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets.*
- CdE *Chronique d'Égypte.*
- CH *R. F. Harper. The Code of Hammurabi.*
- CHD *H. G. Güterbock and H. A. Hoffner, Jr., Editors. The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.* Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1989.
- CIS *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.* Paris, 1881.
- COS *W. W. Hallo, Editor. The Context of Scripture.* 3 Volumes. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997-.
- CRAIBL *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres.*
- CT *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum.*
- CTA *A. Herdner. Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939.* Mission de Ras Shamra 10. BAH 79. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale; Geuthner, 1963.
- CTH *Laroche, E. Catalogue des textes hittites.* Paris: Klincksieck, 1971.
- DCPP *E. Lipiński, et al., Editors. Dictionnaire de la Civilisation Phénicienne et Punique.* Paris: Brepols.
- DDD *The Dictionary of Deities and Demons.* Leiden: Brill.
- DM *Deir el-Medineh (Ostraca).*
- DNWSI *J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling. Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions.* Handbuch der Orientalistik 1/21. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995.
- DOTT *D. Winton Thomas, Editor. Documents from Old Testament Times.* London, 1958.
- Dreams *A. L. Oppenheim. The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East, With a Translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book.* Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s. 46/3. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1956.
- EA *J. A. Knudtzon, et al., Editors. Die El-Amarna-Tafeln.* Vorderasiatische Bibliothek 2. Leipzig, 1915.
- EAK *Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften.* R. Borger, Vol. 1. W. Schramm, Vol. 2.
- EI *Eretz-Israel.*
- ELS *P. Attinger. Elements de linguistique sumerienne.* OBO, Sonderband. 1993.
- Emar *D. Arnaud. Recherches au pays d'Aštata, Emar VI.e: textes sumériens et accadiens, texte.* Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1986.
- EPRO *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire Romain.* Leiden.
- Erl. *K. Sethe. Erläuterung zu den ägyptischen Lese-stücken.* Leipzig, 1929.
- Erra *L. Cagni. L'Epopée de Erra. Studi semitici 34.* Rome, 1969. Idem. *The Poem of Erra.* SANE 1/3. Malibu, 1977.
- ERTR *Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations.*
- EVO *Egitto e Vicino Oriente.*
- FAOS *Freiburger Altorientalische Studien.*
- FAT *Forschungen zum Alten Testament.*
- FDD *B. R. Foster. From Distant Days: Myths, Tales, and Poetry of Ancient Mesopotamia.* Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1995.
- FIFAO *Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.*
- FOTL *R. Knierim and G. M. Tucker, Editors. The Forms of Old Testament Literature.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- FRLANT *Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testament.*
- FTH *A. R. Millard, et al., Editors. Faith, Tradition and History.* Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1994.
- GAG *W. von Soden. Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik.* AnOr 33. Rome, 1952.
- GM *Göttinger Miscellen.*
- HAK *H. Hunger. Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone.* AOAT 2. Keukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1968.
- HAE *J. Renz and W. Röllig. Handbuch der Althebräischen Epigraphik.* 3 Volumes. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995.
- HED *J. Puhvel. Hittite Etymological Dictionary.* 2 Vols. in 1. Berlin, 1984.
- HHI *H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld. History, Historiography and Interpretation. Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures.* Edited by H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1983.
- Hiero. Texts *British Museum. Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.* 2nd ed. London, 1961-.
- HKL *R. Borger. Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur.* 3 Vols. Berlin, 1967-1973.
- HO *J. Černý and A. H. Gardiner. Hieratic Ostraca I.* Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957.
- HPBM 2 *E. A. W. Budge, Editor. Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum.* 2nd series. London: British Museum, 1923.
- HPBM 3 *A. H. Gardiner. Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum.* 3rd series. 2 Vols. London: British Museum, 1935.
- HPKMB *Hieratische Papyrus aus dem königlichen Museen zu Berlin.*
- HS *Hebrew Studies.*
- HSM *Harvard Semitic Monographs.*
- HSS *Harvard Semitic Studies.*
- HT *Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character in the British Museum.* London, 1920.
- HTR *Harvard Theological Review.*
- HSOA *D. O. Edzard, Editor. Heidelberger Studien zum alten Orient.* Wiesbaden, 1967.
- HUCA *Hebrew Union College Annual.*
- HUCASup *Hebrew Union College Annual, Supplements.*
- HW 1., 2., 3., Erg. *J. Friedrich. Hethitisches Wörterbuch.* Heidelberg, 1952(-54).
- HW² *J. Friedrich and A. Kammenhuber. Hethitisches Wörterbuch.* 2nd ed. Heidelberg, 1975-.
- IBoT *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri(nden Seçme Metinler).* Istanbul, 1944, 1947, 1954; Ankara, 1988.
- IBS *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft (Sonderheft).* Innsbruck.
- ICC *International Critical Commentary.*
- IDB *G. A. Buttrick, Editor. The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible.* 4 Vols. New York and Nashville: Abingdon, 1962.
- IEJ *Israel Exploration Journal.*
- IF *Indogermanische Forschungen.*

- IM** *Istanbuler Mitteilungen.*
IntB G. A. Buttrick, Editor. *The Interpreter's Bible.* 12 Vols. New York and Nashville: Abingdon, 1951-57.
IRSA E. Sollberger and J.-R. Kupper. *Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes.* Paris: Cerf, 1971.
JANES *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society.*
JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JARCE *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt.*
JBL *Journal of Biblical Literature.*
JCS *Journal of Cuneiform Studies.*
JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.*
JEOL *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap: Ex Oriente Lux.*
JESHO *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient.*
JETS *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society.*
JIES *Journal of Indo-European Studies.*
JJS *Journal of Jewish Studies.*
JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies.*
JNSL *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages.*
JPOS *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.*
JQR *Jewish Quarterly Review.*
JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JSOR *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research.*
JSOT *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament.*
JSOTSup *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series.*
JSS *Journal of Semitic Studies.*
JSSEA *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquity.*
JSSSup *Journal of Semitic Studies, Supplement Series.*
KAI H. Donner and W. Röllig. *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften.* 3 Vols. Wiesbaden, 1962-64.
KAR E. Ebeling. *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts.*
KAT Kommentar zum Alten Testament.
KB¹ L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner. *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros.* Leiden: Brill, 1958.
KB² L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, and J. Stamm, et al., Editors. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament.* Leiden: Brill, 1967.
KBo *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi.* (vols. 1-22 are a subseries of WVD OG). Leipzig & Berlin.
KIF *Kleinasiatische Forschungen.*
KKU W. Sallaberger, *Der Kultische Kalender der Ur III Zeit.* Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie 7/1. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter, 1993.
KRI K. A. Kitchen. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical.* Oxford, 1969-.
KTU M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. *Keilalphabetische Texte aus Ugarit einschliesslich der keilalphabetischen Texte ausserhalb Ugarits. Teil 1 Transkription.* AOAT 24/1. Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1976.
KTU² M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani, and Other Places (KTU: Second, enlarged edition).* Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995.
KUB *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi.* Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatische Abteilung. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1921-.
KZ *Historische Sprachforschung = Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung ("Kuhns Zeitschrift")*
LAPO *Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient.*
LAS S. Parpola. *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal.* 2 Vols. AOAT 5. Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970, 1983.
LCL Loeb Classical Library.
LaA *Lexikon der Ägyptologie.*
- LIH** L. W. King. *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi.*
LMAOS Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology and Oriental Studies.
LKA E. Ebeling. *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur.*
LSS Leipziger semitistische Studien.
LV Late Version.
MAOG Mitteilungen der altorientalischen Gesellschaft.
MARI *Mari. Annales de recherches interdisciplinaires.*
MAS Münchner ägyptologische Studien.
MAV Middle Assyrian Version.
MDAIK Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo.
MDOG Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
MIO *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung.*
MLE *Materiali lessicali ed epigrafici.*
MMEW A. Livingstone. *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986 (reprint 1987).
MRS Mission de Ras Shamra. Paris.
MSL *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon; Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon.*
MVAG Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft.
NABU *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utiles.*
NAWG Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen.
Nbn. J. N. Strassmaier. *Inschriften von Nabonidus.*
OA *Oriens Antiquus.* Rivista del Centro per le Antichità e la Storia dell'Arte del Vicino Oriente.
OBO Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis.
OBV Old Babylonian Version.
OCPR E. Matsushima, Editor. *Official Cult and Popular Religion in the Ancient Near East: Papers of the First Colloquium on the Ancient Near East - The City and Its Life, held at the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan (Mitaka, Tokyo), March 20-22, 1992.* Heidelberg: Winter, 1993.
OECT Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts.
OIP The University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications.
OLA *Orientalia Iovaniensia analecta.*
OLP *Orientalia Iovaniensia periodica.*
OLZ *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.*
Or *Orientalia.* n.s.
OrSuec *Orientalia Suecana.*
OTL The Old Testament Library, Westminster Press.
OTS *Oldtestamentische Studien.*
PAAJR *Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research.*
PAPS *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society.*
PBS Publications of the Babylonian Section, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
PEQ *Palestine Exploration Quarterly.*
PIBA *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association.*
PIHANS Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul.
PJ *Palästina-Jahrbuch.*
PKB J. A. Brinkman. *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia 1158-722 B.C.* Rome, 1968.
POTT D. J. Wiseman, Editor. *Peoples of Old Testament Times.* Oxford: Clarendon.
PRU J. Nougayrol/Ch. Virolleaud. *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit.* II-VI. MRS. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1955-1970.
PSBA *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.*
PSD Å. Sjöberg, Editor. *The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.* Philadelphia, 1948-.
PPYEE Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt.

R	H. C. Rawlinson, <i>The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia</i> .	SAA	State Archives of Assyria.
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i> .	SAAB	<i>State Archives of Assyria Bulletin</i> .
RAI	<i>Recontre Assyriologique Internationale</i> .	SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies.
RAI 26	B. Alster, Editor. <i>Death in Mesopotamia</i> . Mesopotamia 8. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.	SAHG	A. Falkenstein and W. von Soden. <i>Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete</i> . Zürich and Stuttgart, 1953.
RAI 38	<i>La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien: Actes de la XXXVIII^e R.A.I.</i> Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1992.	SÄK	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i> .
RAKM	H. D. Galter, Editor. <i>Die Rolle der Astronomie in den Kulturen Mesopotamiens</i> . Beiträge zum 3. Gräzer Morgenländischen Symposium (23.-27. September 1991). Graz: GrazKult.	SANE	Sources from the Ancient Near East.
RARG	H. Bonnet. <i>Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte</i> . Berlin, 1952.	SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
ResQ	<i>Restoration Quarterly</i> .	SARI	Jerrold S. Cooper. <i>Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions</i> . Vol. 1: <i>The Pre-Sargonic Texts</i> . The AOS Translation Series 1. New Haven, CN: AOS, 1986.
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i> .	SBAW	Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
RdÉ	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i> .	SBH	G. A. Reisner. <i>Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit</i> .
RES	<i>Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique</i> .	SBL	Society of Biblical Literature.
RGBK	B. Janowski, et al., Editors. <i>Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament</i> . Internationales Symposium Hamburg 17.-21. März 1990. OBO 129. Freiburg/Schweiz: Universitätsverlag.	SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series.
RGTC	Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes, B TAVO, Reihe B 7, 1ff. Wiesbaden, 1974-.	SBLRBS	SBL Resources for Biblical Study.
RHA	<i>Revue hittite et asiatique</i> .	SBLWAW	SBL Writings of the Ancient World.
RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i> .	SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology.
RIDA	<i>Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité</i> . 3rd series. Brussels.	SBV	Standard Babylonian Version.
RIH	Field numbers of tablets excavated at Ras Ibn-Hani.	SCO	<i>Studi Classici e Orientali</i> .
RIMA 1	<i>The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods</i> . Volume 1. A. K. Grayson. <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (To 1115 BC)</i> . Toronto: University of Toronto, 1987.	ScrHier	Scripta Hierosolymitana.
RIMA 2	<i>The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods</i> . Volume 2. A. K. Grayson. <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC (1114-859 BC)</i> . Toronto: University of Toronto, 1991.	SDB	<i>Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible</i> . Paris.
RISA	G. A. Barton. <i>The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad</i> . Library of Ancient Semitic Inscriptions 1; New Haven: Yale, 1929.	SEL	<i>Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico</i> .
RIA	E. Ebeling and B. Meissner, et al., Editors. <i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i> .	SGL	A. Falkenstein and J. van Dijk. <i>Sumerische Götterlieder</i> . Heidelberg, 1959.
RS	Field numbers of tablets excavated at Ras Shamra.	Shnaton	<i>Shnaton. An Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies</i> . (Hebrew).
RSF	<i>Rivista di Studi Fenici</i> .	SJOT	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i> .
RSO	<i>Rivista degli Studi Orientali</i> .	SIC 1	C. D. Evans, W. W. Hallo, and J. B. White, Editors. <i>Scripture in Context: Essays on the Comparative Method</i> . Pittsburgh, 1980.
RSOu	Ras Shamra - Ougarit. Publications de la Mission Française Archéologique de Ras Shamra - Ougarit. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1983-.	SIC 2	W. W. Hallo, J. C. Moyer, and L. G. Perdue, Editors. <i>Scripture in Context II: More Essays on the Comparative Method</i> . Winona Lake, Indiana, 1983.
RSOu 3	M. Yon, Editor. <i>Le centre de la ville. 38^e-44^e campagnes (1978-1984)</i> . RSOu 3. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1987.	SIC 3	W. W. Hallo, B. W. Jones, and G. L. Mattingly, Editors. <i>The Bible in the Light of Cuneiform Literature. Scripture in Context III</i> . Ancient Near Eastern Texts and Studies 8. Lewiston: Mellen, 1990.
RSOu 4	D. Pardec. <i>Les textes para-mythologiques de la 24^e campagne (1961)</i> . RSOu 4. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1988.	SIC 4	K. L. Younger, Jr., W. W. Hallo, and B. F. Batto, Editors. <i>The Canon in Comparative Perspective. Scripture in Context IV</i> . Ancient Near Eastern Texts and Studies, 11. Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1991.
RSOu 6	M. Yon, et al., Editors. <i>Arts et industries de la pierre</i> . RSOu 6. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1991.	SMEA	<i>Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici</i> .
RSOu 7	P. Bordreuil, Editor. <i>Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville</i> . RSOu 7. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1991.	SO	<i>Sources orientales</i> .
RSOu 11	M. Yon, M. Szymer, P. Bordreuil, Editors. <i>Le Pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.C. Histoire et archéologie</i> . Actes du Colloque International, Paris, 28 juin - 1 ^{er} juillet 1993. RSOu 11. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1995.	SÖAW	Sitzungsberichte der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, Phil.-hist. Kl., Vienna.
RT	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i> .	SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, Phil.-hist. Kl., Berlin.
		SPHC	<i>Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character from the Collections of the British Museum</i> . Part 2. London, 1860.
		SRT	E. Chiera. <i>Sumerian Religious Texts</i> . Upland, PA, 1924.
		SSEAJ	<i>Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities Journal</i> .
		SSI	J. C. L. Gibson. <i>Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions</i> . 3 Vols. Oxford, 1973-79.
		SSU	<i>Studia Semitica Upsaliensia</i> .
		StBoT	<i>Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten</i> .
		STT	O. R. Gurney, J. J. Finkelstein and P. Hulin. <i>The Sultantepe Tablets</i> .
		Studia Aramacia	M. J. Geller, J. C. Greenfield, and M. P. Weitzman, Editors. <i>Studia Aramica: New Sources and New Approaches</i> . JSS Supplement 4. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
		Studies Alp	H. Otten, H. Ertem, E. Akurgal and A. Stiel, Editors. <i>Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies</i> .

- in Honour of Sedat Alp. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1992.
- Studies*
Ahlström W. B. Barrack and J. R. Spencer, Editors. *In the Shelter of Elyon: Essays on Ancient Palestinian Life in Honor of G. W. Ahlström*. JSOTSup 31. Sheffield: JSOT, 1984.
- Studies*
Bounni P. Matthiae, et al., Editors. *Resurrecting the Past. A Joint Tribute to Adnan Bounni*. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 67. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1990.
- Studies*
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- Studies Speiser* William W. Hallo, Editor. *Essays in Memory of E. A. Speiser*. AOS 53. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1968.
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- SWBAS The Social World of Biblical Antiquity Series.
- TB *Tyndale Bulletin*.
- TCL Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités orientales, *Textes cunéiformes*.
- TCS Texts from Cuneiform Sources.
- TDOT G. Johannes Botterweck and H. Ringgren, Editors. *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Rev. ed. Trans. by J. T. Willis. Grand Rapids: 1974.
- Theth Texte der Hethiter. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Verlag.
- ThS Theologische Studien.
- TLB Tabulae cuneiformes a F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl collectae.
- TLZ *Theologische Literaturzeitung*.
- TMH Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena. Leipzig, 1932-37.
- TUAT O. Kaiser, Editor. *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*. Gütersloh, 1984.
- TZ *Theologische Zeitschrift*.
- UBL Ugaritisch-Biblische Literatur.
- UET Ur Excavations, Texts.
- UF *Ugarit-Forschungen*.
- Ugaritica 5 C. F. A. Schaeffer, Editor. *Ugaritica* 5. MRS 16; BAH 80. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale; Geuthner.
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- Ugaritica 7 C. F. A. Schaeffer, Editor. *Ugaritica* 7. MRS 18; BAH 99. Paris: Mission Archéologique de Ras Shamra; Geuthner.
- UMBS University of Pennsylvania. The University Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section.
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- UT C. H. Gordon. *Ugaritic Textbook*. AnOr 38. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965.
- VAB Vorderasiatische Bibliothek.
- VAT Tablets in the collections of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin.
- VO *Vicino Oriente*.
- VT *Vetus Testamentum*.
- VTSup Supplements to Vetus Testamentum.
- Wb A. Erman and H. Grapow, Editors. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 7 Vols. Leipzig, 1926-1963.
- WBC Word Biblical Commentary.
- WCJS *World Congress of Jewish Studies*.
- WHJP *World History of the Jewish People*.
- WMANT Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament.
- WO *Die Welt des Orients*.
- WVDOG Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
- YBC Yale Babylonian Collection.
- YES Yale Egyptological Studies.
- YNES Yale Near Eastern Researches.
- YOS Yale Oriental Series. Babylonian Texts.
- YOR Yale Oriental Series. Researches.
- ZA *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie*.
- ZÄS *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*.
- ZAW *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*.
- ZDMG *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.
- ZDPV *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*.
- ZThK *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*.

GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

Abbr.	abbreviation	n(n).	note(s)
Akk.	Akkadian	NJPS	<i>New Jewish Publication Society translation</i>
ANE	ancient Near East	NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
Aram.	Aramaic	NS	New Hittite Script
BH	Biblical Hebrew	n.s.	New Series
ca.	circa	OB	Old Babylonian
col(s).	column(s)	obv.	obverse
ED	Early Dynastic Period	OH	Old Hittite
ed.	edition	P.	Papyrus
Eg.	Egyptian	perf.	perfect
esp.	especially	Phil.-hist. Kl.	Philosophisch-historische Klasse
GN	geographical name	Phoen.	Phoenician
Heb.	Hebrew	pl.	plural
imperf.	imperfect	pl(s).	plate(s)
JPS	Jewish Publication Society	prep.	preposition
K	Kuyunjik Collection, British Museum	r.	reverse
KJV	King James Version	rev.	revised
LH	Late Hebrew	SBV	Standard Babylonian Version
LXX	Septuagint	Sel.	Selection
MH	Middle Hittite	Sum.	Sumerian
MS	Middle Hittite Script	WS	West Semitic
ms(s)	manuscript(s)	Sam.	Samaritan Pentateuch
MT	Masoretic Text	Ug.	Ugaritic

ABBREVIATIONS OF BIBLICAL BOOKS (INCLUDING THE APOCRYPHA)

Gen	Genesis	Ps (pl.: Pss)	Psalms(s)
Exod	Exodus	Job	Job
Lev	Leviticus	Prov	Proverbs
Num	Numbers	Ruth	Ruth
Deut	Deuteronomy	Cant	Canticles (= Song of Songs)
Josh	Joshua	EccI (= Qoh)	Ecclesiastes (= Qoheleth)
Judg	Judges	Lam	Lamentations
1-2 Sam	1-2 Samuel	Esth	Esther
1-2 Kgs	1-2 Kings	Dan	Daniel
Isa	Isaiah	Ezra	Ezra
Jer	Jeremiah	Neh	Nehemiah
Ezek	Ezekiel	1-2 Chr	1-2 Chronicles
Hos	Hosea	Add Esth	Additions to Esther
Joel	Joel	Bar	Baruch
Obad	Obadiah	Bel	Bel and the Dragon
Amos	Amos	1-2 Esdr	1-2 Esdras
Jonah	Jonah	4 Ezra	4 Ezra
Mic	Micah	Jdt	Judith
Nah	Nahum	Ep Jer	Epistle of Jeremiah
Hab	Habakkuk	1-2-3-4 Macc	1-2-3-4 Maccabees
Zeph	Zephaniah	Sir	Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)
Hag	Haggai	Sus	Susanna
Zech	Zechariah	Tob	Tobit
Mal	Malachi	Wis	Wisdom

TALMUDIC SOURCES

b. Šabb.	<i>Babylonian Talmud, Šabbat</i>
b. 'Abod. Zar.	<i>Babylonian Talmud, 'Aboda Zara</i>
y. Sanh. 18a	<i>Jerusalem Talmud, Sanhedrin</i>

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INTRODUCTION

ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN TEXTS AND THEIR RELEVANCE FOR BIBLICAL EXEGESIS¹

William W. Hallo

Classical and Near Eastern parallels have been used to illuminate the biblical text for as long as there have been biblical studies. Already according to Philo Judaeus, writing in Greek and living in the shadow of the great Greek library of Alexandria² in the first half century of the Common Era,³ Abraham "becomes a speculative philosopher,"⁴ a role-model for the sect of Jewish ascetics that he described as *Therapeutae*.⁵ Nine centuries later, Saadia Gaon,⁶ likewise born in Egypt⁷ but living in the equally stimulating atmosphere of Abbasid Baghdad,⁸ freely employed his knowledge of Arabic to solve cruxes of Biblical Hebrew.⁹ But it again took almost another millennium before biblical names, words, and themes, were to be juxtaposed, not just to those of the contemporary world, but to those long lost to sight and mind in the buried cities of the past.

The nineteenth century of our era opened Egypt and the Asiatic Near East to large-scale excavations, and witnessed the decipherments of the hieroglyphic and cuneiform scripts. The results revolutionized what can best be described as "the first half of history" — that 2500-year stretch between the invention of these earliest forms of writing and their replacement by the simpler "alphabetic" scripts of the Hebrew and Greek traditions, and their derivations.¹⁰ The period 3000-500 BCE (more or less), ostensibly the context of the biblical record, was thrown into wholly new relief. The inevitable transformation of biblical studies was not long in ensuing.

It is sufficient to recall in this connection those great syntheses that characterized German biblical scholarship of the comparative variety¹¹ beginning in 1872 with Eberhard Schrader and his *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*.¹² A second, revised edition appeared as early as 1883, and twenty years later, in 1903, the compendium, by now classic, was completely revised and updated by two leading Assyriologists of the time, Heinrich Zimmern and Hugo Winckler.¹³ Winckler had himself entered the lists with a compendium of his own by now in its second edition.¹⁴

The following year, 1904, the scope of coverage was extended to the hieroglyphic sources from Egypt in *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, by Alfred Jeremias.¹⁵ The popularity of this work can be judged by the fact that it went through three further editions, each one thoroughly revised.¹⁶

Meantime Hugo Gressmann widened the scope of such works still further by introducing the pictorial element in "Ancient Near Eastern Texts and Pictures to the Old Testament," in two volumes and as many editions.¹⁷

¹ In their original form, these remarks were presented to the Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, June 25, 1993. Their concluding portion appeared in *Proceedings of the Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies. Division A: The Bible and Its World* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1994) 9-15.

² Edward A. Parsons, *The Alexandrian Library* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1952).

³ Ca. 20 BCE - 50 CE.

⁴ Samuel Sandmel, "Philo's place in Judaism: a Study of Conceptions of Abraham in Jewish Literature," *HUCA* 25 (1954) 209-238; 26 (1955) 151-332, esp. p. 288. Reprinted as *Philo's Place in Judaism* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1956).

⁵ In his *De Vita Contemplativa*; see Sandmel, *ibid.*, 315-317.

⁶ 882-942 CE.

⁷ Specifically in Pithom, in the Fayyum District, some 150 miles south of Alexandria.

⁸ Jacob Lassner, *The Topography of Baghdad in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Studies* (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1970); Guy LeStrange, *Baghdad During the 'Abbasid Caliphate* (London: Oxford University Press, 1900).

⁹ Solomon L. Skoss, *Saadia Gaon, the Earliest Hebrew Grammarian* (Philadelphia: Dropsie College Press, 1955).

¹⁰ W. W. Hallo, "The first half of history," *Yale Alumni Magazine* 37/8 (May, 1974) 13-17.

¹¹ Cf. the brief survey by W. W. Hallo, "German and Jewish Culture: Land of Two Rivers?" *Shofar* 7/4 (Summer 1989) 1-10.

¹² *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (Giessen, 1872; 2nd ed., 1883).

¹³ *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (Berlin: Reuther & Richard, 1903).

¹⁴ *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament* (Leipzig, 1892, 1903). A third ed. appeared in 1909.

¹⁵ *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1904).

¹⁶ 1906, 1916, 1930.

¹⁷ *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testament* (Tübingen: J. B. Mohr, 1909; 2nd ed., Berlin/Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1926-27).

But even where (positive) comparison is asserted, it is useful to raise questions of category and genre so that, as nearly as possible, like is compared with like. In the present project, the broader literary context, or category, will actually serve as the basic unit of organization. That is, recognizing that the relevant corpus has outgrown the bounds of a single volume, even a folio-sized volume, its three volumes are devoted respectively, to "canonical," "monumental" and "archival" texts from the ancient Near East. Since the biblical text (in its "canonical" form) is entirely canonical in the sense in which I choose to employ that term,³⁸ the reader will be immediately alerted to the categorical contrasts involved even when a comparison is suggested.

On a lower level of literary context, due attention is paid to genre (*Gattung*) and to the associated concept of life setting ("Sitz im Leben"). Thus, for example, within the volume devoted to "canonical" texts, the basic division is by "focus": divine, royal, or individual, with the divine focus embracing such genres as myths, hymns, prayers, divination, incantations and rituals. Finally, the questions of where, when and in what direction an alleged borrowing may have occurred is occasionally raised in the commentary, even if the question frequently cannot be answered.

But a text is not only the product of its contemporary context, its horizontal locus, as it were, in time and space. It also has its place on a vertical axis between the earlier texts that helped inspire it and the later texts that reacted to it. We can describe this feature of its interconnectedness as its vertical or, in line with current usage, its intertextual dimension. The field of biblical studies has been rather slow to employ the term itself and the field of ancient Near Eastern studies even slower.³⁹ But of course the concept as such has long been part of the stock-in-trade of both fields. Thus it is wholly appropriate to call attention to perceived instances of intertextuality both within each linguistic tradition and among separate traditions — and to do so, not in more or less random footnotes or enigmatic indices, but overtly and systematically in the margins of the translations.

The translations themselves, however, need to meet new standards if they are to serve as springboards for the recognition and designation of contextual and intertextual comparisons and contrasts. There is no need, it is true, to translate every significant text *de novo*, to reinvent the wheel, so to speak. But one can aspire to match the native terms and idioms with their English counterparts in such a way as to approach the ideal of a 1:1 relation in which each word (and only that word) is rendered by a given English equivalent, each derivative of that word with a derivative of that equivalent. This ideal cannot, of course, be carried out perfectly in practice, not even when the target language is German, though it was attempted with great determination by Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig in their translation of the Bible,⁴⁰ nor in French, where the same principle was applied by Andre Chouraqui, and certainly not in English, where a similar effort by Everett Fox has now given us a valuable new translation of the Pentateuch.⁴¹ Nor has the method ever been applied to ancient Near Eastern texts *apart* from the Bible. But with the help of a data base, it should theoretically be possible — though difficult in practice — to make the attempt, and to see how many improvements emerge in the understanding, both of the text itself and of its relation to other texts.

To illustrate all the theoretical principles outlined above would take at least a half dozen examples, preferably chosen from a wide variety of ancient literary corpora. But the salient points can be illustrated adequately by one example that, for all its brevity, has a fairly wide set of evidentiary implications. The "Sumerian Sargon Legend" has been known in part since 1916 from an Uruk tablet subsequently acquired by the Louvre Museum,⁴² and was duly noted in studies of Mesopotamian historiography, notably by H. G. Güterbock in 1934.⁴³ But a larger and nearly complete tablet belonging to the composition was excavated at Nippur in the season of 1951-52, assigned to the Baghdad Museum, and finally published by Jerrold Cooper and Wolfgang Heimpel in 1983. Thus nearly seventy years elapsed before the full import of the text emerged.⁴⁴

Apart from sharing a common protagonist, the text as reconstituted has little or nothing to do with the better known Akkadian Sargon Legend, sometimes cited as a possible source of the Moses birth legend, though with little justifica-

³⁸ W. W. Hallo, "The Concept of Canonicity in Cuneiform and Biblical Literature: a Comparative Appraisal," in *SIC* 4, 1-19.

³⁹ Hallo, "Proverbs Quoted in Epic," in *Studies Moran*, 203-217, esp. 203-205. It should be noted that Moran himself used the term "intertextuality" already in *Studies Reiner*, 253 (end).

⁴⁰ Hallo, "Notes on Translation," *EF* 16 (H. M. Orlinsky Volume, 1982) 99*-102*; *idem*, "Franz Rosenzweig übersetzt," in Wolfdieter Schmied-Kowarzik, ed., *Der Philosoph Franz Rosenzweig (1886-1929)* (Freiburg/München: Karl Alber, 1988) 1:287-300.

⁴¹ *The Five Books of Moses ... a New Translation with Introduction, Commentary and Notes by Everett Fox* (Schocken Bible 1) (New York: Schocken, 1995).

⁴² Vincent Scheil, "Nouveaux renseignements sur Šarrukin d'après un texte sumérien," *RA* 13 (1916) 175-179; republished by Henri de Genouillac, *Textes religieux sumériens du Louvre 2* (TCL 16. Paris: Geuthner, 1930) No. 73.

⁴³ H. G. Güterbock, "Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische Gestaltung bei Babyloniern und Hethitern," *ZA* 42 (1934) 1-91, 44 (1938) 45-149, esp. 42:37f.

⁴⁴ J. S. Cooper and Wolfgang Heimpel, "The Sumerian Sargon Legend," *JAOS* 103 (1983) 67-82; republ. in J. M. Sasson, ed., *Studies ... dedicated to Samuel Noah Kramer* (AOS 65; 1984) 67-82.

The appeal of these works of synthesis was by no means limited to a German-speaking readership. On the contrary, many of them appeared in English translations and have been cited by their English titles here. Thus Schrader appeared in translation as early as 1885-8,¹⁸ and Jeremias in 1911.¹⁹ At the same time, German scholarship, both biblical and ancient Near Eastern, was having a profound impact in the English-speaking world through more personal, direct means: British and particularly American students coming to Germany for graduate and post-graduate study on the one hand, and on the other, German scholars coming to American universities to teach. Among many other examples of the former category, we may cite Julian Morgenstern, who received a doctorate in Assyriology from Heidelberg in 1904 with a dissertation on "The Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion."²⁰ A good example of the latter category would be Paul Haupt (1858-1926), brought from Göttingen in 1885 to head the new Oriental Seminary at the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore.

Haupt's most famous student, and the leading figure in the comparative approach to biblical studies in America through most of the twentieth century, was unquestionably William F. Albright (1891-1971).²¹ Last of the polymaths who were equally at home in cuneiform, hieroglyphics, and Northwest Semitics, he had to forego a career in Assyriology or Egyptology on account of defective eyesight, but continued to integrate every new archaeological and epigraphic discovery into his ever expanding panorama of the total experience of biblical Israel. Beginning with a dissertation on "The Assyrian Deluge Epic" written under Haupt in 1916 but never published, he spent the years between the two world wars in publishing an unending stream of articles; then, beginning in 1940, he devoted himself to longer monographic works, elegant and wide-ranging syntheses of his views on biblical history, archaeology, literature, religion and theology. The volumes entitled *From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process* (1940), *The Archaeology of Palestine* (1949), *The Biblical Period from Abraham to Ezra: an Historical Survey* (1963), *History, Archaeology and Christian Humanism* (1964), and *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (1968) attest to his scope.

Although the German model of compendia of comparative texts was thus avoided by Albright, it was followed by other American scholars, notably R. W. Rogers²² and G. A. Barton,²³ whose *Archaeology and the Bible* appeared in its seventh and last edition in 1937. But with the approach of the Second World War and the shift of Ancient Near Eastern scholars and scholarship to America, the creation of a new compendium on an American model became a top priority. In James B. Pritchard an editor was found who was able to carry the task forward. He recruited Albright and a dozen other leading (North) American specialists,²⁴ among them four outstanding emigre scholars.²⁵ He used Gressmann as his proximate and most recent model, both in the initial selection of texts²⁶ and in the creation of a companion volume of pictures²⁷ which was his own work based on his archaeological training and interests.

Pritchard's volume, or *ANET* as it is frequently called, quickly established itself as the pre-eminent compendium of its kind in the post-war period. Comparable efforts by British, French and even German teams made no attempt to replace it, but rather to offer complementary works answering to different requirements. Thus for example the British "Society for Old Testament Study" published *Documents from Old Testament Times* (1958) on the occasion of its fortieth anniversary. But D. Winton Thomas, its editor, had no intention of matching or even approaching the scope of *ANET* (which was freely cited in the volume). The French series *Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient*, published under the patronage of École Biblique et Archéologique Française of Jerusalem, covers much of the same ground as *ANET* and does so, if anything, more extensively. But its separate volumes are appearing at lengthy intervals as each is completed by the relevant contributor(s); hence the series cannot replace *ANET* as a handy reference work covering all or at least most of the "ancient Near Eastern texts relating to the Old Testament." Even the Germans have re-entered the lists with *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*, edited by Otto Kaiser. In three volumes, it is an ambitious attempt to revive the older tradition of German compendia and to combine that with some of the best features of the newer ones — including the depth of the French series and the breadth of *ANET*. But in spite of its title, it makes little or no reference to biblical parallels or contrasts.

¹⁸ Translated by O. C. Whitehouse from the 2nd German edition (London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 2 vols. = Theological Translation Fund Library, 33, 38).

¹⁹ Translated from the 2nd German ed. 2 vols. (London: Williams and Norgate = Theological Translation Library 28-29). The American edition (New York: Putnam's) was edited by the Assyriologist C. H. W. Johns.

²⁰ Morris Lieberman, "Julian Morgenstern - Scholar, Teacher, Leader," *HUCA* 32 (1961) 1-9.

²¹ See most recently *BA* 56/1 (March, 1993) for articles by J. M. Sasson, N. A. Silberman, W. W. Hallo, W. G. Dever and B. O. Long "celebrating and examining W. F. Albright."

²² *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament* (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1912; 2nd ed. 1926).

²³ *Archaeology and the Bible* (Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union, 1916; 7th ed., 1937).

²⁴ T. J. Meek (Toronto) was a Canadian.

²⁵ A. Goetze and A. L. Oppenheim for the 1st ed. (1950); A. Jamme and F. Rosenthal were added in the 2nd ed. (1955).

²⁶ See his preface to *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950) xv.

²⁷ J. B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954).

As for *ANET* itself, it has spawned a veritable cottage-industry of by-products. Mention has already been made of the companion volume of *The Ancient Near East in Pictures* (1954) familiarly known as *ANEP*. There have also been two combined abridgements of *ANET* and *ANEP*, published respectively in 1958²⁸ and 1975,²⁹ both widely used as textbooks. There is a 1969 volume combining the new material of the third edition of *ANET* with a second edition of *ANEP*.³⁰ Finally there is the third edition of *ANET* itself, which appeared at the same time. But unlike the previous two editions, the new edition did not so much break new ground as give wider circulation to new translations of Ancient Near Eastern texts that had appeared elsewhere in the interim. To quote my own review at the time,

The great appeal of (*ANET*) rested on sound foundations: for the first time it assembled some of the most significant Ancient Near Eastern texts in authoritative, generously annotated English translations based on the accumulated insight of several generations of scholarship scattered, till then, in a bewildering variety of publications not readily accessible to the average biblical scholar. The new edition (1969) fulfills some of the same desiderata But by its very nature it is essentially different from the original edition, for in great measure it concentrates on texts newly discovered or recovered, and by and large available in current publications, for the most part in English, which are complete with readable translations and scholarly apparatus.³¹

The trend noted in my review was not about to stop. On the contrary, the trickle observed there has meantime become a mighty stream. As ever more new texts are made available, the relationship between biblical and ancient Near Eastern studies has assumed an ever growing importance if only as measured by the sheer output of books and articles inspired by their comparison. Moshe Yitzhaki of Bar-Ilan University has even devised a whole new "bibliometric approach" to provide such a yardstick.³² Defining "citation analysis" as "the analysis of the reference in scholarly publications of a certain subject field in order to describe patterns of citation,"³³ he applies this new technique to the fields of biblical and ancient Near Eastern studies and concludes that, at least in the small and somewhat random sample tested, "the figures indicate a relatively low use of the research literature of one field by the other."³⁴

If his sample is representative, we face an anomalous situation: an ever increasing stream of ancient Near Eastern texts — recovered, reconstructed, edited and translated — which is relevant for biblical studies, but a statistical reluctance to employ them. Under the circumstances, a new compendium is called for all the more urgently. We do not, it is true, need a new *ANET* to provide us with a first authoritative English rendering of the texts, and as far as I know none is contemplated. But we do need a new compendium to assemble the existing renderings, update them where necessary, and indicate their relevance for biblical scholarship. That is what *The Context of Scripture* proposes to do. The project was conceived by David E. Orton, Senior Editor of E. J. Brill Publishers, and developed along lines set forth in a detailed proposal submitted to him by the undersigned in 1991. The collaboration of K. Lawson Younger, Jr. of LeTourneau University (Longview, Texas) as Associate Editor was secured shortly thereafter.

How does the new compendium differ from its predecessors? This question will here be considered from two perspectives — what may be called the horizontal and the vertical dimensions respectively — and the resulting theoretical formulations will then be illustrated with a concrete example or two.

The "context" of a given text may be regarded as its horizontal dimension — the geographical, historical, religious, political and literary setting in which it was created and disseminated. The contextual approach tries to reconstruct and evaluate this setting, whether for a biblical text or one from the rest of the ancient Near East.³⁵ Given the frequently very different settings of biblical and ancient Near Eastern texts, however, it is useful to recognize such contrasts as well as comparisons or, if one prefers, to operate with negative as well as positive comparison.³⁶ According to Pritchard, already Gressmann had maintained that "translations should serve ... not only for comparison and illustration, but for contrast."³⁷

²⁸ J. B. Pritchard, ed., *The Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958).

²⁹ J. B. Pritchard, ed., *The Ancient Near East, Vol. II: A New Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975).

³⁰ J. B. Pritchard, ed., *The Ancient Near East: Supplementary Texts and Pictures Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969).

³¹ W. W. Hallo, "Review of *ANET* (3rd ed.)," *JAOS* 90 (1970) 525.

³² Moshe Yitzhaki, "The Relationship Between Biblical Studies and Ancient Near East Studies: a Bibliometric Approach," *ZAW* 99 (1987) 232-248.

³³ *Ibid.*, 235.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 248.

³⁵ W. W. Hallo, "Compare and Contrast: the Contextual Approach to Biblical Literature," in *SIC* 3 1-30; *idem*, *The Book of the People* (Brown Judaic Studies 225; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991) chapter 2: "The Contextual Approach."

³⁶ Hallo, "New Moons and Sabbaths: a Case Study in the Contrastive Approach," *HUCA* 48 (1977) 1-18.

³⁷ *ANET* (1st ed., 1950) p. xiv.

tion.⁴⁵ It is in Sumerian, a product most likely of the neo-Sumerian period (ca. 2100-1800 BCE in linguistic terms), while the later text is in Akkadian, quite possibly commissioned by Sargon II of Assyria (722-705 BCE) or at least intended to celebrate his earlier namesake. The Sumerian text is, of course, not included in *ANET*, but as now known it includes at least one passage that bears comparison with a biblical pericope.

Lines 53-56 as translated by Cooper read:

In those days, writing on tablets certainly existed,
but enveloping tablets did not exist;
King Urzababa, for Sargon, creature of the gods,
Wrote a tablet, which would cause his own death, and
He dispatched it to Lugalzagesi in Uruk.

As both editors noted, "Line 53 parodies the famous passage in *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* 503ff."⁴⁶ — a passage, it may be added, not without its own echoes in the biography of Moses.⁴⁷ What was quickly pointed out by others, however, was that the motif of a king dispatching a potential rival to a third party carrying instructions to that party to put the rival to death so that the messenger becomes the means to his own demise, corresponds to a familiar folklore motif,⁴⁸ with echoes not only in the Bible but also in classical literature and even in *Hamlet*.

In the *Iliad*, Bellerophon was sent to the king of Lycia with a similarly deadly message. In 2 Samuel 11, King David rid himself of Uriah with a message that Uriah carried to David's general Joab. These parallels have been recognized in varying degrees by Herman Vanstiphout,⁴⁹ Veronika Afanas'eva,⁵⁰ and especially Bendt Alster.⁵¹ They show that the Uriah pericope is made up, at least in part, of traditional literary topoi or folkloristic motifs, and justify the inclusion of the newly recovered Sumerian legend in the discussion of the biblical treatment of the theme.

The most recent treatment of the Uriah pericope well illustrates the use and usefulness of ancient Near Eastern parallels for the understanding of biblical texts — if only by showing the danger of ignoring them. In "Nations and nationalism: adultery in the House of David," Regina M. Schwartz uses the pericope to condemn not only David, his people, and all his progeny, but those who have repossessed the City of David and the land of Israel in his name to this day.⁵² The study fails, not because of its political overtones, but because it presumes the historical validity of the episode, utterly ignoring its literary character. Where but in the Bible could one find national literature preserving the materials for so scathing a self-examination? And within the Bible, where more so than in the "court history of David" in 2 Samuel? And what if the author has not written history, but woven a traditional story of the "deadly letter" into an imaginative recasting of the succession narrative? Familiarity with the motif and its antiquity would at least suggest this alternative possibility.

The Sumerian Sargon Legend well illustrates the vertical component we have spoken of, depending as it does quite clearly on the earlier Sumerian Epic of *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*, and echoed as we have seen by the later stories of Uriah in 2 Samuel and Bellerophon in the *Iliad*. But it also illuminates the "horizontal" context of any given text. Its focus on royalty in general, and on the spectacular rise to power of Sargon of Akkad in particular, is of a piece with the literary and ideological interests of the Ur III and Isin I dynasties of the neo-Sumerian cultural era (ca. 2100-1800 BCE).

It allows us to raise the same question as one which has repeatedly been raised with regard to comparable biblical material, namely: can we, in fact should we, separate literary and ideological considerations in assessing ancient sources? Can we and should we divide our sources strictly into literary and historical ones?

I have long pleaded for using literary and historical sources to illuminate each other — treating literary sources as precious aids in reconstructing history, and reconstructing history as the essential context for literature.⁵³ Recently,

⁴⁵ Brian Lewis, *The Sargon Legend: a Study of the Akkadian Text and the Tale of the Hero Who Was Exposed at Birth* (ASORDS 4; 1980); cf. *ANET* 119; Hallo, *The Book of the People*, 47f., 130f.

⁴⁶ *JAOS* 103 (AOS 65) 82. For this passage see below, p. 546 and G. Komoróczy, "Zur Ätiologie der Schriffterfindung im Enmerkar-Epos," *AoF* 3 (1975) 19-24; but more recently H. L. J. Vanstiphout, "Enmerkar's Invention of Writing Revisited," in *Studies Sjöberg*, 515-524.

⁴⁷ Hallo, *BP*, 48f., 183f., with earlier literature.

⁴⁸ K 789 in Stith Thomson's Index.

⁴⁹ H. L. J. Vanstiphout, "Some Remarks on Cuneiform cuneatures," in *Studies Hospers*, 217-234, esp. pp. 224, 233, n. 65.

⁵⁰ V. K. Afanas'eva, "Das sumerische Sargon-Epos. Versuch einer Interpretation," *AoF* 14 (1987) 237-246. According to Alster *ZA* 77:171, Afanas'eva already made her views known at the *RAI* in Leningrad in 1984.

⁵¹ B. Alster, "A Note on the Uriah letter in the Sumerian Sargon Legend," *ZA* 77 (1987) 169-173; *idem*, "Lugalbanda and the Early Epic Tradition in Mesopotamia," in *Studies Moran*, 59-72, esp. pp. 70f.

⁵² *Critical Inquiry* 19 (1992) 131-150. My thanks to Jacob Lassner for calling the article to my attention.

⁵³ Cf. most recently Hallo, "The Limits of Skepticism," *JAOS* 110 (1990) 187-199, esp. pp. 189f. with nn. 20-41.

Marc Brettler has come to a similar conclusion from other premises. Using the story of Ehud as his point of departure, he faults both those who, like Robert Alter, see it as "only" literature, and those who, like Baruch Halpern, see it as genuine history.

The tale of Ehud has, in fact, more in common with the Uriah pericope than at first meets the eye — including the echo of a traditional motif first associated with the great kings of the Sargonic dynasty in Mesopotamia. I refer to the assassination of a ruling monarch by an ostensibly unarmed courtier. In the Mesopotamian historiographic tradition as enshrined in its most characteristic form, the omen literature, the dastardly deed was committed by resort to the cylinder seal, or more particularly (in my opinion) to the wooden pin on which it was mounted and by which it was attached to a necklace worn by its owner; if sharpened to a point, this pin could serve as a deadly weapon when whipped off the neck and plunged into the body of the unsuspecting victim, as was apparently the fate of no less than three of the Sargonic kings: Rimush, probably his (twin?) brother Man-ishtushu, and Shar-kali-sharri. The case of Ehud, who rid Israel of its Moabite oppressor with a well-timed thrust from the dagger concealed on his right side under his cloak, is not so very different, considering the relatively greater rarity of cylinder-seals in Israel.⁵⁴

Thus I do not necessarily agree with Brettler in regarding the chief historical value of the Ehud story as lying in the attitude toward Moab on the part of Israel in the time of the author of the pericope (whenever that was!) that it reveals, but I agree with him in seeing the value of a concept of "literature as politics."⁵⁵ Such a concept had previously been recognized in Assyrian literature by Peter Machinist,⁵⁶ as Brettler later acknowledged,⁵⁷ and before that in Hittite literature by Harry Hoffner,⁵⁸ and in Egyptian literature by R. J. Williams.⁵⁹ What it implies is the rejection of any hard-and-fast dichotomy between "history" and "literature" in favor of a recognition that, often enough, history is literature, and vice versa. The old conceit held that biblical literature can be validated as history only when reflected in extra-biblical historical sources such as the Stele of Merneptah or the Mesha Stele, but is falsified as history and reduced to "mere literature" when anticipated or echoed in extra-biblical *literary* sources such as the Akkadian Sargon Legend or now the Sumerian Sargon Legend. This alone would justify a separation of the comparative material into historical monuments, canonical compositions, and archival documents. But the new attitude goes further. It recognizes that the assessment of a biblical text, so far from ending with the identification of an extra-biblical parallel, begins there.

In conclusion, the combination of an intertextual and a contextual approach to biblical literature holds out the promise that this millennial corpus will continue to yield new meanings on all levels: the meaning that it holds for ourselves in our own contemporary context, the meanings it has held for readers, worshippers, artists and others in the two millennia and more since the close of the canon; the meaning that it held for its own authors and the audiences of their times; and finally the meanings that it held when it was part of an earlier literary corpus. It is to the clarification of that oldest level of meaning that *The Context of Scripture* is dedicated.⁶⁰ It may also serve as a memorial to Pritchard, whose death occurred on January 1, 1997, as this volume was going to press.

⁵⁴ Hallo, "'As the Seal upon Thine Arm': Glyptic Metaphors in the Biblical World," in Leonard Gorelick and Elizabeth Williams Forte, eds., *Ancient Seals and the Bible* (Occasional Papers on the Near East 2/1; 1983) 7-17 and pl. xii, esp. pp. 13f.; *idem*, "'As the Seal upon Thy Heart': Glyptic Roles in the Biblical World," *Bible Review* 1/1 (February 1985) 20-27, esp. p. 26.

⁵⁵ Marc Brettler, "The Book of Judges: Literature as Politics," *JBL* 108 (1989) 395-418.

⁵⁶ P. Machinist, "Literature as Politics: the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic and the Bible," *CBQ* 38 (1976) 455-482.

⁵⁷ *HUCA* 62:285, n. 1.

⁵⁸ H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "Propaganda and Political Justification in Hittite Historiography," in *Unity and Diversity*, 49-62.

⁵⁹ R. J. Williams, "Literature as a Medium of Political Propaganda in Ancient Egypt," in *Studies Meek*, 14-30.

⁶⁰ Scripture is here cited from and defined as the Hebrew (and Aramaic) Bible. This is not to deny the relevance of ancient Near Eastern parallels for New Testament studies, but that is a subject for another book and another editor.

EGYPTIAN CANONICAL COMPOSITIONS

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A. DIVINE FOCUS

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1. COSMOLOGIES

FROM THE "BOOK OF NUT" (1.1)

James P. Allen

This text consists of a series of captions accompanying the image of the goddess Nut stretched out as a representation of the sky, held off the earth by the atmosphere (Shu). Originally perhaps of Middle Kingdom composition, it appears on ceilings of the cenotaph of Seti I (Dynasty 19, ca. 1291-1279 BCE) at Abydos and the tomb of Ramesses IV (Dynasty 20, ca. 1163-1156 BCE) at Thebes; the texts were also copied, with exegesis, in two Demotic papyri of the second century CE. Together, the representation and its texts describe the ancient Egyptian concept of the universe.

Outside the Cosmos (Texts Dd-Ee, on Nut's right)

The uniform darkness,¹ ocean² of the gods, the place from which birds come: this is from her northwestern side up to her northeastern side, open to the Duat that is on her northern side,³ with her rear in the east and her head in the west. These birds exist with their faces as people and their nature as birds, one of them speaking to the other with the speech of crying.³ After they come to eat plants and to get nourished in the Black Land, alighting under the brightness of the sky, then they change into their nature of birds.

(Text L, above Nut) The upper side of this sky exists in uniform darkness,⁴ the southern, northern, western and eastern limits of which are unknown,⁵ these having been fixed in the Waters,⁶ in inertness.⁴ There is no light of the Ram there:⁵ he does not appear there — (a place) whose south, north, west and east land is unknown⁶ by the gods or akh's,⁶ there being no brightness there. And as for every place void of sky and void of land,⁷ that is the entire Duat.

a Job 26:7

b Job 18:18

c Job 38:19

d Gen 1:7

Description of Nut (Texts Ll, Gg, Q, and P)

Her right arm is on the northwestern side, [the left] on the [north]eastern side. Her head is the western Akhet, her mouth is the west.⁸ (*The goddess's mouth is labeled*) Western Akhet, (*her crotch*) Eastern Akhet.

Cycle of the Sun (Texts Aa-Bb, to the winged sun-disk at Nut's mouth)

The Incarnation⁹ of this god enters at her first hour of evening,¹⁰ becoming effective again in the embrace¹¹ of his father Osiris, and becoming purified therein. The Incarnation of this god rests from life in the Duat at her second hour of pregnancy.¹² Then the Incarnation of this god is governing the westerners, and giving directions in the Duat. Then the Incarnation of this god comes forth on earth again, having come into the world, young, his physical strength growing great again, like the first occasion of his original state. Then he is evolved into the great god, the winged disk. When this god sails to the limits of the basin of the sky, she causes him to enter again into night,

¹ Lit., "joined darkness" (*kkw zm'w*). See Parker 1960:52. In the Book of Gates this term refers to hours 2-11 of night — i.e., those whose darkness is unbroken by light.

² Lit., "cool waters" (*qbbw*), a term for the sky, specifically as a medium for travelling by boat (e.g., Pyr. 374c, 465a, 873c-d, 917a-b, 1049a, 1990b).

³ Possibly for *mdw rml* "human speech," though the determinatives indicate otherwise. Cf. Hornung 1963-1967:1 138, 3-4: "There is heard the sound of something in this cavern like the sound of men wailing."

⁴ Verbal noun of *njnj* "be slack, inert" (*Wb* 2:203, 7; 275, 2-16). In creation accounts the term usually connotes the potentiality for movement and life.

⁵ The Demotic text (pCarlsberg I 2, 27) glosses this line "There is no rising of the Sun there." The ram is a frequent image of the sun: Hornung 1973:85-87, pl. 5.

⁶ That is, by the forces and elements of nature ("gods") and the deceased human beings who have made a successful transition to life after death with the gods ("akh's"): Allen 1988b:45.

⁷ Perhaps "every void place of sky or earth," but the repetition of *šw* "void" suggests the reading adopted here (*šw n* for *šw m*). The text evidently defines the Duat as part of the world space surrounded by the universal Waters, but neither sky nor earth.

⁸ Or "Her head is in the western Akhet, her mouth is in the west," but the label "Western Akhet" on Nut's cheek suggests an identification.

⁹ The physical manifestation of a divinity (god, king, or deceased): von Beckerath 1984:39.

¹⁰ The first hour of night, beginning at sunset: Parker 1960:35, 62.

¹¹ Lit., "inside the arms" (*hnm wj*). The term refers to the usual means by which the *ka*, or life force, was passed: Pyr. 1653a.

¹² "Pregnancy" (*bk't*) is the term used of hours 2-4 of night: Parker 1960:35. Here it refers to the beginning of the second hour past sunset, when the sun's light disappears from the sky as it enters the Duat.

into the middle of the night,¹³ and as he sails inside the dusk these stars are behind him. When the Incarnation of this god enters her mouth, inside the Duat, it stays open after he sails inside her, so that these sailing stars¹⁴ may enter after him and come forth after him. Where they course is to their locales.

(Texts G, F, and E, to the sun-disk before Nut's foot)

The redness¹⁵ after birth, as he becomes pure in the embrace of his father Osiris. Then his father lives, as he becomes effective [again] through him, as he opens in his splitting¹⁶ and swims in his redness.

(Texts M-O, to the sun-disk on Nut's foot)

The Incarnation of this god comes forth from her rear. Then he is on course toward the world, apparent and born. Then he produces himself above.

Then he parts the thighs of his mother Nut. Then he goes away to the sky.

(Texts J-K and H, to the winged scarab at Nut's thigh)

When the Incarnation of this god comes forth from the Duat, these stars come forth after him at the birthplace.¹⁷ Then he is reared in the birthplace. Then he becomes effective again through his father Osiris, in the Abydene nome, on the first occasion of his original state. Then he is evolved and goes away to the sky, in the hour of "She Has Gone to Rest."¹⁸ Then he is dominant, having come into the world. Then his heart and his physical strength evolve. Then Geb sees the Chick,¹⁹ when the Sun has shown himself as he comes forth. Then he is entered into this (winged scarab).²⁰ Then he is evolved, like his original evolving in the world on the first occasion.

¹³ Hours 5-8 of night: Parker 1960:35.

¹⁴ A *hapax* (*sqdw*) evidently referring to the stars' motion through the sky. The Demotic text has *sb²w* "stars" (pCarlsberg I 3, 34).

¹⁵ Written ideographically with the red crown, but the interpretation of the Demotic text is clear: "The redness comes after birth. It is the color that comes in the sundisk at dawn ... his rays being upon earth in the color named ... The red crown is that which is read 'redness'" (pCarlsberg I 2, 1-3; Parker 1960:49).

¹⁶ Following the text of Seti I. The Demotic text glosses: "It opens to the sky" (pCarlsberg I 1, 39; Parker 1960:48).

¹⁷ The Demotic text has *msqt* "Milky Way" (pCarlsberg I 2, 4/6), but the earlier texts both have *nmst* — possibly an *m*-formation of *msj* "give birth," with dissimilation **nmst* > *nmst*.

¹⁸ The ninth hour of night: Parker 1960:51.

¹⁹ Referring to the newborn sun. The word (*w*) is evidently the otherwise unattested origin of the phonetic value *w* of the quail-chick, its meaning suggested by the determinative of the seated child. The Demotic text has *h* "newborn" (pCarlsberg I 2, 18).

²⁰ The demonstrative either modifies the picture of the winged scarab (suggested by a space left blank in the text), or is used as a noun. The Demotic text explains: "that is to say, the form of the Scarab that is in [the picture]" (pCarlsberg I 1, 28-29; Parker 1960:46).

REFERENCES

Frankfort 1933 I:72-86, II pl. 81; Parker 1960 I:36-94, pl. 30-51; Hornung 1972:485-86; Allen 1988a:1-9.

FROM COFFIN TEXTS SPELL 714 (1.2)

James P. Allen

This text is part of a series inscribed on coffins of the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, designed to aid the deceased's spirit in its daily journey from the Netherworld of the tomb to the world of the living. This particular spell, in which the deceased is identified with the primordial source of all matter as it first existed within the primeval waters, has so far been found only on one coffin.

The background of creation (CT VI 343j)

I am the Waters, unique, without second.

The evolution of creation (CT VI 343k-344d)

That is where I evolved,

on the great occasion of my floating that happened to me.¹

a Gen 1:6-7

I am the one who once evolved —
Circlet,² who is in his egg.

I am the one who began therein, (in) the Waters.
See, the Flood is subtracted from me:³
see, I am the remainder.³

I made my body evolve through my own effec-

¹ The text opens with the universal waters as speaker, but from here to the end of the spell the speaker is Atum: cf. CT II 34g-h "Then said Atum to the Waters: I am floating, very weary." See n. 3 below.

² The term is a *hapax* (*qbn*), evidently a diminutive of *qbn* "circle." Both this and the following phrase refer to Atum's primordial, un-evolved state.

³ These two lines use mathematical terminology — *prj* "be subtracted" (Wb I 525, 1) and *wḏ* "remainder" (Wb I 400, 19) — to describe the distinction that existed between the primordial singularity of matter (Atum) and its environment (the universal waters).

tiveness. ⁴ I am the one who made me.	I built myself as I wished, according to my heart. ⁵
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⁴ An abstract (²hw) denoting the quality of productive action, akin to magic: Friedman 1984-85; Borghouts 1987.

⁵ The seat of thought and emotion. These three lines indicate that Atum's evolution into the created world reflected his own concept of the world as it should be.

REFERENCES

CT VI 343j-344d; Faulkner 1977:270; Allen 1988a:13-14.

FROM PYRAMID TEXTS SPELL 527 (1.3)

James P. Allen

The Pyramid Texts were inscribed on the walls of the substructures of royal pyramids at the end of the Old Kingdom, with the same purpose as their descendants, the Coffin Texts. This spell begins by describing the material derivation of the first two elements of the world — the atmospheres above and below the earth (Shu and Tefnut) — from the single source of all matter (Atum), as a "mythological precedent" for the daily rebirth of the deceased king.

<i>The birth of Shu and Tefnut from Atum</i> (Pyr. 1248) Atum evolved ¹ growing ithyphallic, ² in Heliopolis. He put his penis in his grasp that he might	make orgasm with it, ³ and the two siblings were born — Shu and Tefnut.
--	--

¹ Following the text of Merenre (M). Pepi I (P) has "Atum is the one who evolved." The text of Pepi II (N) is a reinterpretation, with initial "Atum Scarab" as vocative and the following lines as imperatives.

² Lit., "as one who comes extended," (*m jw s²w jr.f*), where the self-referential *jr.f* indicates either the reflexive nature of the action or its relationship with the action of Atum's "evolution."

³ Atum's masturbation is one of the metaphors employed in Eg. cosmogonies to explain the physical origin of the world from a single material source: Allen 1988a:14.

REFERENCES

Pyr. 1248a-d; Faulkner 1969:198; Allen 1988a:13-14.

FROM PYRAMID TEXTS SPELL 600 (1.4)

James P. Allen

The beginning of this spell, another "mythological precedent," combines three images of the first moments of creation. The first lines invokes the divine source of all matter (Atum) in his evolution as the sun ("Scarab") and the world-space within the primeval waters. This is followed by references to the "etymological" origin of Shu and Tefnut and to the source of their life force.

<i>Atum as the First Things</i> (Pyr. 1652-1653a) Atum Scarab! ¹ When you became high, as the high ground,	when you rose, as the benben ² in the Phoenix ³ Enclosure in Heliopolis, you sneezed Shu, you spat Tefnut, ⁴
---	---

¹ Referring to Atum in his ultimate evolution, the rising sun. The sun was often represented as a scarab beetle (*hpr*) through "etymological" association with the verb *hpr* "evolve."

² A pyramidion or squat obelisk representing the primeval hill, first Place to emerge at the creation. The root of the word, *bn* "swell up," also appears in *wbn* "rise, swell forth" (used of the sun at sunrise), and *bnw* "heron, phoenix" (see next note).

³ Eg. *bnw* "heron," a metaphor for the rising sun through etymological association (*wbn* "rise"). The Greek concept of the phoenix rising from its own ashes derives from this image, but is not found as such in Eg. sources.

⁴ "Etymological" explanations of Atum's first two evolutions: *jss* "sneeze" and *tf* "spit." For the meaning of *jss*, cf. *jss t²w* "sneeze air": Parker et al. 1979:71 and pl. 27, 17.

and you put your arms about them, as the arms
of *ka*,

that your *ka* might be in them.⁵

⁵ The image of the *ka* passed by means of an embrace reflects the hieroglyphic spelling of the word (*kꜣ*) as a pair of upraised arms. In Eg. thought, the *ka* is a spiritual aspect of men and gods, a kind of animating force, passed from the creator to the king, from the king to his subjects, and from a father to his children. The word is also the root of a derived abstract *kꜣw* "sustenance." Though usually represented only by its hieroglyph, the *ka* was occasionally depicted as a "twin" of the king's image — hence the older translation "double." See Allen 1988b:43-44.

REFERENCES

Pyr. 1652a-1653a; Faulkner 1969:246-247; Allen 1988a:13-14.

FROM COFFIN TEXTS SPELL 75 (1.5)

James P. Allen

Spells 75-81 of the Coffin Texts, which identify the deceased as a manifestation (*ba*) of the first element of the world (*Shu*), are a major source for the evolutionary view of creation promulgated in Heliopolis. In at least two MSS (S1C and S2C), these seven spells were treated as a single text, with the title "Spell of the *ba* of Shu and evolution into Shu" (CT I 314a). Spell 75, one of the most frequently copied of all Coffin Texts, describes the birth of Shu. In the cosmogony of Heliopolis, this is the first stage in the evolution of Atum that produced the created world.

Shu's relationship to Atum (CT I 314/315b-326/327a)

I am the *ba*¹ of Shu, the self-evolving² god:
it is in the body of the self-evolving god that I
have evolved.

I am the *ba* of Shu, the god mysterious(?)³ of
form:

it is in the body of the self-evolving god that I
have become tied together.

I am the utmost extent⁴ of the self-evolving god:
it is in him that I have evolved.

I am the one who stills the sky for him,
I am the one who silences the earth for him.⁵ ^a

I am the one who foretells him when he emerges
from the Akhet,⁶
putting fear of him into those who seek his identity.

^a Hab 2:20

^b Lam 3:63;
Ps 139:2

I am one who is millions, who hears the affairs
of millions.

I am the one who transmits the word of the self-
evolving god to his multitude.

I am the one who officiates over his boat-crew,
being stronger and more raging⁷ than every En-
nead.

The origin of Shu (CT I 326/327b-338/339b)

The speech of the original gods, who evolved
after me, has been repeated to me,⁸ when they
asked of the Waters my evolution, seeing my
strength in the great boat that the self-evolving
god sails, and how I have acted⁹ ^b among them,
causing my reputation according to my evolution.
I shall speak. Become still, Ennead! Become
silent, gods, and I will tell you my evolution
myself. Don't ask my evolution of the Waters.

¹ The term *ba* (*bꜣ*) denotes an aspect by which a god, person, or thing can be recognized. The *ba* is a nonphysical concept, perhaps best defined as the sum of an entity less its material form — in the case of human beings, somewhat akin to the notion of "soul" or personality. The *ba* of a deceased person traveled between the mummy, where it spent the night, and the world of daylight, where it was reunited with its life force (*ka*) to live as an "effective being" (*akh*). This mobile quality, combined with the hieroglyphic writing of the word (with the jairu bird), gave rise to the common representation of the *ba* as a human-headed bird. See Zakkar 1968; Allen 1988b:43.

² "Self-evolving" (*hpr ds.f*) is a common epithet of the creator god, denoting his independence from external causality: Allen (1988b) 17. The term is used most often, and par excellence, of Atum, who evolved into the created world.

³ The meaning of the term *sfg* is uncertain. The phrase "*sfg* of form" is used elsewhere of the sun (Pyr. *1061f = CT III 74e) and in the context of judgement (CT II 58a, 62d, 63f). The translation "mysterious" is based on Pyr. 665a, where *sfg* occurs in parallel with *šꜣ* "secret" (see n. 15 below). The term also occurs in the description of a god "*sfg* of body, (but) with many vessels": Vernus (1978) 183.

⁴ Lit., "the one who is in the limit" (*jmy dr*).

⁵ A reference to the quelling of chaos attendant on the creation, with its establishment of order.

⁶ The creation of the atmosphere produced a void in the universal waters, into which the sun could rise for the first time. Shu thus "foretells" the sunrise.

⁷ The term (*dnd*, later *dndn*) describes a quality directed against an enemy (*Wb* V 579, 4 = 471, 4/22 — here, against the enemies of the sun); it is also used of fire (*Wb* V 471, 23; cf. *Wb* V 530, 1, and the spelling in CT IV 328g). The M-Ann. MS substitutes "aggressive" (*hꜣw.kw*).

⁸ Variant "I have heard" in some MSS (M-Ann., G1C, A1T).

⁹ Lit., "how I stood up and sat down" (*hꜣw.n.j hms.n.j*): see Williams 1969:94.

When the Waters saw me, I was already evolved.
He does not know where I evolved. He did not
see with his face how I evolved.¹⁰

It is in the body of the great self-evolving god
that I have evolved,
for he created me in his heart,
made me in his effectiveness,
and exhaled me from his nose.¹¹

Shu's nature (CT I 338/339c-344/345c and 354/355b-
358/359a)

I am exhale-like of form,
created by that august self-evolving god
who strews the sky with his perfection,
the total of the gods' forms,¹²
whose identity the gods who sail him do not
know,
whom the "sunfolk"¹³ follow.

It is in his feet that I have grown,
in his arms that I have evolved,
in his limbs that I have made a void.

He created me himself in his heart,
he made me in his effectiveness.

I was not born by birth.

...

I am one exhale-like of form.
He did not give me birth with his mouth,
he did not conceive me with his fist.¹⁴
He exhaled me from his nose,

c Gen 2:7;
6:17; 7:15;
7:22

d Job 22:12

e Jer 4:28

he made me in the midst of his perfection,
which excites those who are in the inaccessible
places¹⁵

when he strews the sky with his perfection.

Shu's relationship to the rest of creation (CT I
372/373b-376/377c, 384b-385c, and 405b-c)

I do not have to listen to magic:¹⁶

I evolved before it.

My clothes are the wind of life:¹⁷ c

it came forth about me, from the mouth of Atum.

I evolved in the god who evolved on his own,
alone, older than the gods.

I am the one who touches¹⁸ for him the height of
the sky.¹⁹ d

I am the one who brings to him his effectiveness,
who unites for him his million of ka placed in
protection of his associates.¹⁹

...

For it is through creation in its entirety that I
evolved,²⁰

at the utterance of that august self-evolving god
who does not turn back on what he has said.²¹ e

For I am the one who made to the limit,
according to his command.

...

I am the god mysterious(?)²² of form,
but I am in the utmost extent of sunlight.

¹⁰ Compare the description of the Waters in the "Book of Nut" (above, text 1.1) as existing "above" the sky. Shu, as the void, is distinct from the universal waters, and thus cannot be "known" by them.

¹¹ A two-stage description of Shu's birth, from the creator's original concept "in his heart" to the "effective" action that produced Shu. The third line refers to the "etymological" etiology of Shu, by "sneezing" (*jšš*).

¹² A reference to Atum's name (*j.tmw*), which is formed from the root *tm* "finish, end, complete," also found in the noun *tmw* "totality." As the singularity from which all matter derived, Atum is the sum of all the forces and elements of the created world (the gods).

¹³ A general term for humanity, as the people on whom the sun shines: Gardiner 1947 I:111*-112*.

¹⁴ These lines evidently contrast Shu's "immaterial" nature, as air, with the standard metaphors for his etiology via Atum's "sneezing" and masturbation.

¹⁵ The term "inaccessible places" (*šf'w*) is a designation of the Duat: Hornung (1975-76) I 4; II 49, 99 nn. 15-16. The sun's passage through this region at night "excites" (makes active) the beings who dwell in this region in a state of "inertness."

¹⁶ Magic (*hk*², *hk'w*) broadly denotes the power to produce an effect by indirect means, somewhat akin to the western notion of sympathetic magic. In creation accounts, magic is the link between the creator's concept of the world and its physical evolution. It was considered a natural force, and thus a god (Heka, Hike). See Ritner 1993:4-28.

¹⁷ Shu's "clothing" is a metaphor for the physical effect of the air, otherwise invisible. The same concept is elaborated in greater detail in CT Spell 80 (CT II 29f-31a). See p. 12 below.

¹⁸ Variants have "who unites" (*dmd*: B1C) and "who ties together" (*l'z*: CT I 377d).

¹⁹ The term "associates" (*wmdwt*) derives from a designation of domesticated animals (*Wb* I:326, 2-4). As used here it evidently refers to the totality of humankind: compare the description of people as "noble animals" (*w' špst*) in pWestcar 8, 17, and "the animals of the god" (*w' nt ntr*) in the Instruction for Merikare (pPetersburg 1116A 12, 1). See texts 1.11 and 1.35 below.

²⁰ Lit., "it is through making completely that I evolved" (*hpr.n.j šs m' jrt mj qd*). Variants have "through the one who made completely" (*m' jr mj qd*: B1C, B2L, B1P), "through making similarly to me" (*m' jrt my r.j*: M3C, M5C, M28C), and "it is through my agency that doing similarly has evolved entirely" (*hpr.n šs m' j jrt my r dr*: S1-2C, T3C, M23C, G1T). The reference is evidently to Shu's causal priority over the rest of creation.

²¹ A reference to the concept of creation by means of the spoken word, and to its irreversible nature.

²² See n. 3 above.

REFERENCES

CT I 314/315b-405c; de Buck 1947; Faulkner 1964; Zandee 1971-72; Faulkner 1973:72-77; Allen 1988a:14-18.

FROM COFFIN TEXTS SPELL 76 (1.6)

James P. Allen

This text continues the tale of Shu's birth by describing how the structure of the world-space and its contents derive from the initial creation of the atmosphere. It also contains one of the first references to the four negative qualities of the primordial waters, later developed by the theologians of Hermopolis into a cosmogony of four divine couples, the Ogdoad.

Initial invocation: the deceased as Shu (CT II 1a-2a)
O you eight Infinite Ones,¹ who are at the parts
of the sky,^a

whom Shu made from the efflux² of his limbs,
who tie together the ladder³ for Atum!

Come to meet your father in me!
Give me your arms,
tie together a ladder for me.

I am the one who created you,
I am the one who made you,
as I was made by my father Atum.

Shu's nature (CT II 2b-3c)

I am weary at the Uplifting of Shu,⁴
since I lifted my daughter Nut atop me
that I might give her to my father Atum in his
utmost extent.

I have put Geb under my feet:
this god is tying together the land for my father
Atum,
and drawing together the Great Flood for
him.

I have put myself between them
without the Ennead seeing me.⁵

Shu's birth (CT II 3d-4d)

It is I who am Shu,

^a Deut 30:4

^b Isa 44:2,
24; 49:5; Job
31:5

^c Gen 1:2;
2 Sam 22:12;
Ps 18:12;
88:6; Job
10:22;
22:11;
38:19

whom Atum created on the day that he evolved.⁶

I was not built in the womb,^a

I was not tied together in the egg,

I was not conceived by conception.

My father Atum sneezed me in a sneeze of his
mouth,⁷

together with my sister Tefnut.

She emerged after me,

while I was still hooded with the air of the
Phoenix's⁸ throat,

on the day that Atum evolved⁹ —

out of the Flood, out of the Waters,

out of darkness, out of lostness.^{10 c}

Shu's relationship to the gods (CT II 5a-6b)

It is I who am Shu, father of the gods,

in search of whom, together with my sister
Tefnut,

Atum once sent his Sole Eye.¹¹

I am the one who made brightening the darkness
possible for it.¹²

It found me as a man of infinite number.¹³

I am the begetter of repeated millions —

out of the Flood, out of the Waters,

out of darkness, out of lostness.^c

It is I who am Shu, begetter of the gods.

¹ Four or eight gods (*hḥw*) thought to assist Shu in holding the waters of the universe off the earth.

² A term (*rgw*) broadly denoting a material link between two things: for example, clouds are the "efflux" of the atmosphere, Shu.

³ A metaphor for ascent to the realm of the sky.

⁴ Term (*wizw šw*) referring to Shu's activity in holding the universal waters off the earth, often represented pictorially by the image of a male god (Shu) standing on the prone body of Geb, the earth, with arms upraised beneath the extended body of the sky (Nut).

⁵ The "Ennead" here refers to the subsequent generations of gods, whose evolution followed that of Shu.

⁶ The term "day" (here written with divine determinative, like the name Re) is a metaphor for the simultaneity of creation: Atum's evolution into the created world is equivalent to the birth of Shu, which created the world space within the universal waters.

⁷ See p. 7, n. 4.

⁸ See n. 3 to Pyramid Texts Spell 600 (p. 7). The term here is used in reference to Atum's solar aspect.

⁹ See n. 6 above.

¹⁰ These four terms refer to qualities of the primordial waters, defined in contrast to those of the created world: watery (*nwḥ*), vs. the "dryness" (*šw*) of the world; infinite in expanse (*hḥw*), vs. the world's "limits" (*drw*); darkness (*kkw*), vs. light; and *tmnw*, an abstract from the verb *tm* "become lost, go astray," probably referring to the chaotic or unknowable nature of the waters, in contrast to the order and tangibility of creation (Allen 1988a:20). The same qualities appear in the description of the universal waters in the "Book of Nut" (above text 1.1). As early as the Middle Kingdom, they were recognized as gods by the theologians of Hermopolis, and codified with four female counterparts into the Ogdoad. In the Coffin Texts, however, only the names of the Flood (*hḥw*) and the Waters (*nwḥ*) are written with divine determinatives; "darkness" and *tmnw* are treated as abstracts. In the Hermopolitan system, the last term is replaced by the god Amun (*jmnw* "hidden") and his counterpart, Amaunet.

¹¹ The term "eye" (*jrt*) is often used as a metaphor for the physical sun as an aspect of the creator or sun-god. The present passage refers to the sun as the final cause of creation, on whose behalf the world space was created.

¹² A similar line occurs in Spell 80 (CT II 30b) (see p. 12). The translation adopted here follows the text of B1Bo and G1T, with addition of the participle *jr* "who made possible" that appears in the other copies and in the parallel from Spell 80.

¹³ Compare the phrase *z n nḥh* "a man of eternity" (i.e., someone who will live forever), in the tale of the Eloquent Peasant (Peas. B1, 126; see text 1.43 below).

REFERENCES

CT II 1a-6b; Faulkner 1973:77-80; Zandee 1973a; Allen 1988a:18-21.

FROM COFFIN TEXTS SPELL 78 (1.7)

James P. Allen

This text follows Coffin Texts Spell 76 after a few lines (Spell 77) that describe the birth of Shu through the combined metaphors of masturbation and spitting. The major theme in Spell 78 is the identification of this event with the evolution of Time in its two aspects: the permanent pattern of existence, identified with Tefnut; and the eternal repetition of life, identified with Shu.

Shu as the atmosphere (CT II 19a-b)

I am the *ba*¹ of Shu,
to whom was given Nut atop him and Geb under
his feet.
I am between them.

Shu as the cycle of time (CT II 22a-b)

I am Eternal Recurrence, father of an infinite

number.²

My sister is Tefnut, daughter of Atum, who bore
the Ennead.

Tefnut as the pattern of time (CT II 23a-c)

I am the one who bore repeated millions for
Atum:
Eternal Sameness is (my sister) Tefnut.³

¹ See n. 1 to Coffin Texts Spell 75 (p. 8).

² The word *nhh* "Eternal Recurrence" derives from the root *hḥ* "million, infinite number" and denotes eternity conceived as the eternal repetition of the daily cycle of life. A dynamic concept, associated with the verbs *hpr* "evolve" and "nh" "live," it is exemplified on the cosmic scale in the daily setting and rising of the sun, and on the human scale in the cycle of generations. See Assmann 1975a. Its etiology here is equated with the birth of Shu, perhaps because both *nhh* and *šw* are grammatically masculine.

³ Following AIC, with the addition of *snj* (*pw*) from the other MSS. The word *dt* "Eternal Sameness" denotes eternity as the unchanging pattern of existence, established at the creation. It is a stable concept, associated with the verb *wnt* "exist" and exemplified in the concept of *mꜣt* (Maat) "(natural) order." See Assman (1975). Spell 78 equates its genesis, and that of *mꜣt*, with the birth of Tefnut, Shu's coeval "twin," probably because all three are grammatically feminine.

REFERENCES

CT II 19a-23c; Faulkner 1973:81-82; Zandee 1973b; Allen 1988a:21-27.

FROM COFFIN TEXTS SPELL 80 (1.8)

James P. Allen

Following a short reprise of Spell 76 (Spell 79), this text continues the temporal theme first sounded in Spell 78 and expands it through the additional concepts of Life, identified with Shu, and the natural Order of the universe, associated with Tefnut. As part of its exposition, the spell concentrates on the notion of the One (Atum) evolving into the multiplicity of life. This includes the phenomenon of generational death and rebirth (codified in Osiris and Isis), the creation of people, and the interrelationship of all living things. The spell's physical description of Shu as the atmosphere is one of the clearest statements of the Egyptian concept of divinity immanent in the elements of nature. Together with a short summation (Spell 81), this text completes the theological exposition of the meaning of Shu's birth that began in Spell 75.

Introduction (CT II 23d-28d)

O you eight Infinite Ones — an infinite number
of Infinite Ones,¹
who encircle the sky with your arms,
who draw together the sky and horizon² of Geb!

a Gen 1:2;
2 Sam 22:12;
Ps 18:12;
88:6; Job
10:22;
22:11;
38:19;

Shu has given you birth
out of the Flood, out of the Waters,
out of lostness, out of darkness,^{3 a}
that he might allot you to Geb and Nut,
Shu being Eternal Recurrence,

¹ See n. 1 to Coffin Texts Spell 76, p. 10.

² Eg. *ꜥkr*, a term for the visible interface of sky and earth, often represented as a two-headed lion (east and west).

³ See n. 10 to Coffin Texts Spell 76, p. 10.

and Tefnut, Eternal Sameness.⁴

The nature of Shu (CT II 28e-32a)

I am the *ba*⁵ of Shu, who is at the Great Flood,
who goes up to the sky as he wishes,
who goes down to the earth as his heart decides.

Come in excitement⁶ to greet the god in me!
I am Shu, child of Atum.

My clothing is the air of life,⁶
which emerged for it around me, from the mouth
of Atum
and opens for it the winds on my path.
I am the one who made possible the sky's
brilliance after the Darkness.

My skin is the pressure⁷ of the wind,
which emerged behind me from the mouth of
Atum.

My efflux⁸ is the storm-cloud⁹ of the sky,
my fumes¹⁰ are the storm⁹ of half-light.

The length of the sky is for my strides,
and the breadth of the earth is for my
foundations.^c

I am the one whom Atum created,
and I am bound for my place of Eternal
Sameness.

It is I who am Eternal Recurrence,
who bore repeated millions;
whom Atum sneezed,
who emerged from his mouth,
as he used his hand that he desired, in order to
let fall for the earth.¹¹

The origin of Shu and Tefnut (CT II 32b-35h)
Then said Atum:

b Gen 2:7;
6:17; 7:15,
22; Job 38:9

c Gen 13:17

d Is 44:24

My living daughter is Tefnut.
She will exist with her brother Shu.
Life is his identity,
Order¹² is her identity.

I shall live with my twins, my fledglings,
with me in their midst —
one of them at my back,
one of them in my belly.

Life will lie with my daughter Order —
one of them inside me,
one of them about me.

It is on them that I have come to rely,¹³
with their arms about me.

It is my son who shall live,
he whom I begot in my identity,
for he has learned how to enliven the one in the
egg, in the respective womb,
as people, that emerged from my eye¹⁴ —

(the eye) that I sent forth when I was alone ^d with
the Waters, in inertness,
not finding a place in which I could stand or sit,
before Heliopolis had been founded, in which I
could exist;
before the Lotus¹⁵ had been tied together, on
which I could sit;
before I had made Nut so she could be over my
head and Geb could marry her;
before the first Corps¹⁶ was born,
before the original Ennead had evolved and start-
ed existing with me.

Then said Atum to the Waters:
I am floating, very weary,¹⁷ the natives inert.¹⁸

⁴ See nn. 2-3 to Coffin Texts Spell 78, p. 11.

⁵ See n. 1 to Coffin Texts Spell 75, p. 8.

⁶ The Eg. root *h^cj* or intensive *h^cj^cj* seems to denote arousal, sexual or otherwise, at the sight of someone or something, often from a state of prior inactivity. In the creation accounts it usually has a milder connotation of simple activity.

⁷ An abstract (*mddw*) from the verb *mdd* "press (*Wb med* I:416), strike (*Wb II*:191, 14-192, 2), adhere to (*Wb II*:192,3-5)," which seems to have the root meaning of forceful touching or pressure. The sentence is evidently an attempt to explain the physical reality of air, which is otherwise unseen.

⁸ See n. 2 to Coffin Texts Spell 76, p. 10.

⁹ For these terms (*qrr* and *nšnj*, respectively), see Roccati 1984:346.

¹⁰ A term (*jdj*) used of a god's scent (Pyr. 456a; Urk IV 339,15). It is a byproduct of burning incense (Simpson 1974 pl. 31 ANOC 69.1 vert. 4-5) and gives off smoke (Pyr. 365b).

¹¹ These lines are a conflation of the two metaphors used to describe the etiology of Shu, etymological (*jšš* "sneeze") and physical (masturbation). The image of Atum "desiring" his hand reflects its deification — thus transforming the metaphor of masturbation into the more usual one of birth.

¹² The term "order" (*m^cṯ*) is a fundamental component of the Eg. world-view, a concept combining the western notions of natural law and social and moral norms. Order was established as part of the creation itself, as a force of nature and thus divine (Maat). Like the other forces and elements of the world, it is unchanging, a quality expressed here by its equation with the temporal concept of Eternal Sameness. The opposite of order is disorder or chaos (*jzff*), which equally has both social and moral as well as natural aspects. The most recent comprehensive study is Assmann 1990.

¹³ Lit., "I have stood up" (*ḥ^cḥ^c.n.j*): cf. *Wb* I :219, 18. The same usage appears in Hornung 1975-76 II:38, 13.

¹⁴ A reference to the "etymological" etiology of human beings (*rmj*) from the "tears" (*rmj*) of the sun (the creator's "eye").

¹⁵ The Lotus (*q^cd*: cf. Pyr. 284c, 541d; CT I 94b) is part of an early Eg. metaphor for the first act of life following the creation — the initial sunrise from the opening petals of a lotus flower growing on the first Place, the primeval Hill.

¹⁶ A term (*ḥt*, lit., "body") for the group of gods usually known as the Ennead.

¹⁷ In creation accounts, weariness (*wṛj*), like inertness (see n. 4 to the "Book of Nut," p. 5), connotes the potentiality for activity — here, Atum's potentiality for the evolution that will produce the created world.

¹⁸ See note 17. "Natives" (*p^cwṛ*) is a term normally used of the Egyptians as original inhabitants of Egypt: Gardiner 1947 I:108*-110*.

It is my son Life, who lifts up my heart, that will
enliven my heart¹⁹
when he has drawn together these very weary
limbs of mine.

The Waters said to Atum:
Kiss²⁰ your daughter Order.
Put her to your nose and your heart will live.
They will not be far from you —
that is, your daughter Order and your son Shu,
whose identity is Life.
It is of your daughter Order that you shall eat,
it is your son Shu that shall elevate you.

Shu as Life (CT II 35i-36e and 39b-40b)

I, in fact, am Life, son of Atum —
from his nose he bore me,
from his nostrils I emerged.
I shall put myself at his collar,
that he may kiss me and my sister Order,
when he rises every day and emerges from his
egg,
when the god is born in the emergence of sun-
light²¹
and homage is said to him by those whom he
begot.

I am Life, lord of years,
Life of Eternal Recurrence, lord of Eternal
Sameness —
the eldest that Atum made with his effective-
ness,²²
when he gave birth to Shu and Tefnut in Helio-
polis,
when he was one and evolved into three,
when he parted Geb from Nut,
before the first Corps was born,
before the two original Enneads evolved and
were existing with me.

In his nose he conceived me,
from his nostrils I emerged.

e Gen 1:6

f Gen 2:7;
7:22;
Job 27:3

He has placed me at his collar
and he does not let me get far from him.

The process of Life (CT II 40c-43h)

My identity is Life, son of the original god:
I live in the ...(?)²³ of my father Atum.
I am Life at his collar, the one who freshens the
throat —
whom Atum made as Grain when he sent me
down to this land,
and to the Isle of Fires, when my identity became
Osiris, son of Geb.²⁴
I am Life, for whom the length of the sky and
the breadth of Geb were made:
it is from me that presented offerings emerge for
the god.²⁵
My father Atum will kiss me as he emerges from
the eastern Akhet;
his heart will rest at seeing me as he proceeds in
rest to the western Akhet.

He will find me on his way,
and I will tie on his head and enliven his
uraeus.²⁶

I will fix the head of Isis on her neck,
and assemble Osiris's bones.
I will make firm his flesh every day
and make fresh his parts every day —
falcons living off birds, jackals off prowling,
pigs off the highlands, hippopotami off the
cultivation,
men off grain, crocodiles off fish,
fish off the waters in the Inundation²⁷ e —
as Atum has ordered.

I will lead them and enliven them,
through my mouth, which is Life in their
nostrils.²⁸

I will lead my breath into their throats,
after I have tied on their heads by the Annuncia-
tion²⁸ that is in my mouth,

¹⁹ The text employs two different terms for "heart" here. The first, *jb*, is the more common term, usually connoting the heart as the seat of thought and emotion (compare the English "lift the spirits"). The second, *h³tj*, often has a more physical connotation, as here.

²⁰ Or perhaps "inhale." The verb (*sn*) denotes an action of the nose rather than the lips.

²¹ Following B7C, the only MS with *m* "in." The other copies apparently read "when the god is born and sunlight is sent forth" (*ms.t ntr pr.t j³hw*).

²² See n. 4 to Coffin Texts Spell 714, p. 7.

²³ A word (*bznw*) of unknown meaning, perhaps a mineral: Harris 1961:190-191.

²⁴ These two lines define the realm of life. In the world of the living, it is embodied in grain, the fundamental staple of the Eg. diet. In the Duat, it is concentrated within the mummy of Osiris, the source of all potential life.

²⁵ The presentation of offerings was the major component of Eg. rituals, in both divine and mortuary cults. It was perhaps the chief responsibility of the Egyptians to their gods. See Assmann 1970:63-65. In mortuary cults, food and drink were offered so that the deceased might benefit from the life-sustaining force within them.

²⁶ The term "uraeus," a Greek vocalization of Eg. *j³rt*, refers to the protective serpent usually depicted on the forehead of gods and the king.

²⁷ Following B1C, the only copy with initial *n³h* "live off." In the other MSS, these clauses specify what is meant by "make fresh his parts," with the first noun in each clause in apposition to "his parts" and the prepositional phrase indicating the means. The position of human beings in this list is noteworthy — as part rather than the apex of the natural order. Contrast Gen 1:26.

²⁸ "Annunciation" (*hw*) denotes the power of bringing about a result by enunciating it with the tongue. It is often divinized (Hu) and usually paired with Perception (*sj³*, Sia), the power of conceptualization associated with the heart. Annunciation was considered an aspect of magic (see n. 16 to Coffin Texts Spell 75, p. 9), exercised by the creator and the king.

which my father Atum, who emerged from the
eastern Akhet, has given me.
I will enliven the little fish²⁹ and the crawling

things on Geb's back.
I, in fact, am Life that is under Nut.

²⁹ A *hapax* (*hddw*) probably identical with the Ptolemaic *hddw* "fish, fowl" (*Wb* III:355, 19-20). The determinative here indicates a kind of fish.

REFERENCES

CT II 27d-43b; Faulkner 1973:83-87; Zandee 1974; Allen 1988a:21-27.

FROM PAPYRUS BREMNER-RHIND (1.9)

James P. Allen

The papyrus from which this text is taken (pBM 10188) is a collection of theological treatises and magic spells against the dangers of the Netherworld (represented in sum by the demon Apophis), compiled from various sources at the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period. This selection, originally composed perhaps as early as the Ramesside Period, describes the evolution of multiplicity from the unity of Atum, who is both the "Lord to the Limit" (of the created world) and the sun at the dawn of creation ("Evolver").¹ It is unusual for its use of abstract terminology, based on the verb *hpr* "evolve,"² in addition to the physical metaphors that Egyptian theologians regularly used to describe the process of creation.

Title (26,21) SCROLL OF KNOWING THE EVOLUTION of the Sun AND OF OVERTHROWING APOPHIS. RECITATION.

Evolution of the many from the one (26,21-24)
The Lord to the Limit, speaking after he evolved:
I am the one who evolved as Evolver.
When I evolved, evolution evolved.
All evolution evolved after I evolved,
evolutions becoming many in emerging from my
mouth,
without the sky having evolved,
without the earth having evolved,
without the ground or snakes³ having been created in that place.
I became tied together in them⁴ out of the
Waters, out of inertness,
without having found a place in which I could
stand.⁵
I became effective in my heart,
I surveyed with my face.
I made every form alone,

a Job 26:7

without having sneezed Shu,
without having spat Tefnut,⁶
without another having evolved and acted⁶ with
me.

I surveyed in my heart by myself
and the evolutions of evolutions became many,
in the evolutions of children
and in the evolutions of their children.

The first generation (26,24-27,2)

I am the one who acted as husband with my fist:
I copulated with my hand,
I let fall into my own mouth,
I sneezed Shu and spat Tefnut.⁷
It is my father, the Waters, that tended them,
with my Eye⁸ after them since the time they
became apart from me.
After I evolved as one god,
that was three gods with respect to me.

The sun (27,2-4)

When I evolved into this world,

¹ The papyrus contains two versions of this text. The second, with the same title, is slightly longer (28, 20-29, 6).

² The text uses three writings of this root: (1) that of the verb and its conjugated forms (*sdm.f*, *sdm.n.f*, and participle), with bookroll determinative; (2) the same spelling with plural strokes, apparently with the meaning of the infinitive "(process of) evolution" (only in 26, 22); (3) a form with written (curl) *w* (*hprw*), plural strokes, and the determinatives of the upright mummy and falcon on a standard. The last is evidently a concrete noun, and is treated grammatically as plural ("evolutions").

³ The word (*ddft*) is a collective, and includes worms and crawling insects such as centipedes, as well as snakes. These forms of life were viewed by the Egyptians as chthonic beings, primordial to the creation.

⁴ The pronoun probably refers to the elements of the created world mentioned in the preceding lines. "Tie together" (*ḥꜣz*) is an Eg. idiom for physical realization.

⁵ A reference to the "etymological" etiology of these two gods, via "sneezing" (*jšf* : *šw*) and "spitting" (*tf* : *tfnt*).

⁶ Or "who acted for himself" (*jr n.f*).

⁷ These lines represent an attempt to syncretize the "etymological" and physical explanations of the birth of Shu and Tefnut. Atum's semen is envisioned as falling into his mouth, from which it is "sneezed" and "spat" to produce the two gods.

⁸ A metaphor for the sun as a manifestation of the creator.

Shu and Tefnut grew excited in the inert waters ⁹ in which they were, and brought me my Eye after them. ¹⁰ And after I joined together my parts, I wept over them: that is the evolution of people, from the tears that came from my Eye. ¹¹ She raged against me after she returned and found I had made another in her place to replace her as (my) effective one. So I promoted her place on my face, and afterward she began to rule this entire land. ¹²	b Job 31:2; Is 5:24 c Gen 1:24	When their rage fell to their roots ^b I replaced what she had taken from her. ¹³ <i>The creation of multiplicity (27.4-6)</i> When I emerged from the roots I created all the snakes and everything that evolved from them. ^{14 c} Then Shu and Tefnut gave birth to Geb and Nut. Then Geb and Nut gave birth to Osiris, Horus Fore-Eyed, ¹⁵ Seth, Isis and Nephthys, from one womb, ¹⁶ (one) after the other, and they gave birth to their multitude in this world.
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⁹ The writing combines that of *nwj* "the Waters" and *nww* "inertness," and may reflect the variant form of the former name (Nun), which is derived from the same root as *nww*.

¹⁰ See n. 6 to Coffin Texts Spell 80, p. 12. In this case, the "excitement" of Shu and Tefnut refers to their evolution as a void in the universal waters, which produces a space for the sun ("my Eye") to appear in.

¹¹ See n. 14 to Coffin Texts Spell 80, p. 12.

¹² These lines are a logical outgrowth of the metaphor of the sun as the creator's eye. Its departure into the world at the dawn of creation leaves a void in Atum's "face," which he fills by making a new eye to serve as his "effective" instrument in governing the world. The conflict between the two is resolved by Atum's promotion of the eye to his uraeus.

¹³ The parallel text (29.4-5) has "Her anger fell to her roots because of the roots I replaced in her, (but) she became soothed when her place in my face was promoted, and she began to rule the entire land." On that basis, the present sentence seems to mean "When the rage of my eye and its replacement abated(?), I replaced what my new eye had taken from the previous one." The referents of the third-person pronouns, however, are unclear, and the interpretation of the phrase "fall to the roots" (*hr r w²bw*) as an idiom for "abate" is speculative; for the latter, cf. the idiom *shr r t²* "throw to the ground," used of removing defects (*Wb* IV:258, 1).

¹⁴ "Emerging from the roots" (*prj m w²bw*) is otherwise unattested, but evidently refers to Atum's transition from his primordial state of existence to his ultimate realization as the created world. The "snakes and all that evolved from them" are the chthonic elements of Atum's first evolution (see n. 3 above).

¹⁵ "Fore-eyed" (*hntj-n-jrtj*, lit., "forward of eyes") is an epithet of Horus in his solar aspect.

¹⁶ I.e., all from the womb (*hr* "body") of Nut. The text omits the second "one," probably from haplography (*m hr w^c t <w^c> m s² w^c*).

REFERENCES

Faulkner 1933:59, 15-61, 12; Faulkner 1937:172-73; Faulkner 1938:41-42; *ANET* 6-7; Piankoff 1955:24; Sauneron 1959:48-51; Allen 1988a:28-30.

FROM COFFIN TEXTS SPELL 335 = BOOK OF THE DEAD SPELL 17 (1.10)

James P. Allen

This spell, the most frequently copied of all major Egyptian funerary texts, equates the deceased's passage from the tomb to daylight with the sun's journey from night to day, a theme summarized in its title. It originated in the Coffin Texts and was subsequently incorporated in their New Kingdom descendant, the so-called Book of the Dead, which was known by the same title. Almost from its inception, the spell accumulated extensive glosses on the original text. The excerpt below contains its opening lines along with the most important of their glosses from both the Coffin Texts and Book of the Dead.¹ The text deals with the concept of the sunrise as both the culminating act of Atum's evolution and the determining factor in the newly-created world.

<i>Title</i> (CT IV 184/185a) SPELL FOR EMERGING BY DAY IN THE NECROPOLIS. ²	<i>Introduction</i> (CT IV 184/185b-186/187a) The word evolved, totality was mine ³ when I existed alone.
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¹ The translation is based on the earlier, Coffin Texts version, which is generally better than the later copies in the Book of the Dead. The glosses from the Book of the Dead are based on the archetype text established by Rölliger-Köhler 1979.

² The Eg. *prt m hrww* "emerging by day" is ambiguous: "emerging into daylight" is also possible. In Urk IV 148, 12, the phrase is contrasted with *nwyf m grh r jz* "returning by night to the tomb," suggesting the translation adopted here.

³ Most copies have *mdt*, a concrete noun meaning "word, content (of a letter or decree), matter, affair"; the abstract *mdw* "speech, speaking" appears in M4C, T2Be, and M1NY. The latter, plus the determinative of the "man with hand to mouth" in T1C, M7-8C, and T3Be, indicates that the reference here is to the creator's *fiat* ("word") rather than to the act of creation itself ("matter, affair"). Book of the Dead copies have generally reinterpreted the line as *hpr mdt n nb tmw* "The word of the Lord of Totality evolved."

The first sunrise (CT IV 186/187b)

I am the Sun⁴ in his first appearances.

Glosses (CT IV 187d-f, BD 17)

CT That is him rising in the east of the sky.

Variant: it is the beginning of the Sun appearing over the world.

BD Who then is he? It is the Sun when he began the reign he has exercised. It is the Sun's beginning to appear in the kingship he has exercised, when Shu's uplifting had not yet evolved and he was on the high ground⁵ in Hermopolis, when the children of exhaustion⁶ had been given to him as the Hermopolitans.⁷

The sun as Atum (CT IV 188/189a-190/191b)

I am the great self-evolving god,

Glosses (CT IV 188/189b-c, BD 17)

CT Who is he, the great self-evolving one?

It is water: it is the Waters, father of the gods.

BD Variant: it is the Sun.

who created his identities,⁸ lord of the Enneads,

Glosses (BD 17)⁹

BD Who then is he? It is the Sun when he created the identities of his parts. It is those gods who are after him evolving.

the unopposable one of of the gods.

Glosses (CT IV 191c-d, BD 17)

CT Who is it? It is Atum in his disk.

BD Variant: it is the Sun rising in the eastern Akhet of the sky.

The sun determines time (CT IV 192/193a)

Yesterday is mine;¹⁰ I know tomorrow.

a Ps 90:4

Glosses (CT IV 192/193b-c and 193d-f, BD 17)

CT As for yesterday, it is Osiris; as for tomorrow, it is the Sun. Who is it? The day of We Are Enduring. It is the burial of Osiris and causing his son Horus to rule.¹⁰

BD Who then is he? As for yesterday, it is Osiris; as for tomorrow, it is the Sun, on the day when the enemies of the Lord to the Limit were destroyed and his son Horus was caused to rule. Variant: It is the day of We Are Enduring. It is the burial of Osiris being directed by his father the Sun.

The sun establishes order (CT IV 194/195a-196/197a)

The gods' battleship/battleplace¹¹ was made in accordance with my say.

Glosses (CT IV 194/195b-d, BD 17)

CT As for the god's battleplace, it is the West. It was made in order to battle the gods' enemies.¹²

BD What then is it? It is the West. It was made for the gods' *ba*'s in accordance with the command of Osiris, lord of the western cemetery. Variant: It is the West. This is what the Sun caused every god to descend to. Then he fought it¹³ for them.

I know the identity of that great god who is in it.

Glosses (CT IV 196/197c, BD 17)

CT The Acclaimed,¹⁴ the Sun, is his identity.

BD Who then is he? It is Osiris. Variant: the Acclaimed, the Sun, is his identity. It is the *ba* of the Sun, by means of which he himself copulates.

⁴ Eg. *r^cw* (Re, Ra). Book of the Dead copies substitute "Atum."

⁵ A reference to the primeval hill, the first Place to emerge at the creation.

⁶ The root *bdš* is used both of physical and moral exhaustion. Here, however, it appears to be a synonym for the "inert" (see n. 4 to the "Book of Nut," p. 5) and chaotic qualities of the primeval waters, since the "children of exhaustion" (*msw bdš*) — a term that normally describes the sun's enemies in the Duat — are clearly equated here with the Ogdoad (see next note).

⁷ I.e., the four pairs of gods representing the negative qualities of the universal waters, focus of the Hermopolitan cosmogony (see n. 10 to Coffin Texts Spell 76, p. 10).

⁸ A few MSS have reinterpreted the relative clause as "for whom the lord of the Ennead created" (*qm².n n.f nd psdš*) or "who created the Enneads for himself" (*qm² n.f psdwt*); the standard text is preserved in Book of the Dead copies. Establishment of the name (*rn*) of a thing creates its "identity": thus, the evolution of Atum into the substance of the world is equivalent to the "naming" of his parts, as explained in the gloss to this line.

⁹ This line has no glosses in the Coffin Texts.

¹⁰ These glosses are among the most informative sources for the Eg. concept of linear time. The past (*sf* "yesterday") is equated with the preceding generation (Osiris) and death ("the burial of Osiris"), the future with the present generation (Horus) and the sunrise. Together, the two form a permanent pattern of existence ("the day of We Are Enduring").

¹¹ "Battleship" is undoubtedly the original text, as indicated by the next line. A number of copies have reinterpreted the word as "battle-place," and this in turn seems to have served as the basis of the gloss. Of the Coffin Texts MSS that have glosses, only two (B1Y and B9C²) show the ship determinative; one of these (B9C²) has the unique gloss *nšmtj pw* "It is the *nšmt* boat (of Osiris)" (the gloss of B1Y is lost).

¹² This sentence appears only in M1C and M54C. Both copies read *jr.n.t.s r s^ch² hfjw ntrw*; the context, and later versions, suggest the meaning "battle" for the rare infinitive *s^ch²* (Wb IV 53,1) rather than the normal causative "cause to battle." The Book of the Dead's "for the god's *ba*'s" (*n b²w ntrw*) first appears in the Coffin Texts MS BH1Br.

¹³ Evidently referring to the West; but cf. Rölller-Köhler 1979:172-73 (26*).

¹⁴ The epithet "Acclaimed" (*hknw*) reappears in the New Kingdom "Litany of the Sun," where the solar deity is called *hkn n jrt.f* "acclaimed because of his eye": Hornung 1975-76 I:35.

The sun as the determinant of all things (CT IV 198/199a-200/201a)

I am the great Phoenix¹⁵ that is in Heliopolis, the accountant¹⁶ of that which exists.

Glosses (CT IV 200b-203b)¹⁷

CT Who then is he? It is Osiris. As for that

which exists, it is Eternal Recurrence and Eternal Sameness. As for Eternal Recurrence, it is day; as for Eternal Sameness, it is night.¹⁸

¹⁵ See n. 3 to Pyramid Texts Spell 600, p. 7.

¹⁶ Lit., "the one who pertains to allotting" (*jrj spt*): cf. Englund 1978:81.

¹⁷ The Book of the Dead glosses are essentially the same as those of the Coffin Texts.

¹⁸ The identification of the sun as Osiris evidently refers to the moment when the two join in the depths of the Duat, thus regenerating Osiris and giving the sun the power of rebirth. At this point the two gods are one, as shown by a relief in the tomb of Nefertari that depicts a mummified body (Osiris) with ram's head and solar disk (the sun), identified by the labels "It is the Sun resting in Osiris, Osiris resting in the Sun": Hornung 1973: pl. 5. This is the defining moment of all existence ("that which exists"), when its permanent pattern ("Eternal Sameness") is reaffirmed for yet another daily cycle ("Eternal Recurrence") (see nn. 2-3 to Coffin Texts Spell 78, p. 11). In keeping with the concept of time elaborated in a preceding gloss (see n. 10, above), the text also identifies the former with the past ("night") and the latter with the future ("day").

REFERENCES

CT IV 184/185a-201f; Faulkner 1973:262-269; Rößler-Köhler 1979:157-158, 212-215; Allen 1988a:30-35.

COFFIN TEXTS SPELL 261 (1.11)

James P. Allen

While the Heliopolitan accounts of creation concentrate primarily on the material origins of the world, they also acknowledge the role played by magic, the divine force that translated the creator's will into reality.¹ In Egyptian thought, magic has two components: conceptualization ("Perception"), which takes place in the heart; and Annunciation, the creative expression of a thought through the medium of the spoken word. Spell 261 of the Coffin Texts identifies the deceased with this force; as such, it presents a good exposition of the role that magic played in the creation.²

Title (CT III 382a)

EVOLVING INTO MAGIC.

Invocation (CT III 382b-d)

O noble ones who are before the Lord of Totality!³

Behold, I am come to you.

Be afraid of me, in accordance with what you have learned.

The role of Magic (CT III 382e-387b)

I am the one whom the Sole Lord made⁴

before two things had evolved in this world,⁵

when⁶ he sent his sole eye,⁷

when⁸ he was one,

when something came from his mouth,

when his million of ka was in protection of his associates,⁹

when he spoke with the one who evolved with him, than whom he is mightier,¹⁰

when he took Annunciation in his mouth.¹¹

I, in fact, am that son of Bore-All,¹²

¹ For a discussion of the Eg. concept of magic, see Ritner 1993:4-28.

² The spell exists in two versions, one from Asyut, preserved in four copies, and the other from el-Bersheh, for which only one MS survives. The translation here is based on the Asyut copies, with the more important variants from the Bersheh version noted in the notes.

³ The "Lord of Totality" (*nb tmw*) is an epithet of Atum (*j.tmw*), reflecting his role as material source of the created world. The "noble ones who are before" him are the gods.

⁴ Variant "I am the identity that the Sole Lord made" (S1C^b). The Bersheh version replaces this line with the clause "about the identity of the Sole Lord" continuing the preceding sentence.

⁵ I.e., when Atum was still one and had not yet evolved into the multiplicity of the world.

⁶ Bersheh version "after."

⁷ See n. 11 to Coffin Texts Spell 76, p. 10.

⁸ Bersheh version "because."

⁹ The same phrase occurs in Coffin Texts Spell 75; see p. 9, n. 19. The Bersheh version adds "who shine in his eye."

¹⁰ The Bersheh version has "when he spoke to Scarab" (see n. 1 to Pyramid Texts Spell 600, p. 7), suggesting that the reference here is to the sun.

¹¹ See n. 28 to Coffin Texts Spell 80, p. 13. The idiom *jtj hw* "take Annunciation" may have the sense of "starting to announce": cf. Lacau and Chevrier 1977 I:123 n. c, and compare English "take flight."

¹² There is no obvious referent for the demonstrative *pw* "that," unless it is meant to relate the term "son" to the preceding description. The Bersheh version adds "born without a mother." "Bore-All" (*ms tmw*) is another epithet of Atum.

and I am the protection ¹³ of that which the Sole Lord commanded.	a Prov 8:22-31	Bow down to me!
I am the one who gave life to the Ennead. ¹⁴		I have come to tread on the bulls of the sky and sit on the bulls of the sky ¹⁷
I am Acts-As-He-Likes, father of the gods, high of stand, ¹⁵		in my great rank of Lord of Ka's, ¹⁸ the heir of Atum.
who made the god functional in accordance with that which Bore-All commanded,		I have come to take my seat and receive my rank.
a noble god, who speaks and eats with his mouth. ¹⁶		All was mine before you evolved, gods. ¹⁹ a
<i>The status of Magic</i> (CT III 387c-389e)		Go down, you who came at the end! ²⁰
Become still for me!		I am Magic.

¹³ S1C* adds a human determinative, perhaps indicating "I am the magician."

¹⁴ The Bersheh version adds "the met one of the gods, that which they met without that noble one, lord of the noble ones, having made them" — evidently referring to the priority of magic.

¹⁵ Referring to the standard on which the gods' images were carried.

¹⁶ "Eating with the mouth" reflects a common concern of the Coffin Texts for the deceased's ability to use his bodily functions properly after death. Here the deceased, as magic, "speaks" as well as "eats" with this faculty.

¹⁷ A reference to the four winds (CT II 399a), here exemplifying the deceased's control (as magic) over the forces and elements of nature.

¹⁸ See n. 5 to Pyramid Texts Spell 600, p. 8.

¹⁹ Note the same phrase used of the creator himself in the opening lines of Coffin Texts Spell 335 (p. 15 above).

²⁰ I.e., who evolved after magic itself.

REFERENCES

CT III 382a-389e; te Velde 1970:180; Faulkner 1973:199-201; Allen 1988a:37-38; Ritner 1993:17.

FROM COFFIN TEXTS SPELL 647 (1.12)

James P. Allen

The conceptual link between the creator's *fiat* and its material realization in the forces and elements of the world was conceptualized by the theologians of Memphis in the creative role of their god Ptah. The earliest exposition of this theology appears in Spell 647 of the Coffin Texts. Attested in only one copy, it is a long spell identifying the deceased with all aspects of the Memphite god. The excerpts below concern Ptah's role in the creation.

<i>Title</i> (CT VI 267a) PROTECTION THROUGH PTAH.	"He to whom report is made in the palace of the lord of life,
<i>Ptah's etiology</i> (CT VI 267f-s)	to whom his places report,
Thus said Atum:	for whom his ranks are promoted beyond those greater than him,"
"Let my vertebra be fixed,	said Perception ³ about me.
let my egg be firm on the vertebrae of the Great Flood. ¹	That is the evolution of my identity of helper,
Oh, oh, my son!	lord of order, Scribe at the fore of the Great House. ⁴
How good is your disposition,	Order is excited at my command [for] life and dominion. ⁵
how creative is he whom I have begotten!"	Thoth is on my "great flood" against that from
That is the evolution of my identity of Ptah,	
good of disposition, great of strength. ²	

¹ This sentence establishes the evolutionary background to Ptah's origin: Atum's desire to evolve precedes Ptah's role in that process.

² Ptah was frequently called "good of disposition" (*nfr hr*) because of his reputation for answering prayers. The adjective "creative" (*pth*), from a rare verb meaning "sculpt, fashion") supplies the etymological origin of the god's name (*pth*): see Osing 1976:652-53. The concept of "(physical) strength" (*pthj*), paronomastic with the name, refers to the effectiveness of Ptah's role in creation.

³ Perception (*sf*) denotes the power of conceptualization based on observation. As here, it is frequently deified (*Sia*), and coupled with Annunciation, which it logically precedes (see n. 28 to Coffin Texts Spell 80, p. 13).

⁴ The epithet "helper" (*smj*) evidently reflects Ptah's reputation for answering prayers (see n. 2 above). The phrase "lord of order" (*nb m^{2c}t*) probably refers to his role in the creation (see next note); it is also used of the sun/Atum (CT I 352/353d; VII 268a, 279b-c). The role of scribe reflects Ptah's function as intermediary to the creator; the "Great House" (*pr wr*) is the archetypal royal shrine of Upper Egypt.

⁵ This line explains what is meant by the epithet "lord of order": Ptah's commands activate ("excite": see n. 6 to Coffin Texts Spell 80, p. 12) the natural and moral order of the world.

which my pen is barred,
there being nothing the gods can do.⁶
Ptah establishes order (CT VI 267i-268b)
I am one noble in his place,
who is in the heart of the Lord of the Shrine.⁷
I emerge from and enter into the shrine of the
Lord to the Limit,
elevating Order on the offering-slab of Shu and
him in the sarcophagus,⁸
causing the Sound Eye⁹ to enter,
punishing disorder in the council,¹⁰
and driving off the Sun's abomination from his
boat,
while every god is exalting me,
every akh is in awe of me,
and the subjects are worshipping my goodness.¹¹
Ptah governs all life (CT VI 268c-o, 269j-k, and 269r-u)
I am the one who makes plants grow,
who makes green the shores of the Nile Valley;
lord of desert lands, who makes green the wadis,
chief of the Nubians, Asiatics, and Libyans.
The Nine Bows have been netted for me,
and totality has been given me by the Sun, Lord
to the Limit.
I am South of His Wall,¹² sovereign of the gods.
I am king of the sky,

distributor of ka's,¹³ who officiates over the Two
Lands;
distributor of ka's, who gives *ba's*,¹⁴ manifesta-
tions,¹⁵ ka's, and beginnings.
I am distributor of ka's, and they live according
to my action:
when I wish, I make it possible for them to live,
there being none of them who can speak to me
except for [the one who made] that unique identi-
ty of mine,
because I am Annunciation in his mouth and Per-
ception in his body.
...
I emerge from and enter into [the shrine of the
Lord] to the Limit,
telling him the conduct of the Two Lands
in accordance with how I make it possible for
them to live there,
...
giving life and conducting gifts to the gods who
have offerings.¹⁶
It is I who am lord of life, who officiates in
Nut,¹⁷
while Seth is my escort because he knows the
conduct of what I do.
I am the lord of life.

⁶ Ptah's role as "scribe" involves the participation of Thoth, god of writing. The meaning of "on my great flood" (*hr mht.j wrt*) is uncertain: it may be a "cosmogonic" variant of the idiom "on the water" (*hr mw*), meaning "loyal." Thoth's assistance insures that Ptah's "written" commands cannot be opposed.

⁷ The phrase "in the heart" (*jnj jb*) is normally used by officials to indicate their access to the king. While it probably carries this connotation here as well, it also has a deeper meaning, since the spell later describes Ptah's relationship to the creator as "Annunciation in his mouth and Perception in his body." The "Lord of the Shrine" is Atum, as the next line indicates; the "shrine" here is a metaphor for the created world.

⁸ Ptah's actions establish the order of creation, both in the world of the living ("Shu") and in the Duat, the domain of Osiris ("him in the sarcophagus").

⁹ The Sound Eye (*wḏt*) is a metaphor for the sun as an aspect of Horus, the god of kingship; Ptah's role makes the sunrise possible.

¹⁰ "Disorder" (*jzḥ*) is the opposite of natural and moral law (*mꜣꜥt* "order"). As "lord of order," Ptah evaluates the actions of each individual at the final judgement in the "council" (*dꜣdꜣt*) of gods.

¹¹ The beings mentioned in the last three clauses are three of the four classes of sentient beings recognized by the Egyptians: the gods are the original forces and elements of the created world; the akh's (*ꜣḥw*) are human beings who have died and joined the gods in an "effective" (*ꜣḥ*) form of new life; the word "subjects" (*rhwt*) denotes the living (as subjects of the pharaoh). The fourth class of sentient beings is that of the dead, human beings who have not made a successful transition to new life after death and now float lifeless in the waters of the Duat. All four classes are mentioned later in this spell (CT VI 269p), as "people, gods, akh's, and the dead."

¹² A frequent epithet of Ptah, referring to the location of his major temple in Memphis, outside the "White Walls" that delimited the town for much of its early history.

¹³ This phrase (*nḥb-kꜣw*) denotes a deity (Neheb-kau) specifically associated with the transmission of life force (ka), for unknown reasons depicted (as here, via the determinative) as a serpent. The transmission of ka's is a prime function of kingship (see n. 5 to Pyramid Texts Spell 600, p. 8).

¹⁴ See n. 1 to Coffin Texts Spell 75, p. 8.

¹⁵ The word is an abstract from the verb *ḥꜣj* "appear," here denoting "appearance" as a verbal noun (the act of appearing) rather than a concrete term (the outward appearance of something).

¹⁶ See n. 25 to Coffin Texts Spell 80, p. 13.

¹⁷ I.e., in the boat of the sun, which sails across the waters of the sky (Nut) during the day.

REFERENCES

CT VI 267a, 267f-268o, 269j-k/r-u; Faulkner 1977:221-23; Allen 1988a:38-42.

FROM A RAMESSIDE STELA (1.13)

James P. Allen

In the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts, the creative role of Ptah is clearly secondary to that of Atum, the material source of creation. In the New Kingdom, however, it evolved into a full cosmogony in its own right, combining the intellectual principle of Ptah with the material role of Ta-tenen ("Rising Land"), the deified Primeval Hill representing the first instance of created matter. One of the most concise expositions of this Memphite system appears on a private stela of the Ramesside Period, now in Copenhagen (GNC 897/AEIN 54).

Introduction (col. 1)

Yours truly¹ is worshipping your perfection,
great Ptah, South of His Wall,²
Ta-tenen in the midst of the Walls.³

Ptah as creator (cols. 1-4)

Noble god of the first occasion,
who built people and gave birth to the gods,⁴
original one who made it possible for all to live;
in whose heart it was spoken, who saw them
evolve,
who foretold what was not and thought of
what is.

There is nothing that has evolved without him,
he whose evolution is their evolution⁵ in the
course of each day,
anterior to what he has determined.

Ptah as king (cols. 4-5)

You have set the world to its laws as you made
it,
and the Black Land is fixed under your com-
mand, like the first occasion.

¹ This expression (*b²k jm*, lit., "the servant there") derives from the epistolary style of the Middle Kingdom, where it is regularly used as a circumlocution for the first person when addressing someone of higher rank.

² See n. 12 to Coffin Texts Spell 647, p. 19.

³ A short form of the original name of Memphis, "White Walls."

⁴ Cf. Urk IV 1850,2-3 "Ta-tenen, who caused people and the gods to evolve."

⁵ In the Eg., a relative clause impossible to render in grammatical English: lit., "he who they evolved when he evolved" (*hpr.w hpr.f*).

REFERENCES

Koefoed-Petersen 1936:57; Koefoed-Petersen 1948:37 and pl. 37A; Assmann 1975b:466; Allen 1988a:38-42.

FROM THE BERLIN "HYMN TO PTAH" (1.14)

James P. Allen

Although much of what we know about Egyptian cosmogony derives from funerary compositions such as the Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, and Book of the Dead, informative reflections of these creation accounts are also preserved in hymns designed for use in daily temple rituals. One such hymn to Ptah, preserved on a papyrus from the reign of Ramesses IX now in Berlin (pBerl. 3048), is an important source for the Memphite cosmogony centered on the creative role of Ptah Ta-tenen.

Introduction (2.1-2 and 3.1-2)

Worshipping Ptah, father of the [god]s,
Ta-tenen, eldest of the originals, [at] daybreak.¹
[Recitation]:
Greetings, Ptah, father of the gods,
Ta-tenen, eldest of the originals,
...

who begot himself by himself, without any evol-
ving² having evolved;
who [craf]ted³ the world in the design of his
heart;
evolution of his evolutions,²
model who gave birth to all that is,
begetter who created what exists.⁴

¹ The hymn was designed to be used in the ritual of opening the god's shrine at daybreak.

² This text uses virtually the same orthography as that of Papyrus Bremner-Rhind (see p. 14, n. 2) to distinguish the various forms of the root *hpr* — verb ("evolve"), infinitive ("[process of] evolution"), and concrete noun ("evolution," here both singular and plural).

³ A reference to Ptah's association with the work of artisans. The high priest of Ptah in Memphis was called "greatest of the directors of artistry" (*wr hpr hmwt*).

⁴ These two lines display a subtle use of wordplay and grammatical gender, contrasting "model" (fem. *twf*) and "begetter" (masc. *wtf*), and associating the notion of "birth" with the former and "creation" with the latter.

Ptah as creator (4.3-5.1)

PHARAOH⁵ has come before you, Ptah:
he has come before you, god distinguished of
form.

Greetings before your originals,
whom you made after you evolved in the god's
body,
(you) who built his body by himself,
without the earth having evolved, without the sky
having evolved,
without the waters having been introduced.⁶

You tied together the world, you totalled your
flesh,
you took account of your parts and found your-
self alone,
place-maker, god who smelted⁷ ^a the Two Lands.

There is no father of yours who begot you in
your evolving,
no mother of yours who gave you birth:
your own Uniter,⁸ ^b
active one who came forth active.

When you stood up on the land in its inertness,
it drew together thereafter,
you being in your form of Ta-tenen,

^a Is 44:24

^b Gen 2:7;
Isa 29:16;
Jer 18:6

in your evolution of the one who totals the Two
Lands.⁹

The one whom your mouth begot and your arms
have created¹⁰ —
you took him from the Waters,
your action modelling your perfection:
your son, distinguished in his evolving,
who dispels for you the uniform darkness¹¹ with
the radiance of his two eyes.¹²

Ptah's character (11.4-8)

O be fearful of him, O be afraid of him —
this god who made your needs.
Give adulation to his might
and become content in the presence of his two
sound eyes.¹²

Since his words are the balance of the Two
Lands,¹³
there is no bypassing the utterance he has made.¹⁴

The great identity that lays storms,
which [every] face fears when his *ba*¹⁵ [e]volves;
magic that has control of the gods,
whose respect is great in the Ennead:
the reckoning [of him] is in what he has begun,
his control is among that which he has made.

⁵ A generic designation, which would have been replaced by the name of the ruling pharaoh in the actual ritual.

⁶ Written here as the term for the physical substance rather than the name of the universal waters. The former was thought to derive from the latter, entering the world from under the earth or, as the Nile, through caverns in the south of Egypt.

⁷ A further reference to Ptah's association with craftsmanship: in this case, metalworking.

⁸ Lit., "your own Khnum." Khnum (*ḫnmw*), whose name means "uniter," was the deity who formed the physical substance of each individual like a vessel of clay on a potter's wheel. Cp. Gen 2:7; Isa 29:16; Jer 18:6. See Gordon 1982:203-214.

⁹ The Two Lands (Upper and Lower Egypt) were united (*dmḏ* "combine, total") both physically and symbolically at the site of Memphis.

¹⁰ Referring to the sun, as the last clause of this sentence makes clear. In another section of this hymn (10.3-5), the sun, speaking as Ptah's "eldest son," says of him: "I came forth from him, the lord of all people, who created me in the Waters, raised up the sky for me and supported the earth for me, and sails me in the body of Nut."

¹¹ The darkness before creation (dispelled by the first sunrise) and still existing unbroken in the universal waters outside the world: see n. 1 to the "Book of Nut," p. 5.

¹² The sun and moon, which were identified respectively as the right and left eyes of the solar aspect of Horus.

¹³ The phrase "balance of the Two Lands" (*mḥꜣt tꜣwꜣ*) carries a dual connotation here: as the measure of the natural and moral order (*mꜣꜣt*) established by the creator's "words" with the creation of the world, and as a reference to Memphis, which was often described by the same phrase (see n. 9 above).

¹⁴ A reference to the immutability and permanence of the natural order. Compare the description of the creator in Coffin Texts Spell 75 as the god "who does not turn back on what he has said" (p. 9).

¹⁵ Referring to the sun as a manifestation (*ba*) of Ptah: here written like the homonymous word "Ram," often used of the sun.

REFERENCES

Möller 1905:36-46; Wolf 1929; Sauneron 1953; Assmann 1975b:322-33; Allen 1988a:38-42.

FROM THE "MEMPHITE THEOLOGY" (1.15)

James P. Allen

Perhaps the most famous of all Egyptian creation accounts is preserved on a worn slab of black granite, created for erection in the temple of Ptah at Memphis during the reign of the Nubian pharaoh Shabako and now in the British Museum (BM 498). As its dedicatory text records, the stone was purportedly inscribed in order to preserve a much older document, probably on papyrus or leather; lacunae deliberately incorporated in the copy support this claim. For a long time the original was thought to derive from the Old Kingdom or even earlier, but advances in our understanding of Egyptian grammar and theology have now made a date in the Nineteenth

Dynasty more likely.¹ The text is remarkable not only for its history but more importantly for the content of its closing section, translated here.

Dedication (line 2)

His Incarnation² copied this writing anew in the house of his father Ptah South of His Wall,³ when His Incarnation found it as something that the predecessors had made, worm-eaten and unknown from beginning to end. Then [His Incarnation] copied [it] anew — and it is better than its former state — for the sake of his name enduring and making his monuments last in the house of his father Ptah South of His Wall, for the length of eternity, as something that the Son of Re [SHABAQO]⁴ did for his father Ptah Tatenen that he might achieve given life eternally.

Creation by thought and expression (cols. 53-56)

There was evolution into Atum's image through both the heart and the tongue.⁵ And great⁶ and important is Ptah, who gave life to all the [gods] and their ka's as well through this heart and this tongue, as which Horus and Thoth have both evolved by means of Ptah.⁷

It has evolved that heart and tongue have control of [all] limb[s], show[ing] that he is preeminent in every body and in every mouth — of all the gods, all people, all animals, and all crawling things that live — planning and governing every-

a Deut 29:3

thing he wishes.⁸

b Gen 1:27

His Ennead is before him, in teeth and lips⁹ — that seed and those hands of Atum: (for) Atum's Ennead evol[ed] through his seed and his fingers, but the Ennead is teeth and lips in this mouth that pronounced the identity of everything, and from which Shu and Tefnut emerged and gave birth to the Ennead.

The eyes' seeing, the ears' hearing, the nose's breathing of air send up (information) to the heart, and the latter is what causes every conclusion¹⁰ to emerge; ^a it is the tongue that repeats what the heart plans.

The result of creation (cols. 56-58)

So were all the gods born, Atum and his Ennead as well, for it is through what the heart plans and the tongue commands that every divine speech¹¹ has evolved.

So were the male life-principles made and the female life-principles set in place^{12 b} — they who make all food and every offering¹³ — through that word that makes what is loved and what is hated.¹⁴

So has life been given to him who has calm and

¹ For the dating see Schlögl 1980:110-117. Junge (1973) has argued that the text is an original composition of the 25th Dyn.

² The standard form of reference to the ruling pharaoh as the current "incarnation" of kingship: see n. 9 to the "Book of Nut," p. 5.

³ For this epithet, see n. 12 to Coffin Texts Spell 647, p. 19.

⁴ The name inside the cartouche was erased, but can be restored on the basis of the prenomen elsewhere on the stone.

⁵ These words begin a new section, the final one on the stone. What precedes is the script of a ritual commemorating the unification of the Two Lands and the founding of Memphis, and a list of the various forms of Ptah. The sentence reads lit., "(Something) evolved through the heart, (something) evolved through the tongue, into the image of Atum," with the subject of the verbs unexpressed. The word *tjt* "image" is used of depictions and hieroglyphic signs; the sense here is evidently that the world, which evolved from Atum, is an "image" of its material source. This text uses the words *jb* and *h'tjt* interchangeably for "heart," although the sense is that normally associated with the former, as the seat of thought and emotion, rather than the latter, which often denotes the physical organ.

⁶ The word *wr* "great" connotes both status and age: as the link between the creator's expressed thought and its realization in the "image of Atum," Ptah is prior to all other forces and elements of the created world. This creative function is consonant with the principle of "information" that Ptah represents, exemplified in his role as patron of sculptors: the link between the concept of a statue in the sculptor's mind and its ultimate material realization.

⁷ Thoth, the power of rationalization, and Horus, the force of kingship, reflect the operation of "heart" (thought) and "tongue" (command) in the created world. These principles, like all the other forces and elements of nature, came into being through Ptah's mediation.

⁸ This sentence continues the theme stated in the final clause of the preceding sentence. The principle of expressed thought, which produced the created world, continues to affect it, thus showing that Ptah's mediation is still operative.

⁹ This clause echoes a line from the much older Pyramid Texts: "My lips are the two Enneads: I am the great expression" (Pyr. 1100a-b); see Schott 1938. The initial pronoun "his" evidently refers to Ptah; although he is not otherwise associated with the Ennead, its gods derive from his action, as the following clauses make clear.

¹⁰ Like its English calque, the Eg. *rꜥyt* derives from a root meaning "conclude," which is used both in the sense of "complete, finish" and "understand" (Wb 1:212, 3-6, 10-15). The entire sentence explains how the material principle embodied in the Ennead can be derived from the intellectual principle of thought and expression: like a "conclusion" expressed in speech, the created world is the expression of the creator's concept of it.

¹¹ The phrase "divine speech" is the Eg. term for the hieroglyphic writing system, concrete symbols (*tjt* "image": see n. 5, above) of mental concepts. The entire created world ("Atum and his Ennead as well") is thus a hieroglyphic text of the creator's original concept.

¹² The text here employs both the generic term for life force, *kꜣ* (ka: see n. 5 to Pyramid Texts Spell 600, p. 8), which is grammatically masculine, and its much rarer feminine counterpart *hmwt*.

¹³ The two terms used here relate grammatically to their subjects: masculine *ḏꜣw* "food" and feminine *hꜣpt* "offerings." The link between life force (*kꜣ*) and food (including food offerings) is reflected in the abstract *kꜣw* "sustenance," a concept that underlies the present passage.

¹⁴ The significance of this final clause is unclear. Doing "what is loved and what is hated" are concepts normally associated with moral order, which is the subject of the next line. On that basis it has been suggested that the sentence should end with "through that word" and that the next sentence began with a conjoined clause that has been omitted: "<So has order been given> to the one who does what is loved

death given to him who has wrongdoing.^{15 c}

So was made all construction and all craft, the hands' doing, the feet's going, and every limb's movement, according as he governs that which the heart plans, which emerges through the tongue, and which facilitates¹⁶ everything.

The role of Ptah (cols. 58-61)

It has evolved that Ptah is called "He who made totality and caused the gods to evolve," since he is Ta-tenen,¹⁷ who gave birth to the gods, from whom everything has emerged — offerings and food, gods' offerings, and every good thing. So is it found understood¹⁸ that his physical strength is greater than the gods'.

c Deut 30:15;
Eccl 7:12

d Gen 2:2

So has Ptah come to rest after his making everything^d and every divine speech¹⁹ as well, having given birth to the gods, having made their towns, having founded their nomes, having set the gods in their cult-places, having made sure their bread-offerings, having founded their shrines, having modelled their bodies to what contents them. So have the gods entered their bodies — of every-kind of wood, every kind of mineral, every kind of fruit, everything that grows all over him,²⁰ in which they have evolved.

So were gathered to him all the gods and their ka's as well, content and united in the lord of the Two Lands.²¹

<and disorder given> to the one who does what is hated": Sethe 1928:64-65. The use of the demonstrative ("that word"), however, suggests a following relative clause.

¹⁵ The establishment of moral order is used here to exemplify the creation of order (*m^ct*) as part of the natural world.

¹⁶ Lit., "which makes the help (of)" (*irrt smw*): see Grdseloff 1952. This sentence concludes and summarizes the text's exposition of creation through expressed thought.

¹⁷ Ptah is here equated with the Memphite god representing the first matter to emerge at creation (the primeval hill). This in turn is the source of all subsequent matter in the world, which is the subject of this and the following paragraph.

¹⁸ Or "found recognized" (*gm s(j)*² rather than *gm s^c*): Allen 1988a:93. The verb *sj*², which denotes the faculty of Perception (see n. 28 to Coffin Texts Spell 80, p. 13) is perhaps more appropriate to the text; its operation via the senses was described at the end of the preceding section.

¹⁹ See n. 11 above.

²⁰ As Ta-tenen, the physical earth: see n. 17 above.

²¹ This line, which identifies Ptah as king, ends the cosmogonic exposition of the text. It also reflects the ritual that precedes the cosmogony (see n. 5 above), and introduces the final few columns on the stone (61-64), which summarize the themes of the ritual.

REFERENCES

Breasted 1902; Erman 1911; Sethe 1928:1-80; Junker 1939; *ANET* 4-6; Sauneron 1959:62-64; Lichtheim 1973:51-57; Allen 1988a:42-47.

FROM PAPYRUS LEIDEN I 350 (1.16)

James P. Allen

While the cosmogonies of Heliopolis and Memphis were concerned with the material source and the means of creation, respectively, that of Thebes was devoted to its ultimate cause, the creator himself, conceptualized in the god Amun. Among the many texts of New Kingdom and later date describing the role of Amun in the creation, the most extensive is that preserved on a papyrus from the end of Ramesses II's reign, now in Leiden (I 350). It is divided into a series of eulogies, artificially numbered as "chapters," each dealing with a different aspect of the god.¹ The five "chapters" excerpted below deal most directly with Amun's nature and his role as creator.

Amun as self-generating (2,25-28)

40TH CHAPTER.

The one who crafted himself, whose appearance² is unknown.

Perfect aspect, who evolved into a sacred emana-

tion.³

Who built his processional images and created himself by himself.

Perfect icon,⁴ whom his heart made perfect.

Who tied his fluid together with his body

¹ The papyrus originally contained 26 "chapters," of which 22 are preserved. The numbering is artificial, by units (1-9, the first four lost), tens (10-90), and hundreds (100-800). Most "chapters" begin and end with a word similar in sound to the number. The text also employs "verse points," superlinear dots that mark the end of each line.

² The term (*qj*) refers to the external appearance of something, its way of acting, or its situation (*Wb* V:15, 6-16, 8) — in essence, the means by which something is perceived by others.

³ This term, whose root (*bsj*) means "introduce," refers to the sun (*Wb* I:475, 2), here as the means by which Amun is "introduced" into the world.

⁴ The word literally means "controller" (*sjm*): see Hornung 1971:52-53.

to bring about his egg in his secret interior.
Evolution of evolution,⁵ model of birth.
Who finished himself in proper order,⁶
[...] who crafted 40.⁷

Amun as the source of all evolution (3,22-28)
80TH CHAPTER.

The Hermopolitans⁸ were your first evolution
until you completed these,⁹ while you were alone.
Your body was secreted among the elders,¹⁰
you hiding yourself as Amun,¹¹ at the head of the
gods.

You made your evolution into Ta-tenen,
in order to cause the original ones to be born
from your first original state.

Your perfection was raised aloft as Bull of His
Mother,¹²
and you distanced yourself as the one in the sky,
fixed in the sun.

You are come in fathers, maker of their sons,
in order to make functional heirs for your
children.

You began evolution with nothing,¹³
without the world being empty of you on the first
occasion.

All gods are evolved after you,
[...].¹⁴

Amun as the source of creation (3,28-4,8)
[90TH CHAPTER].

The Ennead is combined in your body:
your image¹⁵ is every god, joined in your person.
You emerged first, you began from the start.
Amun, whose identity is hidden¹⁶ from the gods;
oldest elder, more distinguished than these.

a Judg 13:18

b Gen 1:3-5

c Ps 143:8

Ta-tenen,¹⁷ who smelted [himself] by himself, in
Ptah:

the toes of his body are the Hermopolitans.
Who appeared in the Sun, from the Waters, that
he might rejuvenate.

Who sneezed, [as Atum, from] his [mouth,
and gave birth to] Shu and Tefnut combined in
manifestation.

Who appears on his throne as his heart prompts,
who rules for himself all that is, in his [disk].
Who ties together for himself the kingship of
Eternal Recurrence,

down to Eternal Sameness, permanent as Sole
Lord.

Light was his evolution on the first occasion,^b
with all that exists in stillness for awe of him.
He honked by voice, as the Great Honker,¹⁸
at the District,¹⁹ creating for himself while he
was alone.

He began speaking²⁰ in the midst of stillness,
opening every eye and causing them to look.
He began crying out while the world was in still-
ness,^c

his yell in circulation while he had no second,
that he might give birth to what is and cause
them to live,
and cause every person to know the way to
walk.^c

Their hearts live when they see him.

His are the effective forms of the Ennead.²¹

Amun as pre-existing (4,9-11)

100TH CHAPTER.

Who began evolution²² on the first occasion.

Amun, who evolved in the beginning, with his

⁵ This text uses the same orthographic conventions as those found in a similar phrase predicated of Ptah in the "Berlin Hymn": see n. 2 to that text (p. 20).

⁶ Lit., "orderliness" (*bw m²c*) an abstract formed from the root of the word *m²c* "order." The verse point here has been placed erroneously after *bw* and before *m²c*.

⁷ The meaning of this phrase is unknown: one or more key words have been lost at the beginning of the line.

⁸ I.e., the Ogdoad. The word here is a nisbe (*hmnjw*) from the name of Hermopolis (*hmnw*), itself a reference to the Ogdoad (*hmn* "group of eight"), and used as a play on the "chapter" number (*hmnw* "80").

⁹ The notion of "completing" (*km*) has a dual reference here. Amun "completes" the Ogdoad through the creation; he also "completes" them as the fourth of four pairs, together with his female counterpart Amaunet.

¹⁰ I.e., the gods of the Ogdoad, who, as qualities of the primeval waters, existed before all the other gods.

¹¹ A reference to the etymology of Amun's name (*jmnw* "hidden").

¹² This term is normally used of Amun's solar aspect. Amun created the sky and is immanent in the sun, son of the sky (Nut): he is thus the male sexual partner ("bull") of his own mother.

¹³ Or "you began to evolve." The line reads *š²c .n.k hpr nn wnt*, lit., "You began evolving without what exists."

¹⁴ Some two lines (6 verses) are lost.

¹⁵ For this term (*ijt*) see the "Memphite Theology," p. 22, n. 5.

¹⁶ This phrase (*jmn m.f*) is occasionally used as a fuller form of Amun's name, and is perhaps its origin.

¹⁷ Ta-tenen, the primeval hill, occurs first in the list of Amun's creations as the first element of the created world to emerge from the universal waters. The name (*t²-t²nnj* "land that becomes distinct") also reflects the adjectival phrase used of Amun in the preceding line (*tnj r nn* "more distinguished than these").

¹⁸ The goose was sacred to Amun, probably because its morning honking suggested the god's voiced that "spoke" the first dawn into existence — as indicated by this and the following lines.

¹⁹ Probably a reference to the primeval hill, the first Place ("District").

²⁰ Lit., "He parted words" (*wf m²wt*). The phrase recalls the idiom "part the mouth" (*wfj r*) for "speak" (*Wb* II :300, 1-2) and is used here as a conscious parallel to "opening the eye" (*wn jrt*) in the following line.

²¹ The reading of the final word is uncertain. "Ennead" (*psdt*) is possible, and seems required by the homonymy with the "chapter" number (here, *psdww* "90") that usually ends each "chapter."

²² Or "began to evolve": cf. n. 13 above.

emanation unknown,
no god evolving prior to him,
no other god with him to tell of his appearance,²³
there being no mother of his for whom his name
was made,
and no father of his who ejaculated him so as to
say "It is I."²⁴
Who smelted his egg by himself.
Icon²⁵ secret of birth, creator of his (own) perfec-
tion.
Divine god, who evolved by himself
and every god evolved since he began himself.
Amun as transcendent (4,12-21)
200TH CHAPTER.
Secret of evolution (but) glittering of forms,
wonderful god of many evolutions.
All gods boast in him,
in order to magnify themselves in his perfection,
like his divinity.
The Sun himself is joined with his person.
It is he who is the Great One in Heliopolis,²⁶
who is also called Ta-tenen.
Amun, who emerged from the Waters that he
might lead everyone.
Another of his evolutions is the Hermopolitans.
Original one who begot the original ones and
caused the Sun to be born,
completing himself in Atum,²⁷ one body with
him.
It is he who is the Lord to the Limit, who began
existence.
His *ba*, they say, is the one who is in the sky.²⁸
It is he who is the one who is in the Duat,²⁹ fore-

d Prov 25:2-3

e Judg 13:18

most of the east.
His *ba* is in the sky, his body in the west,
and his cult-image in Southern Heliopolis,³⁰ ele-
vating his appearances.
Amun is one, hiding himself from them.³¹
He is concealed from the gods, and his aspect is
unknown.
He is farther than the sky, he is deeper than the
Duat.³² d
No god knows his true appearance,³³
no processional image of his is unfolded through
inscriptions,³⁴
no one testifies to him accurately.
He is too secret to uncover his awesomeness,
he is too great to investigate, too powerful to
know.
Instantaneously falling face to face into death
is for the one who expresses his secret identity,^e
unknowingly or knowingly.³⁵
There is no god who knows how to invoke him
with it.
Manifest one whose identity is hidden,^e inasmuch
as it is inaccessible.³⁶
Amun as One (4,21-26)
300TH CHAPTER.
All the gods are three:
Amun, the Sun, and Ptah, without their seconds.
His identity is hidden in Amun,
his is the Sun as face, his body is Ptah.³⁷
Their towns are on earth, fixed for Eternal Re-
currence:
Thebes, Heliopolis, and Memphis, unto Eternal
Sameness.

²³ See n. 2 above.

²⁴ These two lines may reflect Eg. customs in naming a newborn: Zandee 1947:74; Posener 1970:204-205.

²⁵ See n. 4 above.

²⁶ I.e., Atum. The first sixteen lines of this "chapter," dealing with Amun's perceptibility through nature, explain his relationship to the other major cosmogonic systems (Heliopolis, Memphis, and Hermopolis), and to the two major forces in the created world (the sun, in the world of the living, and Osiris, in the Duat).

²⁷ This line (*tm.f sw m tmw*) is similar to the one that established the etymology of Amun's name in the "80th Chapter" (see n. 11 above).

²⁸ I.e., the sun, which is the primary manifestation (*ba*) of Amun in the created world.

²⁹ I.e., Osiris.

³⁰ This phrase was often used as a designation of Thebes, reflecting its theological prominence, similar to that established earlier for Heliopolis.

³¹ Having dealt with the many immanent means through which Amun can be perceived, the text now turns to a discussion of his true nature, which, by contrast, is imperceptible, unknowable, and one. "Them" refers to all the gods mentioned in the preceding lines.

³² These two phrases describe the limits of the created world. As the creator, Amun must necessarily be separate from the world he has created.

³³ See n. 2 above.

³⁴ This line refers to the frequent scenes of the god's bark carried in procession, sculpted on temple walls throughout Egypt.

³⁵ Rather than a prescription for punishment, these lines reflect the philosophical contradiction inherent in a knowledge of Amun's true nature. In Eg. epistemology, knowledge entails the internalization of external reality: "perception" (*sj*), which takes place in the heart. Since Amun transcends all created beings, his subordination in this manner is physically impossible, thus producing instant annihilation for the perceiver.

³⁶ A summation of the entire "chapter": although the nature of Amun can be perceived to some extent through what he has created (*b²y* "manifest one," lit., "ba-like"), Amun himself transcends creation ("whose identity is hidden") and is therefore physically unknowable ("inaccessible" to knowledge).

³⁷ The Eg. construction (3 *pw ntrw nbw*) is ambivalent as to subject and predicate; in this case, however, the list of three gods in the next line identifies "three" as the predicate. Although the "chapter" begins with a triad, the pronoun "his" in its second sentence reveals that its true subject is the oneness of God: hidden in his true nature (*jmw rn.f*; see n. 16 above), but manifest in the sun (his "face") and in the physical substance ("his body") of which all created matter partakes (Ptah here in his role as Ta-tenen; see n. 17 to the "Memphite Theology," p. 23). The "chapter" also unites the three cosmogonies associated with these aspects of God, which is the subject of the lines that follow.

When a message is sent from the sky, it is heard in Heliopolis, and repeated in Memphis to (Ptah) of good dis- position, ³⁸ put in a report, in Thoth's writing, for the town of Amun, bearing their concerns, and the matter is answered in Thebes by an Oracle emerging, ³⁹ intended for the En- nead. ⁴⁰	f 1 Sam 2:6	Everything that comes from his — Amun's — mouth, ⁴¹ the gods are bound by it, according to what has been decreed. When a message is sent, whether for killing or for giving life, ^f life or death are in it for everyone except him — Amun together with the Sun [and Ptah:] total, 3. ⁴²
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³⁸ See n. 2 to Coffin Texts Spell 647, p. 18.
³⁹ The word translated as "Oracle" here is the phrase *hr.tw* "one says" with divine determinative.
⁴⁰ All divine decisions reflect the original process of creation: the creator's spoken word activates Atum's evolution ("heard in Heliopolis"), via the mediation of Ptah ("repeated in Memphis"), and results in physical reality ("intended for the Ennead").
⁴¹ The expression used here (*prt m r* "what emerges from the mouth") is also an idiom for "utterance."
⁴² All creation is affected by the creator's word except for the creator himself; this includes the sun and Ptah, who are merely aspects of Amun.

REFERENCES

Gardiner 1905; Erman 1923; Zandee 1947; Fecht 1964:46-52; Assmann 1975b:312-21; Allen 1988a:48-55.

FROM COFFIN TEXTS SPELL 1130 (1.17)

James P. Allen

Egyptian cosmogonies were concerned primarily with explaining the origin of the world and its elements. The creation of human beings was considered part of this process, and as such was not given special attention in and of itself: if noted at all, it is usually explained by a simple "etymological" metaphor, which derives people (*rmt*) from the "tears" (*rmyt*) of the creator's eye. By the same token, the establishment of social and moral norms is generally absent from the creation accounts, since these were considered part of the natural order governing the operation of the world as a whole. Spell 1130 of the Coffin Texts is perhaps the major exception to this tradition. Like all Egyptian cosmogonies, it equates the creation with the establishment of order and the attendant quelling of chaos; but unlike most, it describes this process in largely human terms — the relationship of people to nature and to one another. The spell is also unusual in its reference to the end of the world, which is conceived essentially as a return to chaos, a reversal of the process of creation itself.

<i>Introduction</i> (CT VII 461c-462c) RECITATION BY INACCESSIBLE-OF-IDENTITIES, the Lord to the Limit, speaking before those who still the storm during the sailing of the entourage. ¹ Please proceed in calm, and I will repeat to you the four deeds ² that my own heart did for me in- side the Coil ³ ^a for the sake of stilling disorder. ⁴	a Prov 8:27 b Jer 39:46; Eze 37:9; Zec 2:6; Dan 7:2; 8:8; 11:4 c 1 Sam 2:7; Prov 22:2 d Jer 4:22	the Akhet. ⁵ I have made the four winds, ⁶ so that every person might breathe in his area. ⁶ That is one of the deeds. I have made the great inundation, so that the poor might have control like the rich. ⁷ ^c That is one of the deeds. I have made every person like his fellow. ^d
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¹ The "entourage" are the gods that accompany the sun in his voyage by boat across the waters of the Duat, by night, and remove the dangers of the Duat from his path ("who still the storm"). This introduction sets the scene of the spell at night, which is equivalent to the situation before creation.
² The translation "deeds" is somewhat misleading. The term (*zp*) is closer to the English concepts "occasion, event, happening."
³ The "Coil" (*mhn*) is a metaphor for the primeval singularity from which the world evolved, envisioned as a coiled serpent.
⁴ The act of creation involved both the establishment of order and the consequent stilling of disorder.
⁵ I.e., within the space between the Duat and the visible horizon: thus, before the first sunrise at the dawn of creation.
⁶ Air is one of the two prime requisites of life: as all living things have life in common, so too do they benefit from the universal presence of air.
⁷ Food, the second necessity of life, derives in Egypt from the Nile, either directly or, through its irrigation of the land, indirectly. Like air, the river's inundation exists without regard to social distinctions — here, between poor (*hwrw*) and rich (*wsr*, lit., "powerful").

I did not decree that they do disorder: it is their hearts that break what I said.⁸ That is one of the deeds. I have made their hearts not forget the West, for the sake of making offerings to the nome gods.⁹ That is one of the deeds. <i>The operation of order in the world</i> (CT VII 464g-467d) I made the gods evolve from my sweat, while people are from the tears of my Eye.¹⁰ I shine anew every day in this my rank of Lord to the Limit. I made night for Weary-hearted,¹¹ while I am bound for sailing aright in my boat. I am lord of the Flood¹² in crossing the sky. I do not have to show respect for any of my	ε Jer 22:16; Ps 35:10; 72:4	parts:¹³ Annunciation and Magic are felling for me that evil-charactered one¹⁴ that I might see the Akhet and come to sit at its head, that I might separate the needy from the rich,¹⁵ e and do likewise to the disorderly. Life is for me, I am its lord: the scepter will not be taken from my hand. <i>The end of creation</i> (CT VII 467e-468b) And when I have spent millions of years between myself and that Weary-hearted one, the son of Geb,¹⁶ I will come to sit with him in one place, and mounds will become towns, and towns mounds: one enclosure will destroy the other.¹⁷
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⁸ Since creation involved the establishment of order, subsequent disorder in the world derives not from the creator but from human failings. The phrase "what I said" here refers not to a code of divine law, but to the order of creation itself, which arose with the creation from the creator's *fiat* (cf. n. 21 to Coffin Texts Spell 75, p. 9). Social inequality is a prime source of disorder in the world; thus, the natural order must necessarily involve no such distinctions: "I have made every person like his fellow."

⁹ All people are conscious of their mortality and the fact that they will have to find acceptance in the company of the gods after death. Thus, offerings are presented to the gods in this life in that anticipation: see n. 25 to Coffin Texts Spell 80, p. 13.

¹⁰ Although both people and the gods derive from the creator, the latter evolved directly from the creator's substance ("sweat": cf. n. 2 to Coffin Texts Spell 76, p. 10), whereas people are a secondary creation, here explained "etymologically" (see n. 14 to Coffin Texts Spell 80, p. 12).

¹¹ An epithet of Osiris, denoting both his inert state and his potentiality for life: cf. n. 17 to Coffin Texts Spell 80, p. 12.

¹² Variant "lord of Eternal Recurrence" (*nḥḥ*). Either suits the context: the sky is the surface of the "Flood" (*ḥḥw*), and the sun's daily cycle defines the eternal repetition of life.

¹³ All of creation is the creator's "parts," derived from him: he is therefore prior to and greater than any of them.

¹⁴ "Evil-charactered" (*ḡw qd*) is an epithet of Apophis, the serpent that opposes the sun's journey through the Duat. "Annunciation" and "Magic" are two of the gods in the sun's "entourage" (see n. 1 above): for these gods, see n. 28 to Coffin Texts Spell 80, p. 13, and n. 16 to Coffin Texts Spell 75, p. 9, respectively.

¹⁵ Like the dawn of creation, sunrise from the Akhet each morning reestablishes the order of the created world — here exemplified in its social component. "Separation" (*wḏꜥ*) is a term deriving from Eg. jurisprudence: *wḏꜥ mdw* "judgement" is lit., "separating the matter." Note the repeated theme of social inequality, here involving the needy (*mꜣr*) vs. the rich (*wsr*): see n. 7 above.

¹⁶ See n. 11 above. The line refers to the daily cycle of the sun, which travels from daylight ("myself") to the Duat, where it joins with the body of Osiris and receives the power of rebirth. This cycle is the determinant of "Eternal Recurrence": see n. 18 to Coffin Texts Spell 335, p. 17.

¹⁷ I.e., all things will return to their original state of oneness. Atum's unification with Osiris reflects the state farthest removed from that of life, but also contains, through Osiris, the hope of rebirth once again (see the preceding note).

REFERENCES

CT VII 461c-468b; *ANET* 7-8; Lichtheim 1973:131-33; Faulkner 1978:167-169; Hermesen 1991:227-234.

BOOK OF THE DEAD 175 (1.18)
"Rebellion, Death and Apocalypse"

Robert K. Ritner

Through a series of dialogues between divine speakers, this famous theological treatise details the corruption of the original creation with the introduction of death and concomitant anxiety regarding an afterlife, as well as apocalyptic pronouncements of the world's ultimate dissolution and recreation. A final section relates an ontological myth describing the origin of ritual, deities and names. Thought to have been composed as early as the First Intermediate Period (Kees 1956:207), the six surviving manuscripts range in date from the 18th Dynasty to the Roman Period.¹ In addition to the basic manuscript in Naville (1886, vol. 1, pls. cxcviii-cxcix), primary bibliography may be found in Hornung (1979:517-518), adding the published translations in Allen (1974:183-185), Barguet (1967:260-263), Faulkner (1985:175), Hornung (1979:365-371), and Wilson (*ANET* 9-10). No previous translation has included detailed critical analysis of the differing versions.

SPELL FOR NOT DYING AGAIN.² WORDS SAID BY the Osiris NN:

"O, Thoth, what is it that has happened through the children of Nut? They have made war. They have raised disturbance. When they committed evil, then they created rebellion. When they committed slaughter, then they created imprisonment. Indeed, they have converted what was great into what is small in all that I have done.

Hail(?),³ O great one Thoth" - so says Atum.

"You shall not see evil. You shall not suffer. Curtail their years, hasten their months, since they have betrayed secrets⁴ in all that you have done."

"Mine is your palette, O Thoth. To you I have brought your ink pot. I am not among those who betray their secrets. No injury shall be done through me."

WORDS SAID BY the Osiris NN:

"O, Atum,⁵ what does it mean that I go to the desert, the Land of Silence, which has no water, has no air, and which is greatly deep, dark, and lacking?"⁶

"Live in it in contentment."⁷

"But there is no sexual pleasure in it."

"It is in exchange for water and air and sexual pleasure that I have given spiritual blessedness, contentment in exchange for bread and beer" - so

says Atum.

"It is too much for me, my lord, not to see your face."⁸

"Indeed, I shall not suffer that you lack."⁹

"But every god has taken his throne¹⁰ in the bark Millions (of Years)."

"Your throne belongs to your son Horus" - so says Atum.¹¹ "He now will dispatch the elders.¹² He now will rule the two banks.¹³ He will inherit the throne¹⁴ which is in the Island of Flames."

"Then command that the god see his equal,¹⁵ for my face will see the face of my lord Atum."¹⁶

"What is the span¹⁷ of my life" - so says Osiris.

"You shall be for millions of millions (of years),¹⁹ a lifetime of millions.²⁰ Then I shall destroy all that I have made. This land will return into the Abyss, into the flood as in its former state. It is I who shall remain together with Osiris, having made my transformations into other snakes²¹ which mankind will not know, nor gods see. How beautiful is that which I have done for Osiris, exalted more than all the gods! I have given to him rulership²² in the desert, the Land of Silence, while his son Horus is the heir upon his throne²³ which is in the Island of Flames. I have made his seat²⁴ in the bark of Millions (of Years). I have caused that he dispatch the elders.²⁵ I have caused that his monuments be founded, while love of him is on earth, while the falcon is distant,²⁶ secure in

¹ Sources labeled following Szczudloska 1963 and Kees 1930, adding Lute 1977 as Ke.

² Lb adds "in the Necropolis;" Kd substitutes: "Spell for Revivifying in the Necropolis, giving love to the blessed spirit before the great god who is in the underworld." The term *nn* is the deceased individual, equated with Osiris, whose name is inserted here.

³ Cf. (?) Coptic *miok* "hail."

⁴ Lit., "inflicted damage to secrets."

⁵ Later variants Lb and Sp add "(my) lord" before Atum. The early text JI reads instead "That which Osiris said to Atum."

⁶ Or "unfathomable/boundless." Lit., "of seeking."

⁷ Possibly conclusion of preceding sentence (as Allen): "while one lives in it in contentment." Negated in late editions Sp and Kd: "(Indeed), one does not live in it in contentment." JI and Eb add signs suggesting "contentment of the Land of Silence."

⁸ So JI; reduced in Eb and Ke to "See your face;" Sp: "It is too painful for me, lord Atum, not to see your face;" similarly Kd, but moving "lord Atum" to the end of the sentence.

⁹ Sp adds: "You are for millions of millions (of years)!"

¹⁰ So JI, Eb and Ke; all others: "seated himself."

¹¹ JI drops "so says Atum;" Kd consistently misunderstands "so says" as "to be good." Sp reads "... your son Horus as the sun disk on earth."

¹² Sp and Kd: "those elder than him."

¹³ Eb reads "your throne," while Ke has "his throne."

¹⁴ JI: "He will be my heir of my throne;" Sp and Kd: "he being (your) heir of (your) throne."

¹⁵ So JI and Sp; Lb inserts "me" after "command;" Eb and Ke read "Then command that I see his equal." Kd is garbled: "while there is no god, his second or his third."

¹⁶ Late versions Lb, Sp, and Kd read "your sacred face."

¹⁷ Dropped in Ke.

¹⁸ Late versions add "there" (i.e., in the underworld).

¹⁹ Lb inserts "— so says Atum."

²⁰ Lb and Ke read "a great lifetime of millions." Eb and Ke insert "I have caused that he dispatch the elders," wrongly displaced from below. Sp contains a long and broken interpolation.

²¹ Eb and Ke read "worms."

²² Eb and Ke read "I have given to him the desert," and Eb confuses "Land of Silence" with "while then."

²³ JI reads "my heir of my throne."

²⁴ Eb and Ke insert "provision for" his seat.

²⁵ Displaced above by Eb and Ke. Kd reads "those elder than him."

²⁶ Eb and Ke simplify "Horus is secure in his palace ..." All other variants favor the translation "be distant" and not the homophonous "Horus (the falcon)."

his palace through the desire of founding his monuments.²⁷ I have sent²⁸ the soul of Seth²⁹ distinct from all³⁰ the gods. I have caused that his soul be under guard in the bark³¹ through the desire that he not frighten the god's limbs."

"O, my father Osiris, may you do for me what your father Re did for you. May I endure upon earth,³² may I found my throne, may my heir be healthy, may my tomb stand firm. They are my servants upon earth.³³ May my enemies be as split sycamore figs,³⁴ with Selket over their bonds.

I am your son, O my father Re. May you make for me this life, prosperity, and health,³⁵ while the falcon is distant,³⁶ secure in his palace. May one go forth to this lifetime of one who seeks for reverence among these revered ones."³⁷

The sound of praise is in Heracleopolis, joy in Naref, since Osiris has appeared as Re, having inherited his throne, ruling the two banks completely.³⁸ The Ennead is satisfied concerning it; Seth is as a great split sycamore fig.

"O³⁹ my lord Atum," so says Osiris.⁴⁰ "May Seth be afraid of me when he sees that my form is as your form. May all people come to me — all patricians, all commoners, all sunfolk, gods, blessed spirits and the dead — in bowing when they see me, since you have placed fear of me and created respect for me."

Then Re [acted] in accordance with all that he said.⁴¹ Then Seth came with his head downcast, touching the earth, since he had seen what Re had

had done for Osiris. Blood then descended from his nose. Then Re⁴² hacked the blood that came forth from his nose. That is how there came to be the ritual hacking of the earth in Heracleopolis.⁴³

Then Osiris became ill in his head, through the heat of the *Atef*-crown that was on his head — on the first day when he put it on his head — ⁴⁴ through the desire that the gods might fear him. Then Re returned in peace to Heracleopolis⁴⁵ to see his son⁴⁶ Osiris, and he found him sitting in his house, his head fallen into swelling⁴⁷ through the heat of the *Atef*-crown that was on his head.⁴⁸ Then Re emptied out these swellings, extracting the blood, pus and corruption, so that they ended up in a swamp. Then Re said to Osiris: "From the blood and pus descended from your head you have made a swamp." Thus came to be the great⁴⁹ swamp that is in Heracleopolis.

Then Osiris said to Re: "How healthy and how relieved is my face! How uplifted I am regarding what you commanded for my face regarding the ornament."⁵⁰

Then Re [said] to Osiris: "Let your face be secure, your front be uplifted! How great is fear of you, how vast your respect! Behold the beautiful name come forth to you from my mouth! Behold your name remains for millions of many millions (of years)"! That is how there came to be the name of Harsaphes, foremost of his place⁵¹ in Heracleopolis, while the great⁵² *Atef*-crown is on his head, with millions and hundreds of thousands⁵³ of bread, beer, bulls for slaughter,

²⁷ Kd substitutes "this land."

²⁸ So JI, garbled elsewhere.

²⁹ Lb, Sp and Kd all add "to the West."

³⁰ Dropped only by JI.

³¹ Eb alone omits "in the bark."

³² Late versions all in third person.

³³ Sp reads "that which Pharaoh desires." Kd substitutes "since he loves Osiris on earth."

³⁴ Sp specifies "great" split figs.

³⁵ Sp adds "on earth."

³⁶ Eb and Ke again simplify "Horus is secure in his palace." Kd terminates the spell with "The falcon is established."

³⁷ Eb and Ke substitute "May you cause that this my lifetime attain to that of one who seeks ..." JI and Sp conclude the section with variants of "How happy is (your) heart."

³⁸ Texts for this final section in Kees 1930.

³⁹ Garbled in Sp.

⁴⁰ Sp adds "to Re."

⁴¹ So JI, Sp: "Good is that which Re did for Osiris when he acted in accordance with all that he said"

⁴² So JI, Lb and Sp substitute "Osiris."

⁴³ JI omits "in Heracleopolis."

⁴⁴ Only in Sp.

⁴⁵ JI ends clause here.

⁴⁶ Only in Sp.

⁴⁷ So JI, Lb has "swollen;" Sp reads "weighted down."

⁴⁸ Final phrase in Sp.

⁴⁹ JI reads "this noble swamp."

⁵⁰ So JI, Lb seemingly corrupt: "My front is uplifted. Command the chief of craftsmen since ..."

⁵¹ Lb reads "name."

⁵² So Lb and Sp.

⁵³ Lb adds "tens of thousands and thousands."

birds for wringing, everything good and pure,⁵⁴ greater than the fluid of his spirit, while his spirit is before him, the spirit of sexual pleasure elevating to him all offerings.⁵⁵

Then Re said to him: "How beautiful is this that has been done⁵⁶ for you. Never has the like been done."⁵⁷

Then Osiris said: "It is by the authoritative power of my speech that I did it. How good is the king with authoritative utterance in his mouth!"

Then Re said to Osiris: "Behold, goodness has come forth to you from my mouth. By means of it your primal state has come into being. Then your name is fixed through it for millions of millions (of years)."⁵⁸ That is how the name of

Heracleopolis came to be.⁵⁹

"How great is fear of you, how vast your respect! So long as there exists Horus, son of Osiris, born of Isis the goddess, may I exist as he exists, may I endure as he endures, my years like his years, his years like my years on earth for millions of many millions (of years)."⁶⁰

Words to be said over an image of NN made of lapis lazuli, given to a man at his neck. It is a great protection on earth and enhances a man in the necropolis. It gives love of him to people, gods, blessed spirits and the dead. It protects him from the assault of a god and protects a man from everything evil.⁶¹ Truly effective, (proved) millions of times.

⁵⁴ So Lb and Sp.

⁵⁵ So JI. Lb and Sp have instead: "greater than the flood waters on the river to count, the recurrence of his offerings by the millions fixed before him, while drunkenness by the thousands elevates to him his offerings of all good things."

⁵⁶ JI reads "that I have done."

⁵⁷ JI adds "for me."

⁵⁸ So Sp. Lb is corrupt, and JI reads "Its name thereby is for millions of millions (of years)."

⁵⁹ So JI. Lb reads "That is how it became very great in Heracleopolis."

⁶⁰ Further fragmentary passages in Sp only.

⁶¹ So JI. Lb reads "It is effective for the one who recites it in the necropolis. May you not be silent." Sp reads "It is effective for the one who recites the book on earth, and effective for him in the necropolis. May you not be silent about it."

REFERENCES

Naville 1886 1:xcviii-xcix; Allen 1974:183-185; Barguet 1967:260-263; Faulkner 1985:175; Hornung 1979:365-371, 517-518; Kees 1930; 1956; *ANET* 9-10.

COFFIN TEXT 157 (1.19) "Cultic Abomination of the Pig"^a

Robert K. Ritner

This spell for "Knowing the Souls of Pe" (with its descendant Book of the Dead 112) provides a theological explanation for the Egyptian pork taboo, a prohibition never uniformly accepted (Darby et al. 1977:171-209; Miller 1990). The conclusion to the companion Coffin Text spell 158 is instructive: "Not to be said while eating pork." No less interesting is the medical aspect of spell 157, since it details the first recorded ophthalmological exam, perhaps including reference to a type of eye chart with "strokes." The form of the myth is aetiological, explaining the origin of animals and customs.

BEING ORDAINED FOR FOODSTUFFS IN THE NECROPOLIS, PRAISE AND LOVE ON EARTH, AND EXISTENCE AMONG THE FOLLOWING OF HORUS AND HIS ATTENDANTS. A MYSTERY KNOWN IN THE ESTATE (IN PE). KNOWING THE SOULS OF PE.

O female souls of night, female marsh dwellers, Mendesian women, women of the Mendesian nome, dwellers in the Mansion of Iap, shadowy ones ignorant of praise, brewers of Nubian beer, do you know the reason for which Pe was given to Horus? You do not know it, but I know it. It was Re who gave it in recompense for the mutilation in his eye. I know it. It was the case that Re

^a Lev 11:7-8;
Isa 65:2-5;
66:3, 17

said to Horus: "Let me see your eye since this has happened to it." He then saw it and he said: "Look, pray, at that stroke while your hand covers the healthy eye which is there." Then Horus looked at that stroke. Horus then said: "Behold, I see it completely white." THAT IS HOW THE ORYX ("See-white") CAME TO BE.

Re then said: "Look at that black pig." Then Horus looked at that black pig. Then Horus cried out over the condition of his throbbing ("raging") eye, saying: "Behold, my eye feels as at that first wound which Seth inflicted against my eye."

Then Horus lost consciousness ("swallowed his heart") before him. Re then said: "Place him on his bed until he is well." It was the case that Seth made transformations against him as that black pig. Then he cast a wound into his eye. Re then said: "Abominate the pig for Horus." "Would that he be well," SO SAID THE GODS. THAT IS HOW THE ABOMINATION OF THE PIG CAME TO BE FOR HORUS BY THE GODS AND THEIR FOLLOWERS.

NOW when Horus was in his childhood, his sacrificial animal came to be a pig though his eye

had not yet suffered. As for Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuef, their father is Horus the elder and their mother is Isis. It was the case that Horus said to Re: "Give to me two in Pe and two in Hierakonpolis from this corpus of brethren to be with me in eternal assignment so that the earth might flourish and disturbance be extinguished in this my name of Horus upon his papyrus column."¹

I KNOW THE SOULS OF PE: ONE IS HORUS; ONE IS IMSETY; ONE IS HAPY.

¹ An image commonly found on healing stelae known as "Horus cippi," used to avert and cure the wounds of scorpions and snakes.

REFERENCES

Textual edition: de Buck 1938:326-348. Further discussion and translations: ANET 9-10; Faulkner 1973:135-136.

BOOK OF THE DEAD 112 (1.20)

(Variant of CT 157)

Robert K. Ritner

The primary manuscript (18th Dynasty) appears in Naville (1886: pl. cxxiv), with translations in Barguet (1967:148-150), Allen (1974:91) and Faulkner¹ (1985:108-109). A vignette depicts the seated gods Horus, Imsety and Hapy.

Spell for Knowing the Souls of Pe.

It is NN who shall say: "O marsh dwellers, those among the marsh dwellers, Mendesian women, those of the Mendesian nome, lady trappers² who are in Pe, shadowy ones who know no return, brewers of beer who knead bread, do you know the reason for which Pe was given to Horus? I know it, but you do not know it. It was Re who gave it in recompense for the mutilation in his eye by this which Re said to Horus: 'Let me see this which happened in your eye.' When Re investigated, then he saw. Re then said to Horus: 'Look, pray, at that black boar.' Then he looked. And then his throbbing ("raging") eye suffered greatly. Horus then said to Re: 'Behold, my eye feels as at that wound which Seth inflicted against my eye.' The he lost consciousness ("swallowed his heart"). Re then said to the gods: 'Place him on his bed. Let him recover.' It was the case that Seth had made his transformations into a black boar. Then that one cast a wound into his eye. Re then said to the gods:

^a Lev 11:7-8;
Deut 14:3, 8;
Isa 65:2-5;
66:3, 17

'Let the pig be abominated for Horus. Let him recover.' That is how the pig came to be the abomination of Horus by the Ennead that is in his following.^a

When Horus was in his youth, his sacrificial animal came to be as his cattle and his pigs, though his followers abominate (them). Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuef, (he is) their father, and Isis is their mother. Horus then said to Re: 'May you give to me two brothers in Pe, and the remaining two in Hierakonpolis from this corpus together with me, to be in eternal assignment so that the earth might flourish, and disturbance be extinguished. That is how his name came to be as 'Horus upon his Papyrus Column.' I know the souls of Pe. One is Horus. One is Imsety. One is Hapy.

Lift up your heads, O gods who are in the underworld. It is so that you might see him having become as a great god that I have come before you."

¹ Translation conflated with Coffin Text 157 version.

² Or "weavers."

REFERENCES

Naville 1886: pl. cxxiv; Barguet 1967:148-150; Allen 1974:91; Faulkner 1985:108-109.

2. OTHER MYTHS

THE REPULSING OF THE DRAGON (I.21)

(Coffin Text 160)

Robert K. Ritner

During the course of each day's journey, the sun god confronted a serpent adversary^a whom he vanquished with the assistance of the militant god Seth and the force of divine magic. Within the following Coffin Text spell, this battle with the "dragon" is located at Bakhu, the mountainous western support of heaven where the sun sets. Elsewhere the serpent is styled Apep (Apopis), who threatens to devour the solar boat in the seventh and twelfth hours of night and thereby destroy the created order, returning the world to a state of chaos. Various temple, and even private, rituals were devised to ensure the victory of Re and the consequent maintenance of world stability (Ritner 1993:210-212). By the recitation of a victorious "mythic precedent" on the divine plane, this Coffin Text spell was designed to accomplish a variety of positive goals for the living and the dead, including protection against deadly serpents.^a

(Spell for) ENDURING ON EARTH, NOT EATING EXCREMENT IN THE NECROPOLIS,¹ NOT PERISHING IN THE NECROPOLIS BY A LIVING OR DEAD BA-SPIRIT, NOT DYING BY MEANS OF A SERPENT,² ENTERING AND EXITING THROUGH THE EASTERN PORTALS OF HEAVEN, BEING HEALTHY ON EARTH BY A LIVING OR DEAD BA-SPIRIT, HAVING POWER OVER OFFERINGS THAT AN HEIR MAKES FOR HIS FATHERS IN THE NECROPOLIS,³ KNOWING THE SPIRITS OF THE WEST.

I know that mountain of Bakhu upon which the sky leans. Of crystal(?) it is, 300 rods in its length, 120 rods in its width. On the east of this mountain is Sobek, Lord of Bakhu. Of carnelian is his temple. On the east of that mountain is a serpent, 30 cubits in his length, with three cubits of his forefront being of flint. I know the name of that serpent who is on the mountain. His name is "He overthrows."⁴ Now at the time of evening he turns his eye over against Re, and there occurs a halting among the (solar) crew, a great astonishment(?) within the voyage, so that Seth bends himself against him.⁵ What he says as magic:

a Isa 51:9

Let me stand against you so that the voyage be set right. O you whom I have seen from afar, close your eye since I have bound you!⁶ I am the male! Cover your head so that you may be well and I may be well!⁷ I am "Great of Magic."⁸ I have used (it) against you. What is it? It is effectiveness.⁹

O you who goes on his belly, your strength belongs to your mountain. But watch me as I go off with your strength in my hand! I am one who lifts up¹⁰ strength. I have come just so that I might plunder the (serpent-formed) earth gods.

As for Re, may he who is in his evening (i.e. Re) be satisfied with me when we have circled the sky, while you (the serpent) are in your fetters. It is what has been commanded against you in the divine presence. Thus does Re set¹¹ in life.

I KNOW THE SOULS OF THE WEST. ONE IS RE.¹² ONE IS SOBEK, LORD OF BAKHU. ONE IS HATHOR, LADY OF THE EVENING.¹³

¹ An unfortunate fate of the damned, whose world and bodily functions are reversed.

² A variant adds: "being healthy on earth," displaced from below.

³ Displaced in two variants to the end of the text.

⁴ Variant "He who is in his burning."

⁵ Perhaps a reference to Seth's standard posture in lancing the serpent adversary at the prow of the solar bark.

⁶ Variants substitute: "Close your eye, be veiled for me!"

⁷ Variants conclude: "since I am hostile."

⁸ See Ritner 1993:19, n. 78.

⁹ Variants have: "This effective power, what is it?"

¹⁰ Or "displays/wears."

¹¹ The term forms a pun with "be satisfied" at the beginning of the paragraph.

¹² Variant "Atum," the form of the sun god at sunset.

¹³ Variant. "Seth, Lord of life."

REFERENCES

Primary textual edition: de Buck 1938:373-388. Further discussion and translations: *ANET* 11-12; Faulkner 1973:138-139.

THE LEGEND OF ISIS AND THE NAME OF RE (1.22)

(P. Turin 1993)

Robert K. Ritner

Few texts illustrate so clearly the ritual significance of the personal name. Felt to be an intrinsic element and source of power, the name did not simply identify but defined an individual.¹ ^a For hostile purposes, the destruction of a name could effect the death or misfortune of its owner, and this belief underlies both the prominent role of naming in execration texts (see text 1.32 below) and the well attested expunging of royal names in dynastic feuds. Divinities were often said to have secret names guarded from devotees and other deities alike. The inherent power of such divine names is stated directly in the late Papyrus BM 10188, in which Re-Atum declares: "Magic is my name."² In similar fashion, bodily "relics" are repositories of personal energy and equally subject to manipulation. In this spell, it is the spittle of the creator that serves to animate lifeless clay, in conformity with traditional Egyptian accounts of the creation.

SPELL of the divine god, who came into being by himself, who made heaven, earth, water, the breath of life, fire, gods, men, flocks, herds, reptiles, birds, and fish, the kingship of gods and men altogether,³ with limits beyond numerous years, [...] and with numerous names. One did not know that (name); one did not know this (name).

Now, Isis was a wise woman. Her heart was more devious than millions among men; she was more selective than millions among the gods; she was more exacting than millions among the blessed dead. There was nothing that she did not know in heaven or earth, like Re, who made the substance of the earth. The goddess planned in her heart to learn the name of the noble god.

Now, Re entered every day in front of the crew (of the solar bark), being established on the throne of the two horizons. A divine old age had weakened his mouth so that he cast his spittle to the earth. He spat out, it lying fallen upon the ground. Isis kneaded it for herself with her hand, together with the earth that was on it. She formed it into a noble serpent; she made (it) in the form of a sharp point. It could not move, though it lived before her. She left it at the crossroads by which the great god passed in accordance with his heart's desire through his Two Lands.⁴ The noble god appeared outside, with the gods from the palace in his following, so that he might stroll just like every day. The noble serpent bit him, with a living fire coming forth from his own self.⁵ It raged(?) among the pines. The divine god worked his mouth; the voice of his majesty reached up to heaven. His Ennead said: "What is it? What is it?" His gods said: "What? What?" He

^a Gen 3:19-20

could not find his speech to answer concerning it. His lips were quivering, and all his limbs were trembling. The poison seized upon his flesh as the inundation seizes what is behind it. The great god regained his composure⁶ and cried out to his followers: "Come to me, you who have come to be from my body, gods who came forth from me, so that I might let you know its development. Something painful has stabbed me. My heart does not know it. My eyes did not see it. My hand did not make it. I cannot recognize it among any of the things that I have made. I have not tasted a suffering like it. There is nothing more painful than it."

"I am a noble, son of a noble, the fluid of a god come forth from a god. I am a great one, son of a great one. My father thought out my name. I am one who has numerous names and numerous forms. My form exists as every god. I am called Atum and Horus of Praise. My father and mother told me my name. I have hidden it in my body from my children⁷ so as to prevent the power of a male or female magician from coming into existence against me. I went outside to see what I had made, to stroll in the Two Lands that I created, and something stung me. I do not know it. It is not really fire; it is not really water, though my heart is on fire and my body is trembling, all my members giving birth to a chill."

"Let the children of the gods be brought to me, whose words are magically effective, who know their spells, whose wisdom reaches up to heaven!"

The children of the god then came, each man of them bearing his boasting.⁸ Isis came bearing her

¹ Cf. Gen 3:19-20, where the naming of creatures by Adam signifies man's control over them.

² See Ritner 1993:26.

³ Lit., "as a single thing."

⁴ Egypt.

⁵ The serpent's fiery venom derives ultimately from the god's own fluids.

⁶ Lit., "established his heart."

⁷ Or "at my birth."

⁸ Following P. Chester Beatty XI, 2/8 (*ib*^c < ^c*b*^c); Turin 1993 has *ikb* "mourning."

effective magic, her speech being the breath of life, her utterance dispelling suffering, her words revivifying one whose throat is constricted. She said: "What is it, what is it, my divine father? What, a serpent has inflicted weakness upon you? One of your children has raised his head against you? Then I shall overthrow it by efficacious magic, causing him to retreat at the sight of your rays."

The holy god opened his mouth: "It was the case that I was going on the road, strolling in the Two Lands and the deserts. My heart desired to see what I had created. I was bitten by a serpent without seeing it. It is not really fire; it is not really water, though I am colder than water and hotter than fire, my entire body with sweat. I am trembling, my eye unstable; I cannot see. Heaven beats down rain upon my face in the time of summer!"⁹

THEN SAID Isis to Re: "Say to me your name, my divine father, for a man lives when one recites in his name."¹⁰

(Re said:) "I am¹¹ the one who made heaven and earth, who knit together the mountains, who created that which exists upon it. I am the one who made the water, so that the Great Swimming One¹² came into being. I made the bull for the cow,¹³ so that sexual pleasure came into being. I am the one who made heaven and the mysteries¹⁴ of the horizons; I placed the *ba*-spirits of the gods inside it. I am the one who opens his two eyes so that brightness comes into being, who closes his two eyes so that darkness comes into being, according to whose command the inundation surges, whose name the gods do not know. I am the one who made the hours so that the days came into being. I am the one who divided the year, who created the river.¹⁵ I am the one who made living fire, in order to create the craft of the palace. I am Khepri in the morning, Re at

b Gen 32:27,
29; Exod
20:7

c Exod 3:13-
14

noon, and Atum who is in the evening."

The poison was not repelled in its course; the great god was not comforted.

Then Isis said to Re: "Your name is not really among those that you have said to me. Say it to me so that the poison might go out, for a man lives when one pronounces his name."

The poison burned with a burning; it was more powerful than flame or fire.

Then the majesty of Re said: "May you give to me your two ears, my daughter Isis, so that my name might go forth from my body to your body. The most divine one among the gods had hidden it, so that my status might be broadened within the Bark of Millions.¹⁶ If there occurs a similar occasion when a heart goes out to you, say it to your son Horus after you have bound him by a divine oath, placing god in his eyes."¹⁷ The great god announced his name to Isis, the Great One of Magic.

"Flow out, scorpions! Come forth from Re, Eye of Horus! Come forth from the god, flame of the mouth.¹⁸ I am the one who made you; I am the one who sent you. Come out upon the ground, powerful poison! Behold, the great god has announced his name. Re lives; the poison is dead. NN, born of NN, lives; the poison is dead, through the speech of Isis the Great, the Mistress of the Gods, who knows Re by his own name."

Words to be recited over an image of Atum and of Horus-of-Praise, a figure of Isis, and an image of Horus,¹⁹ DRAWN (ON) THE HAND OF THE SUFFERER AND LICKED OFF BY THE MAN; DO LIKEWISE ON A STRIP OF FINE LINEN, PLACED ON THE SUFFERER AT HIS THROAT. THE PLANT IS SCORPION PLANT. GROUND UP WITH BEER OR WINE, IT IS DRUNK BY THE MAN WHO HAS A SCORPION STING. IT IS WHAT KILLS THE POISON — TRULY EFFECTIVE. (PROVED) MILLIONS OF TIMES.¹⁹

⁹ A reference to his fevered sweat, contrasted with the typically cooling water of the Nile.

¹⁰ Cf. Exod 3:13-14.

¹¹ A name of the heavens, symbolized by a celestial cow bearing the bark of the sun.

¹² Common Eg. euphemisms for penis and vagina, see Ritner 1987 col. 645.

¹³ Not a verb, contra Borghouts "(I made) the horizon inaccessible."

¹⁴ The connection is logical in Egypt, where the fluctuation of the Nile determined the seasons.

¹⁵ The solar bark.

¹⁶ A reference to the injured eye of Horus, cured by Isis after an attack by Seth. Cf. text 1.20 above.

¹⁷ Venom.

¹⁸ Shown in a vignette on the Turin papyrus.

¹⁹ For discussion, see Ritner 1993:95.

REFERENCES

Primary manuscript: P. Turin 1993 (19th Dyn.): Pleyte and Rossi 1869-76 pls. cxxxi:12 - cxxxiii:14; and lxxvii + xxi:1-5; excerpted in Möller 1927:29-32. Other contemporary exemplars: HO 2 and HO 3, 2; O. Deir el-Medineh 1263; and Papyrus Chester Beatty 11. Bibliography and translations: *ANET* 12-14; Borghouts 1978:51-55; Ritner 1993:76, n. 337. For methodological commentary, see Ritner (*ibid.*, 76, 83, 95-96, and 164).

THE LEGEND OF ASTARTE AND THE TRIBUTE OF THE SEA (1.23)

P. Amherst (Pierpont Morgan) XIX-XXI

Robert K. Ritner

The tattered remains of a once magnificent manuscript, the "Astarte Papyrus" nevertheless provides tantalizing evidence of Egyptian traditions regarding the Asiatic goddess who had been adopted into cult and mythology by the beginning of the New Kingdom. While this legend has been shown to have an indigenous Egyptian setting, it is yet parallel to, and likely inspired by, the Ugaritic story of the Fight between Baal and the sea god Yam (text 1.86), whose Semitic name is also used for the threatening deity in the Egyptian tale. Helck, in contrast, has suggested that the tale is an adaptation derived from the Hurrian "Song of Ullikummi." In the Egyptian legend, the Sea seems to threaten to overwhelm heaven, earth and mountains unless provided with tribute. When Astarte is sent to deliver the tribute, the Sea demands further that she be given to him in marriage, perhaps with a dowry including the seal of the earth god and the beads of the sky goddess. From other sources, it appears that the Sea is ultimately vanquished in combat by Seth (the Egyptian counterpart of Baal), mentioned in the fragmentary concluding lines.

(Col. 1) [...] ... his two bulls. "Let me praise [...] ... Let me praise the [earth(?) ...] ... Let me praise the sky [in its(?) place [...] the earth." [...] Ptah. Now after [...] the earth. The earth rested¹ [...] "[...] I strip off her [...]" Then they bent like [...] Then [each(?) man embraced [his fellow(?). Now] after [seven(?) days, the sky did [...] descending upon [...] the Sea. The [...] the] earth gave birth² to [...] the four banks of the [Sea(?)]³ [...] in its midst like the suspension [...] his throne of Ruler. He [...] carry for him the tribute. [...] in the council. Then Renenutet carried [...] as Ruler [...] sky. Now, behold, one brought to him the tribute [...] or his [...] he will seize us as plunder [...] our own to [...] Renenutet his tribute in silver and gold, lapis lazuli [and turquoise(?)] the boxes. Then they said to the Ennead: "[...] the tribute of the Sea, so that he might hear for us [all] the matters [of the earth(?)], protected from his hand. Will he [...]"

(Col. 2) [...] Now they were fearful of [...] the [tribute] of the Sea. Give [...] the tribute of the Sea. [...] evil. Renenutet took a [...] Astarte. Then the³ [...] said: "[...] birds hear what I might say. May you⁴ not depart [...] another." Hurry, go to Astarte [...] her house. And you should cry out below [the window of the room in which(?) she sleeps. And should say to her: "If you are [awake, ...] If you are asleep, may I wake you. [...] the] Sea as Ruler over the [earth and the mountains and(?) the sky. Please, may you come before them at this [moment.](?) [...] Asiatics. Then Astarte [...] the daughter of Ptah.

a Isa 51:10;
Jer 5:22;
Ps 104:6-9;
Job 38:8-11

Now [...] of the Sea, the [...] "[...] you go yourself bearing the tribute of [the Sea] ..." Then Astarte wept [...] its⁵ Ruler was silent. [...] "Lift up your⁷ face. [...] Lift up your face. And you should [...] away." Then he lifted up [his face [...] the [...] singing and laughing at him. [...] Then the Sea] saw Astarte while she was sitting on the edge of the Sea. Then he said to her: "Where have you come from, O daughter of Ptah, O angry and raging goddess? Have you worn out your sandals that are on your feet; have you frayed your clothes that are on you, by the going and coming that you have done from the sky and the earth?" Then [Astarte] said to him [...]

(Col. 3) *The Sea instructs Astarte to carry a message to the Ennead, probably demanding the goddess in marriage as security against his further depredations.*

[...] say to Ptah before(?) the Ennead. "If they give to me Your⁸ [daughter(?) ...] them. What would I do against them for my part?" Astarte heard what the Sea said to her. She lifted herself up to go to the Ennead to the place where they were gathered. The greater ones saw her; they stood up before her. The lesser ones saw her; they lay down on their bellies. She was given her throne and she sat down. She was presented with the (Col. 4) [tribute of the Sea(?) ...] [the] earth [...] the beads. [...] Then the beads [...] the messenger of Ptah going to say these words to Ptah and to Renenutet. Then Renenutet took off

¹ Or "became satisfied."

² Or, as restored by Gardiner, "the four regions of the [earth]."

³ Masculine.

⁴ Masculine.

⁵ Long lacuna, followed by a determinative suggesting "compel/strike."

⁶ Or "his."

⁷ Masculine.

⁸ Masculine.

the beads that were on her neck. Behold, she placed [them] on the balance [...]

(Col. 5) [...] Astarte. "O my [...] It means an [argument(?)] with the Ennead. Therefore he will send and he will demand [...] the seal of Geb [...] the balance in it." Then (Col. 6) [...] (Col. 7) [...] my basket of [...] (Cols. 8-9) [...] (Col. 10) [...] tribute(?) of the Sea [...] pass(?) by the gates [...] the gates, go out (Col. 11) [...] If they come

again [...] (Cols. 12-13) [...] (Col. 14) [...] the] Sea. And he shall [...] to cover the earth and the mountains and (Col. 15) [the sky.(?)] [...] to fight with him to the effect that [...] he sat down calmly. He will not come to fight with us. Then Seth sat down. [...]

(Verso) [...] "Behold, I am with your¹⁰ [...]" The Sea left [...] the seven [...] together with the sky and [...]

⁹ Masculine.

¹⁰ Masculine.

REFERENCES

Text: Gardiner 1932a:74-85; 1932b:76-81. Studies: ANET 17-18; Stadelmann 1975; Helck 1983; van Dijk 1986:31-32; Ritner 1989:112-113.

THE DESTRUCTION OF MANKIND (1.24)

Miriam Lichtheim

This mythological tale forms the first part of a longer text known as "The Book of the Cow of Heaven," which is inscribed in five royal tombs of the New Kingdom (the tombs of Tutankhamun, Seti I, Ramses II, Ramses III, and Ramses VI). The first part relates how the sun-god Re set out to destroy the human race because mankind was plotting rebellion against him. But after an initial slaughter, carried out by the "Eye of Re," the sun-god relented and devised a ruse to stop the goddess from further killing. The interest of the tale lies, of course, in the theme of human wickedness arousing the divine wrath and resulting in a partial destruction of mankind, a theme that received its classic treatment in the Mesopotamian and biblical stories of the Flood.

The second part of the text (not translated here) tells how the sun-god, weary of government, withdrew into the sky and charged the other great gods with the rule of heaven and earth.

Though recorded in the New Kingdom, the text is written in Middle Egyptian, and it probably originated in the Middle Kingdom. The tale thus stands apart from stories which are written in Late Egyptian, the vernacular of the New Kingdom.

(1) It happened [in the time of the majesty of] Re, the self-created, after he had become king of men and gods together: Mankind plotted against him, "while his majesty had grown old, his bones being silver, his flesh gold, his hair true lapis lazuli. When his majesty perceived the plotting of mankind against him, his majesty said to his followers: "Summon to me my Eye,¹ and Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, and the fathers and mothers who were with me when I was in Nun,² and also the god Nun; and he shall bring his courtiers (5) with him. But bring them stealthily, lest mankind see, lest they lose heart.³ Come with them (the gods) to the Palace, that they may give their counsel. In the end I may return to Nun, to the place where I came into being."

a Gen 6:5-7,
11-13; 11:4

The gods were brought, the gods were lined up on his two sides, bowing to the ground before his majesty, that he might make his speech before the eldest father, the maker of mankind, the king of people.⁴ They said to his majesty: "Speak to us, that we may hear it." Then Re said to Nun: "O eldest god in whom I came into being, and ancestor gods, look, mankind, which issued from my Eye,⁵ is plotting against me. Tell me what you would do about it, for I am searching. I would not slay them until I have heard what you might (10) say about it."

Then spoke the majesty of Nun: "My son Re, god greater than his maker, more august than his creators, stay on your throne! Great is fear of

¹ The eye of the sun-god is viewed as a being distinct from him.

² The primordial water in which creation began.

³ Lit., "lest their heart flee."

⁴ The god Nun.

⁵ An allusion to the idea that mankind (*rmf*) issued from a tear (*rmr*) of the sun-god. See above Coffin Texts Spell 80 (above text 1.8, p. 12, n. 14).

you when your Eye is on those who scheme against you." Said the majesty of Re: "Look, they are fleeing to the desert, their hearts fearful that I might speak to them." They said to his majesty: "Let your Eye go and smite them for you, those schemers of evil! No Eye is more able to smite them for you. May it go down as Hathor!"

The goddess returned after slaying mankind in the desert, and the majesty of this god said: "Welcome in peace, Hathor, Eye who did what I came for!" Said the goddess: "As you live for me, I have overpowered mankind, and it was balm to my heart." Said the majesty of Re: "I shall have power over them as king (15) by diminishing them." Thus the Powerful One (Sakhmet) came into being.⁶

The beer-mash of the night for her who would wade in their blood as far as Hnes.⁷ Re said: "Summon to me swift, nimble messengers that they may run like a body's shadow!" The messengers were brought immediately, and the majesty of this god said: "Go to Yebu and bring me red ochre⁸ in great quantity!" The red ochre was brought to him, and the majesty of this god order-

^b Gen 7:19-20

ed the Side-Lock Wearer in On⁹ to grind the ochre, while maidservants crushed barley for beer. Then the red ochre was put into the beer-mash, and it became like human blood; and seven thousand jars of beer were made. Then the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Re came together with the gods to see the beer.

Now when the day dawned (20) on which the goddess would slay mankind in their time of traveling south,¹⁰ the majesty of Re said: "It is good;¹¹ I shall save mankind by it!" And Re said: "Carry it to the place where she plans to slay mankind!" The majesty of King Re rose early before dawn, to have this sleeping draught poured out. Then the fields were flooded three palms high with the liquid ^b by the might of the majesty of this god. When the goddess came in the morning she found them flooded, and her gaze was pleased by it.¹² She drank and it pleased her heart. She returned drunk without having perceived mankind. The majesty of Re said to the goddess: "Welcome in peace, O gracious one!" Thus beautiful women came into being in the town of Imu.¹³

⁶ A word play on *shm*, "power," and *shmt*, the lion-goddess Sakhmet.

⁷ This sentence serves as introduction to what follows.

⁸ Or hematite.

⁹ The high priest of Re in Heliopolis.

¹⁰ Emend to "her time of traveling south"?

¹¹ I.e., "the beer is good."

¹² Or, "her face was beautiful in it"?

¹³ A word play on *im*, "gracious."

REFERENCES

Maystre 1941; Erman 1927:47-49; *ANET* 10-11; Piankoff 1955:27-29; Brunner-Traut 1965:69-72; Lichtheim *AEL* 2:197-199.

3. HYMNS

THE GREAT CAIRO HYMN OF PRAISE TO AMUN-RE (1.25)

P. Cairo 58038 (P. Bulaq 17)

Robert K. Ritner

While the initial sections of this universalist hymn are carved on a statue of the Second Intermediate Period (12th-17th Dynasties; see Hassan 1928:157-193), the best preserved manuscript is a Theban papyrus of the early 18th Dynasty (Amenhotep II). The papyrus text is published in Mariette (1872: pls. xi-xiii) and excerpted in Möller (1927:33-34). Commentary, bibliography, and translations are found in Grébaut 1874; Wilson *ANET*; Assmann 1975b:199-207, 549-553; and Römer 1987. Later New Kingdom excerpts are well-attested on ostraca from Deir el-Medineh (see Römer 1987:406).

I. ADORATION OF Amon-Re,
The bull resident in Heliopolis, Chief of all
the gods,

The good god, the beloved,
Who gives life to every warm being
And to every good herd.¹

¹ The Eg. creator is commonly described as a "Good Shepherd." Many similar references follow.

Hail to you, Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones
of the Two Lands,
Foremost of Karnak,
Bull of his Mother,² foremost of his fields,
Wide of stride, foremost of Upper Egypt,
Lord of the Medjay³ Nubians, Ruler of Punt,
Oldest One of heaven, Eldest of earth,
Lord of what exists, enduring in all things.⁴

UNIQUE ONE, LIKE WHOM⁵ AMONG the gods?
Goodly bull of the Ennead,
Chief of all the gods,
Lord of Truth, Father of the gods,
Who made mankind, who created the flocks,
Lord of what exists, who created the tree of
life,⁶

Who made the herbage, who vivifies the
herd,
Goodly Power, whom Ptah engendered,
Youth, beautiful of (2/1) love,
To whom the gods speak praise,
Who made what is below and what is above,
illuminating the Two Lands,
Ferried across the sky in peace,
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Re,
triumphant, Chief of the Two Lands,
Great of strength, Lord of respect,
Chief who made the land in its entirety.

WHOSE PLANS ARE MORE EXALTED THAN
those of any god,
At whose beauty the gods rejoice,
For whom jubilation is spoken in the great
shrine of El-Kab,
With festal processions in the fire shrine at
Pe,
Whose fragrance the gods love,
When He returns from Punt,⁶
Great of perfume, when He descends {from}
the Medjay,⁷
Beautiful of face, returned from God's land.

DOGGING whose feet are the gods,
As they recognize His Majesty as their Lord,
Lord of fear, rich in terror,
Great in wrathful manifestations, powerful in
appearances,⁸
Whose offerings flourish, who made food-
stuffs,
Jubilation to you, who made the gods,

a Gen 2:9;
3:22, 24;
Prov 3:18

Who suspended heaven, who laid down the
ground!

(3/1) CAESURA

II. Awake soundly, Min-Amon,
Lord of eternity, who made endlessness,
Lord of praise, foremost of the [Ennead],⁹
Whose horns are firm, whose face is beauti-
ful,
Lord of the uraeus, lofty of plumage,
With beautiful fillet, lofty of White Crown,
Before whom coil the two uraeus cobras,
Fragrant One who is in the palace,
(with) Double Crown, Headdress, Blue
Crown,
Beautiful of face when He receives the *Atef*-
Crown,
Whom Upper and Lower Egypt love,
Lord of the Double Crown when He receives
the *Ames*-sceptre,
Lord of the *Mekes*-sceptre, bearer of the
Flail.

GOODLY Ruler HAVING APPEARED WITH THE
WHITE CROWN,

Lord of solar rays, who made brightness,
To whom the gods speak jubilation,
Who extends His arms to the one He loves,
While His enemies fall to the flame.
It is His Eye that overthrows the rebels,
Placing its spear into the one who sucks up
the Abyss,¹⁰
Forcing (4/1) the villain to disgorge what it
has swallowed.

HAIL TO YOU, Re, Lord of the Two Truths,
Whose shrine is hidden, Lord of the gods,
Khepri in the midst of His bark,
Who issued command that the gods might
be,
Atum, who made the common man,
Who distinguished their forms, who made
their lives,
Who separated the races,¹¹ one from another,
Who hears the prayer of the one who is in
distress,
Graciously disposed when He is entreated.
WHO RESCUES THE FEARFUL FROM THE HAND
OF THE BRAZEN,
Who judges the wretch and the ruined,

² An epithet designating the creator as self-begotten, who impregnated his own mother.

³ The Beja nomads, living between the Nile and the Red Sea.

⁴ For this pantheistic notion, cf. the daily ritual, text 1.34 below.

⁵ Lit., "like whom (of) the gods" *mi m (n) ntr.w*. Translators have assumed wrongly that the writing here and in col. 9/3 must be an error for *imy ntr.w* "among" the gods, though elsewhere *imy* is written standardly (e.g., col. 3/3, 5/4, 9/6, etc.). Wilson (*ANET* 365) suggests "like the fluid(?) of the gods."

⁶ Source of incense and exotic African produce, thought to be inland Somalia.

⁷ Erroneously written "when He sends the Medjay."

⁸ The final word has been added in red as a correction.

⁹ Restored from statue BM 40959, right side, line 4 (Hassan 1928).

¹⁰ Apep (Apophis).

¹¹ Lit., "colors."

Lord of perception, with effective utterance
on his mouth,
For love of whom the Inundation has come,
Lord of sweetness, rich in love,
Coming so that the common man might live,
Who gives movement to every eye,
Formed in the Abyss,
Whose grace created brightness,
At whose beauty the gods rejoice,
(5/1) Their hearts living when they see him.
CAESURA

b Gen 2:9;
3:22, 24;
Prov 3:18

III. Re, REVERED IN KARNAK,
Grand of appearances in the Mansion of the
Benben,¹²
Heliopolitan, Lord of the new moon festival,
For whom are performed the six-day and
quarter month festivals,
Sovereign — life, prosperity, health! — Lord
of all the gods,
Falcon(?)¹³ in the midst of the horizon,
Chief of patricians of the Land of Silence,¹⁴
Whose name is hidden from His children
In this His name of "Amon."¹⁵

HAIL TO YOU WHO ARE IN PEACE,
Lord of joy, powerful in appearances,
Lord of the uraeus, lofty of plumage,
With beautiful fillet, lofty of White Crown,
You, whom the gods love to see,
The Double Crown fixed on Your brow,
Love of You pervading the Two Lands,
Your rays shining in the eyes.
The patricians are happy when You rise;
The flocks languish when You shine.
Love of You is in the southern heaven,
(6/1) Your sweetness in the northern heaven.
Your beauty captivates hearts,
Love of You wearying the limbs,¹⁶
Your beautiful form relaxing the hands.
Thoughts go astray at the sight of you.

YOU ARE the Sole One,¹⁷ WHO MADE [ALL]
THAT EXISTS,
One, alone, who made that which is,
From whose two eyes mankind came forth,
On whose mouth the gods came into being.
Who made the herbage [for] the herds,¹⁸
The tree of life^b for the sunfolk,
Who made that on which the fish live [in]
the river,
And the birds flying through heaven,
Who gave breath to the one in the egg,
Who vivifies the son of the slug,

Who made that on which the gnat lives,
The worm and the flea likewise,
Who made the sustenance of the mice in
[their] holes,
Who vivifies the winged creatures in every
tree.

HAIL TO YOU, WHO DID THIS ENTIRELY,
One, alone, with numerous arms,
Who spends the night (7/1) watchful, while
everyone sleeps,
Who seeks what is useful for his flock,
Amon, enduring in all things,
Atum, Horachty,
Praise to you, as they all say.
Jubilation to you, because you have wearied
yourself with us.
Let the earth be kissed for you, because you
have created us.

HAIL TO YOU — by all flocks,
Jubilation to you — by all foreign lands,
To the heights of heaven, to the breadth of
the earth,
To the depths of the ocean,
The gods bowing to Your Majesty,
Exalting the might of Him who created
them,
Rejoicing at the approach of Him who begot
them,
Saying to you: "Come in peace,
Father of the fathers of all the gods,
Who suspended heaven, who laid down the
ground.

WHO MADE WHAT EXISTS, WHO CREATED
THAT WHICH IS,
Sovereign, — life, prosperity, health! —
Chief of the gods.
Let us adore your might (8/1) in as much as
you have made us,
Let {us} act for you because you have borne
us.
Let us give you jubilation because you have
wearied yourself with us."

HAIL TO YOU, WHO MADE ALL THAT EXISTS,
Lord of Truth, Father of the gods,
Who made mankind, who created the flocks,
Lord of Grain,
Who made the life of the desert flocks,
Amon, the bull, beautiful of face,
Beloved in Karnak,
Grand of appearances [in] the Mansion of
the Benben,

¹² The primordial mound first risen from the Abyss.

¹³ Assuming an unorthographic spelling; otherwise: "when he is viewed."

¹⁴ The underworld.

¹⁵ See "The Legend of Isis and the Name of Re," text 1.22 above. The name Amon means "hidden."

¹⁶ So great is the love that it overwhelms the bearer.

¹⁷ Or, "Sole Image, who made ..."

¹⁸ Provided with five determinatives for specificity: ox, ibex, goat, pig and ram.

Repeating investitures¹⁹ in Heliopolis,
Who judges the two contestants²⁰ in the great
broad hall,
Chief of the Great Ennead.

SINGLY UNIQUE ONE, WITHOUT HIS SECOND,
Foremost of Karnak,
Heliopolitan, foremost of His Ennead,
Living on Truth every day,
Horizon-dweller, Horus of the East,
For whom the desert creates silver and gold,
Genuine lapis lazuli for love of him,
Balsam and various incenses among the
Medjay,
(9/1) Fresh myrrh for your nostrils,
O Beautiful of face, returned {from} the
Medjay,
Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two
Lands,
Foremost of Karnak,
Heliopolitan, foremost of His harem.
CAESURA

- IV. Unique king, like whom among the gods?
With numerous names, the number un-
known,
Who rises in the eastern horizon,
Who sets in the western horizon,
Who overthrows His enemies
In the course of every day,²¹
Whose two eyes²² Thoht elevates,
Pacifying Him with his efficacious spells,
At whose beauty the gods rejoice,
He whom His solar apes exalt.²³
Lord of the Night bark and the Day bark,
They traversing for you the Abyss in peace,
YOUR CREW IN JOY,
When they see the rebel overthrown,

His body licked by the knife,
(10/1) The flame having eaten him,
His *ba*-spirit more destroyed than his corpse.
That VILLAIN,²⁴ his movement is removed,
While the gods rejoice,
The crew of Re at peace,
Heliopolis rejoicing,
For the enemies of Atum are overthrown,
Karnak at peace, Heliopolis rejoicing.
The Lady of Life, her heart is glad,
For the enemy of her lord is overthrown,
The gods of Babylon²⁵ in jubilation,
Those in their shrines kissing the ground,
WHEN THEY SEE THE ONE MIGHTY IN HIS
STRENGTH,
Power of the gods,
True One, Lord of Karnak,
In this Your name of Maker of Truth,
Lord of sustenance, bull of offerings,
In this Your name of Amon, Bull of His
Mother,
Maker of all peoples,
Creator and Maker of all that exists,
In this Your name (11/1) of Atum-Khepri,²⁶
Great falcon, with festive breast,
Beautiful of face, with festive chest,
Pleasing of form, lofty of feather,
Before whom the uraeus cobras sway,
To whom the hearts of patricians draw near,
For whom the sunfolk turn about,
Who makes festive the Two Lands in His
epiphanies.
Hail to You, Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones
of the Two Lands,
Whose city desires that he rise!
IT IS COMPLETED, satisfactorily, as found.

¹⁹ Lit., "diadems."

²⁰ Horus and Seth.

²¹ Another uncertain verse is added as a correction in red above the line: "On the morning of his birth every day." See Römer 1987:422-423.

²² The sun and the moon.

²³ The apes whose antics announce the rising sun.

²⁴ The Apep serpent.

²⁵ Eg. Babylon, a suburb of modern Cairo.

²⁶ "All peoples" (*t³-tm.w*) provides a pun with Atum (*Tmw*), and "Creator" (*šp^r*) a pun with Khepri (*Hpri*).

REFERENCES

Assmann 1975b:199-207, 549-553; Grébaut 1874; Hassan 1928:157-193; Mariette 1872: pls. xi-xiii; Möller 1927:33-34; Römer 1987:406; *ANET* 365.

THE GREAT HYMN TO OSIRIS (1.26)
(On the Stela of Amenmose — Louvre C 286)

Miriam Lichtheim

A round-topped limestone stela, 1.03 x 0.62 m, of fine workmanship dating from the 18th Dynasty. In the lunette there are two offering scenes showing, on the left, the official Amenmose and his wife Nefertari seated before an offering table and, on the right, a lady named Baket, whose relationship to Amenmose is not stated. Before Amenmose stands a son with his arms raised in the gesture of offering. Another son stands behind the couple, and more sons and daughters are seated below. A priest also performs offering rites before the lady Baket. Below the scenes is the hymn to Osiris in twenty-eight horizontal lines.

This hymn contains the fullest account of the Osiris myth extant in Egyptian, as distinct from Greek, sources. Allusions to the Osiris myth are very frequent in Egyptian texts, but they are very brief. It seems that the slaying of Osiris at the hands of Seth was too awesome an event to be committed to writing. Other parts of the story could be told more fully, especially the vindication of Osiris and of his son Horus, to whom the gods awarded the kingship of Egypt that had belonged to Osiris. The latter, though resurrected, no longer ruled the living but was king of the dead in the netherworld. The final part of the hymn praises the beneficent rule of Horus and, since each living Pharaoh represented Horus, the praise is directed to the reigning king as well.

(1) Adoration of Osiris by the overseer of the cattle of [Amun], [Amen]mose, and the lady Nefertari. He says:

Hail to you, Osiris,
Lord of eternity, king of gods,
Of many names, of holy forms,
Of secret rites in temples!
Noble of *ka* he presides in Djedu,¹
He is rich in sustenance in Sekhem,²
Lord of acclaim in Andjty,³
Foremost in offerings in On.^{4 a}
Lord of remembrance in the Hall of Justice,⁵
Secret *ba* of the lord of the cavern,
Holy in White-Wall,⁶
Ba of Re, his very body.
Who reposes in Hnes,⁷
Who is worshiped in the *naret*-tree,
That grew up to bear his *ba*.⁸
Lord of the palace in Khmun,⁹
Much revered in Shashotep,¹⁰
Eternal lord who presides in Abydos,¹¹
Who dwells distant in the graveyard
Whose name endures in people's mouth.
Oldest in the joined Two Lands,
Nourisher¹² before the Nine Gods,

^a Gen 41:45,
50; 46:20;
Ezek 30:17

Potent spirit among spirits.
Nun has given him his waters,
Northwind journeys south to him,
Sky makes wind before his nose,
That his heart be satisfied.
Plants sprout by his wish,
Earth grows its food for him,
Sky and its stars obey him,
The great portals open for him.
Lord of acclaim in the southern sky,
Sanctified in the northern sky,
The imperishable stars are under his rule,
The unwearying stars are his abode.
One offers to him by Geb's command,
The Nine Gods adore him,
Those in the *Duat* kiss the ground,
Those on high¹³ bow down.
The ancestors rejoice to see him,
Those yonder are in awe of him.

The joined Two Lands adore him,
When His Majesty approaches,
Mightiest noble among nobles,
Firm of rank, of lasting rule.
Good leader of the Nine Gods,
Gracious, lovely to behold,

¹ Busiris.

² Letopolis.

³ The Ninth Nome of Lower Egypt.

⁴ Heliopolis.

⁵ Lit., "the Two Justices" (or, "the Two Truths"), the name of the hall in the netherworld in which the judgment of the dead takes place.

⁶ Memphis and its nome.

⁷ Heracleopolis Magna.

⁸ According to the tradition of Heracleopolis the tomb of Osiris was located in that town, and the sacred *naret*-tree grew over the tomb and sheltered the *ba* of Osiris.

⁹ Hermopolis.

¹⁰ Hypselis.

¹¹ The hymn enumerates the chief cult centers of Osiris from north to south, beginning with Busiris, his foremost northern center of worship, and ending with Abydos, his main cult center in Upper Egypt.

¹² *Df* is abundance of food personified as a divinity. Cf. below, notes 15 and 17.

¹³ I.e., those buried in the high ground of the desert tombs.

Awe inspiring to all lands,
That his name be foremost.
All make offering to him,
The lord of remembrance in heaven and earth,
Rich in acclaim at the *wag*-feast,
Hailed in unison by the Two Lands.
The foremost of his brothers,
The eldest of the Nine Gods,
Who set Maat throughout the Two Shores,
Placed the son on his father's seat.
Lauded by his father Geb,
Beloved of his mother Nut,
Mighty when he fells the rebel,
Strong-armed when he slays (10) his foe.
Who casts fear of him on his enemy,
Who vanquishes the evil-plotters,
Whose heart is firm when he crushes the rebels.

Geb's heir (in) the kingship of the Two Lands,
Seeing his worth he gave (it) to him,
To lead the lands to good fortune.
He placed this land into his hand,
Its water, its wind,
Its plants, all its cattle.
All that flies, all that alights,
Its reptiles and its desert game,
Were given to the son of Nut,
And the Two Lands are content with it.
Appearing on his father's throne,
Like Re when he rises in lightland,
He places light above the darkness,
He lights the shade with his plumes.¹⁴
He floods the Two Lands like Aten¹⁵ at dawn,
His crown pierces the sky, mingles with the stars.

He is the leader of all the gods,
Effective in the word of command,
The great Ennead praises him,
The small Ennead loves him.

His sister was his guard,
She who drives off the foes,
Who stops the deeds of the disturber
By the power of her utterance.
The clever-tongued whose speech fails not,
Effective in the word of command,
Mighty Isis who protected her brother,
Who sought him without wearying.
Who roamed the land lamenting,
Not resting till she found him,
Who made a shade with her plumage,
Created breath with her wings.
Who jubilated, joined her brother,
Raised the weary one's inertness,

b Gen 3:22

Received the seed, bore the heir,
Raised the child in solitude,
His abode unknown.
Who brought him when his arm was strong
Into the broad hall of Geb.

The Ennead was jubilant:
"Welcome, Son of Osiris,
Horus, firm-hearted, justified,
Son of Isis, heir of Osiris!"
The Council of Maat assembled for him
The Ennead, the All-Lord himself,
The Lords of Maat, united in her,
Who eschew wrongdoing,
They were seated in the hall of Geb,
To give the office to its lord,
The kingship to its rightful owner.
Horus was found justified,
His father's rank was given him,
He came out crowned by Geb's command,
Received the rule of the two shores.

The crown placed firmly on his head,
He counts the land as his possession,
Sky, earth are under his command,
Mankind is entrusted to him,
Commoners, nobles, sunfolk.¹⁶
Egypt and the far-off lands,
What Aten (20) encircles is under his care,
Northwind, river, flood,
Tree of life,¹⁷ all plants.
Nepri gives all his herbs,
Field's Bounty¹⁷ brings satiety,
And gives it to all lands.
Everybody jubilates,
Hearts are glad, breasts rejoice,
Everyone exults,
All extol his goodness:
How pleasant is his love for us,
His kindness overwhelms the hearts,
Love of him is great in all.
They gave to Isis' son his foe,
His attack collapsed,
The disturber suffered hurt,
His fate overtook the offender.
The son of Isis who championed his father,
Holy and splendid is his name,
Majesty has taken its seat,
Abundance is established by his laws.
Roads are open, ways are free,
How the two shores prosper!
Evil is fled, crime is gone,
The land has peace under its lord.
Maat is established for her lord,

¹⁴ *šw* is written, but *šwt* must have been intended. Note the word play on *šw(r)*, "shade," and *šwty*, "plumes."

¹⁵ Though written without the divine determinative, the word *im* has probably already assumed the connotation of a divinity. The divine determinative is also lacking in the two occurrences of *df*, "Abundance," where the personification is clear.

¹⁶ The population of Egypt and mankind as a whole.

¹⁷ See note 12.

One turns the back on falsehood.
May you be content, Wennofer!¹⁸
Isis' son has received the crown,
His father's rank was assigned him
In the hall of Geb.
Re spoke, Thoth wrote,
The council assented,
Your father Geb decreed for you,
One did according to his word.

An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris
Khentamentiu, lord of Abydos, that he may grant
an offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl,
ointment and clothing and plants of all kinds, and

the making of transformations: to be powerful as
Hapy, to come forth as living *ba*, to see Aten at
dawn, to come and go in Rostau,¹⁹ without one's
ba being barred from the necropolis.

May he be supplied among the favored ones
before Wennofer, receiving the offerings that go
up on the altar of the great god, breathing the
sweet northwind, drinking from the river's pools:
for the *ka* of the overseer of the cattle of
[Amun], [Amen]mose, justified, born of the lady
Henut, justified, and of his beloved wife, [the
lady Nefertari, justified].

¹⁸ A name of Osiris.

¹⁹ A name for the necropolis and specifically that of Giza.

REFERENCES

Moret 1931; Erman 1927:140-145; Lichtheim *AEL* 2:81-86.

TWO HYMNS TO THE SUN-GOD (1.27) From a Stela of the Brothers Suti and Hor — BM 826

Miriam Lichtheim

In the course of the 18th Dynasty, the rise to prominence of Amun of Thebes resulted in his assimilation to the supreme god, the sun-god Re. Furthermore, the conceptual dominance of sun worship had turned the sun-god into the all-embracing creator-god who manifested himself in many forms and under many names. Thus he absorbed Amun and Horus, and he was Atum, Harakhti, and Khepri. And his visible form, the sun-disk (Aten) became yet another manifestation of the god himself. The hymns to the sun-god of the twin brothers Suti and Hor, who lived in the reign of Amenhotep III, address the god in these various forms, and they accord a prominent place to the Aten, the most recently evolved personification of the god. In the first hymn the sun-god is addressed as Amun, Harakhti, Re, and Khepri; in the second hymn he is Aten, Khepri, and Horus.

The hymns are inscribed on a rectangular stela in door form, of gray granite and measuring 1.44 x 0.88 m. The central portion of the surface is carved to resemble a round-topped stela. In the lunette are the standing figures of Anubis and Osiris who are adored by the brothers Suti and Hor and their wives. The figures of the worshipping couples have been erased. Below the figures are twenty-one horizontal lines of text. The first hymn ends in the middle of line 8. The second runs from the middle of line 8 to near the end of line 14. The remaining lines consist of personal statements and prayers of the two brothers.

First Hymn

(1) Adoration of Amun when he rises as Harakhti
by the overseer of the works of Amun, Suti,
(and) the overseer of the works of Amun, Hor.
They say:

Hail to you, Re, perfect each day,
Who rises at dawn without failing,
Khepri who wearies himself with toil!
Your rays are on the face, yet unknown,
Fine gold does not match your splendor;
Self-made you fashioned your body,
Creator uncreated.
Sole one, unique one, who traverses eternity,

[Remote one],¹ with millions under his care;
Your splendor is like heaven's splendor,
Your color brighter than its hues.
When you cross the sky all faces see you,
When you set you are hidden from their (5)
sight;

Daily you give yourself at dawn,
Safe is your sailing under your majesty.
In a brief day you race a course,
Hundred thousands, millions of miles;
A moment is each day to you,
It has passed when you go down.
You also complete the hours of night,
You order it without pause in your labor.

¹ What is written is *hry w³wt*, "who is above the ways," but perhaps *hryw*, "remote," was intended.

Through you do all eyes see,
They lack aim when your majesty sets.
When you stir to rise at dawn,
Your brightness opens the eyes of the herds;
When you set in the western mountain,
They sleep as in the state of death.

Second Hymn

Hail to you, Aten of daytime,
Creator of all, who makes them live!
Great falcon, brightly plumed,
Beetle who raised himself.
Self-creator, uncreated,
Eldest Horus within Nut,
Acclaimed (10) in his rising and setting.
Maker of the earth's yield,
Khnum and Amun of mankind,
Who seized the Two Lands from great to small.
Beneficent mother of gods and men,
Craftsman with a patient heart,
Toiling long to make them countless.
Valiant shepherd who drives his flock,
Their refuge, made to sustain them.
Runner, racer, courser,
Khepri of distinguished birth,
Who raises his beauty in the body of Nut,
Who lights the Two Lands with his disk.
The Two Lands' Oldest who made himself,
Who sees all that he made, he alone.
Who reaches the ends of the lands every day,
In the sight of those who tread on them.
Rising in heaven formed as Re,
He makes the seasons with the months,
Heat as he wishes, cold as he wishes.
He makes bodies slack, he gathers them up,
Every land rejoices at his rising,
Every day gives praise to him.

Prayers

The overseer of works, Suti; the overseer of works, (15) Hor. He says:

I was controller in your sanctuary,
Overseer of works in your very shrine,
Made for you by your beloved son,
The Lord of the Two Lands, *Nebmare*,³ given life.

My lord made me controller of your monuments,
Because he knew my vigilance.

I was a vigorous controller of your monuments,
One who did right (*maat*) as you wished.

For I knew you are content with right,
You advance him who does it on earth.

I did it and you advanced me,
You made me favored on earth in Ipet-sut,⁴
One who was in your following when you appeared.⁵

I was a true one who abhors falsehood,
Who does not trust the words of a liar.

But my brother, my likeness, his ways I trust,
He came from the womb with me the same day.

The overseer(s) of Amun's works in Southern Ipet,⁶ Suti, Hor.

When I was in charge on the westside,
He was in charge on the eastside.

We controlled great monuments in Ipet-sut,
At the front of Thebes, the city of Amun.

May you give me old age in your city,
My eye <beholding> your beauty;
A burial in the west, the place of heart's content,
As I join the favored ones who went in peace.
May you give me sweet breeze when I land,
And [garlands]⁷ on the day of the *wag*-feast.

¹ Or, "when he embraces them?" But a contrast with slackness is more plausible.

³ Amenhotep III. The two brothers were architects in the service of this king.

⁴ Karnak.

⁵ When the statue of Amun appeared in a festival procession.

⁶ Luxor.

⁷ The *sšdw* received on a feast day must be decorative ribbons, scarves, or garlands rather than wrappings.

REFERENCES

Text: *Hiero. Texts*, Part 8:22-25 and pls. xxi; Varille 1942; *Urk. IV* 1943-1947; Stewart 1957:3-5. Translations: Sainte Fare Garnot 1948; 1949; Helck 1961; Fecht 1967; *ANET* 367-368; Lichtheim *AEL* 2:86-89.

THE GREAT HYMN TO THE ATEN (1.28)

In the Tomb of Ay — West Wall, 13 Columns

Miriam Lichtheim

The texts in the tomb of the courtier Ay have yielded the most extensive statements of Aten worship. Here we have not only several short hymns and prayers but, above all, the long text which has come to be known as "The Great Hymn to the Aten." The east wall of the tomb is inscribed with three hymns and prayers to the Aten and to

the king, and the west wall contains the great hymn. The long text columns begin at the top of the wall. Below the text are the kneeling relief figures of Ay and his wife.

"The Great Hymn to the Aten" ^a is an eloquent and beautiful statement of the doctrine of the one god. He alone has created the world and all it contains. He alone gives life to man and beast. He alone watches over his creations. He alone inhabits the sky. Heretofore the sun-god had appeared in three major forms: as Harakhti in the morning, as Khepri in midday, and as Atum in the evening. His daily journey across the sky had been done in the company of many gods. It had involved the ever-recurring combat against the primordial serpent Apopis. In traversing the night sky the god had been acclaimed by the multitudes of the dead who rest there; and each hour of the night had marked a specific stage in his journey. Thus the daily circuit of the sky was a drama with a large supporting cast. In the new doctrine of the Aten as sole god all these facets were eliminated. The Aten rises and sets in lonely majesty in an empty sky. Only the earth is peopled by his creatures, and only they adore his rising and setting.

(1) Adoration of *Re-Harakhti-who-rejoices-in-lightland* *In-his-name-Shu-who-is-Aten*, living forever; the great living Aten who is in jubilee, the lord of all that the Disk encircles, lord of sky, lord of earth, lord of Lower Egypt, who lives by Maat, the lord of the Two lands, *Nefer-kheprure*, *Sole-one-of-Re*; the Son of Re who lives by Maat, the Lord of Crowns, *Akhenaten*, great in his lifetime; (and) his beloved great Queen, the Lady of the Two Lands, *Nefer-nefru-Aten Nefertiti*, who lives in health and youth forever. The Vizier, the Fanbearer on the right of the King, ---- [Ay]; he says:¹

Splendid you rise in heaven's lightland,
O living Aten, creator of life!
When you have dawned in eastern lightland,
You fill every land with your beauty.
You are beauteous, great, radiant,
High over every land;
Your rays embrace the lands,
To the limit of all that you made,
Being Re, you reach their limits,²
You bend them <for> the son whom you
love;
Though you are far, your rays are on earth,
Though one sees you, your strides are unseen.

When you set in western lightland,
Earth is in darkness as if in death;^b
One sleeps in chambers, heads covered,
One eye does not see another.
Were they robbed of their goods,
That are under their heads,
People would not remark it.
Every lion comes from its den,

^a Cf. Ps 104

^b Ps 104:20

^c Ps 104:23

^d Ps 104:12

^e Ps 104:25-26

All the serpents bite;³
Darkness hovers, earth is silent,
As their maker rests in lightland.

Earth brightens when you dawn in lightland,
When you shine as Aten of daytime;
As you dispel the dark,
As you cast your rays,
The Two Lands are in festivity.
Awake they stand on their feet,
You have roused them;
Bodies cleansed, (5) clothed,
Their arms adore your appearance.
The entire land sets out to work,^c
All beasts browse on their herbs;
Trees, herbs are sprouting,
Birds fly from their nests,
Their wings greeting your *ka*.^d
All flocks frisk on their feet,
All that fly up and alight,
They live when you dawn for them.
Ships fare north, fare south as well,
Roads lie open when you rise;
The fish in the river dart before you,
Your rays are the midst the sea.^e

Who makes seed grow in women,
Who creates people from sperm;
Who feeds the son in his mother's womb,
Who soothes him to still his tears.
Nurse in the womb,
Giver of breath,
To nourish all that he made.
When he comes from the womb to breathe,
On the day of this birth,
You open wide his mouth,

¹ Though the hymn was undoubtedly composed for recitation by the king, inscribed in the tomb of Ay, it was adapted to recitation by the courtier.

² The sentence consists of a wordplay on *r^c*, "Sun," and *r^c*, "end," "limit."

³ This is one of several passages that recall similar formulations in Ps 104 and have led to speculations about possible interconnections between the Hymn to the Aten and the psalm. The resemblances are, however, more likely to be the result of the generic similarity between Eg. hymns and biblical psalms. A specific literary interdependence is not probable. For many of the generic similarities, see Auffret 1981:133-316.

You supply his needs,
When the chick in the egg speaks in the shell,
You give him breath within to sustain him;
When you have made him complete,
To break out from the egg,
He comes out from the egg,
To announce his completion,
Walking on his legs he comes from it.

How many are your deeds,^f
Though hidden from sight,
O sole God beside whom there is none!^g
You made the earth as you wished, you alone,
^h All peoples, herds, and flocks;
All upon the earth that walk on legs,
All on high that fly on wings,^h
The lands of Khor and Kush,
The land of Egypt.
You set every man in his place,
You supply their needs;
Everyone has his food,
His lifetime is counted.
Their tongues differ in speech,
Their characters likewise;
Their skins are distinct,
For you distinguished the peoples.⁴

You made Hapy in the *Duat*,⁵
You bring him when you will,
To nourish the people,
For you made them for yourself.
Lord of all who toils for them,
Lord of all lands who shines for them,
Aten of daytime, great in glory!
All distant lands, you make them live,
You made a heavenly Hapy descend from them;
(10) He makes waves on the mountains like the sea,
To drench their fields and their towns.
How excellent are your ways, O Lord of eternity!
A Hapy from heaven for foreign peoples,
And all lands' creatures that walk on legs,
For Egypt the Hapy who comes from the *Duat*.⁶

f Ps 104:24

g Isa 43:10

h-h Ps 8:7-8

Your rays nurse all fields,
When you shine they live, they grow for you;
You made the seasons to foster all that you made,
Winter to cool them, heat that they taste you.
You made the far sky to shine therein,
To behold all that you made;
You alone, shining in your form of living
Aten,
Risen, radiant, distant, near.
You made millions of forms from yourself alone,
Towns, villages, fields, the river's course;
All eyes observe you upon them,
For you are the Aten of daytime on high.
... --- ...⁷

You are in my heart,
There is no other who knows you,
Only your son, *Neferkheprure, Sole-one-of-Re*,
Whom you have taught your ways and your might.
<Those on> earth come from your hand as you made them,
When you have dawned they live,
When you set they die;
You yourself are lifetime, one lives by you.
All eyes are on <your> beauty until you set,
All labor ceases when you rest in the west;
When you rise you stir [everyone] for the King,
Every leg is on the move since you founded the earth.
You rouse them for your son who came from your body,
The King who lives by Maat, the Lord of the Two Lands,
Neferkheprure, Sole-one-of-Re,
The Son of Re who lives by Maat, the Lord of crowns,
Akhenaten, great in his lifetime;
(and) the great Queen whom he loves, the Lady of the Two Lands,
Nefer-nefru-Aten Nefertiti, living forever.

⁴ The Hymn to the Aten expresses the cosmopolitan and humanist outlook of the New Kingdom at its purest and most sympathetic. All peoples are seen as the creatures of the sun-god, who has made them diverse in skin color, speech, and character. Their diversity is described objectively, without a claim of Eg. superiority. On the theme of the differentiation of languages see Sauneron 1960:31-41.

⁵ The netherworld.

⁶ Hapy, the inundating Nile, emerges from the netherworld to nourish Egypt, while foreign peoples are sustained by a "Nile from heaven" who descends as rain.

⁷ Several obscure sentences containing corruptions and a lacuna.

REFERENCES

Text: Davies 1903-08 6:29-31 and pls. xxvii and xli; Sandman 1938:93-96. Translation: *ANET* 369-371; Gardiner 1961:225-227; Simpson 1973:289-295; Lichtheim *AEL* 2:96-100; Studies: Auffret 1981:133-316.

4. PRAYERS

PRAYER TO RE-HARAKHTI (1.29)

Michael V. Fox

This is an individual supplication in a fairly stereotypic form, probably designed for use by different people in various situations. The worshipper asks for acceptance of his prayers without praying for anything in particular and confesses his sins and folly without reference to specific transgressions.

The worshipper seems to be a pilgrim to the temple at Heliopolis. The prayer is an expression of "personal piety," a form of religion prominent in the Ramesside period (see, e.g., Fecht 1965). It emphasizes the individual's humility and frailty and his dependence on god.

Some biblical psalms speak out of a similar context: a pilgrim expressing his confidence and joy when visiting the temple, where he imagines himself dwelling always in God's presence. Compare Pss 23:6; 26:8; 27:4; 84, esp. vv 3, 5, 11; 42:3; 43:3-4; 122:1. Other psalms resemble this prayer in confessing frailty and sinfulness, e.g. Pss 25:7; 51; 40:13.

Prayer to Pre^c-Harakhty¹

(1) Come to me, Pre^c-Harakhty,
that you may perform (your) will.
You are the one who takes action,
there being none who takes action apart from
you,
but (one can act) only if you are acting with
him.²

(6) Come to me, Atum, every day!
You are the noble god.
My heart has gone forth,
travelling southward to Heliopolis.
[...]

(11) My heart rejoices,
my bosom exults.

Hear my prayers —
my supplications by day,
(15) my hymns by night.
For my petitions are constant in my mouth,

a Ps 84:3, 5,
11; 42:3;
43:3-4

They are heard throughout the day.⁴

O sole one, unique!⁵
(20) O Pre^c-Harakhty,
the likes of whom does not exist here.
Protector of millions,
who deliverers hundreds of thousands,
the helper of the one who cries to him,
(25) the lord of Heliopolis.⁶

Visit not my many offenses upon me,
I am one ignorant of himself.
I am a mindless man,
who all day follows his mouth,
(30) like an ox after grass.⁷

If my evenings (?) [...] I am one who to whom repose comes.
I spend the day walking about
in the (temple) court,^a
(35) I spend the night [...] ⁸

¹ Text: Pap. Anastasi II, 10, 1-11, 2; late New Kingdom (Gardiner 1937:18-19). Translations and bibliography: Caminos 1954:60ff.; ANET 379; Assmann no. 176; Barucq and Daumas 1980:145-46. The text appears in an anthology of model texts for scribal students. Pre^c-Harakhty is a Late Eg. name of the sun god in his daytime form; Re-Harakhti is the more common earlier name.

² Stanza I (invocation) plays on the word *iri*, "do," "take action," "perform," "create," etc. The theme is that God alone can act effectively of his own accord. Similar phraseology is elsewhere used in praising a god as *creator*, but the theme here seems to be God's effectiveness in general.

³ Stanza II (invocation) declares the worshipper's delight in God's presence.

⁴ In Stanza III (appeal), the worshipper calls upon god to hear his prayers.

⁵ "Sole One" or "unique" (*w^c*) is a common sobriquet of gods. It praises a particular god's uniqueness without denying the existence of other gods. See Hornung 1982:185-86, 230-37.

⁶ Stanza IV (praise) is a series of epithets praising the god as protector and deliverer.

⁷ In Stanza V (confession), the penitent declares his weakness and ignorance. He says that he follows his mouth—his ungoverned desires—as thoughtlessly as a grazing ox does his.

⁸ Stanza VI (confidence) is uncertain and incomplete. The penitent finds serenity in the "temple court" (uncertain, but the divine determinative shows that it is a location associated with the temple). There he spends his days and (possibly) his nights.

REFERENCES

Assmann 1975b; Barucq and Daumas 1980; Caminos 1954; Fecht 1965; Gardiner 1937; Hornung 1982.

5. HARPERS' SONGS

THE SONG FROM THE TOMB OF KING INTEF (1.30)

Miriam Lichtheim

The song is preserved in two New Kingdom copies. First, on pages vi, 2-vii, 3, of the Ramesside Papyrus Harris 500 (= P. British Museum 10060); and, second, carved on a wall of the tomb of Paatenemheb from Saqqara, now in Leiden, which dates from the reign of Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten). The latter copy, which is incomplete, is written above the heads of a group of four musicians led by a blind harpist. The song's introductory line states that it reproduces a song inscribed in the tomb of a King Intef — a name that was borne by a number of kings of the 11th and of the 17th Dynasties. Since the two New Kingdom copies reproduce a genuinely Middle Egyptian text, we need not doubt that an original text, carved in a royal tomb of the Middle Kingdom, existed.

The phrase "make holiday" (*ir hrw nfr*), which the singer of the *Intef Song* addresses to the audience, was a term employed in situations of daily life as well as in reference to death and the afterlife. Furthermore, it is known that funerary banquets were held in the cemeteries on feast days. It is thus quite possible that Harpers' Songs were sung at such funerary banquets, and that they employed the "make holiday" theme in its multiple meanings. In the context of the funerary banquet the various meanings would blend into one.

The theme of sorrow over death properly belonged to the Laments on Death which were an integral part of the burial ceremony. What is noteworthy is that these laments juxtapose sorrow and joy in a manner similar to the *Intef Song* and subsequent Harpers' Songs, and move rapidly back and forth between grief and joy:

I have wept, I have mourned!
O all people, remember getting drunk on wine,
With wreaths and perfume on your heads!¹

The dead too had joy: "How good is this which happens to him!"²

Given the multiple meanings of the "make holiday" theme, it follows that it was not the use of this theme which made the *Intef Song* so startling, but rather its skepticism concerning the reality of the afterlife and the effectiveness of tomb-building. It was this skepticism which injected a strident note of discord into a class of songs that had been designed to praise and reassure. The incongruity is of the same order as that which one observes in the *Dispute between a Man and His Ba*. For there the *ba*, though itself the guarantor of immortality, is given the role of denigrating death and immortality, denying the worth of tombs, and counseling enjoyment of life. The incongruity was not lost on the Egyptians, as the subsequent development of Harpers' Songs reveals. The Harpers' Songs of the New Kingdom show two responses to the *Intef Song*: an outright rejection of its "impious" thoughts, and a toning down of its skepticism so as to remove the sting. Both solutions are found side by side in two Harpers' Songs carved on the walls of the New Kingdom tomb of a priest Neferhotep.³

The objection to the skeptic-hedonistic message is phrased thus:

I have heard those songs that are in the tombs of old,
And what they relate in extolling life on earth,
And in belittling the land of the dead.
Why is this done to the land of eternity,
The just and fair that holds no terror?

There follows the praise of eternal life.

The toning down of the skeptical approach took various forms, and resulted in Harpers' Songs that were eclectic and lacked unity. But though toned down, the note of skepticism could be heard, sometimes faintly, sometimes clearly, in Harpers' Songs and in other compositions, as a haunting suspicion that the struggle to win immortality was at best beset by uncertainties and at worst, futile.

(vi 2) Song which is in the tomb of King Intef,
the justified, in front of the singer with the harp.

He is happy, this good prince!
"Death is a kindly fate".⁴

¹ See Lüddeckens 1943:149-150; the passage is from a Saqqara tomb in Leiden (Holwerda-Boeser 1905-1932 4:pl. 15).

² Lüddeckens 1943:100: *wꜥꜥꜥ wy nn hpr n.f.*, from Theban tomb number 49.

³ Theban tomb number 50; see Lichtheim 1945:178ff. and below, pp. 49-50.

⁴ *Šꜥw nfr ḥꜥꜥ* has been variously interpreted. In Lichtheim 1945:192, I emended *ḥꜥꜥ* to *hpr* in accordance with the parallel introductory phrase in the first Harper's Song of the Tomb of Neferhotep. Ferdm (1946:259) proposed a different division of the sentences: *wꜥꜥꜥ pw sr pn/ nfr šꜥw/ nfr ḥꜥꜥ*, and rendered, "A happy one is this prince; good is the destiny; good is the injury." Wilson (ANET 467) retained the

A generation passes, ^a	a Eccl 1:4	Hence rejoice in your heart! ^c
Another stays,	b Eccl 1:11	Forgetfulness profits you, ⁶
Since the time of the ancestors.		Follow your heart as long as you live!
The gods who were before rest in their tombs,	c Eccl 11:9-10	(vi 10) Put myrrh on your head,
Blessed (vi 5) nobles too are buried in their tombs.	d Eccl 3:22	Dress in fine linen,
(Yet) those who built tombs,		Anoint yourself with oils fit for a god. ⁷
Their places are gone,		Heap up your joys,
What has become of them?		Let your heart not sink!
I have heard the words of Imhotep and Harde def, ⁵		Follow your heart and your happiness, ^d
Whose sayings are recited whole.		Do your things on earth as your heart commands!
What of their places?		When there comes to you that day of mourning,
Their walls have crumbled,		The Weary-hearted ⁸ hears not their mourning,
Their places are gone,		Wailing saves no man from the pit!
As though they had never been! ^b		Refrain (vii 2): Make holiday,
None comes from there,		Do not weary of it!
To tell of their state,		Lo, none is allowed to take his goods with him,
To tell of their needs,		Lo, none who departs comes back again!
To calm our hearts,		
Until we go where they have gone!		

earlier division and translated: "Prosperous is he, this good prince/ Even though good fortune may suffer harm." In addition, some have wanted to read *wḏ* rather than *wḏḏ*. But *wḏḏ* is strongly supported by the parallel phrases in the *Totenklagen*. The sentence *wḏḏ wy nn ḥpr n.f* from Theban tomb number 49 recurs in Theban tomb number 106 in the form of a quotation (See Lüddeckens 1943:100-101), thereby showing that it was the proper thing to say at a funeral.

I now attempt yet another rendering, in which *ḥḏy* is taken to be a noun denoting destruction, i.e., death, and *ḥw nfr*, though undoubtedly a euphemism for death, is retained in its literal meaning, the whole being a nominal sentence without *pw*.

The new interpretation of the whole song which Lorton (1968:45ff) tried is entirely mistaken.

⁵ The two famous sages of the Old Kingdom, who were worshiped as gods. An Instruction ascribed to Imhotep, the vizier of King Djoser, has not come to light.

⁶ Contrary to my earlier rendering I now divide *wḏḏ.k ib.k rs/ mhḏ ib ḥr sḏḥ n.k*; for I have become convinced that any overlong and unbalanced sentence in a poetic text is the result of wrong division and mistranslation.

⁷ Lit., "with the genuine marvels that belong to a god."

⁸ The god Osiris.

REFERENCES

Text: Budge 1910:23-24, pls. xlv-xlvi; Müller 1899:29-30, pls. xii-xvi; Holwerda-Boeser 1905-1932 4:pl. 6 (the tomb copy). Translation: Erman 1927:133-134; Breasted 1933:163-164; Lichtheim 1945:192-193; AEL 1:194-197; ANET 467-468; Daumas 1965:404.

THE SONG FROM THE TOMB OF NEFERHOTEP (1.31)

(Theban Tomb No. 50)

Miriam Lichtheim

When they first appeared in the Middle Kingdom, the texts known as Harper's Songs were designed to praise death and the life after death. But in the famous *Harper's Song from the Tomb of King Intef*, preserved in a papyrus copy, the praises of the afterlife were replaced by anxious doubts about its reality, and by the advice to make merry while alive and to shun the thought of death. Such a skeptic-hedonistic message may have originated in songs sung at secular feasts; but when transmitted as a funerary text inscribed in a tomb and addressed to the tomb-owner, the message became incongruous and discordant. The incongruity did not pass unnoticed. In the tomb of the priest Neferhotep there are three Harper's Songs, each expressing a particular response. One song continued the skeptic-hedonistic theme but blended it with elements of traditional piety in an attempt to tone down and harmonize the contrary viewpoints. The second song is an outright rejection of skepticism and hedonism, coupled with a praise of the land of the dead. The third is a description of life after death in traditional ritualistic terms. Thus, the three songs in one and the same tomb reflect the Egyptian preoccupation with the nature of death and the varying and conflicting answers and attitudes which continued side by side.

The second and third songs, and the figures of the harpers who recite them, form part of a banquet scene on the left rear wall of the hall. The first song occurs in the context of an offering-table scene, in the passage leading

from the hall to the inner shrine. The second song, the one that deliberately rejects the skeptic message, is translated below.

Says the singer-with-harp of the divine father of Amun, Neferhotep,¹ justified:

All ye excellent nobles and gods of the grave-yard,
Hearken to the praise-giving for the divine father,
The worship of the honored noble's excellent *ba*,
Now that he is a god everliving, exalted in the West;
May they² become a remembrance for posterity,
For everyone who comes to pass by.
I have heard those songs that are in the tombs of old,
What they tell in extolling life on earth,

a Job 4:12-21; 7:7-9;
10:20-21
Ps 62:9

In belittling the land of the dead.³
Why is this done to the land of eternity,
The right and just that has no terrors?
Strife is abhorrent to it,
No one girds himself against his fellow;
This land that has no opponent,
All our kinsmen rest in it
Since the time of the first beginning.
Those to be born to millions of millions,
All of them will come to it;
No one may linger in the land of Egypt,
There is none who does not arrive in it.⁴
As to the time of deeds on earth,^a
It is the occurrence of a dream;⁵
One says: "Welcome safe and sound,"
To him who reaches the West.

¹ The name and priestly title of the tomb-owner. The harpist remains unnamed.

² The praises.

³ In these lines the singer explicitly refers to harper's songs that express skepticism (see the previous song).

⁴ The thought expressed in this quatrain occurs in almost identical terms in hymns to Osiris, where it is the god, rather than the land of the dead, to whom all must come; see Louvre Stela C 218 (Pierret 1874-1878 2:134-138) and BM Stela 164 (*Hiero. Texts*, 9:25-26 and pls. xxi-xxia).

⁵ Note the appearance of the thought that life is a dream.

REFERENCES

Text: Pierret 1874-1878 2:134-138; Gardiner 1913:165-170; Erman 1927:253-254; *Hiero. Texts*, 9:25-26, pls. xxi-xxia. Translation: Lichtheim 1945:178-212 and pls. i-vii; *AEL* 2:115-116; *ANET* 33-34.

6. DIVINATION, INCANTATION, RITUAL

EXECRATION TEXTS (1.32)

Robert K. Ritner

From the Old Kingdom through the Roman era, priests performed official ritual cursings of the potential enemies of Egypt. The ceremonies included the breaking of red pots¹ and figurines inscribed with formal "Execration Texts" listing Nubians, Asiatics, Libyans, living and deceased Egyptians, as well as generally threatening forces. The texts themselves contain no explicit curses, but instead serve to identify the fate of the enemies with that of the destroyed pot or image. The texts were seemingly compiled by the state chancellor, since they were updated to reflect changes in rulers and territories. This translation follows the Middle Kingdom Berlin bowls (mid-12th Dynasty), supplemented by slightly earlier parallel texts from an intact deposit at the Nubian fortress of Mirgissa.

A. Nubia

The ruler of Kush, Auau, born of [...], and all the stricken ones² who are with him.

a Jer 19:1-11;
Amos 1:2-4;
Num 22-24

The ruler of Saï, Seteqtenkekh, and all the stricken ones who are with him.
The ruler of Webasepet, Bakuayt, called

¹ Cp. the biblical "Oracles against the Nations" where the places named become the target of magic or divine action (e.g., Isa 13-27; Jer 45-51; Ezek 25-29; Amos 1-2; Zeph 2; Zech 9 and scripture note *a* above). See Ritner 1993:140, n. 623.

² For the corrected reading and prospective nuance of "captive," see Ritner 1993:141, n. 628.

Tchay, born of Ihaas, born to Wenkat, and all the stricken ones who are with him. The ruler of Webasepet, Iauny, born of Gem-hu(?) [...], born to Ti[...], and all the stricken ones who are with him. The Medjay, Wah-ib, born of [...]tphua, born to Wenkat, and all the stricken ones who are with him. The ruler of Ausheq, and all the stricken ones who are with him. Every Nubian of Kush, of Muger, of Saï, of Irs[...], of Nasem, of Rida, of Irsukhet, of Iamnas, of Ia[...], [of ...]jamu, of Tuksa, of Bahass, of Ma[...]ia, of Ibis, of Gas(?), of Ausheq, of Webasepet, of laat-..., of laat, of Tcheksis, of Megseruia, of Ruhpuba-wit(?), Their strong men, their messengers, their confederates, their allies, who will rebel, who will plot, who will fight, who will say³ that they will fight, who will say that they will rebel, in this entire land.	b Num 13:22-33; Deut 2:10; Josh 11:21-22; 14:6-15; 15:13-19 c Num 24:17 d Josh 13:3; Judg 1:18 e Josh 15:8	The ruler of <i>Qhrmw</i>, 'Ammu-(y)atar,¹³ and all the stricken ones who are with him. The ruler of <i>Qhrmw</i>, <i>Hm̄inw</i>, and all the stricken ones who are with him. The ruler of <i>Qhrmw</i>, 'Ammu-yakûn,¹⁴ and all the stricken ones who are with him. The ruler of Arhâbu,¹⁵ <i>prwhq</i>, and all the stricken ones who are with him. The ruler of Arhâbu, <i>Iym^cn^cwmw</i>, and all the stricken ones who are with him. The ruler of <i>Isinw</i>, <i>Iykwdd²</i>'s son <i>mmwt²i</i>, and all the stricken ones who are with him. The ruler of <i>Isinw</i>, <i>wdwšnw</i>, and all the stricken ones who are with him. The ruler of <i>Isinw</i>, <i>M²mw</i>, and all the stricken ones who are with him. The ruler of <i>Inhi²</i>, Malki-ilum,¹⁶ and all the stricken ones who are with him. The ruler of <i>Inhi²</i>, <i>qhm</i>, and all the stricken ones who are with him. The ruler of <i>Inhi²</i>, Kamarum,¹⁷ and all the stricken ones who are with him. The ruler of <i>Inhi²</i>, Yap^cânu,¹⁸ and all the stricken ones who are with him. The ruler of <i>qhi</i>, <i>Iyq²dmw</i>, and all the stricken ones who are with him. The ruler of <i>qhi</i>, <i>šmšw²ir²im</i>, and all the stricken ones who are with him. The ruler of 'Irqatum,¹⁹ <i>Pwmqhti</i>, and all the stricken ones who are with him. The ruler of Ashkelon,²⁰ <i>H²ykm</i>,²¹ and all the stricken ones who are with him. The ruler of Ashkelon, <i>Hkt̄nw</i> (?), and all the stricken ones who are with him. [The ruler of ..., and all the stricken ones who are] with him. The ruler of Muti-ilu,²² <i>Mnt̄m</i>, and all the stricken ones who are with him. The ruler of Jerusalem,²³ 'Yaqr-'Ammu,²⁴
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B. Asia

The ruler of Iy-anq,⁴ *Er̄um*,⁵ and all the stricken ones who are with him.

The ruler of Iy-anq, *Abi-yamimu*,⁶ and all the stricken ones who are with him.

The ruler of Iy-anq, Akirum,⁷ and all the stricken ones who are with him.

The ruler of Shutu,⁸ *Ayyabum*,⁹ and all the stricken ones who are with him.

The ruler of Shutu, Kushar,¹⁰ and all the stricken ones who are with him.

The ruler of Shutu, Zabulanu,¹¹ and all the stricken ones who are with him.

The ruler of *ymw^crrw*, *Hâlu-barîh*,¹² and all the stricken ones who are with him.

³ Or "think."⁴ Wilson (ANET 329) notes the suggested relation of *ym^cnq* to 'Anaqim "giants" in Canaan; see also Lipiński 1974:41-48.⁵ So suggested by Wilson (ANET 328) for *cm*.⁶ So suggested by Wilson (ANET 328) for *ibym^cm^cw*.⁷ So suggested by Wilson (ANET 328) for *k²m*.⁸ Wilson (ANET 329) suggests the identification of *šmw* with Moab on the basis of Num 24:17, "sons of Sheth."⁹ Wilson (ANET 329) identifies *ym^cbm* with cuneiform Ayyab, "Job."¹⁰ Suggested by Wilson (ANET 329) for *Kwšr*.¹¹ Wilson (ANET 329) identifies *Tb²nw* with cuneiform for "Zebulon."¹² Lit., *H²wb²h*, see: Albright 1934:7.¹³ Lit., *mmwt²*, see: Albright 1934:7.¹⁴ Lit., *mmwikn*, see: Albright 1934:7.¹⁵ Lit., *prhbw*, see: Albright 1934:7.¹⁶ Lit., *M²(?)k²m*, see: Albright 1934:7.¹⁷ Lit., *Km²m*, see: Albright 1934:7.¹⁸ Lit., *Iyp^cnw*, see: Albright 1934:7.¹⁹ Lit., *cm²qm*, see: Albright 1934:7.²⁰ Wilson (ANET 329) identifies *Isq²nw* with cuneiform "Ashqaluna."²¹ Wilson (ANET 329) suggests a vocalization Khalu-kim.²² So Albright 1934:7, for *Mwt²*.²³ Hieroglyphic *wš²mm*.²⁴ Hieroglyphic *Iyq²cmw*.

and all the stricken ones who are with him.
 The ruler of Jerusalem, Seti-^cAnu,²⁵ and all the stricken ones who are with him.
 The ruler of ^chmt, [...]^{ks}^m, and all the stricken ones who are with him.
 The ruler of Alhânu,²⁶ ^{lym}^cⁱ^w, and all the stricken ones who are with him.
 All rulers of ^{lysipi}, and all the stricken ones who are with them.
 All the Asiatics of Byblos,^f of Ullaza, of Iy-anq, of Shutu, of ^{lymw}^c^{rrw}, of ^{Qhrmw}, of ^{Arhâbu}, of Yarmût,²⁷ of ^{lnhi}², of ^{qhi}, of ^cIrqatum, of Yarmût (sic.), of ^{Isinw}, of Ashkelon, of ^{Dmit}ⁱ^w, of Muti-ilu, of Jerusalem, of Alhânu, of ^{lysipi},
 Their strong men, their messengers, their confederates, their allies, the tribesmen in Asia, who will rebel, who will plot, who will fight, who will say that they will fight, who will say that they will rebel, in this entire land.

C. Libya

The chiefs in Libya, all Libyans and their rulers.

Their strong men, their messengers, their confederates, their allies, who will rebel, who will plot, who will fight, who will say that they will fight, who will say that they will rebel, in this entire land.

D. Egyptians

All people (i.e., "Egyptians"), all patricians,

f Josh 13:5

all commoners, all men, all eunuchs, all women, all nobles, who will rebel, who will plot, who will fight, who will say that they will fight, who will say that they will rebel, every rebel who will say that he will rebel, in this entire land.

The deceased²⁸ Ameni, tutor of Sit-Bastet, who raised Sit-Hathor, daughter of Neferu.

The deceased Senwosret-seneb, the younger, called "Little One," tutor of Sit-Ipi, daughter of Sit-Hathor, who raised Kamu, daughter of Sit-Hathor.

The deceased Sehetep-ib, tutor of Sit-Hathor, who raised Iwt-rehu-ankh.

The deceased Sobekhotep, born of Renes-ankh.

The deceased Seni-ankh, born of Iwrw, born to Hetepi.

The deceased Senwosret, called Witu, born to Ameny.

The deceased Amenemhat, born of Hepiu, born to Mutchau.

The deceased Ameny, born of Hetep, born to Senwosret.

E. Evil Things

Every evil word, every evil speech, every evil slander,²⁹ every evil intent, every evil plot, every evil fight, every evil disturbance, every evil plan, every evil thing, every evil dream in every evil sleep.

²⁵ Hieroglyphic ^{Sf}^c^{mw}.

²⁶ So Albright 1934:7 for ^{ly}^h^{mw}.

²⁷ So Albright 1934:7 for ^{ly}²^{mw}.

²⁸ For the corrected reading, see Ritner 1993:141, n. 627.

²⁹ Or "incantation."

REFERENCES

Texts: Sethe 1926; Koenig 1990. Translations and studies: *ANET* 328-329; Ritner 1993:136-190.

DREAM ORACLES (1.33) (P. Chester Beatty III, P. BM 10683)

Robert K. Ritner

The Chester Beatty "Dream Book" is currently the oldest surviving manual of dream interpretation. Perhaps deriving from a 12th Dyn. original, the present manuscript dates from the 19th Dynasty and was the property of senior scribes at the royal workmen's village of Deir el-Medineh.¹ The book comprises eleven columns in tabular form, each preceded by the vertically-written heading: "If a man see himself in a dream." The horizontal lines of the columns briefly detail the dream image, whether or not it is favorable, and the prognostication for the dreamer. The text is arranged in discrete units, with good dreams listed before bad ones (highlighted by red ink), and a concluding incantation to avert any evil results. The entire pattern was repeated twice, once for "followers" of Horus and again for those associated with Seth.² The interpretations are often based on religious symbolism or paronomasia ("puns"), with many sexual situations and ironic reversals.³

For the Egyptians, as for many cultures, dreams provided a point of contact between the divine and human worlds, so that dreams might be sought for inspiration or healing (incubation), or for communication with the

dead; see Vernus 1986. Conversely, enemies might send evil dreams, and the execration texts (above, pp. 50-52) specifically combat "every evil dream in every evil sleep." For other protections against night terrors, see Ritner 1990.

If a man see himself in a dream: ^a

(2/7) Shooting at a target. [Good.] It means something good will happen to him.

(2/9) [Mentioning] his wife to a husband. Good. It means the retreat of evils attached to him.

(2/11) His penis having become large. Good. It means an increase of his property.

(2/12) [Taking(?)] a bow in his hand. Good. The giving to him of his (most) important office.

(2/13) Dying adversely. Good. It means living after the death of his father.

(2/14) Seeing the god who is above.⁴ Good. It means much food.

(2/20) His mouth filled with dirt. Good. Living off⁵ of his townsmen.

(2/21) Eating the flesh of a donkey. Good. It means his promotion.⁶

(2/22) Eating the flesh of a crocodile. Good. [It means] living off⁷ the property of an official.

(2/24) Looking through a window. Good. The hearing of his cry by his god.

(2/25) Being given papyrus reeds. Good. It means hearing his cry.

(2/26) Seeing himself atop a house. Good. [It means] finding something.

(3/2) [Seeing] himself in mourning. Good. An increase of his property.

(3/3) His hair having become long.⁸ Good. It means something at which his face will light up (i.e., "be be joyful").

(3/4) Being given white bread. Good. It means something [at which his face] will light up.⁹

(3/5) Drinking wine. Good. It means living in Truth.

(3/7) Copulating with his mother ... Good. [It means] cleaving to him by his relatives.

^a Gen 37:5-10; 40:5-41, 36; 1 Sam 28:6; Dan 2:1-45; Jer 29:8-9

(3/8) Copulating with his sister. Good. It means the transferral to him of property.

(3/17) Being given a head. Good. The opening of his mouth to speak.

(4/1) Killing a snake. Good. Killing a quarrel.¹⁰

(4/2) Seeing his face as a panther. Good. Acting as chief.

(4/3) Seeing a large cat. Good. It means a large harvest will occur for him.¹¹

(4/4) Drinking wine. Good. The opening of his mouth to speak.¹²

(4/5) Binding malefic people at night. Good. Taking away the speech of his enemies.

(4/6) Crossing in a ferry-boat. Good. It means coming forth from all quarrels.¹³

(4/7) Seated on a sycamore. Good. Driving off all his ills.

(4/12) Destroying his clothes. Good. Releasing him from all ills.

(4/13) Seeing himself dead. Good. A long life before him.

(4/14) Binding his own two legs. Good. It means dwelling among his townsmen.

(4/15) Falling from a wall. Good. It means coming forth from all quarrels.¹⁴

(5/5) [Drinking] his own urine. Good. It means eating¹⁵ the property of his son.

(5/19) Submerging in the Nile. Good. It means purification from all evil.¹⁶

(6/1) Burying an old man. Good. It means prosperity.

(6/24) Seeing Asiatics. Good. The love of his father when he dies comes into his presence.

(7/4) Drinking warm beer. BAD. It means suppurating illness infects him.

(7/6) Chewing cucumber. BAD. It means quarrel-

¹ For the date, see Gardiner 1935:8-9. For the owners of the papyrus, see Pestman 1982.

² Corresponding to the two personality types recognized in Eg. wisdom literature: the ideal, restrained man (of Horus) and the intemperate man (of Seth).

³ Since words were felt sacred, and not the chance products of linguistic history, puns were believed to express inherent links between individual words and concepts. For ironic reversals, note the many favorable dreams entailing death or mourning — suggesting an inheritance for the dreamer.

⁴ Perhaps a reference to the moon god, see van Dijk 1986:37.

⁵ Lit., "eating."

⁶ A pun on *ꜥ* "donkey" and *ꜥꜥ* "make great/promote."

⁷ Cf. 2/20. The rapacious crocodile is here a symbol of the bureaucratic official.

⁸ Probably a symbol of mourning.

⁹ A pun on *ḥꜥ* "white" and *ḥꜥꜥ* "light up/be bright."

¹⁰ Lit., "words."

¹¹ A pun on *mꜥiw* *ꜥ* "large cat" and *šmw* *ꜥ* "large harvest."

¹² Cf. 3/5 and 3/15.

¹³ Lit., "words."

¹⁴ Lit., "words."

¹⁵ Or figuratively "living off."

¹⁶ Probably a reference to divinization by drowning in the Nile.

ing¹⁷ with him occurs when he is met.
 (7/8) Eating a filleted catfish. BAD. His seizure by a crocodile.
 (7/11) Seeing his face in a mirror. BAD. It means another wife.
 (7/12) God dispelling his tears. BAD. It means fighting.
 (7/13) Seeing himself enchanting¹⁸ his side. BAD. Exacting property from him.
 (7/17) Copulating with a woman. BAD. It means mourning.
 (7/18) Bitten by a dog. BAD. His being touched by magic.¹⁹
 (7/19) Bitten by a snake. BAD. It means the occurrence of a quarrel against him.²⁰
 (7/20) Measuring barley. BAD. It means the occurrence of a quarrel against him.
 (7/21) Writing upon a papyrus roll. BAD. The reckoning of his transgressions by his god.
 (7/22) Moving his house. BAD. [It means] his illness.
 (7/23) Enchanted by another with his spell.²¹ BAD. It means mourning.
 (7/24) Acting as helmsman in a boat. BAD. Regarding any judgment of him, he will not be victorious.
 (7/25) His bed catching fire. BAD. It means the driving off of his wife.
 (7/27) Being pricked by a thorn. BAD. It means telling lies.
 (7/28) Seeing the trapping of birds. BAD. It means the seizure of his property.²²
 (8/1) Seeing his penis hard. BAD. Victory to his enemies.²³
 (8/5) Looking into a deep well. BAD. Putting him in prison.
 (8/6) He catching on fire. BAD. His being slaughtered.
 (8/12) His teeth falling out.²⁴ BAD. It means the death of a man among his dependants.
 (8/13) Seeing a dwarf. BAD. Taking away half of his life.
 (8/25) Carrying off temple goods. BAD. Seizure of his property before him.

(9/3) An Asiatic cloak upon him. BAD. His removal from his office.
 (9/9) Seeing a woman's vulva. BAD. The ultimate in misery against him.
 (9/10) Uncovering his own rear. BAD. He will be orphaned in the end.²⁵
 (9/14) Placing his face to the ground. BAD. The seeking of something from him by the dead.
 (9/15) Seeing a blazing fire. BAD. It means the seizure of his son or his brother.
 (9/16) Copulating with a sow. BAD. Being deprived of his property.²⁶
 (9/22) Copulating with his wife in the daylight. BAD. The seeing of his transgressions by his god.
 (9/27) Guarding monkeys. BAD. A reversal is before him.
 (9/28) Bringing mice from the field. BAD. A bad heart.
 (10/9) Breaking a pot with his feet. BAD. It means fighting.²⁷
 (10/10-10/19) WORDS SAID BY A MAN WHEN HE AWAKENS IN HIS PLACE.

"Come to me, come to me, my mother Isis! Behold, I am seeing what is far from me in my city."

"Behold me, my son Horus, as one come forth bearing away what you have seen, so that your deafness be ended as your dream recedes, and fire go forth against him who frightens you. Behold, I have come so that I might see you, that I might drive off your ills, and that I might eradicate all terror."²⁸

"Hail, good dream seen (by) night and by day. Drive off every evil terror that Seth, son of Nut, has made. As Re is victorious against his enemies, so I am victorious against my enemies."

THIS SPELL IS SAID by a man when he awakes in his place. *Pesen*-loaves are placed in (his) presence with some fresh herbs moistened with beer and myrrh. The man's face is to be wiped with them and all evil dreams that he has seen are driven off.

¹⁷ Lit., "words."

¹⁸ Gardner 1935:16, followed by Wilson (*ANET* 495), assume a garbled writing and translate "with a pain in his side."

¹⁹ For the fear of hostile magic, see Ritner 1993:20-22.

²⁰ Cf. 4/1.

²¹ For the defensive need to preserve the secrecy of spells, see Ritner 1993:202-204.

²² A pun on *hm* "trapping" and *nhm* "seizure."

²³ A pun on *nht* "firm/strong" and *nhtw* "victory."

²⁴ Lit., "down from him."

²⁵ A pun on *ph.wy* "rear" and *ph.w* "end." Likely a reference to the orphaned Horus; cf. "The Tale of Horus and Seth."

²⁶ For the unlucky nature of the pig, see text 1.19 above.

²⁷ Cf. the execration ritual of breaking pots, noted above, p. 50.

²⁸ Lit., "redness," see Ritner 1993:170, n. 787.

REFERENCES

DAILY RITUAL OF THE TEMPLE OF AMUN-RE AT KARNAK (1.34)

P. Berlin 3055 - A Selection

Robert K. Ritner

Dating from the 22nd Dynasty, this Theban ritual papyrus is one of the best sources for the standardized morning liturgy used for divine and royal cults throughout Egypt from the New Kingdom until Roman times. The Seti temple at Abydos depicts thirty-six chapters or "spells," with nineteen represented at the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu and six at the contemporary temple of Dendera. In contrast, this Berlin papyrus adapted for Amon (together with P. Berlin 3014 + 3053 designed for his consort Mut), contains sixty-six recitations. No single source provides the complete ritual, but the constituent elements are easily reconstructed. The royal representative enters the chapel, censes and opens the *naos* to reveal the cult image. Thereafter follow spells of prostration, praise and offerings, after which the cult statue is removed, salved, clothed, adorned, and provided with unguent and eye-paint. In the concluding rites, fresh sand is strewn on the chapel floor, and the god is purified by water and natron and replaced in the *naos*. On exiting, the priest sweeps away his footprints, banishing impurities and demonic forces.

BEGINNING OF THE SPELLS¹ of the divine ritual enacted in the temple of Amon-Re, king of the gods, in the course of every day by the chief *wab*-priest² who is in his daily service.

SPELL FOR striking the fire.

WORDS TO BE SAID: "Come, come in peace, Eye of Horus, luminous, sound, rejuvenated in peace! May it shine like Re in the two horizons, since the power of Seth has hidden himself before the Eye of Horus, who took it and brought it to put in its place for Horus. Concerning his Eye, Horus is triumphant, while the Eye of Horus repels the enemies of Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, in all their places. May the King give an offering! I am pure."

SPELL FOR taking the censer.

WORDS TO BE SAID: "Hail to you, [censer of the gods] who are in the following of Thoth; my arms are upon you as (those of) Horus, my hands upon you like (those of) Thoth, my fingers on you like (those of) Anubis, foremost of the divine booth.³ I am the living servant of Re. I am a *wab*-priest, since I am pure (*wab*). The purity of the gods is my purity. May the King give an offering! I am pure."

[SPELL FOR] PLACING the incense-bowl on the censer arm.

WORDS TO BE SAID: "Hail to you, incense-bowl of [...] the field in Mendes, the clay in Abydos. I am purified by the Eye of Horus so that I might perform the rites with you, they being pure for Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, and his Ennead. May the King give an of-

fering! I am pure."

SPELL FOR putting incense on the flame.

WORDS TO BE SAID: "To the *ba*-soul of the East, to Horus of the East, to Kamutef⁴ within the solar disk, to the Terrible One who shines with his two Sound Eyes, to Re-harakhti,⁵ the great god, the winged power, foremost of the two southern conclaves of heaven."

SPELL FOR advancing [to] the sacred place.⁶

WORDS TO BE SAID: "O *ba*-souls of Heliopolis, as you are sound, so I am sound, and vice-versa. Your *ka*-spirits are sound precisely because my *ka*-spirit is sound before all the *ka*-spirits of the living. As all live, so I live. The two jugs of Atum are the protection of my body. For me Sakhmet the great, beloved of Ptah, placed life, stability and dominion around all my flesh by an oath of Thoth. I am Horus the chief, beautiful of respect, lord of terror, great of respect, high of plumage, great in Abydos. May the King give an offering! I am pure."

ANOTHER SPELL.

"Awake happily in peace, Karnak, mistress of the temples of the gods and goddesses who are in her! O gods and goddesses who are in Karnak, gods and goddesses who are in Thebes, gods and goddesses who are in Heliopolis, gods and goddesses who are in Memphis, gods and goddesses who are in heaven, gods and goddesses who are in the earth, gods and goddesses who are in the South, North, West and East, the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, children of kings, who took the White Crown, who made monuments for

¹ The translation "spell" has been adopted to conform with the rendering of the same Eg. term in so-called "magical" texts. One could as easily adopt "recitation" or "utterance" for all contexts. There is no distinction in Eg. terminology — or theology — between official cultic "recitations" and private magical "spells"; see Ritner 1993:41-42.

² Lit., "pure priest."

³ The embalming booth.

⁴ "Bull of His Mother," an epithet of Min-Amun.

⁵ A fusion of Re and "Horus of the Two Horizons."

⁶ The holy of holies or *naos* in which the divine image resides.

Amun in Karnak, may you awaken, may you be in peace. May you awaken happily in peace."

SPELL FOR breaking the cord.⁷

WORDS TO BE SAID: "The cord is broken, the seal is loosened. Bringing to you the Eye of Horus, I have come. You have your Eye, O Horus."

SPELL FOR breaking the clay seal.

WORDS TO BE SAID: "The clay seal is broken, the waters are breached, the vessels⁸ of Osiris are drained. I have come not to drive the god away from his throne. It is to put the god upon his throne that I have come. May you be established upon your great throne, O Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands. I am the one whom the gods initiated.⁹ May the King give an offering! I am pure."

SPELL FOR unfastening the *naos*.¹⁰

WORDS TO BE SAID: "The finger of Seth is withdrawn from the Eye of Horus so that it be well. The finger of Seth is released from the Eye of Horus so that it be well. The hide is loosened from the back of the god.¹¹ O Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, receive for yourself your two plumes and your White Crown as the Eye of Horus, the right (plume) being the right Eye, the left (plume) being the left Eye. You have your beauty, O Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands. Naked one, be clothed. Dressed one, be dressed, though I am but a prophet. It is the king who sent me to see the god."¹²

SPELL FOR revealing the god.

WORDS TO BE SAID: "The doors of heaven are opened. The doors of the earth are opened. Hail to Geb, as the gods have said, established on their thrones. The doors of heaven are opened so that the Ennead might shine. As Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, is exalted, so the great Ennead is exalted upon their thrones. You have your beauty, O Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands. Naked one, be cloth-

ed. Dressed one, be dressed."

SPELL FOR seeing the god.

WORDS TO BE SAID: "My face is protected from¹³ the god and vice-versa. O gods, make way for me so that I might pass. It is the king who has sent me to see the god."

SPELL FOR kissing the ground.

WORDS TO BE SAID: "I have kissed the ground; I have embraced Geb. For Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, have I performed the chants {by which}¹⁴ I am purified for him. You have your sweat, O gods. You have your perfumes, O goddesses. You have the perfumes of your bodies.¹⁵ My kiss is life for Pharaoh, praise for the Lord of the Two Lands."¹⁶

SPELL FOR prostrating.¹⁷

WORDS TO BE SAID: "Hail to you, Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, enduring upon your great throne. I have prostrated (myself) through fear of you, fearful of your dignity. I have embraced Geb and Hathor so that she might cause that I be great. I shall not fall to the slaughter of this day."

SPELL FOR prostrating and for rising.

WORDS TO BE SAID: "Hail to you, Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands. I have not acted with your secretions;¹⁸ I have not removed your dignity.¹⁹ I have not conflated your appearance with that of another god.²⁰ I have prostrated myself through fear of you, so that I might perceive what you desire. You shall not fall to your enemies on this day. Your enemies whom you hate, may you overthrow them as your enemies of this day.²¹ There is no wretchedness for the one who adores his lord."

SPELL FOR kissing the ground with the face bowed.

WORDS TO BE SAID: "I have kissed the ground with my face bowed; I have caused Truth to ascend to you. There is no god who has done

⁷ The knotted and sealed cord securing the door of the *naos*.

⁸ As noted by Wilson, the breaking of the seal is symbolized by the opening of a clay dam. The term "vessels" designates the arteries and veins of the god, from which flow the waters of the Nile.

⁹ Moret translates: "who enters (to) the gods."

¹⁰ The parallel ritual for the goddess Mut reads "drawing back the bolt."

¹¹ Perhaps a reference to a shroud placed over the statue at night.

¹² In theory, only the king should be able to confront the statue of the god. Of necessity, this privilege was delegated to local high priests as royal representatives.

¹³ Moret translates "protection for the god."

¹⁴ Restored from the Abydos variant.

¹⁵ The "sweat" and "secretions" of the gods are perfume.

¹⁶ Moret translates: "I have smelled (these things) so that Pharaoh live and the Lord of the Two Lands be adored."

¹⁷ Lit., "placing (oneself) upon the belly."

¹⁸ All fluids are restored to the gods to avoid potential misuse as in "The Legend of Isis and the Name of Re" (text 1.22 above).

¹⁹ See above, n. 14.

²⁰ Lit., "I have not caused your color to resemble another god."

²¹ Probably the enemies included in the daily execration rite; see text 1.32 above.

what I have done. I have not lifted up my face. I
have not inflicted impurities. I have not conflated
your appearance with that of another god.”
... (col. 5, 3)

SPELL FOR adoring Amun.

WORDS TO BE SAID: “Into your presence
Pharaoh has come, O male one of the gods,

primordial one of the Two Lands, He of the
Sacred Arm,²² Amun-Re, Lord of the two
plumes, great one with the crown of greatness on
your head, king of the gods resident in Karnak,
image of Amun,²³ enduring in all things in your
name of ‘Amun, more powerful than all the
gods.’ They will not turn their backs on you in
their name of ‘Ennead.’”²⁴

²² The epithets describe the standard posture of the male, ithyphallic creator with upraised arm.

²³ *Contra* Assmann, who translates: “You are Amun.”

²⁴ A pun on *psd* “back” and *psd.t* “ennead.”

REFERENCES

Text: Königlichen Museen zu Berlin (1901: pls. I-XXXVII). Translations: Moret 1902; Roeder 1960:72-141; *ANET* 325-326; Assmann 1975:260-273; and Barta 1980: cols. 841-45.

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B. ROYAL FOCUS

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1. INSTRUCTIONS

MERIKARE (1.35)

Miriam Lichtheim

The text is preserved in three fragmentary papyri which only partly complement one another. They are Papyrus Leningrad 1116A, dating from the second half of the 18th Dynasty; P. Moscow 4658, from the very end of the 18th Dynasty; and P. Carlsberg 6, from the end of the 18th Dynasty or later. Unfortunately, the most complete manuscript, P. Leningrad, is also the most corrupt. The numerous lacunae and the many scribal errors make this text one of the most difficult.

The work is cast in the form of an Instruction spoken by an old king to his son and successor. The fragmentary beginning has preserved the name of the son: Merikare. But that of the father is lost except for the still visible outline of the cartouche and traces of two vertical hieroglyphs forming the end of the king's name. This name is assumed to be that of one of the several kings of the 9th/10th Dynasties who bore the nomen Khety (Akhtoi). However, since the order of the kings of this dynasty has not yet been fully clarified, it has not been determined which of the several Khetys preceded Merikare. J. von Beckerath (1966:13-20) has proposed as the most suitable candidate the Khety whose prenomen was Nebkaure.

As an Instruction, it continues the genre Instruction which originated in the Old Kingdom. But a new element has been added: it is a royal instruction, and specifically, a royal testament. It is the legacy of a departing king which embodies a treatise on kingship.

The treatise on kingship in the form of a royal testament is a literary genre that was to flourish many centuries later in the Hellenistic world and subsequently in the Islamic East as well as in medieval Europe: the *speculum regum*. It is, of course, not possible to draw a connecting line from the ancient Egyptian type to its Hellenistic and medieval counterparts — far too little is preserved from all ancient literatures to make it possible to reconstruct their interconnections — but it is interesting to see the emergence of the genre. Not that the Instruction to Merikare was the first work of this type (an Instruction of an earlier king Khety is referred to in the text), but it is the earliest preserved, and probably also an early work of the genre, for it shows compositional weaknesses that suggest experimentation.

I believe the work to be pseudepigraphic in the sense of not having been composed by King Khety himself, but genuine in the sense of being a work composed in the reign of King Merikare, designed to announce the direction of his policy and containing valid, rather than fictitious, historical information.

Set beside such literary antecedents as the Maxims of Ptahhotep, the work shows intellectual and literary progress. Its morality has grown in depth and subtlety; and there is a parallel growth in the ability to formulate concepts, and to develop themes and topics at greater length. A fully sustained compositional coherence as found in comparable works of the 12th Dynasty has not been achieved. There are several instances in which the same topic reappears in different places, and in which a buildup to a climax is deflected. Yet an overall plan and progression can be recognized.

The first major portion, of which almost nothing is preserved, deals with rebellion and how to overcome it. The second major section gives advice on dealing wisely and justly with nobles and commoners and is climaxed by a view of the judgment in the hereafter. Next comes advice on raising troops and on performing the religious duties. Then follows the "historical section" in which the old king describes his accomplishments and advises on how to continue them. At this point there is the beginning of a paean on the glory of kingship which is interrupted by a reference to the tragic destruction of monuments in the holy region of Abydos, a matter that had previously been alluded to. This leads to a reflection on divine retribution and rises to the recognition that the deity prefers right doing to rich offerings. Then comes the true climax: a hymn to the creator god, the benefactor of mankind. The concluding section exhorts acceptance of the royal teachings.

The scribes of the New Kingdom divided the work into sections by means of rubrication. At an average such sections consist of twelve sentences and clauses. Where these rubrics were logical I have maintained them; but not all of the rubrics of the principal manuscript, P. Leningrad, are judicious, for the scribes often introduced rubrics mechanically without regard to content. The major topics encompass more than one rubricated section. The building blocks within each section are the small units of two, three, and four sentences, which are joined together by parallelism in its several forms, such as similarities, elaborations, and contrasts. And since all sentences and clauses are of approximately the same length, there results a clearly marked, regular, sentence rhythm.

All Instructions are composed in this rhythmic style marked by symmetrical sentences which I call the orational style. On occasion, when specific events are told, it turns into prose. At other moments it rises into poetry, as in the hymn to the creator-god which crowns the Instruction addressed to Merikare.

(25) The hothead¹ is an inciter of citizens,
He creates factions among the young;
If you find that citizens adhere to him,

Denounce him before the councillors,
Suppress [him], he is a rebel,
The talker is a troublemaker for the city.
Curb the multitude, suppress its heat,

(30) -----
May you be justified before the god,
That a man may say [even in] your [absence]
That you punish in accordance [with the crime].
Good nature is a man's heaven,
The cursing of the [furious] is painful.

If you are skilled in speech, you will win,
The tongue is [a king's] sword;
Speaking is stronger than all fighting,
The skillful is not overcome.

----- on the mat,
The wise is a [school]² to the nobles.
Those who know that he knows will not attack
him,

No [crime] occurs when he is near;
Justice comes to him distilled,
Shaped in the sayings of the ancestors.

(35) Copy your fathers, your ancestors,

See, their words endure in books,
Open, read them, copy their knowledge,
He who is taught becomes skilled.
Don't be evil, kindness is good,
Make your memorial last through love of you.
Increase the [people], befriend the town,
God will be praised for (your) donations,
One will -----

Praise your goodness,
Pray for your health ---.

Respect the nobles, sustain your people,
Strengthen your borders, your frontier patrols;
It is good to work for the future,

One respects the life of the foresighted,
While he who trusts fails.
Make people come [to you] (40) through your
good nature,
A wretch is who desires the land [of his neighbor],
A fool is who covets what others possess.
Life on earth passes, it is not long,
Happy is he who is remembered,
A million men do not avail the Lord of the Two
Lands.

Is there [a man] who lives forever?
He who comes with Osiris passes,
Just as he leaves who indulged himself.

Advance your officials, so that they act by your
laws,

He who has wealth at home will not be partial,
He is a rich man who lacks nothing.

The poor man does not speak justly,
Not righteous is one who says, "I wish I had,"
He inclines to him who will pay him.

Great is the great man whose great men are
great,

Strong is (45) the king who has councillors,
Wealthy is he who is rich in his nobles.

Speak truth in your house,
That the officials of the land may respect you;
Uprightness befits the lord,
The front of the house puts fear in the back.³

Do justice, then you endure on earth;
Calm the weeper, don't oppress the widow,
Don't expel a man from his father's property,
Don't reduce the nobles in their possessions.
Beware of punishing wrongfully,
Do not kill, it does not serve you.
Punish with beatings, with detention,
Thus will the land be well-ordered;
Except for the rebel whose plans are found out,
For god knows the treason plotters,
(50) God smites the rebels in blood.

He who is merciful --- lifetime;
Do not kill a man whose virtues you know,

¹ The *hnn-ib*, the person whose heart is inflamed.

² In place of Gardiner's restoration, "schoolhouse," Williams 1964:16, has proposed "storehouse."

³ The "back of the house" is the rear where women, children, and servants had their quarters.

With whom you once chanted the writings,
 Who was brought up ... --- before god,
 Who strode freely in the secret place.
 The *ba* comes to the place it knows,
 It does not miss its former path,
 No kind of magic holds it back,
 It comes to those who give it water.
 The Court that judges the wretch,⁴
 You know they are not lenient,
 On the day of judging the miserable,
 In the hour of doing their task.
 It is painful when the accuser has knowledge,
 Do not trust in length of years,
 (55) They view a lifetime in an hour!
 When a man remains over after death,
 His deeds are set beside him as treasure,
 And being yonder lasts forever.
 A fool is who does what they reprove!
 He who reaches them without having done wrong
 Will exist there like a god,
 Free-striding like the lords forever!
 Raise your youths and the residence will love
 you,
 Increase your subjects with 'recruits',⁵
 See, your city is full of new growth.
 Twenty years the youths indulge their wishes,
 Then 'recruits' go forth ...
 Veterans⁶ return to their children ...
⁷
 (60) I raised troops from them on my accession.
 Advance your officials, promote your [soldiers],
 Enrich the young men who follow you,
 Provide with goods, endow with fields,
 Reward them with herds.
 Do not prefer the well born to the commoner,
 Choose a man on account of his skills,
 Then all crafts are done --- ...
 Guard your borders, secure your forts,
 Troops are useful to their lord.
 Make your monuments [worthy] of the god,
 This keeps alive their maker's name,
 A man should do what profits his *ba*.
 In the monthly service, wear the white sandals,
 Visit the temple, rob 'observe'⁸ the mysteries,
 Enter (65) the shrine, eat bread in god's house;
 Proffer libations, multiply the loaves,

Make ample the daily offerings,
 It profits him who does it.
 Endow your monuments according to your
 wealth,
 Even one day gives to eternity,
 An hour contributes to the future,
 God recognizes him who works for him.
⁹
 Troops will fight troops
 As the ancestors foretold;
 Egypt (70) fought in the graveyard,
 Destroying tombs in vengeful destruction.
 As I did it, so it happened,
 As is done to one who strays from god's path.
 Do not deal evilly with the Southland,
 You know what the residence foretold about it;
 As this happened so that may happen.
 'Before they had trespassed' ... ---
 I attacked This 'straight to' its southern border
 'at Taut',
 I engulfed it like a flood;
 King Meriyebe, justified, had not done it;
 Be merciful on account of it,
 ----- renew the treaties.
 (75) No river lets itself be hidden,
 It is good to work for the future.
 You stand well with the Southland,
 They come to you with tribute, with gifts;
 I have acted like the forefathers:
 If one has no grain to give,
 Be kind, since they are humble before you.
 Be sated with your bread, your beer,
 Granite comes to you unhindered.
 Do not despoil the monument of another,
 But quarry stone in Tura.
 Do not build your tomb out of ruins,
 (Using) what had been made for what is to be
 made.
 Behold, the king is lord of joy,
 (80). You may rest, sleep in your strength,
 Follow your heart, through what I have done,
 There is no foe within your borders.
 I arose as lord of the city,
 Whose heart was sad because of the Northland;
 From Hetshenu to 'Sembaga', and south to Two-
 Fish Channel¹⁰

⁴ Baer would render *s²ry* as the "oppressed" and *wq²* as "providing justice" to the aggrieved, whence the judgment would be the vindication of those who were wronged on earth, rather than a general judgment of the dead. My feeling is that an overall judgment is envisaged in the passage as a whole; but the first part may well be the vindication of the innocent.

⁵ *Sw* in Ptahhotep, line 489 means "neighbors, friends, helpers," or the like. Here it has been thought to mean "feathers" in the sense of "Nachwuchs" (Volten 1945:20), "recruits" (Wilson 1964:16-19), or "milice active" (Posener 1964:305).

⁶ *S^ckyw*, "veterans" (Volten, Posener), but it is uncertain.

⁷ One obscure sentence.

⁸ *Kf hr sst* has been translated "reveal the mysteries," except by Gardiner who rendered "be discreet concerning the mysteries." On *kf* in the compound *kf ib* see Litchheim *AEL* 1:78 n. 27.

⁹ Four sentences which, though free of lacunae, are very obscure. The word written *tww.k* has been rendered as "your statues," but I cannot believe that the king is speaking of dispatching royal statues to foreign countries.

¹⁰ Lit., "its southern border at Two-Fish Channel." The "Two Fish Channel," known from P. Westcar IX, 16 and elsewhere, appears to be the name for the Nile branch in the nome of Letopolis, i.e., the southernmost part of the Canopic branch. In this passage it designates the

I pacified the entire West as far as the coast of
the sea.
It pays taxes, it gives cedar wood,¹¹
One sees juniper wood which they give us.
The East abounds in bowmen,
[Their labor] -----
The inner islands are turned back,
And every man within,
The temples say, "you are greater (85) than I."¹²
The land they had ravaged has been made into
nomes,
All kinds of large towns [rare in its];
What was ruled by one is in the hands of ten,
Officials are appointed, tax-[lists drawn up].
When free men are given land,
They work for you like a single team;
No rebel will arise among them,
And Hapy will not fail to come.
The dues of the Northland are in your hand,
For the mooring-post is staked in the district I
made in the East
From Hebenu to Horusway;¹³
It is settled with towns, filled with people,
Of the best in the whole land,
To repel (90) attacks against them.
May I see a brave man who will copy it,
Who will add to what I have done,
A wretched heir would [disgrace] me.
But this should be said to the Bowman:¹⁴

Lo, the miserable Asiatic,
He is wretched because of the place he's in:
Short of water, bare of wood,
Its paths are many and painful because of moun-
tains.
He does not dwell in one place,
Food propels his legs,
He fights since the time of Horus,
Not conquering nor being conquered,
He does not announce the day of combat,
Like a thief who darts about a group.¹⁵
But as I live (95) and shall be what I am,
When the Bowmen were a sealed wall,
I breached [their strongholds],
I made Lower Egypt attack them,
I captured their inhabitants,
I seized their cattle,
Until the Asiatics abhorred Egypt.
Do not concern yourself with him,
The Asiatic is a crocodile on its shore,
It snatches from a lonely road,
It cannot seize from a populous town.
Medenyt has been restored to its nome,
Its one side is irrigated as far as Kem-Wer,
It is the [defense] against the Bowmen.¹⁷
(100) Its walls are warlike, its soldiers many,
Its serfs know how to bear arms,
Apart from the free men within.
The region of Memphis totals ten thousand men,

southern boundary of the western Delta.

¹¹ *Mrw*-wood is rendered "Zedernholz" by Helck 1961-70 esp. 5:906. The Merikare passage conveys the fact that imports of foreign timber again reach the Heracleopolitan realm.

¹² I.e., the temples (or: "administrative districts?") of the central Delta, called "the inner islands," acknowledge the king and pay homage to him.

¹³ Kees (1962:6) insisted that Hebenu is not an unknown locality in the eastern Delta, as Scharff and Volten had thought, but is the well-known metropolis of the sixteenth nome of Upper Egypt, hence that the king is speaking of an extensive system of border strongholds which stretched from the eastern side of the sixteenth nome all the way to the northeastern Delta, to the border fortress of Sile, where the "Horus-way," the road to Palestine, began. "Horusway" and "Horusways" are synonymous with Sile.

¹⁴ This celebrated passage has been reexamined by Seibert 1967:90-98. The principal difficulty lies in *št-w m ht š-w*, which had been rendered "difficult from many trees," despite the fact that an arid landscape cannot have many trees. Drioton (1960:90-91) proposed the meaning "debarred from having many trees." Seibert takes *m ht* to be the compound preposition "after," to which he assigns the meaning "despite," and proposes to read: *št-w m ht š-w <ny> w-wt iry/ksn m-š dww*, which he renders, "verborgen trotz der Menge der Wege dahin/ (und) schlimm durch Berge." However, the meaning "despite" assigned to the alleged *m-ht* is impossible in this context. Only when *m-ht* serves as conjunction in a temporal clause can it acquire the overtone of "despite," as in the two references from Urk. 1:49 and 1:283, cited in *Wb.*, 3 345.21, and in Edel 1955-64:§797: *m-ht nn dd.n.(f)*, and *m-ht nn wd.n hm.(f)*, where the literal meaning "after" has the overtone "despite," as is possible in any language. Said in a tone of rebuke, the sentence "after I told you to stay at home, you went out," means "despite my telling you to stay at home." But the spatial preposition "after" is not capable of such manipulation: "after many paths" does not yield "despite many paths."

I divide the sentences into: *šhw m mw/ št-w m ht š-w w-wt iry/ ksn m-š dww*; and following Drioton I take *št-w m ht* to mean "debarred from trees." For *šhw*, the meaning "short of," "lacking," is inescapable (Volten: "kümmerlich;" Seibert: "dürftig"), and it agrees with the *š-hhw* of Ptahtotep line 485, which I have rendered "deprived." As to the initial *ksn pw n bw nif im*, Seibert rightly pointed out that the *n* cannot be ignored, hence "he (the Asiatic) is wretched." It may be recalled that the personal use of *ksn pw* occurs twice in Ptahtotep, lines 81 and 446.

¹⁵ *Šn*^c, "dart about," as in *Peasant*, B i 61. The Moscow var. has *šn*^c, an unknown compound for which Seibert proposed the meaning "to ban."

¹⁶ I.e., the east bank of the twenty-second nome was recovered by the Heracleopolitans and brought under cultivation up to the point where it joined the Fayum which they had held all along. This rendering was suggested to me by K. Baer. On *km-wr* of the Fayum see Yoyote 1962:116f.

¹⁷ While P. Leningrad has *hp*^c, "navel-cord," P. Carlsberg has *hpw* with fighting-man determinative. Scharff and Volten chose *hpw* and assigned it the meaning "Abwehr." Wilson and others preferred "navel cord." In any case "it" refers to Medenyt; hence the town and its nome are either "the defense against" the Asiatics or the "point of entry" that attracts the Asiatics.

Free citizens¹⁸ who are not taxed;
 Officials are in it since the time it was residence,
 The borders are firm, the garrisons valiant.
 Many northerners irrigate it as far as the North-
 land,
 Taxed with grain in the manner of free men;¹⁹
 Lo, it is the gateway of the Northland,
 They form a dyke as far as (105) Hnes.²⁰
 Abundant citizens are the heart's support,
 Beware of being surrounded by the serfs of the
 foe,
 Caution prolongs life.

If your southern border is attacked,
 The Bowmen will put on the girdle,
 Build buildings in the Northland!
 As a man's name is not made small by his ac-
 tions,
 So a settled town is not harmed.
 Build -----

The foe loves destruction and misery.
 King Khety, the justified, laid down in teaching:
 (110) He who is silent toward violence diminishes
 the offerings.

God will attack the rebel for the sake of the tem-
 ple,

He will be overcome for what he has done,
 He will be sated with what he planned to gain,
 He will find no favor on the day of woe.
 Supply the offerings, revere the god,
 Don't say, "it is trouble," don't slacken your
 hands.

He who opposes you attacks the sky,
 A monument is sound for a hundred years;²²
 If the foe understood, he would not attack them,²³
 There is no one who has no (115) enemy.

The Lord of the Two Shores is one who knows,
 A king who has courtiers is not ignorant;
 As one wise did he come from the womb,
 From a million men god singled him out.
 A goodly office is kingship,
 It has no son, no brother to maintain its memori-
 al,

But one man provides for the other;

a Isa 27:1;
 Pss 74:14;
 104:26; Job
 3:8; 26:13;
 41:1

b Gen 1:26-
 27

A man acts for him who was before him,
 So that what he has done is preserved by his suc-
 cessor.

Lo, a shameful deed occurred in my time:
 (120) The nome of This was ravaged;
 Though it happened through my doing,
 I learned it after it was done.²⁴
 There was retribution for what I had done,
 For it is evil to destroy,
 Useless to restore what one has damaged,
 To rebuild what one has demolished.
 Beware of it! A blow is repaid by its like,
 To every action there is a response.

While generation succeeds generation,
 God who knows characters is hidden;
 One can not oppose the lord of the hand,²⁵
 He reaches all (125) that the eyes can see.
 One should revere the god on his path,
 Made of costly stone, fashioned of bronze.²⁶
 As watercourse is replaced by watercourse,
 So no river allows itself to be concealed,
 It breaks the channel in which it was hidden.
 So also the *ba* goes to the place it knows,
 And strays not from its former path.
 Make worthy your house of the west,
 Make firm your station in the graveyard,²⁷
 By being upright, by doing justice,
 Upon which men's hearts rely.
 The loaf²⁸ of the upright is preferred
 To the ox of the evildoer.

Work for god, he will work for you also,
 With offerings (130) that make the altar flourish,
 With carvings that proclaim your name,
 God thinks of him who works for him.

Well tended is mankind — god's cattle,
 He made sky and earth for their sake,
 He subdued the water monster,²⁹ ^a
 He made breath for their noses to live.
 They are his images, ^b who came from his body,
 He shines in the sky for their sake;
 He made for them plants and cattle,
 Fowl and fish to feed them.
 He slew his foes, reduced his children,

¹⁸ Here, above in line 86 and below in line 103 I have, following Volten, rendered *w²bw* as "free men" rather than "priests." But it is uncertain; see Volten's discussion 1945:54.

¹⁹ If *b²kw* is the passive, as I think it is, then the next sentence, *sw²t pw hr.i n ir st*, "it means surpassing me for him who does it," is out of place here.

²⁰ "Dyke" here is surely metaphorical for "protection." A real dyke all the way from the Delta to Heracleopolis is hardly possible.

²¹ *N in.tw hr mw.f*, "one will not bring him on one's water." "To be on someone's water" is usually taken to mean "to be loyal to someone." This passage suggests a broader meaning, a mutual relationship of friendship and favor.

²² Posener 1965:345 read the numeral "hundred" after *mpt*.

²³ The sentence *m mrwt smnh ir.t.n.f* etc. which follows here is out of place; it recurs in its proper context in line 118.

²⁴ The destruction of tombs in the Thinite nome during warfare against the Thebans had already been mentioned in line 70. Here the king takes the blame for the action of his troops.

²⁵ The sun-god in his aspect as creator.

²⁶ Apparently a reference to the cult statues of the gods carried in procession during festivals.

²⁷ See Lichtheim *AEL* 1:59, n. 3. Here in Merikare the advice on tomb-building is spiritualized: the funerary monument is to be built on right doing.

²⁸ *Bit*, "loaf," rather than "character," as suggested by R. Williams 1964:19.

²⁹ A reference to the concept of a primordial water monster, defeated at the time of creation.

When they thought of making rebellion.³⁰ He makes daylight for their sake, He sails by to see them. He has built (135) his shrine around them, When they weep he hears. He made for them rulers in the egg, Leaders to raise the back of the weak. He made for them magic as weapons To ward off the blow of events, Guarding³¹ them by day and by night. He has slain the traitors among them, As a man beats his son for his brother's sake, For god knows every name. Do not neglect my speech, Which lays down all the laws of kingship,	Which instructs you, that you may rule the land, And may you reach me with none to accuse you! Do not kill (140) one who is close to you, Whom you have favored, god knows him; He is one of the fortunate ones on earth, Divine are they who follow the king! Make yourself loved by everyone, A good character is remembered [When his time] has passed. May you be called "he who ended the time of trouble," By those who come after in the House of Khety, In thinking³² of what has come today. Lo, I have told you the best of my thoughts, Act by what is set before you!
---	---

³⁰ An allusion to the myth of the "destruction of mankind," a text that forms part of the composition known as "the book of the cow of heaven," which is inscribed on the walls of three royal tombs of the 19th Dynasty; see above, text 1.24.

³¹ *Rsi*, "to watch," not *rsw*, "dream," as suggested by Federn 1960:256-257.

³² Reading *iw dd tw.k*, and taking *ntyw m phwy m pr Hty* in the temporal sense, in accordance with Posener 1966:345. On *m sfw* see Lichtheim *AEL* 1:79 n. 50; the rendering of *m sfw* as "in contrast" negates the whole thrust of the king's speech — the description of his achievements which his son is asked to emulate and surpass.

REFERENCES

Text: Golenischeff 1916 pls. ix-xiv; Volten 1945:3-82 and pls. 1-4. Translation: Gardiner 1914:20-36; Erman 1927:75-84; *ANET* 414-418; Scharff 1936 (lines 69-110 and most of lines 111-144); Lichtheim *AEL* 1:97-109. Discussion: Posener 1950; 1962; 1963; 1964; 1965; 1966; Drioton 1960:90-91; Williams, 1964:16-19; Seibert, 1967:90-98; Müller 1967:117-123; Kees 1962:86.

AMENEMHET (1.36)

Miriam Lichtheim

When first studied, the text was regarded as the genuine work of King Amenemhet I, composed by him after he had escaped an attempt on his life. The currently prevailing view is that the king was in fact assassinated in the thirtieth year of his reign, and that the text was composed by a royal scribe at the behest of the new king, Sesostri I.

The attack on the king's life is told in a deliberately veiled manner; yet there are sufficient hints in the account and elsewhere in the text to convey to the Middle Kingdom audience that the speaker is the deceased king who speaks to his son in a revelation, and to later audiences, including the sophisticated one of the New Kingdom, that the work was composed by a court writer.

It is a powerful and imaginative composition, distinguished by its personal tone and by the bitterness born of experience with which the old king castigates the treachery of his subjects, and warns his son not to place trust in any man. The theme, then, is regicide. In contrast with the theme "national distress," regicide was not a topic that could be treated fully and openly, for it conflicted too strongly with the dogma of the divine king. Hence the work is the only one of its kind.

The orational style is used throughout, except in the description of the assassination which is rendered in prose.

The text was preserved in Papyrus Millingen of the 18th Dynasty, a copy of which was made by A. Peyron in 1843. Subsequently the original papyrus was lost. Portions of the work are preserved on three wooden tablets of the 18th Dynasty, some papyrus fragments, and numerous ostraca of the New Kingdom.

The line numbers are those of Papyrus Millingen, which is a good manuscript but fragmentary in the final portion.

(1.1) Beginning of the Instruction made by the majesty of King Sehetepibre, son of Re, Amen-

emhet, the justified,¹ as he spoke in a revelation of truth, to his son the All-Lord. He said:

¹ In Papyrus Chester Beatty IV, a New Kingdom scribe drew up a list of famous authors of the past and assigned the composition of the In-

Risen as god,² hear what I tell you,
That you may rule the land, govern the shores,
Increase well-being!
Beware of subjects who are nobodies,
Of whose plotting one is not aware.³
Trust not a brother, know not a friend,
Make no (I.5) intimates, it is worthless.
When you lie down, guard your heart yourself,
For no man has adherents on the day of woe.
I gave to the beggar, I raised the orphan,⁴
I gave success to the poor as to the wealthy;
But he who ate my food raised opposition,⁵
He whom I gave my trust used it to plot.⁶
Wearers of my fine linen looked at me as if they
were needy,⁵
Those perfumed with my myrrh [poured water
while wearing it].⁶
You my living peers, my partners among men,
Make for me mourning such as has not (I.10)
been heard,
For so great a combat had not yet been seen!
If one fights in the arena forgetful of the past,
Success will elude him who ignores what he
should know.

It was after supper, night had come. I was taking
an hour of rest, lying on my bed, for I was
weary. As my heart (II.1) began to follow sleep,
weapons for my protection were turned against
me,⁷ while I was like a snake of the desert. I
awoke at the fighting, [alert],⁸ and found it was a
combat of the guard. Had I quickly seized wea-
pons in my hand, I would have made the cowards
retreat [in haste]. But no one is strong at night;
no one can fight alone; no success is achieved
without a helper.

(II.5) Thus bloodshed occurred while I was with-
out you; before the courtiers had heard I would

a Job 29:12

b Job 29:30

c Judg 4-5

hand over to you; before I had sat with you so as
to advise you.⁹ For I had not prepared for it, had
not expected it, had not foreseen the failing of
the servants.

Had women ever marshaled troops?^c
Are rebels nurtured in the palace?
Does one release water that destroys the soil
And deprives people of their crops?¹⁰
No harm had come to me since my birth,
No one equaled me as a doer of deeds.

(II.10) I journeyed to Yebu, I returned to the
Delta,

Having stood on the land's borders I observed its
interior.

I reached the borders of [the strongholds]¹¹
By my strength and my feats.

I was grain-maker, beloved of Nepri,
Hapy honored me on every field.

None hungered in my years,

None (III.1) thirsted in them,

One sat because I acted and spoke of me,

I had assigned everything to its place.

I subdued lions, I captured crocodiles,

I repressed those of Wawat,

I captured the Mediai,

I made the Asiatics do the dog walk.

I built myself a house decked with gold,

Its ceiling of lapis lazuli,

Walls of silver, floors of [acacia wood],

(III.5) Doors of copper, bolts of bronze,

Made for eternity, prepared for all time,

I know because I am its lord.

Behold, much hatred is in the streets,

The wise says "yes," the fool says "no,"

For no one knows it [without your presence],¹²

Sesostris my son!

As my feet depart, you are in my heart,

struction of Amenemhet to a scribe by the name of Khety. Whether or not his attribution was correct, it reveals that the New Kingdom scribe understood the pseudepigraphic nature of the work (see Posener 1956:67). But as regards the audience of the Middle Kingdom, it seems to me probable that it took the work to be the genuine testament of King Amenemhet; for pseudepigrapha would lose much of their effectiveness if they were not, at least initially, believed to be the works of the men whose name they bore.

² The much debated introductory passage was reexamined by Goedicke 1968:15-21 who made a case for taking *qđ.f h^c m ntr* as a single sentence, in accordance with the verse-points, and having it refer to the dead king who is "risen as god," rather than to the accession of Sesostris I. If so taken, however, the address to Sesostris becomes very abrupt, consisting only of "listen to me," and the sentence lacks balance. Helck summarized the previous renderings and preferred to take *h^c* as imperative, "rise," rather than the participle, "risen."

³ As Helck and Goedicke observed, the two *tmmt* refer back to *smdt*. I take the passage to mean that subjects who are unknown are dangerous because they can plot in secrecy. *Hrw* in the sense of "plot" is well attested (see Volten 1945:108).

⁴ Lit., "he whom I gave my hands."

⁵ Following Gardiner 1939:483, I read *sšwyw*, rather than *šw*, "grass."

⁶ *Ši mw* has generally been interpreted as an act of disrespect or defiance, e.g., Helck: "spuckten vor mir aus." The inner logic of the composition requires, however, that the king, looking back on the treacherous behavior of the plotters, should describe it in terms of covert acts, since any open defiance would have drawn immediate punishment. The "pouring water" in *Admonitions*, 7, 5, suggests a menial task.

⁷ I take *spħr* in the literal sense of "turn around."

⁸ The meaning of *iw.i n h^cw.i*, "I being to my body" is uncertain. Gardiner's "by myself" was disputed by Anthes and Helck; the latter suggested "kam zu mir," i.e., "became alert."

⁹ I.e., the old king was prevented from "sitting together" with his son in a formal ceremony of abdication.

¹⁰ The context here, and in *Neferti*, line 46, suggests that *iryt* means "produce" and "crops."

¹¹ For *hpswt* Gardiner (1939:493) proposes "frontier-strongholds," while Helck assumes a corrupted writing of *hps*, the constellation "great bear."

¹² The three sentences recur in *Admonitions*, 6, 13. Helck has pointed out that *msyt* is a corruption of *msd*, "hatred." The third sentence is obscure.

My eyes behold you, child of a happy hour
 'Before the people as they hail you'.¹³
 I have made the past and arranged the future,
 I gave you the contents of my heart.
 You (III.10) wear the white crown of a god's son,
 The seal is in its place, assigned you by me,

Jubilation is in the bark of Re,
 Kingship is again what it was in the past!
¹³
 Raise your monuments, establish your strong-
 holds,
 Fight¹⁴

¹³ A garbled sentence, not preserved in P. Millingen.

¹⁴ The two concluding sentences are corrupt.

REFERENCES

Text: Griffith 1896:35-51; Maspero 1914; Volten 1945:104-128; Lopez 1963:29-33; Helck 1969. Translation: *BAR* 1:474-483; Erman 1927:72-74; *ANET* 418-419; Lichtheim AEL 1:135-139. Discussion: Posener 1956; Gardiner 1939:479-496; Malinine 1934:63-74; de Buck 1939:847-852; 1946:183-200; Faulkner 1932:69-73; Anthes 1957:176-190; 1958:208-209; Goedicke 1968:15-21.

2. HISTORIOGRAPHY

KING LISTS (1.37)

James K. Hoffmeier

King-lists of various types abound in ancient Egyptian sources. Technically, a collection of three or more names is a "group" and a true king-list arranges names in proper historical order and provides the length of reign. Following this definition, the only Egyptian source that meets these requirements is the Turin Canon, and it is not fully preserved. Nevertheless, the term king-list has been applied to a wider variety of lists, including the funerary offering lists, such as those at Karnak, Abydos and Sakkara. Such "cultic assemblages of deceased kings," as Donald Redford calls them, are abundant, and vary considerably in length. Of this type, dozens are known, but they are rarely consulted in historical reconstructions because of their brevity and, in some cases, confused order.

While no direct ties exist between the Old Testament and the king-lists presented here, they do shed light on genealogical lists such as those found in Genesis, 1 Chronicles and elsewhere. The Turin Canon contains what is believed to have been an exhaustive list of kings who ruled beginning with Meni (Menes) down into the empire period, complete with the duration of reigns. Prior to the beginning of 1st Dynasty in column II of the papyrus, the initial column contains a list of deities who are called "king of Upper and Lower Egypt." Following this title, the deity's name is written in a cartouche, the cylindrical enclosure reserved for royal names. The length of the reigns are also added after the name, and the figures are extremely long, e.g. Thoth 7726 years and another deity whose name is lost, 7718 years. Once the dynastic kings are introduced, the figures are realistic. A parallel might be drawn between this practice and that found in the Sumerian King-list and the Genesis 5 and 11 genealogies. In both of these cases, very long reigns are listed prior to the flood, but the numbers are reduced significantly thereafter. Unfortunately, the fragmentary state of column I prevents us from knowing how the Egyptian scribes understood the difference between the pre-dynastic divine rulers and Meni and his successors. The inclusion of pre-dynastic (legendary?) divine rulers along with historical kings from the 1st Dynasty on, indicates that the Egyptians made no distinction between "historical" and "mythic" or "legendary" individuals as modern historians do.

Unlike the original Turin Canon, the famous king-lists at Abydos and Sakkara are not complete lists of the kings from Dynasties 1-19. Rather they are selective. For instance, the kings of the 1st and 2nd Intermediate periods, as well as Queen Hatshepsut and Akhenaten, Smenkhkare, Tutankhamun, and Ay, the so called Amarna kings are omitted in the Abydos list. Similar selectivity is found in the Sakkara list. The practice of omitting entire epochs, such as the Amarna and Hyksos periods, were ways that later kings could expunge embarrassing forebears and not make offerings to them. On the other hand, there is no evidence that superfluous names were added to the Egyptian lists. Selectivity, apparently, violated no literary or political expectations in ancient Egypt. By extension, it holds that the omission of individuals or groups of ancestors from Israelite genealogies in the Bible was practiced for ideological or structural purposes, while not violating any Near Eastern canons of historiography.

1. KARNAK LIST (1.37A)

A small chapel once stood in Thutmose III's Akh-menu temple complex at Karnak. Over 150 years ago it was removed to the Louvre in Paris. While its list is offertory in nature, it is made up of seated figures of the kings with various regal titles before the cartouche. The names are grouped in eight parts, but the particular alignments are not always clear. The importance of these name-lists is that they include names omitted from AL and SL, such as earlier Theban 11th Dynasty kings, and some from 2nd Intermediate Period, are included. There has been considerable scholarly discussion about the criteria used for the compilation of the lists. Suggestions include that these were monarchs who actually ruled from Thebes or those who engaged in building activities there; that the figures represent actual statues of royal forebears at Karnak or that lists were comprised of ancient offering lists. Regardless of how this list originated, its use for historical reconstruction is of limited value.

(Group I)

1. [lost]
2. Sneferu
3. Sahure
4. Inen/Iny
5. Isesi
6. [lost]
7. [lost]
8. Sekhemre-semntawyre

(Group II)

1. [lost]
2. Intef
3. In[tef]
4. Mon[tuhotep]
5. Mayor Int[ef]
6. [Sa Re T]eti
7. [P]epy
8. Merenre

(Group III)

1. Sehetepibre (Amenemhet I)
2. Nebkaure (Amenemhet II)
3. [lost]
4. [lost]
5. Maakherure (Amenemhet IV)
6. Sobekneferu
7. Intef

(Group IV)

1. Kheperkare (Senusert I)
2. Sekennenre
3. Senakhtenre
4. Niuserre
5. Nebkheperre (Senusert II)
6. Nebhepetre (Montuhotep II)
7. Sneferkare
8. /////re

(Group V)

1. [lost]
2. Khaneferre
3. Khasekhemre
4. Sekhemre-snefertawy
5. Sekhemre-khuitawy
6. Seankhibre
7. Sewadjenre
8. ///kau-[re]

(Group VI)

1. [lost]
2. Merisekhemre
3. Merikaure
4. ///s re-wesertawy
5. /////re
6. Snefer///re
7. Khahe[tep]re
8. Khaankhre

(Group VII)

1. [Sekhem]re-wahkhau
2. Sewahenre
3. Merihetepre
4. Khuitawyre
5. [lost]
6. [lost]
7. Sekhemre-wadjkhau

(Group VIII)

1. /////re
2. Snefer///re
3. Sewadjenre
4. Sekhemre-[///]tawy
5. [lost]
6. [lost]
7. [lost]

2. ABYDOS LIST (AL) (1.37B)

In the cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos, which was completed by Ramesses II, is found a sequential list of kings from Dynasty 1 through reigning monarch Seti of Dynasty 19. To the left of the list, stand Seti and crown-prince Ramesses who holds a papyrus containing the list that is recorded to the right. The accompanying inscription indicates that the list was made up of the beneficiaries of the offerings being made. Because this list was made up of the royal ancestors whom the reigning monarch wished to honor, it was selective. Thus while historians may wish to consult this list, and ones like it (e.g. the Sakkara list), it is not relied upon for historical reconstruction without the aid of more complete lists, like the Turin Canon or an annalistic report such as the Palermo Stone.

(Dynasty 1) 1. Meni 2. Teti 3. Iti 4. Ita 5. Semti 6. Merpabia 7. (Not translatable) 8. Qebah (Dynasty 2) 9. Bedjau 10. Kakau 11. Baninetjer 12. Wadjnes 13. Sendi 14. Djadjay (Dynasty 3) 15. Nebka 16. //djeser-sa 17. (Djeser)-teti 18. Sedjes 19. Neferkare (Dynasty 4) 20. Sneferu 21. Khufu 22. Djedefre 23. Khaefre 24. Menkaure 25. Shepseskaf (Dynasty 5) 26. Userkaf 27. Sahure 28. Kakai 29. Reneferef 30. Niuserre 31. Menkauhor 32. Djedkare 33. Unas (Dynasty 6) 34. Teti 35. Userkare 36. Meryre (Pepy I) 37. Merenre 38. Neferkare (Pepy II)	39. Merenre-Antyemsaef (1st Intermediate Period) 40. Netjerkare 41. Menkare 42. Neferkare 43. Neferkare-Neby 44. Djedkare-Shema 45. Neferkare-Khenedu 46. Merenhor 47. Sneferka 48. Nikare 49. Neferkare-Teruru 50. Neferkahor 51. Neferkare-Pepysenb 52. Sneferka-Anu 53. Ka[//]kaure 54. Neferkaure 55. Neferkauhor 56. Neferirkare (Dynasty 11) 57. Nebhepetre (Montuhotep II) 58. Sankhkare (Montuhotep III) (Dynasty 12) 59. Sehetepibre (Amenemhet I) 60. Kheperkare (Senusert I) 61. Nebkaure (Amenemhet II) 62. Khakheperre (Senusert II) 63. Khakaure (Senusert III) 64. Nimaare (Amenemhet III) 65. Maakherure (Amenemhet IV) (Dynasty 18) 66. Nebpehtyre (Ahmose) 67. Djeserkare (Amenhotep I) 68. Aakheperkare (Thutmose I) 69. Aakheperenre (Thutmose II) 70. Menkheperre (Thutmose III) 71. Aakheperure (Amenhotep II) 72. Menkheperure (Thutmose IV) 73. Nebmaatire (Amenhotep III) 74. Djeserkheperure-setepenre (Horemheb) (Dynasty 19) 75. Menphtyre (Ramesses I) 76. Menmaatire (Seti I)
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3. SAKKARA KING LIST (SL) (1.37C)

Carved on the Sakkara tomb of the "Overseer of Works" from the reign of Ramesses II is the so called "Sakkara King List." Like its counterpart at Abydos, this is an offering list which originally recorded the names of 58 monarchs. Above each cartouche is the word *nsw*, "king" with determinative of a seated king, a white or red crown; they alternate throughout. Below each cartouche is the epithet *m³c hrw*, "justified," indicating that these kings were deceased. While this list is laid out much like Seti I list from Abydos, it includes kings not mentioned at Abydos. For instance, while AL records the names of eight 1st Dynasty kings, SL has but two. Among those excised is Meni, the legendary Menes of Herodotus. Owing to the selectivity, and sequential problems with this list, it is not relied upon in serious historical reconstruction.

(Dynasty 1)		30. Menkahor
1. Merbiapen		31. Maakare
2. Qebehu		32. Unas
(Dynasty 2)		(Dynasty 6)
3. Baunetjer		33. Teti
4. Kakau		34. Pepy (I)
5. Banetjeru		35. Merenre
6. Wadjnes		36. Neferkare (Pepy II)
7. Senedj		(Dynasty 11)
8. Neferkare		37. Nebhepetre (Montuhotep II)
9. Neferkasokar		38. Sankhkare (Montuhotep III)
10. Hudjefa		(Dynasty 12)
11. Beby		39. Sehetepibre (Amenemhet I)
(Dynasty 3)		40. Kheperkare (Senusert I)
12. Djeser		41. Nebkare (Amenemhet II)
13. Djeser-Teti		42. Khakheperre (Senusert II)
14. Nebkare		43. Khakare (Senusert III)
15. Huny		44. [Nimaa]re (Amenemhet III)
(Dynasty 4)		45. Maakherure (Amenemhet IV)
16. Sneferu		46. Sobekkare
17. Khufu		(Dynasty 18)
18. Djedefre		47. Nebpehtyre (Ahmose)
19. [lost]		48. Djeserkare (Amenhotep I)
20. [lost]		49. [lost] (Thutmose I)
21. [lost]		50. [lost] (Thutmose II)
22. [lost]		51. [lost] (Thutmose III)
23. [lost]		52. [lost] (Amenhotep II)
24. [lost]		53. [lost] (Thutmose IV)
(Dynasty 5)		54. [lost] (Amenhotep I)
25. Userka[ef]		55. [Djeserkheperre S]etepen[re] (Horemheh)
26. [S]ahure		(Dynasty 19)
27. Neferirkare		56. Men [pehtyre] (Ramesses I)
28. Shepseskare		57. Men [maatre] (Seti I)
29. Khaneferre		58. [Usermaatre] Setepenre (Ramesses II)

4. TURIN CANON (1.37D)

Located in the Museo Egizio in Turin, Italy, this papyrus is the most important source for the historical and chronological reconstruction of ancient Egypt. It is more than a list. Rather it originally contained a sequence of kings from Dynasty 1, with regnal years assigned to each king. Beginning with Menes (Meni), it continues down to the 19th Dynasty, the period to which this papyrus dates. According to Sir Alan Gardiner who published a hieroglyphic transcription of the hieratic original (1959), it is a "genuine chronicle remarkably like the Manetho of Africanus and Eusebius" (1962:47). This papyrus was apparently in near perfect condition when discovered by Drovetti in 1822 in western Thebes. However, by the time Champollion studied it a few years later, it was regrettably in a poor, fragmented state, with large sections having been lost or destroyed in the intervening years. This sad fact has long been lamented by historians because knowledge of certain kings and durations of certain reigns remain lost. Nevertheless, the Turin canon continues to be the most important document from pharaonic times for historical reconstruction. The list begins with a series of deities, such as Seth, Horus and Thoth who are called "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" and whose names are written in a cartouche. Following this in column II is the sequence of kings beginning with Meni, the legendary Menes. In the following translation, the three columns represent: the column and line number of the manuscript, the royal name, and the year/month/day.

(Dynasty 1)					
II.11	Meni	lost		II.13	lost
II.12	It//	lost		II.15	//[H]ori

II.16	Semti	lost
II.17	Merbiapen	lost
II.18	Semsem	lost
II.19	[Ke]beh	lost
II.20	Bau[netjer]	lost
II.21	[Ka]kau	lost
(Dynasty 2)		
II.22	[Bau]netjeren	lost
II.23	lost	lost
II.24	Senedj	lost
II.25	Aaka	lost
III.1	Neferkasokar	8 / 3 / [//]
III.2	Hudjefa	[11]/ 8 / 4
III.3	Bebty	27 / 2 / 1
(Dynasty 3)		
III.4	Nebka	19/0/0
III.5	Djeserit	19
III.6	Djeserti	6
III.7	[Hudje]fa	6
III.8	Hu[ni]	24 / [lost]
(Dynasty 4)		
III.9	Sneferu	24 / [lost]
III.10	[Khufu]	23 / [lost]
III.11	[Djedefre]	8 / [lost]
III.12	Kha[efre]	lost
III.13	lost	lost
III.14	[Menkaure]	18 / [lost]
III.15	lost	4
III.16	lost	2
(Dynasty 5)		
III.17	[User]ka[f]	7
III.18	[Sahure]	12
III.19	lost	lost
III.20	lost	7
III.21	lost	// + 1
III.22	lost	11
III.23	Menkauhor	8
III.24	Djedy (Djedkare)	28
III.25	Unas	30
(Dynasty 6)		
IV.1	lost	lost
IV.2	lost	lost / 6 / 21
IV.3	lost	20
IV.4	lost	44
IV.5	[Pepi II]	90 + X
IV.6	[Merenre]	1 / 1 /
IV.7	lost	lost
IV.8	Nitikerty	lost
IV.9	Neferka, child	lost
IV.10	Nefer	2 / 1 / 1
IV.11	Ibi	4 / 2
IV.12	lost	2 / 1 / 1
IV.13	lost	1 / 0 / 1/2 day
IV.14-19	[Poorly prserved or lost]	
(Dynasties 9-10)		
IV.20	Neferkare	lost

IV.21	Khety	lost
IV.22	Senenh///	lost
IV.23	////////	lost
IV.24	Mer/////	lost
IV.25	Shed////	lost
IV.26	H////////	lost
<i>(Dynasty 11)</i>		
V.1-11	lost	lost
V.12	Wah///	lost
V.13	lost	lost
V.14	lost	49
V.15	lost	8
V.16	Nebhepetre	51
V.17	Sankhka[re]	12
V.18	Total 143 years	
<i>(Dynasty 12)</i>		
V.19	[Kings of]the Capital Itjtawy	
V.20	[Sehet]epib[re]	lost
V.21	[Kheper] ka[re]	45/ lost
V.22	lost	10 +
V.23	lost	19 / lost
V.24	lost	30+ /lost
V.25	lost	40+ /lost
VI.1	Maakherure	9 / 3 / 27
VI.2	[Sobek]nefer[u]re	3 / 10 / 14
VI.3	Kings of the [Capital Itjtawy] 8,	
	total 213 / 1 / 16	
<i>(Dynasty 13)</i>		
VI.5	[Khitawy]re	2 / 3 / 24
VI.6	[Sekhemka]re	lost
VI.7	//amenemhet	3 /lost
VI.8	Sehetepibre	1
VI.9	Iufni	lost
VI.10	Sankhibre	lost
VI.11	Smenkare	lost/lost/4
VI.12	Sehetepibre	lost/lost/3
VI.13	Sewadjkare	lost/lost/6
VI.14	Nedjemibre	/ /lost
VI.15	Re-Sobek[hote]p	2
VI.16	Ren[se]neb, he function for 4 months	
VI.17	Autibre	/ 7 /
VI.18	Sedjefakare	lost
VI.19	Sekhemre-khuitawy-Sobekhetep	lost
VI.20	User[ka]re - //re//ndjer	lost
VI.21	[Smenekh]kare the General	lost
VI.22	////ka[re] - Intef	lost
VI.23	////ib-Seth	blank
VI.24	Sekhemkare-Sobekhetep	3 / 2/lost
VI.25	Khasekhemre-Neferhotep	11 / 1 /lost
VI.26	Sihathor	lost/ 3 /lost
VI.27	Khaneferre-Sobekhetep	lost
VII.1	Khahetepre	4 / 8 / 29
VII.2	Wahibre-Iaib	10 / 8 / 28
VII.3	Merneferre	23 / 8 / 18
VII.4	Merhotepre	2 / 2 / 9
VII.5	Seankhenswadjetu	3 / 2 / lost
VII.6	Mersekhemre-Ined	3 / 1 / 1

VII.7	Sewadjkare-Hori	5 / 8 /	VIII.23	Ia////re	lost / lost
VII.8	Merika[//]-Sobek[hetep]	2 / // / 4	VIII.24	Kha///re	lost
VII.9	lost	lost/lost/11	VIII.25	Aaka///re	lost
VII.10	lost	lost/lost/3	VIII.26	Smen///re	lost
VII.11	lost	lost	VIII.27	Djedi///re	lost
VII.12	lost	lost	IX.1-6	lost	lost
VII.13	////mose	lost	IX.7	Senefer[ka/]re	lost
VII.14	////maat-re- [I]bi	lost	IX.8	Men////re	lost
VII.15	////webenre-Hor[i]	lost	IX.9	Djedi//[re]	lost
VII.16	////kare	lost	IX.10-13	lost	lost
VII.17	////enre	lost	IX.14	Inek///	lost
VII.18	/////re	lost	IX.15	Ineb///	lost
VII.19	lost	lost	IX.16	Ip///	lost
VII.20	lost	lost	IX.17-27	lost	lost
VII.21	///rre	lost	IX.28	////ren-Hapu	lost
VII.22	Merkheperre	lost	IX.29	///ka[re?]-Nebennati	lost
VII.23	Merika[re]	lost	IX.30	///ka[re?]-Bebnem	lost
VIII.1	Nehesy	lost/ 3 /	IX.31	lost	lost
VIII.2	Khatyre	lost/3 /	X	lost	lost
VIII.3	Nebefautre	1 / 5 / 15	X.20	Khamudy	
VIII.4	Sehebre	3 / lost / 1	X.21	[Total of] Foreign [Chieftains] 8, they functioned 100+ years.	
VIII.5	Merdjefare	3 /lost	X.21-30	(very fragmentary)	
VIII.6	Sewadjkare	1 / lost		(Dynasty 17)	
VIII.7	Nebdjefare	1 / lost	XI.1	Sekhemre-////	3 /
VIII.8	Webenre	1	XI.2	Sekhemre-////	16 /
VIII.9	lost	1 / 1 / lost	XI.3	Sekhemre-s[menttawy]	1 /
VIII.10	/// djefa[re]	4 /	XI.4	Sewadje[n]re	///1 /
VIII.11	///[w]eben[re]	3 /	XI.5	Nebiryautre	29 /
VIII.12	Autibre	lost	XI.6	Nebitautre	lost
VIII.13	Heribre	lost/lost/ 29	XI.7	Semen[wadj?]re	lost
VIII.14	Nebsenre	lost / 5 / 20	XI.8	Seweser///re	12 /
VIII.15	/////re	lost / lost / 21	XI.9	Sekehre-Shedwaset	lost
VIII.16	Sekheperenre	2 / /1	XI.10-15	lost	lost
VIII.17	Djedkherure	2 / /5	XI.16	Weser///re	lost
VIII.18	Sankhibre	lost / lost / 19	XI.17	Weser/////	lost
VIII.19	Nefertumre	lost / lost / 18	XI.18-end	(lost or too fragmentary for translation)	
VIII.20	Sekhem//re	lost			
VIII.21	Kakemutre	lost / lost			
VIII.22	Neferibre	lost / lost			

REFERENCES

Caulfield and Saint Thomas 1902:pl.43; Gardiner 1959; 1962:430-445; Kitchen 1992:328-329; Redford 1986; Swelim 1983; *Urk IV*.

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C. INDIVIDUAL FOCUS

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1. NARRATIVES

SINUHE (1.38)

Miriam Lichtheim

The numerous, if fragmentary, copies of this work testify to its great popularity, and it is justly considered the most accomplished piece of Middle Kingdom prose literature.

The two principal manuscripts are: (1) P. Berlin 3022 (abbr., B) which dates from the 12th Dynasty. In its present state, it lacks the beginning of the story and contains a total of 311 lines; (2) P. Berlin 10499 (abbr., R) which contains 203 lines and includes the beginning. It dates to the end of the Middle Kingdom.

A third major copy is on a large ostrakon in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, which gives 130, partly incomplete, lines. It is, however, an inferior copy, dating to the 19th Dynasty. Its principal value lies in the detailed commentary of its editor, J. Barns. In addition, small portions of the text are preserved on papyrus fragments and on numerous ostraca.

The present translation uses as principal manuscripts the text of R for the beginning and of B for the bulk, and incorporates an occasional variant from other manuscripts.

(R 1) The Prince, Count, Governor of the domains of the sovereign in the lands of the Asiatics, true and beloved Friend of the King, the Attendant Sinuhe, says:

I was an attendant who attended his lord, a servant of the royal harem, waiting on the Princess, the highly praised Royal Wife of King Sesostri in Khenemsut, the daughter of King Amenemhet in Kanefru, Nefru, the revered.¹

Year 30, third month of the inundation, day 7: the god ascended to his horizon. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Sehetepibre*, flew to heaven and united with the sun-disk, the divine body merging with its maker. Then the residence was hushed; hearts grieved; the great portals were shut; (10) the courtiers were head-on-knee; the people moaned.

His majesty, however, had despatched an army to the land of the Tjemeh, with his eldest son as its commander, the good god Sesostri. He had been sent to smite the foreign lands and to punish those of Tjehenu.² (15) Now he was returning, bringing captives of the Tjehenu and cattle of all kinds beyond number. The officials of the palace sent to the western border to let the king's son know the event that had occurred at the court. The

messengers met him on the road, (20) reaching him at night. Not a moment did he delay. The falcon flew with his attendants, without letting his army know it.

But the royal sons who had been with him on this expedition had also been sent for. (B 1) One of them was summoned while I was standing (there). I heard his voice, as he spoke, while I was in the near distance. My heart fluttered, my arms spread out, a trembling befell all my limbs. I removed myself in leaps, to seek a hiding place. I put (5) myself between two bushes, so as to leave the road to its traveler.

I set out southward. I did not plan to go to the residence. I believed there would be turmoil and did not expect to survive it. I crossed Maaty near Sycamore; I reached Isle-of-Snefru.³ I spent the day there at the edge (10) of the cultivation. Departing at dawn I encountered a man who stood on the road. He saluted me while I was afraid of him. At dinner time I reached "Cattle-Quay." I crossed in a barge without a rudder, by the force of the westwind. I passed to the east of the quarry, (15) at the height of "Mistress of the Red Mountain." Then I made my way northward. I reached the "Walls of the Ruler," which were made to repel the Asiatics and to crush the Sand-

¹ Sinuhe was specifically in the service of Princess Nefru, the wife of Sesostri I, the latter being co-regent at the time of his father's death. Khenemsut and Kanefru are the names of the pyramids of Sesostri I and Amenemhet I.

² Tjemeh and Tjehenu designated two distinct Libyan peoples who merged in the course of time. In this story the terms are used interchangeably.

³ Goedicke (1957:77-85) has made it plausible that *M^cry* was not a lake but a name for the Giza region (see also Gauthier 1925-31 4:218 on a town *M^cry*), and that Isle-of-Snefru and Isle-of-Kem-Wer were not islands. Sinuhe is traveling south along the edge of the western desert, until he crosses the Nile at a spot the name of which Goedicke explained as "Cattle-Quay." He landed in the vicinity of the "Red Mountain" (today's Gebel al-Ahmar), and only then did he decide to flee the country and hence turned northward.

farers. I crouched in a bush for fear of being seen by the guard on duty upon the wall.

I set out (20) at night. At dawn I reached Peten. I halted at "Isle-of-Kem-Wer." An attack of thirst overtook me; I was parched, my throat burned. I said, "This is the taste of death." I raised my heart and collected myself when I heard the lowing sound of cattle (25) and saw Asiatics. One of their leaders, who had been in Egypt, recognized me. He gave me water and boiled milk for me.^a I went with him to his tribe. What they did for me was good.

Land gave me to land. I traveled to Byblos; I returned to Qedem. I spent (30) a year and a half there. Then Ammunenshi,⁴ the ruler of Upper Retenu, took me to him, saying to me: "You will be happy with me; you will hear the language of Egypt." He said this because he knew my character and had heard of my skill, Egyptians who were with him having borne witness for me. He said to me: "Why (35) have you come here? Has something happened at the residence?" I said to him: "King Sehetepibre departed to the horizon, and one did not know the circumstances." But I spoke in half-truths:⁵ "When I returned from the expedition to the land of the Tjemeh, it was reported to me and my heart grew faint. It carried (40) me away on the path of flight, though I had not been talked about; no one had spat in my face; I had not heard a reproach; my name had not been heard in the mouth of the herald. I do not know what brought me to this country; it is as if planned by god. As if a Delta-man saw himself in Yebu, a marsh-man in Nubia."

Then he said to me: "How then is that land without that excellent god, fear of whom was throughout (45) the lands like Sakhmet in a year of plague?" I said to him in reply: "Of course his son has entered into the palace, having taken his father's heritage."

He is a god without peer,
No other comes before him;
He is lord of knowledge, wise planner, skilled leader,
One goes and comes by (50) his will.

He was the smiter of foreign lands,
While his father stayed in the palace,
He reported to him on commands carried out.

He is a champion who acts with his arm,

a Judg 4:19;
5:25

A fighter who has no equal,
When seen engaged in archery,
When joining the melee.

Horn-curber who makes hands turn weak,
His foes (55) can not close ranks;
Keen-sighted he smashes foreheads,
None can withstand his presence.

Wide-striding he smites the fleeing,
No retreat for him who turns him his back;
Steadfast in time of attack,
He makes turn back and turns not his back.

Stouthearted when he sees the mass,
He lets not slackness fill his heart;
(60) Eager at the sight of combat,
Joyful when he works his bow.

Clasping his shield he treads under foot,
No second blow needed to kill;
None can escape his arrow,
None turn aside his bow.

The Bowmen flee before him,
As before the might of the goddess;
As he fights he plans the goal,
(65) Unconcerned about all else.

Lord of grace, rich in kindness,
He has conquered through affection;
His city loves him more than itself,
Acclaims him more than its own god.

Men outdo women in hailing him,
Now that he is king;
Victor while yet in the egg,
Set to be ruler since his birth.

Augmenter of those born with him,
(70) He is unique, god-given;
Happy the land that he rules!

Enlarger of frontiers,
He will conquer southern lands,
While ignoring northern lands,
Though made to smite Asiatics and tread on Sand-farers!

"Send to him! Let him know your name as one who inquires while being far from his majesty. He will not fail to do (75) good to a land that will be loyal to him."

He said to me: "Well then, Egypt is happy knowing that he is strong. But you are here. You shall stay with me. What I shall do for you is good."

⁴ K. Baer would read the name as Amorite ^c Ammulanasi, "God is verily (my) prince." On the name pattern see Huffmon (1965:223, 240). I retain the reading "Ammunenshi" largely because I adhere to the method of transliterating the Eg. consonantal script with a minimum of vocalization and without regard for actual pronunciation.

⁵ Some scholars have adopted the rendering, "It was told to me incorrectly" (see Barns 1952:5 n. 23). I do not find this convincing. Simuhe's "half-truths" consist in pretending that the death of the old king was reported to him when in fact he had only overheard a conspiratorial message, and in disclaiming any knowledge of the circumstances.

He set me at the head of his children. He married me to his eldest daughter.^b He let me choose for myself of his land, (80) of the best that was his, on his border with another land. It was a good land called Yaa. Figs were in it and grapes. It had more wine than water. Abundant was its honey,^c plentiful its oil. All kinds of fruit were on its trees. Barley was there and emmer, and no end of cattle of all kinds. (85) Much also came to me because of the love of me; for he had made me chief of a tribe in the best part of his land. Loaves were made for me daily,^d and wine as daily fare, cooked meat, roast fowl, as well as desert game. (90) For they snared for me and laid it before me, in addition to the catch of my hounds. Many sweets were made for me, and milk^e dishes of all kinds.

I passed many years, my children becoming strong men, each a master of his tribe. The envoy who came north or went south to the residence (95) stayed with me. I let everyone stay with me. I gave water to the thirsty; I showed the way to him who had strayed; I rescued him who had been robbed. When Asiatics conspired to attack the Rulers of Hill-Countries,⁷ I opposed their movements. For this ruler of (100) Retenu made me carry out numerous missions as commander of his troops. Every hill tribe against which I marched I vanquished, so that it was driven from the pasture of its wells. I plundered its cattle, carried off its families, seized their food, and killed people (105) by my strong arm, by my bow, by my movements and my skillful plans. I won his heart and he loved me, for he recognized my valor. He set me at the head of his children, for he saw the strength of my arms.

There came a hero of Retenu,^{8 d}
To challenge me (110) in my tent.
A champion was he without peer,
He had subdued it all.
He said he would fight with me,
He planned to plunder me,
He meant to seize my cattle
At the behest of his tribe.

The ruler conferred with me and I said: "I do not know him; I am not his ally, (115) that I could walk about in his camp. Have I ever opened his back rooms or climbed over his fence? It is envy, because he sees me doing your commissions. I am

^b Gen 30:16-30; Exod 2:21

^c Exod 3:8; Num 13:27

^{d-d} 1 Sam 17

indeed like a stray bull in a strange herd, whom the bull of the herd charges, (120) whom the longhorn attacks. Is an inferior beloved when he becomes a superior? No Asiatic makes friends with a Delta-man. And what would make papyrus cleave to the mountain? If a bull loves combat, should a champion bull retreat for fear of being equaled? (125) If he wishes to fight, let him declare his wish. Is there a god who does not know what he has ordained, and a man who knows how it will be?"

At night I strung my bow, sorted my arrows, practiced with my dagger, polished my weapons. When it dawned Retenu came. (130) It had assembled its tribes; it had gathered its neighboring peoples; it was intent on this combat.

He came toward me while I waited, having placed myself near him. Every heart burned for me; the women jabbered. All hearts ached for me thinking: "Is there another champion who could fight him?" He <raised> his battle-axe and shield,⁹ (135) while his armful of missiles fell toward me. When I had made his weapons attack me, I let his arrows pass me by without effect, one following the other. Then, when he charged me, I shot him, my arrow sticking in his neck. He screamed; he fell on his nose; (140) I slew him with his axe. I raised my war cry over his back, while every Asiatic shouted. I gave praise to Mont, while his people mourned him. The ruler Ammunenshi took me in his arms.

Then I carried off his goods; I plundered his cattle. What he had meant to do (145) to me I did to him. I took what was in his tent; I stripped his camp. Thus I became great, wealthy in goods, rich in herds. It was the god who acted, so as to show mercy to one with whom he had been angry, whom he had made stray abroad. For today his heart is appeased.^d

A fugitive fled (150) his surroundings — ¹⁰

I am famed at home.

A laggard lagged from hunger —

I give bread to my neighbor.

A man left his land in nakedness —

I have bright clothes, fine linen.

A man ran for lack of one to send —

I am (155) rich in servants.

My house is fine, my dwelling spacious —

⁶ Or: "supplies of mint-drink;" see Barns 1952:9 n. 38.

⁷ Sinuhe is on the side of the *hkꜣw* *ḥꜣswt*, the "rulers of mountainlands," the term from which the name "Hyksos" was derived.

⁸ In this passage Sinuhe's prose assumes the symmetrical rhythm of poetry.

⁹ The insertion of a verb still seems to me the best solution for this much debated passage. Weapons, including a shield, do not simply "fall" from a fighter. Only missiles, whether arrows or javelins, "fall." An alternative might be to take *ḥꜣn* not as the auxiliary but as the verb "to stand" referring to shield and axe. The champion held his shield and axe in readiness while shooting his missiles.

¹⁰ Westendorf (1968:128) gave a new analysis and translation of this beautiful poem which climaxes the account of Sinuhe's career abroad. While it is true that the preposition *n* in all four occurrences here has the meaning "because of," to translate it thus would destroy the attempt to render the poem as a poem. The change of mood, from Sinuhe's exultation over his success to his intense longing for the lost homeland,

My thoughts are at the palace!

Whichever god decreed this flight, have mercy, bring me home! Surely you will let me see the place in which my heart dwells! What is more important than that my corpse be buried in the land (160) in which I was born!¹⁰ Come to my aid! What if the happy event should occur!¹¹ May god pity me! May he act so as to make happy the end of one whom he punished! May his heart ache for one whom he forced to live abroad! If he is truly appeased today, may he hearken to the prayer of one far away! May he return one whom he made roam the earth to the place from which he carried him off!

(165) May Egypt's king have mercy on me, that I may live by his mercy! May I greet the mistress of the land who is in the palace! May I hear the commands of her children! Would that my body were young again! For old age has come; feebleness has overtaken me. My eyes are heavy, my arms weak; (170) my legs fail to follow. The heart is weary; death is near. May I be conducted to the city of eternity! May I serve the Mistress of All! May she speak well of me to her children; may she spend eternity above me!¹²

Now when the majesty of King Kheperkare was told of the condition in which I was, his majesty sent word (175) to me with royal gifts, in order to gladden the heart of this servant like that of a foreign ruler. And the royal children who were in his palace sent me their messages. Copy of the decree brought to this servant concerning his return to Egypt:

Horus: Living in Births; the Two Ladies: Living in Births; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: *Kheperkare*; the Son of Re: (180) *Sesostris*, who lives forever. Royal decree to the Attendant Sinuhe:

This decree of the King is brought to you to let you know: That you circled the foreign countries, going from Qedem to Retenu, land giving you to land, was the counsel of your own heart. What had you done that one should act against you? You had not cursed, so that your speech would be reproved. You had not spoken against the counsel of the nobles, that your words

e Gen 49:29-32

should have been rejected. (185) This matter — it carried away your heart. It was not in my heart against you. This your heaven in the palace lives and prospers to this day.¹³ Her head is adorned with the kingship of the land; her children are in the palace. You will store riches which they give you; you will live on their bounty. Come back to Egypt! See the residence in which you lived! Kiss the ground at the great portals, mingle with the courtiers! For today (190) you have begun to age. You have lost a man's strength. Think of the day of burial, the passing into reveredness.

A night is made for you with ointments and wrappings from the hand of Tait. A funeral procession is made for you on the day of burial; the mummy case is of gold, its head of lapis lazuli. The sky is above you as you lie in the hearse, oxen drawing you, musicians going before you. The dance of (195) the *mw-w*-dancers is done at the door of your tomb; the offering-list is read to you; sacrifice is made before your offering-stone. Your tomb-pillars, made of white stone, are among (those of) the royal children. You shall not die abroad! Not shall Asiatics inter you. You shall not be wrapped in the skin of a ram to serve as your coffin.¹⁴ Too long a roaming of the earth! Think of your corpse, come back!

This decree reached me while I was standing (200) in the midst of my tribe. When it had been read to me, I threw myself on my belly. Having touched the soil, I spread it on my chest.¹⁵ I strode around my camp shouting: "What compares with this which is done to a servant whom his heart led astray to alien lands? Truly good is the kindness that saves me from death! Your *ka* will grant me to reach my end, my body being at home!"

Copy of the reply to this decree:

The servant of the Palace, Sinuhe, (205) says:¹⁶ In very good peace! Regarding the matter of this flight which this servant did in his ignorance. It is your *ka*, O good

occurs in the last distich (as Westendorf suggested), and provides the transition to the prayers for return.

¹⁰ I.e., "what if death should occur while I am still abroad?" So with Westendorf 1968:129-130.

¹² In this context the "Mistress of All" could be either the queen or the goddess Nut. The latter interpretation was preferred by Sander-Hansen 1955-1957:147.

¹³ The queen is meant.

¹⁴ The Ashmolean Ostrakon (Barns 1952:2, 48) reads: *n ṯir.tw ḡri.k*, and Barns suggests to read *nn ṯir.tw ḡri.k* (1952:21 n. 18). But since elsewhere *ḡrit* means "container," "coffin," I assume the same word here and, following the text of B, take it to mean that the ram's skin will not be Sinuhe's coffin.

¹⁵ As a gesture of humility.

¹⁶ This translation of Sinuhe's reply to the king's letter follows in essentials that of Barns 1967:6-14.

god, lord of the Two Lands, which Re loves and which Mont lord of Thebes favors and Amun lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, and Sobk-Re lord of Sumenu, and Horus, Hathor, Atum with his Ennead, and Sopdu-Neferbau-Semseru the Eastern Horus, and the Lady of Yemet — may she enfold your head — and the conclave upon the flood, and Min-Horus of the hill-countries, and Wereret lady of (210) Punt, Nut, Haroeris-Re, and all the gods of Egypt and the isles of the sea — may they give life and joy to your nostrils, may they endow you with their bounty, may they give you eternity without limit, infinity without bounds! May the fear of you resound in lowlands and highlands, for you have subdued all that the sun encircles! This is the prayer of this servant for his lord who saves from the West.

The lord of knowledge who knows people knew (215) in the majesty of the palace that this servant was afraid to say it. It is like a thing too great to repeat. The great god, the peer of Re, knows the heart of one who has served him willingly. This servant is in the hand of one who thinks about him. He is placed under his care. Your Majesty is the conquering Horus; your arms vanquish all lands. May then your Majesty command to have brought to you the prince of Meki from Qedem, (220) the mountain chiefs from Keshu, and the prince of Menus from the lands of the Fenkhu. They are rulers of renown who have grown up in the love of you. I do not mention Retenu — it belongs to you like your hounds.

Lo, this flight which the servant made — I did not plan it. It was not in my heart; I did not devise it. I do not know what removed me from my place. It was like (225) a dream. As if a Delta-man saw himself in Yebu, a marsh-man in Nubia. I was not afraid; no one ran after me. I had not heard a reproach; my name was not heard in the mouth of the herald. Yet my flesh crept, my feet hurried, my heart drove me; the god who had willed this flight (230) dragged me away. Nor am I a haughty man. He who knows his land respects men. Re has set the fear of you throughout

f Gen 25:5;
Deut 21:15-
17

the land, the dread of you in every foreign country. Whether I am at the residence, whether I am in this place, it is you who covers this horizon.¹⁷ The sun rises at your pleasure. The water in the river is drunk when you wish. The air of heaven is breathed at your bidding. This servant will hand over his possessions (235) to the brood¹⁸ which this servant begot in this place. This servant has been sent for! Your Majesty will do as he wishes! One lives by the breath which you give. As Re, Horus, and Hathor love your august nose, may Mont lord of Thebes wish it to live forever!

I was allowed to spend one more day in Yaa, handing over my possessions to my children, my eldest son taking charge of my tribe; (240) all my possessions became his — my serfs, my herds, my fruit, my fruit trees.¹⁹ This servant departed southward. I halted at Horus-ways. The commander in charge of the garrison sent a message to the residence to let it be known. Then his majesty sent a trusted overseer of the royal domains with whom were loaded ships, (245) bearing royal gifts for the Asiatics who had come with me to escort me to Horus-ways. I called each one by his name, while every butler was at his task. When I had started and set sail, there was kneading and straining beside me, until I reached the city of Itj-tawy.

When it dawned, very early, they came to summon me. Ten men came and ten men went to usher me into the palace. My forehead touched the ground between the sphinxes, (250) and the royal children stood in the gateway to meet me. The courtiers who usher through the forecourt set me on the way to the audience-hall. I found his majesty on the great throne in a kiosk of gold.¹⁹ Stretched out on my belly, I did not know myself before him, while this god greeted me pleasantly. I was like a man seized by darkness. (255) My *ba* was gone, my limbs trembled; my heart was not in my body, I did not know life from death.

His majesty said to one of the courtiers: "Lift him up, let him speak to me." Then his majesty said: "Now you have come, after having roamed foreign lands. Flight has taken its toll of you. You have aged, have reached old age. It is no small matter that your corpse will be interred without being escorted by Bowmen. But don't act thus, don't act thus, speechless (260) though your

¹⁷ Or: yours is all that the horizon covers.

¹⁸ Taking *f²t* to mean "progeny, brood," as proposed by Barns 1952:26 n. 36.

¹⁹ There is no need to transpose the word before *nt q^cm* if it is read as *wmt* (not *wmt*), this being the word for "enclosure" (see *Wb.* 1:307). I take it to refer to the light, kiosk type of structure which was built over the dais on which the throne stood, and surrounded the throne on three sides.

name was called!" Fearful of punishment²⁰ I answered with the answer of a frightened man: "What has my lord said to me, that I might answer it? It is not disrespect to the god!²¹ It is the terror which is in my body, like that which caused the fateful flight! Here I am before you. Life is yours. May your Majesty do as he wishes!"

Then the royal daughters were brought in, and his majesty said to the queen: "Here is Sinuhe, (265) come as an Asiatic, a product of nomads!" She uttered a very great cry, and the royal daughters shrieked all together. They said to his majesty: "Is it really he, O king, our lord?" Said his majesty: "It is really he!" Now having brought with them their necklaces, rattles, and sistra, they held them out to his majesty:²²

Your hands (270) upon the radiance, eternal king,

Jewels of heaven's mistress!

The Gold²³ gives life to your nostrils,
The Lady of Stars enfolds you!

Southcrown fared north, north crown south,
Joined, united by your majesty's word.
While the Cobra decks your brow,
You deliver the poor from harm.
Peace to you from Re, Lord of Lands!
Hail to you and the Mistress of All!

Slacken your bow, lay down your arrow,
(275) Give breath to him who gasps for breath!
Give us our good gift on this good day,²⁴
Grant us the son of north wind, Bowman born
in Egypt!

He made the flight in fear of you,
He left the land in dread of you!
A face that sees you shall not pale,
Eyes that see you shall not fear!

His majesty said: "He shall not fear, he shall not (280) dread!" "He shall be a Companion among the nobles. He shall be among the courtiers. Pro-

ceed to the robing-room to wait on him!"

I left the audience-hall, the royal daughters giving me their hands. (285) We went through the great portals, and I was put in the house of a prince. In it were luxuries: a bathroom and mirrors.²⁵ In it were riches from the treasury; clothes of royal linen, myrrh, and the choice perfume of the king and of his favorite courtiers were in every (290) room. Every servant was at his task. Years were removed from my body. I was shaved; my hair was combed. Thus was my squalor returned to the foreign land, my dress to the Sand-farers. I was clothed in fine linen; I was anointed with fine oil. I slept on a bed. I had returned the sand to those who dwell in it, (295) the tree-oil to those who grease themselves with it.

I was given a house and garden that had belonged to a courtier. Many craftsmen rebuilt it, and all its woodwork was made anew. Meals were brought to me from the palace three times, four times a day, apart from what the royal children gave without a moment's pause.

(300) A stone pyramid was built for me in the midst of the pyramids. The masons who build tombs constructed it. A master draughtsman designed in it. A master sculptor carved in it. The overseers of construction in the necropolis busied themselves with it. All the equipment that is placed in (305) a tomb-shaft was supplied. Mortuary priests were given me. A funerary domain was made for me. It had fields and a garden in the right place, as is done for a Companion of the first rank. My statue was overlaid with gold, its skirt with electrum. It was his majesty who ordered it made. There is no commoner for whom the like has been done. I was in (310) the favor of the king, until the day of landing²⁶ came.

(Colophon) It is done from beginning to end as it was found in writing.

²⁰ The Ashmolean Ostrakon (Barns 1952:2, 49) reads: "fear your punishment," seems to me inferior.

²¹ Read: *n hr-c n ntr is pw*, and see Barns's note on *hr-c*, "shortcoming," (1952:30-32 n. 50).

²² The princesses hold out the emblems sacred to Hathor and perform a ceremonial dance and a song in which they beg a full pardon for Sinuhe. The song was studied by Brunner 1955:5-11.

²³ Epithet of Hathor.

²⁴ Reading *imi n n hnt n nfr m hrw pn nfr*, according to Barns (1952:2, 58 and p. 33 n. 58).

²⁵ Following Sander-Hansen (1955-1957:149) in taking *mw nw* ²*ht* to mean "mirrors."

²⁶ The day of death. Through its beginning and its ending, the story is given the form of the tomb-autobiography in which the narrator looks back on his completed life.

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THE SHIPWRECKED SAILOR (1.39)

Miriam Lichtheim

The tale is set in a narrative frame. A high official is returning from an expedition that apparently failed in its objective, for he is despondent and fearful of the reception awaiting him at court. One of his attendants exhorts him to take courage, and as an example of how a disaster may turn into a success, tells him a marvelous adventure that happened to him years ago. At the end of his tale, however, the official is still despondent.

The only preserved papyrus copy of the tale was discovered by Golenischev in the Imperial Museum of St. Petersburg. Nothing is known about its original provenience. The papyrus, called P. Leningrad 1115, is now in Moscow. The work, and the papyrus copy, date from the Middle Kingdom.

(1) The worthy attendant said: Take heart, my lord! We have reached home. The mallet has been seized, the mooring-post staked, the prow-rope placed (5) on land. Praise is given, god is thanked, everyone embraces his fellow. Our crew has returned safely; our troops have had no loss. We have left Wawat behind, we have passed (10) Senmut; we have returned in safety, we have reached our land. Now listen to me, my lord! I am not exaggerating. Wash yourself, pour water over your fingers. You must answer (15) when questioned. You must speak to the king with presence of mind. You must answer without stammering! A man's mouth can save him. His speech makes one forgive him. (20) But do as you like! It is tiresome to talk to you.

But I shall tell you something like it that happened to me. I had set out to the king's mines, and had gone (25) to sea in a ship of a hundred and twenty cubits in length and forty cubits in width. One hundred and twenty sailors were in it of the pick of Egypt. Looked they at sky, looked they at land, their hearts were stouter (30) than lions. They could foretell a storm before it came, a tempest before it broke.

A storm came up while we were at sea, before we could reach land. As we sailed (35) it made a 'swell', and in it a wave eight cubits tall. The mast — it (the wave) struck (it).¹ Then the ship died. Of those in it not one remained. I was cast (40) on an island by a wave of the sea. I spent three days alone, with my heart as companion. Lying in the shelter of trees I hugged (45) the shade.

Then I stretched my legs to discover what I might put in my mouth. I found figs and grapes there, all sorts of fine vegetables, sycamore figs, unnotched and notched,² (50) and cucumbers that were as if tended. Fish were there and fowl; there

is nothing that was not there. I stuffed myself and put some down, because I had too much in my arms. Then I cut a fire drill, (55) made a fire and gave a burnt offering to the gods.

Then I heard a thundering noise and thought, "It is a wave of the sea." Trees splintered, (60) the ground trembled. Uncovering my face, I found it was a snake that was coming. He was of thirty cubits; his beard was over two cubits long. His body was overlaid (65) with gold; his eyebrows were of real lapis lazuli. He was bent up in front.

Then he opened his mouth to me, while I was on my belly before him. He said to me: "Who brought you, who brought you, fellow, (70) who brought you? If you delay telling me who brought you to this island, I shall make you find yourself reduced to ashes, becoming like a thing unseen." <I said>: "Though you speak to me, I do not hear (75) it; I am before you without knowing myself." Then he took me in his mouth, carried me to the place where he lived, and set me down unhurt, (80) I being whole with nothing taken from me.

Then he opened his mouth to me, while I was on my belly before him. He said to me: "Who brought you, who brought you, fellow, who brought you to this island (85) of the sea, whose two sides are in water?" Then I answered him, my arms bent before him. I said to him: "I had set out (go) to the mines on a mission of the king in a ship of a hundred and twenty cubits in length and forty cubits in width. One hundred and twenty sailors were in it of the pick of Egypt. (95) Looked they at sky, looked they at land, their hearts were stouter than lions. They could foretell a storm before it came, a tempest before it struck. Each of them — his heart was stouter, (100) his arm stronger than his mate's. There was no fool among them. A storm came up while we

¹ The sentence has been read as: *in ht hw n.i s(t)*, and rendered as "the mast (or, a piece of wood) struck the wave for me," thereby flattening it and thus helping the sailor, while the ship nevertheless sank. But the sense is poor, for the context leads one to expect that the wave hit the ship and sank it. I believe that the element *n.i* is not the preposition with suffix but rather the common graphic peculiarity of the spelling of *hwi*, "to strike," and also of *hwi*, "to flood," with an intrusive *n.i* (see *Wb.* 3:49). I also take the *s* to be the suffix referring to the wave; and the dependent pronoun *sw* needs to be added as the object. This admittedly imperfect solution is presented largely in order to emphasize that the passage remains problematic.

² I.e., unripe and ripe figs; the ripe ones were notched, as was explained by Keimer 1928:288ff. and 1928:50ff.

were at sea, before we could reach land. As we sailed it made a 'swell', and in it a wave (105) eight cubits tall. The mast — it struck (it). Then the ship died. Of those in it not one remained, except myself who is here with you. I was brought to this island (110) by a wave of the sea."

Then he said to me: "Don't be afraid, don't be afraid, fellow; don't be pale-faced, now that you have come to me. It is god who has let you live and brought you to this island of the *ka*.³ (115) There is nothing that is not in it; it is full of all good things. You shall pass month upon month until you have completed four months in this island. Then (120) a ship will come from home with sailors in it whom you know. You shall go home with them, you shall die in your town.

"How happy is he who tells what he has tasted,⁴ when the calamity has passed. (125) I shall tell you something similar that happened on this island. I was here with my brothers and there were children with them. In all we were seventy-five serpents, children and brothers, without mentioning a little daughter whom I had obtained through prayer. Then a star (130) fell, and they went up in flames through it. It so happened that I was not with them in the fire, I was not among them. I could have died for their sake when I found them as one heap of corpses."

"If you are brave and control your heart, you shall embrace your children, you shall kiss your wife, you shall see your home. It is better than everything else. (135) You shall reach home, you shall be there among your brothers."

Stretched out on my belly I touched the ground before him; then I said to him: "I shall speak of your power to the king, I shall let him know (140) of your greatness. I shall send you *ibi* and *hknw* oils, laudanum, *hsyt*-spice, and the incense of the temples which pleases all the gods. I shall tell what happened to me, what I saw of your power. One will praise god for you in the city before the councillors of the whole land. I shall slaughter (145) oxen for you as burnt offering; I shall sacrifice geese to you. I shall send you ships loaded with all the treasures of Egypt, as is done for a god who befriends people in a distant land not known to the people."

Then he laughed at me for the things I had said,

which seemed foolish to him. (150) He said to me: "You are not rich in myrrh and all kinds of incense. But I am the lord of Punt, and myrrh is my very own. That *hknw*-oil you spoke of sending, it abounds on this island. Moreover, when you have left this place, you will not see this island again; it will have become water."

Then the ship (155) came, as he had foretold. I went and placed myself on a tall tree, I recognized those that were in it. When I went to report it, I found that he knew it. He said to me: "In health, in health, fellow, to your home, that you may see your children! Make me a good name in your town; that is what I ask (160) of you." I put myself on my belly, my arms bent before him. Then he gave me a load of myrrh, *hknw*-oil, laudanum, *hsyt*-spice, *tišpss*-spice, perfume, eyepaint, giraffe's tails, great lumps of incense, (165) elephant's tusks, greyhounds, long-tailed monkeys, baboons, and all kinds of precious things.

I loaded them on the ship. Then I put myself on my belly to thank him and he said to me: "You will reach home in two months. You will embrace your children. You will flourish at home, you will be buried."⁵

I went down to the shore (170) near the ship; I hailed the crew which was in the ship. I gave praise on the shore to the lord of the island, those in the ship did the same. We sailed north to the king's residence. We reached the residence in two months, all as he had said. I went in to the king; (175) I presented to him the gifts I had brought from the island. He praised god for me in the presence of the councillors of the whole land. I was made an attendant and endowed with serfs of his.

See me after (180) I had reached land, after I saw what I had tasted! Listen to me! It is good for people to listen.

He said to me: "Don't make an effort, my friend. Who would give water at dawn (185) to a goose that will be slaughtered in the morning?"⁶

(Colophon) It is done from beginning to end as it was found in writing, by the scribe with skilled fingers, Imenaa, son of Imeny — life, prosperity, health!

³ The expression "island of the *ka*" is curious. Gardiner rendered it as "phantom island" (1908:65).

⁴ Eg. says "to taste" for "to experience."

⁵ This has been the usual rendering of *mpy.k m hnw krst.k*, in which *hnw* was taken to mean "home," as it does elsewhere in the tale, and *krst.k* to stand for *krs.tw.k*. Brunner-Traut (1963:9) now renders: "und wirst dich in deinem Grabe verjüngen." This is grammatically perfect, but I find the older rendering more plausible, since the emphasis of the tale is on the "return home."

⁶ For this timeless proverb see Spalinger 1984.

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THE TWO BROTHERS (1.40)
(P. D'Orbiney = P. BM 10183)

Miriam Lichtheim

This is a complex and vivid tale, rich in motifs that have parallels in later literatures. The two protagonists have some connection with a myth of the two gods, Anubis and Bata, that was told as a tradition of the Seventeenth Nome of Upper Egypt. The myth is preserved in a late form in the Papyrus Jumilhac (see Vandier 1962). More important than the mythological connection is the depiction of *human* characters, relationships, and feelings in a narration of sustained force. The episode of Bata and his brother's wife has a remarkable similarity with the tale of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, a similarity that has often been commented on. References to the recurrence in other literatures of the tale's folkloristic motifs will be found in the works cited, especially in Lefebvre's and Brunner-Traut's comments to their translations.

Papyrus D'Orbiney is written in a beautiful hand by the scribe Ennana who lived at the end of the 19th Dynasty.

(1.1) It is said, there were two brothers, of the same mother and the same father. Anubis was the name of the elder, and Bata the name of the younger. As for Anubis, he had a house and a wife; and his young brother was with him as if he were a son. He was the one who made clothes for him, and he went behind his cattle to the fields. He was the one who did the plowing, and he harvested for him. He was the one who did for him all kinds of labor in the fields. Indeed, his young brother was an excellent man. There was none like him in the whole land,^a for a god's strength was in him.

Now when many days had passed, his young brother [was tending] his cattle according to his daily custom. And he [returned] to his house in the evening, laden with all kinds of field plants, and with milk, with wood, and with every [good thing] of the field. He placed them before his [elder brother], as he was sitting with his wife. Then he drank and ate and [went to sleep in] his stable among his cattle.

Now when it had dawned and another day had come, [he took foods] that were cooked and placed them before his elder brother. Then he took bread for himself for the fields, and he drove his cattle to let them eat in the fields. He walked behind his cattle, and they would say to him: "The grass is good in such-and-such a place." And he heard all they said and took them to the place of (2.1) good grass that they desired. Thus the cattle he tended became exceedingly fine, and they increased their offspring very much.

Now at plowing time his [elder] brother said to him: "Have a team [of oxen] made ready for us

^a Job 1:8;
2:3

^b Gen 39:7

for plowing, for the soil has emerged and is right for plowing. Also, come to the field with seed, for we shall start plowing tomorrow." So he said to him. Then the young brother made all the preparations that his elder brother had told him [to make].

Now when it had dawned and another day had come, they went to the field with their [seed] and began to plow. And [their hearts] were very pleased with this work they had undertaken. And many days later, when they were in the field, they had need of seed. Then he sent his young brother, saying: "Hurry, fetch us seed from the village." His young brother found the wife of his elder brother seated braiding her hair. He said to her: "Get up, give me seed, (3.1) so that I may hurry to the field, for my elder brother is waiting for me. Don't delay." She said to him: "Go, open the storeroom and fetch what you want. Don't make me leave my hairdo unfinished."

Then the youth entered his stable and fetched a large vessel, for he wished to take a great quantity of seed. He loaded himself with barley and emmer and came out with it. Thereupon she said to him: "How much is what you have on your shoulder?" He said to her: "Three sacks of emmer and two sacks of barley, five in all, are on my shoulder." So he said to her. Then she [spoke to] him saying: "There is [great] strength in you. I see your vigor daily." And she desired to know him as a man. She got up, took hold of him, and said to him: "Come, let us spend an hour lying together.^b It will be good for you. And I will make fine clothes for you."

Then the youth became like a leopard in [his] anger over the wicked speech she had made to

him; and she became very frightened. He rebuked her, saying: "Look, you are like a mother to me; and your husband is like a father to me. He who is older than I has raised me. What (4.1) is this great wrong you said to me? Do not say it to me again! But I will not tell it to anyone. I will not let it come from my mouth to any man." He picked up his load; he went off to the field. He reached his elder brother, and they began to work at their task. When evening had come, his elder brother returned to his house. And his young brother tended his cattle, loaded himself with all things of the field, and drove his cattle before him to let them sleep in their stable in the village.

Now the wife of his elder brother was afraid on account of the speech she had made. So she took fat and grease and made herself appear as if she had been beaten, in order to tell her husband, "It was your young brother who beat me." Her husband returned in the evening according to his daily custom. He reached his house and found his wife lying down and seeming ill. She did not pour water over his hands in the usual manner; nor had she lit a fire for him. His house was in darkness, and she lay vomiting.

Her husband said to her: "Who has had words with you?" She said to him: "No one has had words with me except your (5.1) young brother. When he came to take seed to you, he found me sitting alone. He said to me: 'Come, let us spend an hour lying together; loosen¹ your braids.' So he said to me. But I would not listen to him. 'Am I not your mother? Is your elder brother not like a father to you?' So I said to him. He became frightened and he beat <me>, so as to prevent me from telling you. Now if you let him live, I shall die! Look, when he returns, do [not let him live]!² For I am ill from this evil design which he was about to carry out in the morning."³

Then his elder brother became like a leopard. He sharpened his spear and took it in his hand. Then his elder <brother> stood behind the door <of> his stable, in order to kill his young brother when he came in the evening to let his cattle enter the stable. Now when the sun had set he loaded himself with all the plants of the field according to his daily custom. He returned, and as the lead cow was about to enter the stable she said to her herdsman: "Here is your elder brother

waiting for you with his spear in order to kill you. Run away from him." He heard what his lead cow said, and (6.1) when another went in she said the same. He looked under the door of his stable and saw the feet of his elder brother as he stood behind the door with his spear in his hand. He set his load on the ground and took off at a run so as to flee. And his elder brother went after him with his spear.

Then his young brother prayed to Pre-Harakhti, saying: "My good lord! It is you who judge between the wicked and the just!" And Pre heard all his plea; and Pre made a great body of water appear between him and his elder brother, and it was full of crocodiles. Thus one came to be on the one side, and the other on the other side. And his elder brother struck his own hand twice, because he had failed to kill him. Then his young brother called to him on this side, saying: "Wait here until dawn! When the Aten has risen, I (7.1) shall contend with you before him; and he will hand over the wicked to the just! For I shall not be with you any more. I shall not be in the place in which you are. I shall go to the Valley of the Pine."

Now when it dawned and another day had come, and Pre-Harakhti had risen, one gazed at the other. Then the youth rebuked his elder brother, saying: "What is your coming after me to kill me wrongfully, without having listened to my words? For I am yet your young brother, and you are like a father to me, and your wife is like a mother to me. Is it not so that when I was sent to fetch seed for us your wife said to me: 'Come, let us spend an hour lying together?' But look, it has been turned about for you into another thing." Then he let him know all that had happened between him and his wife. And he swore by Pre-Harakhti, saying: "As to your coming to kill me wrongfully, you carried your spear on the testimony of a filthy whore!" Then he took a reed knife, cut off his phallus, and threw it into the water; and the catfish swallowed it. And he (8.1) grew weak and became feeble. And his elder brother became very sick at heart and stood weeping for him loudly. He could not cross over to where his young brother was on account of the crocodiles.

Then his young brother called to him, saying: "If you recall something evil, will you not also recall something good, or something that I have done

¹ *Wnh* here does not mean "to put on"; on the contrary, it means "to loosen" one's braids, as a woman does when she lies down. This meaning of *wnh* is known from the medical texts; see von Deines and Westendorf 1961-1962 2:194, where the authors write: "Der Terminus *wnh* bezeichnet eine Lösung zweier Teile von einander, ohne dass eine vollständige Trennung erfolgt."

² Or restore: "You shall kill him."

³ Lit., "yesterday." The day ended at sunset.

for you? Go back to your home and tend your cattle, for I shall not stay in the place where you are. I shall go to the Valley of the Pine. But what you shall do for me is to come and look after me, when you learn that something has happened to me. I shall take out my heart and place it on top of the blossom of the pine. If the pine is cut down and falls to the ground, you shall come to search for it. If you spend seven years searching for it, let your heart not be disgusted. And when you find it and place it in a bowl of cool water, I shall live to take revenge on him who wronged me. You will know that something has happened to me when one puts a jug of beer in your hand and it ferments. Do not delay at all when this happens to you."

Then he went away to the Valley of the Pine; and his elder brother went to his home, his hand on his head and smeared with dirt.⁴ When he reached his house, he killed his wife, cast her to the dogs,⁵ and sat mourning for his young brother.

Now many days after this, his young brother was in the Valley of the Pine. There was no one with him, and he spent the days hunting desert game. In the evening he returned to sleep under the pine on top of whose blossom his heart was. And after (9.1) many days he built a mansion for himself with his own hand <in> the Valley of the Pine, filled with all good things, for he wanted to set up a household.

Coming out of his mansion, he encountered the Ennead as they walked about administering the entire land. Then the Ennead addressed him in unison, saying: "O Bata, Bull of the Ennead, are you alone here, having left your town on account of the wife of Anubis, your elder brother? He has killed his wife and you are avenged of all the wrong done to you." And as they felt very sorry for him, Pre-Harakhti said to Khnum: "Fashion a wife for Bata, that he not live alone!" Then Khnum made a companion for him who was more beautiful in body than any woman in the whole land, for <the fluid of> every god was in her. Then the seven Hathors came <to> see her, and they said with one voice: "She will die by the knife."

He desired her very much. She sat in his house while he spent the day (10.1) hunting desert game, bringing it and putting it before her. He said to her: "Do not go outdoors, lest the sea snatch you. I cannot rescue you from it, because I am a woman like you. And my heart lies on top of the

c2 Kgs 9:30-37

blossom of the pine. But if another finds it, I shall fight with him." Then he revealed to her all his thoughts.

Now many days after this, when Bata had gone hunting according to his daily custom, the young girl went out to stroll under the pine which was next to her house. Then she saw the sea surging behind her, and she started to run before it and entered her house. Thereupon the sea called to the pine, saying: "Catch her for me!" And the pine took away a lock of her hair. Then the sea brought it to Egypt and laid it in the place of the washermen of Pharaoh. Thereafter the scent of the lock of hair got into the clothes of Pharaoh. And the king quarreled with the royal washermen, saying: "A scent of ointment is in the clothes of Pharaoh!" He quarreled with them every day, and (11.1) they did not know what to do.

The chief of the royal washermen went to the shore, his heart very sore on account of the daily quarrel with him. Then he realized⁵ that he was standing on the shore opposite the lock of hair which was in the water. He had someone go down, and it was brought to him. Its scent was found to be very sweet, and he took it to Pharaoh.

Then the learned scribes of Pharaoh were summoned, and they said to Pharaoh: "As for this lock of hair, it belongs to a daughter of Pre-Harakhti in whom there is the fluid of every god. It is a greeting to you from another country. Let envoys go to every foreign land to search for her. As for the envoy who goes to the Valley of the Pine, let many men go with him to fetch her." His majesty said: "What you have said is very good." And they were sent.

Now many days after this, the men who had gone abroad returned to report to his majesty. But those who had gone to the Valley of the Pine did not return, for Bata had killed them, leaving only one of them to report to his majesty. Then his majesty sent many soldiers and charioteers to bring her back, and (12.1) with them was a woman into whose hand one had given all kinds of beautiful ladies' jewelry. The woman returned to Egypt with her, and there was jubilation for her in the entire land. His majesty loved her very very much, and he gave her the rank of Great Lady. He spoke with her in order to make her tell about her husband, and she said to his majesty: "Have the pine felled and cut up." The king sent soldiers with their tools to fell the pine.

⁴ Gestures of mourning.

⁵ *Smw*, "to establish," evolved to include the meanings "to record" and "to determine." Hence the chief washerman did not "stand still" but rather he "determined" or "realized" that he was standing opposite the lock of hair.

They reached the pine, they felled the blossom on which was Bata's heart, and he fell dead at that moment.

When it had dawned and the next day had come, and the pine had been felled, Anubis, the elder brother of Bata, entered his house. He sat down to wash his hands. He was given a jug of beer, and it fermented. He was given another of wine, and it turned bad. Then he took his (13.1) staff and his sandals, as well as his clothes and his weapons, and he started to journey to the Valley of the Pine. He entered the mansion of his young brother and found his young brother lying dead on his bed. He wept when he saw his young brother lying dead. He went to search for the heart of his young brother beneath the pine under which his young brother had slept in the evening.⁶ He spent three years searching for it without finding it.

When he began the fourth year, his heart longed to return to Egypt, and he said: "I shall depart tomorrow." So he said in his heart. When it had dawned and another day had come, he went to walk under the pine and spent the day searching for it. When he turned back in the evening, he looked once again in search of it and he found a fruit. He came back with it, and it was the heart of his young brother! He fetched a bowl of cool water, placed it in it, and sat down according to his daily <custom>.

When night had come, (14.1) his heart swallowed the water, and Bata twitched in all his body. He began to look at his elder brother while his heart was in the bowl. Then Anubis, his elder brother, took the bowl of cool water in which was the heart of his young brother and <let> him drink it. Then his heart stood in its place, and he became as he had been. Thereupon they embraced each other, and they talked to one another.

Then Bata said to his elder brother: "Look, I shall change myself into a great bull of beautiful color, of a kind unknown to man, and you shall sit on my back. By the time the sun has risen, we shall be where my wife is, that I may avenge myself. You shall take me to where the king is, for he will do for you everything good. You shall be rewarded with silver and gold for taking me to Pharaoh. For I shall be a great marvel, and they will jubilate over me in the whole land. Then you shall depart to your village."

When it had dawned (15.1) and the next day had come, Bata assumed the form which he had told his elder brother. Then Anubis, his elder brother, sat on his back. At dawn he reached the place

where the king was. His majesty was informed about him; he saw him and rejoiced over him very much. He made a great offering for him, saying: "It is a great marvel." And there was jubilation over him in the entire land. Then the king rewarded his elder brother with silver and gold, and he dwelled in his village. The king gave him many people and many things, for Pharaoh loved him very much, more than anyone else in the whole land.

Now when many days had passed, he⁷ entered the kitchen, stood where the Lady was, and began to speak to her, saying: "Look, I am yet alive!" She said to him: "Who are you?" He said to her: "I am Bata. I know that when you had the pine felled for Pharaoh, it was on account of me, so that I should not live. Look, (16.1) I am yet alive! I am a bull." The Lady became very frightened because of the speech her husband had made to her. Then he left the kitchen.

His majesty sat down to a day of feasting with her. She poured drink for his majesty, and he was very happy with her. Then she said to his majesty: "Swear to me by God, saying: 'Whatever she will say, I will listen to it!'" He listened to all that she said: "Let me eat of the liver of this bull; for he is good for nothing." So she said to him. He became very vexed over what she had said, and the heart of Pharaoh was very sore.

When it had dawned and another day had come, the king proclaimed a great offering, namely, the sacrifice of the bull. He sent one of the chief royal slaughterers to sacrifice the bull. And when he had been sacrificed and was carried on the shoulders of the men, he shook his neck and let fall two drops of blood beside the two doorposts of his majesty, one on the one side of the great portal of Pharaoh, and the other on the other side. They grew into two (17.1) big Persea trees, each of them outstanding. Then one went to tell his majesty: "Two big Persea trees have grown this night — a great marvel for his majesty — beside the great portal of his majesty." There was jubilation over them in the whole land, and the king made an offering to them.

Many days after this, his majesty appeared at the audience window of lapis lazuli with a wreath of all kinds of flowers on his neck. Then he <mounted> a golden chariot and came out of the palace to view the Persea trees. Then the Lady came out on a team behind Pharaoh. His majesty sat down under one Persea tree <and the Lady under the other. Then Bata> spoke to his wife: "Ha, you false one! I am Bata! I am alive

⁶ The phrasing fails to take into account that the pine has been felled.

⁷ The bull.

[in spite of you]. I know that when you had <the pine> felled for Pharaoh, it was on account of me. And when I became a bull, you had me killed.”

Many days after this, the Lady stood pouring drink for his majesty, and he was happy with her. Then she said to his majesty: “Swear to me by God, saying: ‘Whatever she will say, I will listen to it!’ So you shall say.” He listened (18.1) to all that she said. She said: “Have the two Persea trees felled and made into fine furniture.” The king listened to all that she said. After a short while his majesty sent skilled craftsmen. They felled the Persea trees of Pharaoh, and the Queen, the Lady, stood watching it. Then a splinter flew and entered the mouth of the Lady. She swallowed it, and in a moment she became pregnant. The king <ordered> made of them⁸ whatever she desired.

Many days after this, she gave birth to a son. One went to tell his majesty: “A son has been born to you.” He was fetched, and a nurse and maids were assigned to him. And there was jubilation over him in the whole land. The king sat down to a feast day and held him on his lap. From that hour his majesty loved him very much, and he designated him as (19.1) Viceroy of Kush. And many days after this, his majesty made him crown prince of the whole land.

Now many days after this, when he had spent [many years] as crown prince of the whole land, his majesty flew up to heaven.⁹ Then the king¹⁰ said: “Let my great royal officials be brought to me, that I may let them know all that has happened to me.” Then his wife was brought to him. He judged her in their presence, and they gave their assent. His elder brother was brought to him, and he made him crown prince of the whole land. He <spent> thirty years as king of Egypt. He departed from life; and his elder brother stood in his place on the day of death.

(Colophon) It has come to a good end under the scribe of the treasury, Kagab, and the scribes of the treasury, Hori and Meremope. Written by the scribe Ennana, the owner of this book. Whoever maligns this book, Thoth will contend with him.

⁸ The Persea trees.

⁹ I.e., the king died.

¹⁰ Bata.

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Publication: *SPHC* pls. 9-19; Möller 1927 1:1-20; Gardiner 1932b:9-29; Translation: Lefébvre 1949:137-158; Schott 1950:193-204; Brunner-Traut 1963:28-40; Wente 1973:92-107. Comments: Yoyotte 1952:157-159; Vandier 1962:45-46, 105-106, 114-115; Jesi 1962:276-296; Blumenthal 1973:1-17; von Deines and Westendorf 1961-62 2:194; Lichtheim *AEL* 2:203-211.

THE REPORT OF WENAMUN (1.41) (P. Moscow 120)

Miriam Lichtheim

In its present state the papyrus consists of two pages with a total of 142 lines. The first page has numerous lacunae, and the end of the story is missing. The papyrus was written at the end of the 20th Dynasty, that is to say, directly after the events which the report relates. Whether or not the report reflects an actual mission, it depicts a true historical situation and a precise moment. It is the third decade of the reign of Ramses XI (1090-1080 BCE), during which the king yielded power to the two men who shared the effective rule of Egypt: Herihor in the south and Smendes in the north. The empire had been lost, and thus so simple an enterprise as the purchase of Lebanese timber could be depicted as a perilous adventure.

What makes the story so remarkable is the skill with which it is told. The Late-Egyptian vernacular is handled with great subtlety. The verbal duels between Wenamun and the prince of Byblos, with their changes of mood and shades of meaning that include irony, represent Egyptian thought and style at their most advanced. What *Sinuhe* is for the Middle Kingdom, *Wenamun* is for the New Kingdom: a literary culmination. The differences between them are not only that the one reflects political power and the other political decline, but more importantly that almost a millennium of human history has gone by, a time during which the peoples of the ancient world lost much of their archaic simplicity. *Wenamun* stands on the threshold of the first millennium BCE, a millennium in which the modern world began, a world shaped by men and women who were the likes of ourselves.

(1.1) Year 5,¹ fourth month of summer, day 16, the day of departure of Wenamun, the Elder of the Portal of the Temple of Amun, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, to fetch timber for the great noble bark of Amun-Re, King of Gods, which is upon the river and [is called] Amun-user-he.²

On the day of my arrival at Tanis, the place where Smendes and Tentamun are,³ I gave them the dispatches of Amun-Re, King of Gods. They had them read out before them and they said: "I will do, I will do as Amun-Re, King of Gods, our lord has said."

I stayed until the fourth month of summer in Tanis. Then Smendes and Tentamun sent me off with the ship's captain Mengebet,⁴ and I went down upon the great sea of Syria in the first month of summer,⁵ day 1. I arrived at Dor,⁶ a Tjeker town; and Beder, its prince, had fifty loaves, one jug of wine, (1.10) and one ox-haunch brought to me. Then a man of my ship fled after stealing one vessel of gold worth 5 *deben*, four jars of silver worth 20 *deben*, and a bag with 11 *deben* of silver; [total of what he stole]: gold 5 *deben*, silver 31 *deben*.

That morning, when I had risen, I went to where the prince was and said to him: "I have been robbed in your harbor. Now you are the prince of this land, you are the one who controls it. Search for my money! Indeed the money belongs to Amun-Re, King of Gods, the lord of the lands. It belongs to Smendes; it belongs to Herihor, my lord, and (to) the other magnates of Egypt. It belongs to you; it belongs to Weret; it belongs to Mekmer; it belongs to Tickerbaal, the prince of Byblos!"⁷ He said to me: "Are you serious? 'Are you joking?'⁸ Indeed I do not understand the demand you make to me. If it had been a thief belonging to my land who had gone down to your ship and stolen your money, I would replace it for you from my storehouse, until (1.20) your thief, whatever his name, had been found. But the thief who robbed you, he is yours, he belongs to your ship. Spend a few days here with me; I will search for him."

I stayed nine days moored in his harbor. Then I went to him and said to him: "Look, you have not found my money. [Let me depart] with the ship captains, with those who go to sea."

[The next eight lines are broken. Apparently the prince advises Wenamun to wait some more, but Wenamun departs. He passes Tyre and approaches Byblos. Then he seizes thirty *deben* of silver from a ship he has encountered which belongs to the Tjeker. He tells the owners that he will keep the money until his money has been found. Through this action he incurs the enmity of the Tjeker].

They departed and I celebrated [in] a tent on the shore of the sea in the harbor of Byblos. And [I made a hiding place for] Amun-of-the-Road⁸ and placed his possessions in it. Then the prince of Byblos sent to me saying: "[Leave my] harbor!" I sent to him, saying: "Where shall [I go]? -----. If [you have a ship to carry me], let me be taken back to Egypt." I spent twenty-nine days in his harbor, and he spent time sending to me daily to say: "Leave my harbor!"

Now while he was offering to his gods, the god took hold of a young man [of] his young men and put him in a trance. He said to him:⁹ "Bring [the] god up! Bring the envoy who is carrying him! (1.40) It is Amun who sent him. It is he who made him come!" Now it was while the entranced one was entranced that night that I had found a ship headed for Egypt. I had loaded all my belongings into it and was watching for the darkness, saying: "When it descends I will load the god so that no other eye shall see him."

Then the harbor master came to me, saying: "Wait until morning, says the prince!" I said to him: "Was it not you who daily took time to come to me, saying: 'Leave my harbor'? Do you now say: 'Wait this night,' in order to let the ship that I found depart, and then you will come to say: 'Go away'?" He went and told it to the prince. Then the prince sent to the captain of the ship, saying: "Wait until morning, says the prince."

When morning came, he sent and brought me up, while the god rested in the tent where he was on the shore of the sea. I found him seated in his

¹ The year date is reckoned by the "Renaissance Era" introduced by Herihor in the 19th regnal year of Ramses XI. The month dates given for the beginning of Wenamun's journey are garbled and require emendation. This first date might be emended to "second month of summer."

² The name of the great processional bark of Amun of Thebes.

³ Smendes, the ruler of Tanis, subsequently became the first king of the 21st Dyn. The fact that, in the tale, his wife Tentamun is always mentioned together with him suggests that she was an important person, perhaps a Ramesside princess, who shared the rule with her husband.

⁴ The captain is a Syrian, and so apparently is the crew; but the ship is in the service of Egypt.

⁵ Emend to: "first month of the inundation."

⁶ A port town on the coast of northern Palestine, controlled by the Tjeker, a people belonging to the "sea peoples" who, having failed to invade Egypt, had settled on the Palestinian coast. Concerning Dor, see now Stern 1994.

⁷ I.e., the stolen money was intended for the persons with whom Wenamun expected to do business.

⁸ The statuette which represented Amun in his aspect of protector of travelers.

⁹ I.e., the man in a trance says to the prince.

upper chamber with his back against a window, and the waves of the great sea of Syria broke behind (1.50) his head. I said to him: "Blessings of Amun!" He said to me: "How long is it to this day since you came from the place where Amun is?" I said to him: "Five whole months till now." He said to me: "If you are right, where is the dispatch of Amun that was in your hand? Where is the letter of the High Priest of Amun that was in your hand?" I said to him: "I gave them to Smendes and Tentamun." Then he became very angry and said to me: "Now then, dispatches, letters you have none. Where is the ship of pine-wood¹⁰ that Smendes gave you? Where is its Syrian crew? Did he not entrust you to this foreign ship's captain in order to have him kill you and have them throw you into the sea? From whom would one then seek the god? And you, from whom would one seek you?" So he said to me.

I said to him: "Is it not an Egyptian ship? Those who sail under Smendes are Egyptian crews. He has no Syrian crews."¹¹ He said to me: "Are there not twenty ships here in my harbor that do business with Smendes? As for Sidon, (2.1) that other (place) you passed, are there not another fifty ships there that do business with Werekter and haul to his house?"

I was silent in this great moment. Then he spoke to me, saying: "On what business have you come?" I said to him: "I have come in quest of timber for the great noble bark of Amun-Re, King of Gods. What your father did, what the father of your father did, you too will do it." So I said to him. He said to me: "True, they did it. If you pay me for doing it, I will do it. My relations carried out this business after Pharaoh had sent six ships laden with the goods of Egypt, and they had been unloaded into their storehouses. You, what have you brought for me?"

He had the daybook of his forefathers brought and had it read before me. They found entered in his book a thousand *deben* of silver and all sorts of things. (2.10) He said to me: "If the ruler of Egypt were the lord of what is mine and I were his servant, he would not have sent silver and gold to say: 'Carry out the business of Amun.' It was not a royal gift that they gave to my father! I too, I am not your servant, nor am I the servant of him who sent you! If I shout aloud to the Lebanon, the sky opens and the logs lie here on the

shore of the sea! Give me the sails you brought to move your ships, loaded with logs for <Egypt>! Give me the ropes you brought [to lash the pines] that I am to fell in order to make them for you ---. ----- that I am to make for you for the sails of your ships; or the yards may be too heavy and may break, and you may die <in> the midst of the sea. For Amun makes thunder in the sky ever since he placed Seth beside him!¹² Indeed, Amun has (2.20) founded all the lands. He founded them after having first founded the land of Egypt from which you have come. Thus craftsmanship came from it in order to reach the place where I am! Thus learning came from it in order to reach the place where I am!¹³ What are these foolish travels they made you do?"

I said to him: "Wrong! These are not foolish travels that I am doing. There is no ship on the river that does not belong to Amun. His is the sea and his the Lebanon of which you say, 'It is mine.' It is a growing ground for Amun-user-he, the lord of every ship. Truly, it was Amun-Re, King of Gods, who said to Herihor, my master: 'Send me!' And he made me come with this great god. But look, you have let this great god spend these twenty-nine days moored in your harbor. Did you not know that he was here? Is he not he who he was? You are prepared to haggle over the Lebanon with Amun, its lord? As to your saying, the former kings sent silver and gold: If they had owned life and health, they would not have sent these things. (2.30) It was in place of life and health that they sent these things to your fathers! But Amun-Re, King of Gods, he is the lord of life and health, and he was the lord of your fathers! They passed their lifetimes offering to Amun. You too, you are the servant of Amun!

If you will say 'I will do' to Amun, and will carry out business, you will live, you will prosper, you will be healthy; you will be beneficent to your whole land and your people. Do not desire what belongs to Amun-Re, King of Gods! Indeed, a lion loves his possessions! Have your scribe brought to me that I may send him to Smendes and Tentamun, the pillars Amun has set up for the north of his land; and they will send all that is needed. I will send him to them, saying: 'Have it brought until I return to the south; then I shall refund you all your expenses.'¹⁴ So I said to him.

¹⁰ Or, "for (the transport of) the pine wood."

¹¹ Wenamun claims that Syrian crews who sail for Egypt are Egyptian crews.

¹² Seth was equated with the Syrian Baal and both were storm gods.

¹³ The gist of the prince's speech is that, though Egypt was created by Amun before all other lands and is thus the motherland of all the arts, the civilization of Syria is now fully grown and no longer dependent on Egypt.

¹⁴ I.e., after Wenamun has returned to Thebes, his master Herihor will reimburse Smendes and Tentamun.

He placed my letter in the hand of his messenger; and he loaded the keel, the prow-piece, and the stern-piece, together with four other hewn logs, seven in all, and sent them to Egypt. His messenger who had gone to Egypt returned to me in Syria in the first month of winter, Smendes and Tentamun having sent: (2.40) four jars and one *kakmen*-vessel of gold; five jars of silver; ten garments of royal linen; ten *hrd*-garments¹⁵ of fine linen; five hundred smooth linen mats; five hundred ox-hides; five hundred ropes; twenty sacks of lentils; and thirty baskets of fish. And she had sent to me:¹⁶ five garments of fine linen; five *hrd*-garments of fine linen; one sack of lentils; and five baskets of fish.

The prince rejoiced. He assigned three hundred men and three hundred oxen, and he set supervisors over them to have them fell the timbers. They were felled and they lay there during the winter. In the third month of summer they dragged them to the shore of the sea. The prince came out and stood by them, and he sent to me, saying: "Come!" Now when I had been brought into his presence, the shadow of his sunshade fell on me. Then Penamun, a butler of his,¹⁷ intervened, saying: "The shadow of Pharaoh, your lord, has fallen upon you." And he was angry with him and said: "Leave him alone."

As I stood before him, he addressed me, saying: "Look, the business my fathers did in the past, I have done it, although you did not do for me what your fathers did for mine. Look, the last of your timber has arrived and is ready. Do as I wish, and come to load it. For has it not been given to you? (2.50) Do not come to look at the terror of the sea. For if you look at the terror of the sea, you will see my own! Indeed, I have not done to you what was done to the envoys of Khaemwese,¹⁸ after they had spent seventeen years in this land. They died on the spot." And he said to his butler: "Take him to see the tomb where they lie."

I said to him: "Do not make me see it. As for Khaemwese, the envoys he sent you were men and he himself was a man. You have not here one of his envoys, though you say: 'Go and see your companions.' Should you not rejoice and have a stela [made] for yourself, and say on it:

'Amun-Re, King of Gods, sent me Amun-of-the-Road, his envoy, together with Wenamun, his human envoy, in quest of timber for the great noble bark of Amun-Re, King of Gods. I felled it; I loaded it; I supplied my ships and my crews. I let them reach Egypt so as to beg for me from Amun fifty years of life over and above my allotted fate.' And if it comes to pass that in another day an envoy comes from the land of Egypt who knows writing and he reads out your name on the stela, you will receive water of the west like the gods who are (2.60) there."

He said to me: "A great speech of admonition is what you have said to me."¹⁹ I said to him: "As to the many <things> you have said to me: if I reach the place where the High Priest of Amun is and he sees your accomplishment, it is your accomplishment that will draw profit to you."

I went off to the shore of the sea, to where the logs were lying. And I saw eleven ships that had come in from the sea and belonged to the Tjekker (who were) saying: "Arrest him! Let no ship of his leave for the land of Egypt!" Then I sat down and wept. And the secretary of the prince came out to me and said to me: "What is it?" I said to him: "Do you not see the migrant birds going down to Egypt a second time? Look at them traveling to the cool water!"²⁰ Until when shall I be left here? For do you not see those who have come to arrest me?"

He went and told it to the prince. And the prince began to weep on account of the words said to him, for they were painful. He sent his secretary out to me, bringing me two jugs of wine and a sheep. And he sent me Tentne, an Egyptian songstress who was with him, saying: "Sing for him! Do not let his heart be anxious." And he sent to me, (2.70) saying: "Eat, drink; do not let your heart be anxious. You shall hear what I will say tomorrow."

When morning came, he had his assembly summoned. He stood in their midst and said to the Tjekker: "What have you come for?" They said to him: "We have come after the blasted²¹ ships that you are sending to Egypt with our enemy." He said to them: "I cannot arrest the envoy of Amun in my country. Let me send him off, and you go

¹⁵ The nature of *hrd* is not known. Černý (1958:208-209) suggested the meanings "awning," and "veil." To my knowledge Eg. art never depicts the wearing of veils.

¹⁶ Tentamun had sent a personal gift to Wenamun.

¹⁷ An Eg. in the service of the prince of Byblos.

¹⁸ We do not know to whom the prince is referring. A vizier Khaemwese served under Ramses IX.

¹⁹ This reply of the prince seems to be ironic.

²⁰ I.e., Wenamun has now been abroad for more than a year and is thus witnessing for the second time the annual flight to Egypt of migratory birds.

²¹ It looks as if the verb *knkn*, "to beat," is here used idiomatically as a curse word. Cf. the name *knkn-r*² given to a lonely foreign place in P. Anastasi IV.12,6 (Gardiner 1937:48).

after him to arrest him.”

He had me board and sent me off from the harbor of the sea. And the wind drove me to the land of Alasiya.²² Then the town's people came out against me to kill me. But I forced my way through them to where Hatiba, the princess of the town was. I met her coming from one of her houses to enter another. I saluted her and said to the people who stood around her: “Is there not one among you who understands Egyptian?” And one among them said: “I understand it.” I said to him: “Tell my lady that I have heard it said as far away as Thebes, the place where Amun is: ‘If wrong is done in every town, in the land of Alasiya

right is done.’ Now is wrong done here too every day?”

She said: “What is it (2.80) you have said?” I said to her: “If the sea rages and the wind drives me to the land where you are, will you let me be received so as to kill me, though I am the envoy of Amun? Look, as for me, they would search for me till the end of time. As for this crew of the prince of Byblos, whom they seek to kill, will not their lord find ten crews of yours and kill them also?” She had the people summoned and they were reprimanded. She said to me: “Spend the night _____²³

²² Alasiya is thought to be Cyprus, but the identification is not certain.

²³ The remainder of the report is lost.

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Publication: Golenishchev 1899:74-102; Gardiner 1932b:61-76; Korostovtsev 1960. Translation: Erman 1900:1-14; 1927:174-185; Lefebvre 1949:204-220; *ANET* 25-29; Gardiner 1961:306-313; Edel 1968:41-48; Wente 1973:142-155; Lichtheim *AEL* 2:224-230. Comments: Nims 1968:161-164.

2. “PROPHECY”

THE ADMONITIONS OF AN EGYPTIAN SAGE: THE ADMONITIONS OF IPUWER (1.42)

Nili Shupak

The “Admonitions” was composed during the First Intermediate period (c.a. 2000 BCE) or the late Middle Kingdom.¹ The text is preserved on Papyrus Leiden 344, dating to the 18th or 19th Dynasty (1580-1200 BCE).

The original composition contained a narrative frame which has been lost, and which established the setting of the utterances of the sage as a council at the royal court, in a manner similar to that of the “Prophecies of Neferti” (text 1.45 below).

The speeches of the sage are arranged in six poems, each of which opens with an identical formula,² although the poems are not continuous with regard to content.

A considerable portion of this work is concerned with an account of ordeals and calamities of the times. The second part of the composition consists of exhortations to the people to repent by destroying the enemy and fulfilling their religious obligations. The climax of the work is in the third part, which portrays an ideal monarch who will rehabilitate the country,³ and concludes by pinning the blame for the decline into evil days on an unnamed regnant king⁴ and presenting the fortunate conditions in store for Egypt once the nation is redeemed.

The composition closes with an obscure passage which speaks of an aged monarch, and may allude to actual historical circumstances.

The work, which is clearly a document of social criticism and contains some sections referring to events in the future,⁵ has common features with the biblical prophecy.⁶ Note: l.p.h. = “life, prosperity, health!” — the traditional blessing over the king.

¹ For a review of the various scholarly opinions concerning the date of “The Admonitions” see: Barta 1974:21. Some scholars, however, believe that this text is a pure literary fiction and does not relate to any historical situation; see: Lichtheim *AEL* 1:149-150; Hornung 1990:190.

² The same device is used in “The Eloquent Peasant” and “The Dispute between a Man and His *Ba*”; see: Shupak 1989-1990, Table II, 38-39, and text 1.43 below.

³ For an alternative explanation see n. 34, below.

⁴ It has been proposed that “The Admonitions” of Ipuwer are addressed to Pepi II, one of the kings of the Sixth Dynasty.

⁵ Scholarly opinion is divided as to whether these sections which describe the redemption of the land contain a prediction of things to come or merely express a yearning for better days.

⁶ On the question of the existence of prophecy in the biblical sense in Ancient Egypt see: Shupak 1989-1990.

Calamities of the Times (1.1-10.6)*Introduction* (1.1-1.9)

(1.1) The doorkeepers say: "Let us go and plunder" ...,

The washerman refuses to carry his load [...],
The bird [-catchers] have drawn up in line of battle,

[The inhabitants] of the Delta marshes carry shields ...,

A man looks upon his son as his enemy ...,

(1.8) The virtuous man goes in mourning because of what has happened in the land ...

(1.9) Foreigners⁷ have become Egyptians⁸ everywhere.

First Poem (Introduction Formula — iw ms) (1.9-6.14)

(1.9) Indeed, the face is pale,

(1.10) What the ancestors foretold has happened [...].⁹

Indeed [...] the land is full of gangs,

A man goes to plough with his shield ...

Indeed, the Nile overflows, none plough for it;
Everyone says: "We do not know what has happened throughout the land."

(2.4) Indeed, women are barren, and none conceive,

Khnum¹⁰ does not create because of the condition of the land,

(2.4-2.5) Indeed, poor men have become owners of wealth,

He who could not make for himself sandals owns riches.¹¹

(2.6-7) Indeed, many dead are buried in the river,
The stream is a grave, and the tomb has become a stream.

(2.7-2.8) Indeed, the noblemen are in mourning and the poor man is full of joy,

Every town says: "Let us expel the powerful among us."

Indeed, men are like ibises; dirt is throughout the land,

There is none indeed whose clothes are white at this time.

a Exod 7:14-25; Pss 78:44; 105:29

Indeed, the land turns around like a potter's wheel,

The robber is a possessor of riches and [the rich man has become (?)] a plunderer ...

(2.10) Indeed, the river is blood, yet one drinks from it,^a

Men shrink from people and thirst after water.

Indeed, gates, columns and walls are burning,
While the hall of the palace l.p.h. stands firm and endures ...

(2.12-2.13) Indeed, crocodiles are glutted on their catch,

People go to them of their own will ...

(2.14) Indeed, the well born man ... passes without being recognized,

The child of his lady has become the son of his maid.

(3.1) Indeed, the desert is throughout the land,
The nomes are laid waste,

Foreign tribes¹² come into Egypt ...

(3.6) Indeed, the builders [of pyramids have become] farmers of fields,

Those who were in the sacred bark are yoked [to it].¹³

None, indeed, sail northward to (3.7) Byblos¹⁴ today,

What shall we do for cedar trees for our mummies?

The priests are buried with their produce,

The [chiefs] are embalmed with their oil,

As far as (3.9) Crete,¹⁴ they come no more,

Gold is lacking ...

(3.10-3.13) Indeed, Elephantine and Thines (?) [the dominion of] Upper Egypt are not taxed because of civil war.

Lacking are grain, charcoal ...

To what purpose is a treasure-house without its revenues?

Glad indeed is the heart of the king, when gifts come to him.

Look, every foreign country [says?]: "This is our water!¹⁵ This is our fortune!"

What shall we do about it? All is ruin!

⁷ Eg. *ḥ²styw*, a nisbe adjective derived from *ḥ²st* "foreign country," used here as term for Asiatics; cf. line 4.5 and n. 19, below.

⁸ Lit., "have become people."

⁹ The contemporary disasters are represented as a fulfilment of what was foretold (*sr*) by the ancestors. *Sr*, foretelling, also appears in connection with the ancestors in "The Instructions Addressed to Merikare" 69-71. On the relationship between prediction and the genre of speculative wisdom literature see: Shupak 1989-1990:25-28 and cf. also "The Prophecies of Neferti" notes 5, 16; see above, p. 63.

¹⁰ Cf. 5.7.

¹¹ The stylistic device appearing here, i.e., series of contrasts to highlight the absurdity of the current state of affairs — a reversed social order, is a dominant feature in "The Admonitions;" cf. 2.4-2.8; 2.14; 3.6; 7.8-8.5. This device is common in the Eg. as well as the biblical wisdom literature; cf. "The Eloquent Peasant" n. 32 and "The Prophecies of Neferti" n. 29.

¹² Lit., "bowmen" Eg. *ḥḏtyw*. The word is often used in "The Admonitions" to denote the Asiatics cf. 14.13 and also 2.2; 15.1 (untranslated); see also n. 19, below.

¹³ The passage probably refers to the change in occupation of the funerary professionals who, owing to lack of needed materials, turned to agriculture; see Goedicke 1967:93.

¹⁴ This section (3.6-3.9) relates to a break in trade between Egypt and her significant commercial partners, Byblos and Crete. Byblos supplied Egypt with timber from early dynastic times; strong cultural contacts between Egypt and Crete existed during the Hyksos times and the 18th Dynasty, when goods such as textiles and carpets were imported to Egypt from the Aegean.

¹⁵ Obscure phrase which may have here a figurative sense, i.e., "This is our fate"; see: Faulkner 1964:26; Lichtheim *AEL* 1:161 n. 7.

Indeed, merriment has perished, is [no longer] made,
 There is groaning throughout the land mingled with laments ...
 (4.2-4.3) Indeed, great and small [say] "I wish I were dead,"
 Little children say "He should not have caused [me] to live."¹⁶
 Indeed, the children of princes are dashed against walls,
 And the infants¹⁷ are laid on the high ground.
 Indeed, those who were in the place of embalming are laid on high ground,
 And the secrets of the embalmers are thrown away ...
 (4.5) Indeed, the whole Delta will no longer be hidden,¹⁸
 Lower Egypt will trust trodden roads.
 What shall one do? ...
 Behold, it is in the hands of those who do not know it, like those who know it,
 The foreigners are skilled in the crafts of the Delta ...¹⁹
 Indeed, all maid servants are rude in their tongue,
 When their mistress speaks it is irksome to the servants ...
 (5.2-5.3) Indeed, princes are hungry and perish,
 Servants are served ...
 Indeed, the hot-tempered man says: "If I knew where god is, then I would serve him."
 Indeed, [justice]²⁰ is throughout (5.4) the land in its name,
 but what they (men) do in appealing to it, is wrong ...
 Indeed, all animals, their hearts weep,
 Cattle moan because of the state of the land.
 Indeed, the children of princes are dashed against walls,
 The infants are laid on the high ground,
 (5.7) Khnum groans in weariness ...
 (5.9-5.11) Indeed, a slave (?) [has the power?] throughout the land,

b Job 3:3ff.,
 20:22; 10:18-
 19; 13:15;
 14:13; 17:13-
 14

The strong man sends to all people.²¹
 A man strikes his maternal brother —
 What has been done?
 Indeed, the ways are (blocked), the roads are watched,
 Men sit in the bushes, until the night traveller comes, in order to plunder his load.
 What is upon him is taken away;
 He is thrashed with blows of a stick and criminally slain.
 Indeed, perished is what yesterday was seen ...
 If only this were the end of men,
 No conceiving, no birth,
 Then the land would be quiet of noise, and tumult be no more.
 Indeed [men eat] herbs and wash (them) down with water,
 No seeds nor herbs are found for the birds ...
 (6.5-6.6) Indeed, the writings of the private council-chamber²² are taken away,
 Laid bare are the secrets which were in it ...
 (6.7-6.8) Indeed, (public) offices are opened and their records are taken,
 The serf becomes lord of serfs. (?)
 Indeed, [scribes?] are killed and their writings stolen,
 Woe is me because of the misery of this time!
 Indeed, the scribes of the land-register — their writings are destroyed,
 The grain of Egypt is common²³ property.
 Indeed, the laws of the council-chamber are thrown out,
 Men walk on them in public places,
 Beggars break them up in the streets.
 Indeed, the beggar has attained the state of the Nine Gods,²⁴
 The instructions of the House of the Thirty²⁵ are divulged.
 (6.12) Indeed, the great council chamber is a public resort,
 Beggars come and go in the Great Houses.²⁶
 Indeed, the children of princes are cast out in the streets,

¹⁶ The attitude of despair and weariness with life which is echoed in the utterances of Ipuwer (cf. 2.12-2.13 above) is also expressed in "The Dispute between a Man and His Ba" (see COS 3) where the hero longs for death (cf. 20.21); and Job persistently wishes for death throughout his bewailings, cf. Scripture References b.

¹⁷ Lit., "Children of neck," i.e., infants who when carried by their parents clasp them round the neck.

¹⁸ Alternative reading: "will not be seen". Eg. *dgi* has double meaning, "to hide" and "to see." Here both senses are appropriate.

¹⁹ The picture drawn in this passage of the Delta overflowing with Asiatics is similar to that appearing in other texts relating to the second millennium BCE (cf. "The Prophecies of Neferti" n. 8). It seems that the Asiatics have adapted the Eg. culture and replaced the Egyptians in key positions; see Van Seters 1964:21.

²⁰ On "justice" (*mꜣꜥꜣ*) and its antonym "wrong" (*isf*), see "The Eloquent Peasant" n. 27 (p. 100, below).

²¹ This sentence appears with a slight difference in "The Dispute between a Man and His Ba" 107 (see COS 3).

²² Lines 6.5-6.12 may refer to the activity of the *hnrt*, the Great Prison at Thebes, which was the center for the administration of justice; see: Van Seters 1964:18.

²³ Lit., "I go get it."

²⁴ Eg. *Psd*.

²⁵ The law court in Upper Egypt consisted of thirty judges who also functioned as district chiefs.

²⁶ The six "Great Houses," already known from the Old Kingdom, were the law courts to which all the Eg. judges belonged.

The wise man says: "Yes", the fool says: "No"
And it is pleasing to him who knows nothing
about it.²⁷

Second Poem (Introduction Formula — mtn, mtn is) (7.1-9.7)

(7.1) Behold, the fire has risen high,
Its burning goes forth against the enemies of the
land.

Behold, things have been done that have not
happened for a long time,

The King has been disposed of by beggars.

Behold, he who was buried like a falcon ... has
no bier,

What the pyramid concealed has become empty.

Behold, it has befallen that the land is deprived
of kingship by a few people who ignore the
custom,

Behold, men have fallen into rebellion against the
Uraeus.²⁸

The [...] of Re, who pacifies the Two Lands,

(7.4) Behold, the secrets of the land, whose limits
are unknown, are divulged,

The Residence is thrown down in a minute ...

(7.5) Behold, the Kṛht serpent²⁹ is taken from his
hole,

The secrets of Egypt's kings are bared ...

(7.8) Behold, the possessors of tombs are cast on
high ground,

He who could not make a grave is [possessor] of
a treasury.

Behold, the change among the people:

He who could not build a room for himself is
(now) a possessor of walls ...

Behold, noble ladies are on rafts,

Magnates are in the workhouse;

He who could not even sleep on a wall is (now)
possessor of a bed ...

(7.11-7.12) Behold, the possessors of robes are
(now) in rags,

He who never wove for himself is (now) the
possessor of fine linen.

Behold, he who never built for himself a boat is
(now) the possessor of ships,

He who possessed the same looks at them, (but)
they are not his ...

(8.1) Behold, he who had no property is (now) a
possessor of wealth,

The magnate sings his praise.

Behold, the poor of the land have become rich,

The possessor of property has become one who
has nothing ...

Behold, he whose hair had fallen out and lacked
oil,

Has become a possessor of jars of sweet myrrh.

(8.5) Behold, she who had no box is a possessor
of a coffer,

She who looked at her face in the water is pos-
sessor of a mirror.

Behold, a man is happy when he eats his food,

Consume your goods in gladness,

Without being hindered by anybody;

It is good for a man to eat his food,

God commands it for him whom he favours ...

(9.2) Behold, all the offices, they are not in their
(right) place,

Like a herd running at random without its herds-
man,³⁰

Behold, cattle stray and there is none to collect
them ...

(9.3) Behold, a man is slain beside his brother ...

(9.5) Behold, he who had no dependents (?) is
(now) a lord of serfs,

He who was a [magnate] does commission him-
self ...

Third Poem (Introduction Formula — hd) (9.8-10.6)

(9.8) Destroyed is [...] in that time ...

Destroyed is [...]

Their food [is taken?] from them ...

(10.3) Lower Egypt weeps,

The storehouse of the king is the common pro-
perty of everyone;

The entire palace l.p.h. is without its revenues:

To it belong wheat and barley, fowl and fish

To it belong white cloth and fine linen, copper
and oil ...

Exhortations (10.6-11.11)

Fourth Poem (Introduction Formula: hd) (10.6-10.12)

Destroy the enemies of the noble Residence,

Splendid of magistrates ...

(10.7) Destroy the enemies of the noble Residence
...

(10.8) [Destroy the enemies] of the formerly noble
Residence,

Manifold of laws ...

Fifth Poem (Introduction Formula: sh²) (10.12-11.10)

Remember to immerse [...] ³¹

Him who is in pain when (?) he is sick in his
body ...

²⁷ This sentence also appears in "The Instruction of Amenemhet" (text 1.36 above) XIV b-c.

²⁸ Eg. *i^crt*, symbol of Eg. kingship.

²⁹ The Kṛht serpent was a guardian spirit.

³⁰ See note 37, below.

³¹ According to a different view the following section (10.12ff.) does not deal with a call for pious conduct but rather recalls the golden past, when the right order prevailed see: ANET 443 n. 33 and Lichtheim AEL 1:162 n. 23.

Remember to ... to fumigate with incense,
To offer water in a jar in the early morning.
(11.1-11.2) Remember [to bring] the fatted *r* geese,
trp geese and *st* geese,
To offer offerings to the gods.
Remember to chew natron and to prepare white
bread,
A man (should do it) on the day of wetting the
head.³²
(11.3-11.4) Remember to erect flagstaffs and to
carve stelae,
The priest cleansing the shrines,
The temple being plastered (white) like milk.
Remember to make pleasant the perfume of the
sanctuary,³³
To set up the bread-offerings.
Remember to observe regulations, to adjust dates,
To remove him who enters the priestly office
with impure body, for to do so is wrong ...
(11.6) Remember to slaughter oxen ...
Remember to come forth pure ...

Redemption (11.11-13.9)

*Criticism of the Sun-God and the Description of
the Ideal Monarch* (11.11-12.11)³⁴
(11.11) Lack of people ... Re who commands [...] *...*
worshipping him ...
Behold, why does he see (11.13) to fashion (men)?
The timid man is not distinguished from the vio-
lent one.³⁵
He has brought coolness upon the heat,³⁶
(12.1) Men say: "He is the herdsman of all, and
there is no evil in his heart."
His herds are few (but) he spends a day col-
lecting them,³⁷ c
(12.2) (Because) fire is in their heart.
Would that he had perceived their nature in the
first generation,
Then he would have smitten the evil,

c Jer 3:15;
23:1-4; Ezek
34; 37:24;
Mic 5:3-5;
Zech 9:16

d 1 Kgs
18;27;
Ps 44:24;
121:4

He would have stretched out his arm against it,
He would have destroyed (12.3) their seed and
their heirs,
While the people still desired to give birth.
Sadness overwhelms, misery is everywhere ...
(12.4) Combat has gone forth,
(12.5) The redresser of evil is one who commits
it.
There is no pilot in their hour,
Where is he today?
Is he asleep?^d Behold (12.6), his power is not seen
...

Criticism of the King (12.11-13.9)
Authority, Knowledge and Truth³⁸ are with you,
Yet confusion is what you set throughout the
land,
And the noise of tumult.
Behold, one fights against another,
For men obey³⁹ what you have commanded.
If three men travel (12.14) on the road,
They are found to be only two,
For the many kill the few.
Does a herdsman desire death?
Then may you command it done ...
It is your doing that brought those things to pass,
You have told lies.
The land is weed which destroys men,
None is named among the living.
All these years are strife,
A man is murdered on his roof top ...
(13.5) O that you could taste something of the
misery of it,
Then you would say ...

*The Happy Days (Contrasted with the
Contemporary Adversities)* (13.9-16.1)

*Sixth Poem (Introduction Formula: iw ir.f hmw
nfr)*
[It is indeed good] when ships sail upstream ...

³² Moistening the head, like cleansing the mouth with natron, were probably some kind of purifactory rites.

³³ Lit., "the horizon."

³⁴ The following section is very problematic and has been discussed at length in research. Scholarly opinion is divided as to whether we are dealing here with criticism directed to god Re, (see Gardiner 1909b:13-14, 79-80; Barta 1974:22-29; Lichtheim AEL 1:162 n. 24) or with a description of an ideal redeemer (see ANET 443 n. 36).

The translation given here assumes that the main part of the section is indeed addressed to Re and goes back to primeval times, since some of the details presented here (see 11.11-11.13; 12.2-3) accord with the famous myth about the "Destruction of Mankind" (text 1.25 above). But some lines (11.13: "He has ... heat"; 12.1; 12.5: "There is no pilot ..."; 12.6) undoubtedly refer to the image of the redeemer king, a motif characteristic of this literary genre appearing also in "The Prophecies of Neferti" (58-62); see: Shupak 1989-1990:31-34 and text 1.45.

³⁵ Re is rebuked for his passive behaviour: He did not discern the bad character of the human beings so he is responsible for its existence. The idea that evil in man's nature is not the work of the creator accords with CT 1130 where the god declares: "I made every man equal to his fellow and I forbade them to do wrong but their hearts disobeyed."

³⁶ Coolness of temperament is a quality that is mentioned repeatedly in the wisdom texts as well as the autobiographical and king's court writings. The ideal king is he who cools the heat (cf. "Sehetep-ib-Ra" St 3.5). Heat as a metaphor for anger and hot temper reappears in 12.2.

³⁷ The image of the ruler as herdsman of his people is common in the literature of the Ancient Near East. In relation to the god Re it comes also in "The Instructions Addressed to Merikare" (text 1.35, above) 130. For further examples see Van Seters 1964:19; for biblical parallels see: Scripture References c.

³⁸ Hu, Sia and Maat are the three divine attributes in the possession of the king. In the following section Ipuwer rebukes the king and blames him for being the cause of the calamities and miseries that have fallen on the land. Since the three attributes mentioned above and the title "herdsman" may also refer to the god Re, some scholars believe that he is the one addressed here. See: Fecht 1972:87-88; Otto 1951:6.

³⁹ Lit., "imitate." *Shi* has double meaning "to imitate," "copy" and "to disobey," "go beyond"; cf. Shupak 1993:80-81. Since in the fol-

(13.10) It is indeed good when [...] [It is indeed] good when the net is drawn, And birds are tied up [...] ... It is indeed good when the hands of men build pyramids, (13.13) Ponds are dug and orchards made for the gods. It is indeed good when people are drunk, When they drink <i>myt</i> and their hearts are glad ... It is indeed good when shouting is in (men's) mouths ... (14.1) It is indeed good, when beds are made ready, The head-rests of magistrates are safely secured ... The door is shut upon him who slept in the bushes, (14.10) [...] [in their midst] like Asiatics ...⁴⁰ None are found who would stand up to protect them ... Every man fights for his sister and to save his own skin. (14.11) Is it the Nubians? Then we will protect ourselves!	Warriors are made many in order to repel foreigners;⁴¹ Is it the Libyans? Then we will turn them back! The Medjai are pleased with Egypt. How does it come that every man kills his brother? The troops (15.1) we raised for ourselves have become foreigners and taken to ravaging. What has come to pass has caused the Asiatics to know the state of the land ... (15.13) What Ipuwer said when he answered the majesty of the All-Lord:⁴² [...] all herds ... You have done what pleases their heart, You have nourished the people among them, Yet, they cover (16.1) their faces in fear of tomorrow. <i>Obscure Proverb</i> (16.1-17.2) (16.1) There was an old man who was about to die, While his son was a child without knowledge; He has not yet opened his mouth to speak to you, When you seize and kill him (?)
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lowing lines the stress is laid on the king's guilt and he is blamed as well for telling lies, the first sense of *sni* seems to be more appropriate.

⁴⁰ Different people are listed here among Egypt's enemies: The Asiatics (Eg. *Styw*) in the north (cf. "The Prophecies of Neferti" 18.32-33, 63.66ff. and *ibid.* n. 8.), the Nubians (Eg. *Nḥsyw*) in the south, and the Libyans (Eg. *ṯmhyw*) in the west. The Medjai (Eg. *Md'yw*) whose home was the Nubian western steppe are distinct here from the other Nubian people since, being regimented as professional soldiers and desert police, they were in friendly contact with Egypt. Cf. Van Seters 1964:14-15. For the historical and political setting of this section see *ibid.*, 14-16, 22.

⁴¹ See note 12, above.

⁴² Here for the first time appears the name of the speaker, a sage called Ipuwer. The words of Ipuwer are represented as a reply to the king whose speech may have preceded in the original text, but is not to be found in the present manuscript. For a different opinion, assuming that relics of the king's words are to be found in 14.10ff., see: Lichtheim *AEL* 1:162 n. 29.

REFERENCES

Barta 1974:19-33; Faulkner 1964:24-36; Fecht 1972; Gardiner 1909; Goedicke 1967:93-95; Hornung 1990:83-100, 190-191; Lichtheim *AEL* 1:149-163; Otto 1951; Shupak 1989-90:1-40; 1993; Van Seters 1964:13-23; Westendorf 1973:41-44; *ANET* 441-444.

THE ELOQUENT PEASANT (1.43)

Nili Shupak

This work was composed during the Middle Kingdom (in the 12th or 13th Dynasty)¹ and has been preserved on four papyri of that time. Three of these, known as B1 and B2 and R, are now in Berlin, and the fourth, Pap. Butler, is in London.

The composition, which pertains to the class of speculative wisdom literature, contains a narrative frame and text set out in verse form. This structure is common to works composed during that period, such as "The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage," "The Prophecies of Neferti," "The Dispute between a Man and his *Ba*." The frame narrates the circumstances that gave rise to the peasant's complaint, i.e., his having been robbed of his property. The body of work consists of nine complaints that the peasant addresses to the high steward Rensi, son of Meru. These are spoken in an eloquent rhetorical style in which images and proverbs are employed, as well as word plays and assonances.

The grievances that the peasant puts to the judge contain no more than allusions to his private misery and are primarily concerned with the broad issue of doing justice. This is, therefore, essentially a moral document which

¹ This date of composition was recently demonstrated by Berlev 1987; see also Parkinson 1991a.

is at once an earnest appeal for the preservation of social order and justice ($m^{\text{c}}t$) and a condemnation of the corruption of the times.

Frame-Story: Introduction (R1-41)

There was a man Khu-n-Anup was his name. A peasant of Salt-Field² was he. He had a wife. [M]ryt was her name.

This peasant said to his wife: "Behold, I am going down to Egypt to bring provisions from there for my children. Go and measure for me the barley (4) which is in the storehouse, the (barley) remaining from [yesterday]."³ Then he measured [twenty]-six gallons of barley. Then this peasant said to his wife: "Behold, (I give) you twenty gallons of grain for provisions for you and your children and you will make for me six gallons into bread and beer for every day (on which) [I will live]."⁴

(7) This peasant went down to Egypt after he had loaded his donkeys with vines, rushes, natron, salt, wood ... panther skins, wolf hides ... (35) full (measure) of all the good products of Salt-Field.

This peasant went south toward Herakleopolis⁵ and he reached the region of Per-fefi north of Medenit.⁶

He met a man there standing on the river bank, Nemty-nakht was his name. He was son of a man whose name was Isri and he was a subordinate of the high steward, Rensi, son of Meru.

Frame-Story (cont.): The Robbery (R 42-60; B1 1-30)

Then this Nemty-nakht said, when he saw this peasant's donkeys which were tempting to his heart, "Would that I had some effective idol⁷ that I might steal the goods of this peasant with it!" Now the house of Nemty-nakht was at the beginning of a path⁸ which was narrow, not so wide as to exceed the width of a loin-cloth. One side of it was under water; the other side of it was under barley. And then this Nemty-nakht said to his ser-

vant "Go and bring me a cloth⁹ from my house." It was brought to him immediately. Then he spread it out on the beginning of the path so that its fringe was on the water and its hem on the barley.

This peasant came along the public road.¹⁰ Then this Nemty-nakht said, "Be careful peasant. (2) Will you tread on my clothes?" And then this peasant said "I shall do as you wish, my way is good."¹¹

So he went upwards. And then this Nemty-nakht said, "Will my barley be your path?" Then this peasant said "My way is good. The bank is high. The (only) way is under barley, for you are blocking our path with your clothes. Will you then not let us pass by on the road?"

(R 59) He had just reached saying (this) word (B1 9) when one of these donkeys filled his mouth with a wisp of barley. Then this Nemty-nakht said: "Behold, I will take away your donkey, peasant, for eating my barley. Behold, it will tread out (grain) because of its offense (13)."¹²

And then this peasant said "My course is good. (Only) one (wisp) has been damaged. Could I buy back my donkey for its (the wisp's) value if you seize it for filling its mouth with a wisp of barley? (15-16). But I know the lord of this district, it belongs to the high steward Rensi, son of Meru. He indeed is one who punishes every robber in this land. Shall I be robbed in his district?"

(19) This Nemty-nakht said: "Is this the proverb which men say: 'The name of a poor man is pronounced for his master's sake?' I am the one who is speaking to you, yet the high steward it is whom you have invoked!" Then he took a stick of green tamarisk and thrashed all his limbs with

² Eg. *Šyt-hm^r*; usually identified with Wadi Natrun northwest of Herakleopolis.

³ Thus Parkinson 1991b; for other reconstructions see: Lichtheim *AEL* 1:170: "[last year];" Perry 1986:98: "[the harvest]."

⁴ Alternative reconstruction: "(in which) [I shall travel]." See: Lichtheim *AEL* 1:170.

⁵ Eg. *Nn-nsw*. Herakleopolis was the capital of the 9th and 10th Dynasties.

⁶ The locations of Per-fefi and Medenit are unknown. For most recent suggestion see Kuhlmann 1992:205-207.

⁷ This is the common interpretation of the Egyptian word *šsp*. For another translation *šsp*-cloth, see Perry 1986:125-127.

⁸ The meaning of *sm^r t^r n r^r w^r t* is obscure and various interpretations have been suggested: a crossing, riverside path, a point at which the narrow path merged with the public road, landing place. The best solution would be to suppose that *sm^r t^r* marks the merging of Nemty-nakht's private home path with the public road, which narrowed at that point so that it could be covered by a garment. Cf. Lichtheim *AEL* 1:183 n. 5.

⁹ Eg. *ifd* is a four-cornered fringed piece of cloth and it signifies here the usual man's garment (Cf. B1 2 where it is replaced by *hbsw*-clothes). Nemty-nakht placed his own garment on the road. According to the ancients a man's garment contains his identity and has magical properties, therefore damaging a man's garment was considered a disgrace to him. See: Shupak 1992:7 n. 22.

¹⁰ Lit., "On the way of all people."

¹¹ Eg. *nfr mtn*. Meaning: my conduct is proper, my intentions are pure.

¹² Nemty-nakht confiscated the donkey. See: Perry 1986:141. For the custom of confiscating the property of a debtor as a pledge in the ancient world see: Shupak 1992:8 n. 28.

it, and his donkeys (24) were seized and driven into the district.

Then this peasant wept very greatly because of the pain of what had been done to him. And then this Nemty-nakht said "Do not raise your voice peasant! Behold you are in the city of the Lord of Silence."¹³

Then this peasant said: "You beat me, you steal my goods and now you take away the complaint¹⁴ of my mouth! O Lord of Silence may you give me back my property! Then I shall stop screaming which you fear."

Frame-Story (cont.): The Peasant Appealed to Rensi Son of Meru (B1 31-51)

Then this peasant spent a period of ten days appealing to¹⁵ Nemty-nakht who did not pay attention to it (32). So this peasant went¹⁶ to Herakleopolis to appeal to the high steward, Rensi, son of Meru. He met him going out of the door of his house to his court¹⁷ boat. And then this peasant said, "Would that I might be permitted to inform you concerning this complaint. It is a case¹⁸ of letting your favourite servant come to me so that I might send him back to you about it."

And then the high steward Rensi, son of Meru, allowed his favorite servant to go in front of him and this peasant sent him concerning his case in its entirety.

Then the high steward Rensi, son of Meru accused¹⁹ this Nemty-nakht before the magistrates²⁰ who were at his side. And then they said to him

a-a Exod
22:22-23;
Deut 10:18;
14:28-29;
24:17-22;
27:19;
Prov 23:10;
Job 24:3

"Probably it is a peasant of his who has gone to someone else beside him. Behold, that is what they do to a peasant of theirs who goes to (46) others beside them. Is it a case of one punishing this Nemty-nakht for a little natron and a little salt? Let him be ordered to give compensation²¹ for it, and he will give compensation."

Then the high steward Rensi, son of Meru, was silent; he did not reply to these magistrates; he did not reply to the peasant.

First Petition (B1 52-71)

Then this peasant came to appeal to the high steward Rensi, son of Meru; he said:

"High steward, my lord,
Greatest of the great, leader of all that is and all that is not!

If you embark on a lake of justice²²
May you sail on it with fair breeze,
Let not the fastener²³ of your sail unravel!

Your boat shall not lag,
No misfortune shall take your mast,
Your yards will not break (59) ...
You will not taste the river's evils,
You will not see the face of fear.²⁴

(62) "For you are father to the orphan,
Husband to the widow,
Brother to the rejected woman,
Apron²⁵ to the motherless."

Let me make your name in this land according to every good law:²⁶

Leader free from covetousness,
A great man free from baseness,
(67) Destroyer of falsehood,

¹³ The epithet "Lord of silence" designates Osiris, the god of the dead; cf. *Urk.* IV 1031.

¹⁴ Eg. *nḥwt* means complaint and at times bears the sense of lamentation; see: "Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage" (text 1.42) 2.7; 3.14.

¹⁵ Eg. *spr*, to appeal, which appears at the beginning of each new complaint of the peasant, is a legal terminus technicus of a kind prevalent in our text; cf. Shupak 1992:10-11.

¹⁶ Another variant: "sailing south" (R 82).

¹⁷ *rryt* denotes an administrative body or institution or location involved in legal procedures. Here it appears in connection with a boat's structure *k²k²w n rryt* — court boat, and relates to the custom of the Egyptian judges to circulate throughout the kingdom to make themselves available to anyone wishing to approach them in legal matters. See Shupak 1992:16-18.

¹⁸ The Egyptian word *sp* is used in this text in its technical sense — a case; cf. B1 46-47, 203. See Shupak 1992:12.

¹⁹ For the legal aspect of *srh* — to accuse see Shupak 1992:11.

²⁰ The magistrates — *srw* were involved in the legal system and served as judges. See: Shupak 1992:6.

²¹ *Db²* — compensation is a terminus technicus related to the execution of a sentence. See: Shupak 1992:13.

²² The comparison of the judge to a sailor and the metaphor of navigation for the administration of land affairs are common in our text; cf. B1 89-91, 156-158, 221, 278-279; B2 98-103 and "Rekhmire" *Urk.* IV 1077, 3. Rensi is described as a sailor sailing on a lake of truth (*m²c²r* — see n. 27) relating to his lawful administration which is based on justice. Cf. "The Instruction of Ptahhotep" 93.

²³ *Ndbyt* — meaning uncertain. See Perry 1986:180-185.

²⁴ "The face of fear" — meaning the crocodile, "the lord of fear" *Urk.* IV 616,9; cf. "The Dispute between a Man and His Ba" 79 (see COS 3), where the drowned children see the "face of the crocodile."

²⁵ The high official's garment, called an apron, is mentioned here in connection with its owner's functions of protecting the lower class. In Egypt and throughout the Ancient Near East the rulers were considered protectors of the poor and the oppressed, patron to widows and orphans; cf. "Rekhmire": *Urk.* IV 1078, 6-10; "The Instruction Addressed to Merikare" 47; "The Instruction of Amenemhet" I 6-7. For more parallels from Egypt as well as from Mesopotamia see: Perry 1986:196-204; Fensham 1962.

²⁶ "Name" relates to the high steward's title consisting of five great names enumerated in the following lines. The title which emphasizes the duties of the high official, is analogous to the fivefold royal titulary.

²⁷ "Justice" — Eg. "maat" (*m²c²t*). The good judge is one who "does maat" and destroys its antonyms i.e., *isft* — wrong (B1 67) and *grg* — falsehood (cf. B1 159 - 160, 182, 197). In a period of anarchy falsehood replaces *m²c²r* (B1 198 cf. B1 182) and also: "The Prophecies of Neferu" 68-69; "The Complaints of Khakheperre-sonb" Recto 11, and "The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage," 5.3-5.4; "The Dispute between a Man and his Ba," 122-123 (see COS 3).

Creator of justice,²⁷

Who comes at (68) the voice of the caller,^{28 b}
When I speak may you hear!

Do justice you praised one,
Whom the praised ones praise!

Remove my grief, I am burdened with sorrow,
I am weak on account of it,
Examine me, I am lacking!"

Frame-Story (cont.) (B1 71-87, R 117-138)

Now this peasant made this speech in the time of the majesty of King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebkaure, the justified. Then the high steward Rensi, son of Meru, went before his majesty. He said: "My lord, I have found one of those peasants who is really eloquent of speech.²⁹ His goods have been stolen, and, behold, he has come to appeal to me about it." And then his majesty said: "If you wish to see me in health, you shall retain him here without replying to anything he says. In order to keep him (80) talking, be silent. Then have it brought to us in writing, that we may hear it. But provide for his wife and his children. For one of those peasants comes here (only) just before his house is empty. And provide for this peasant himself. You shall cause food to be given to him without letting him know that it is you who are providing it."

Then he was given ten loaves and two jugs of beer every day. The high steward Rensi, son of Meru, gave it. He gave it to a friend of his and he gave it to him (the peasant). Then the high steward Rensi, son of Meru, wrote to the mayor of Salt-Field about providing food for this peasant's wife, a total of three measures of grain every day.

Second Petition (B1 88-138)

Then this peasant came to appeal to him a second time; he said:

"High steward, my lord
Greatest of the great, richest of the rich,
Great for his great ones, rich for his rich ones!
Steering oar of heaven, beam of earth,
Plumb-line which carries the weight!³⁰
(91) Steering oar, do not diverge

b Exod 22:22,
26; 2 Kgs
4:1; 8:3, 5;
Job 19:7;

c Eccl 3:16

d Eccl 5:7

e-e Lev
19:15;
Deut 1:17;
Prov 18:5;
24:23; 28:21

f-f Deut
25:13-15;
Prov 20:10,
23; 11:1

g Prov 6:30

Beam, do not tilt

Plumb-line, do not swing awry!

The great lord takes possession of the ownerless, stealing from the lonely man. Your portion is in your house: a jug of beer and three loaves. But what are you doing to satisfy the hunger of your dependents? A mortal man, along with his underlings, must die. Will you be a man of eternity?³¹

Is it not wrong: a balance that tilts,

A plummet that strays,

(97) The straight becoming crooked?

Behold, justice flees from you,

Banished from its (98) seat! ^c

When the magistrates do wrong,^{32 d}

"When he who is in charge of examining the plea shows partiality,³³

When judges snatch what has been stolen.^e

He who trims a matter's rightness makes it swing awry,

The breath-giver languishes on the ground (?) ...

(104) This peasant said:

^f "The measurer of grain-piles trims for him self.

He who fills for another diminishes the other's share;^f

He who should rule by law, commands theft,

Who then will punish wrongdoing?

The straightener of another's crookedness supports another's crime ...

(115) You are strong and mighty. Your arm is active, your heart greedy, mercy has passed you by ... (121) He who has bread should be merciful. Violence is for the criminal; robbing suits him who has nothing. The stealing done by the robber is the misdeed of one who is poor. One cannot reproach him; he (merely) seeks for himself.^g But you are sated with your bread, drunken with your beer, rich in all" ...

Third Petition (B1 139-193)

Then this peasant came to appeal to him a third time; he said:

²⁸ The judge's basic duty is "to come at the voice of the caller," i.e., to listen to the complaint. This obligation is clearly explained in "The Installation of the Vizier Rekhmire" (13-14) and in "The Instruction of Prahhotep" (264-276); cf. also *Urk.* IV 1082, 15-16 and "The Stele of Mentuhotep" 11-12, 14.

²⁹ Eg. *nfr mdt*, lit. good, fine speech; a saying that is perfect in form as well as in content. See: Shupak 1993:325-326, 332.

³⁰ The image of balance as a symbol of justice and honesty occurs often in the tale (cf. B1 96-97, 148-149, 160-162, 311-313; B2 92-93). The judge whose duty is to oversee justice is likened to it, as well as some parts of his body (cf. B1 92-93, 165-167). See: Gardiner 1923:10 n. 4; Hermann 1963; Perry 1986:253-261, 332-333.

³¹ Cf. "The Instruction Addressed to Merikare" (text 1.35 above) 41-42, 53-57.

³² Here follows a section consisting of oppositions that are intended to point out the ironies in the current state of affairs. This literary pattern is characteristic of the genre of speculative wisdom literature; cf. B1 247 ff; "The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage" n. 11; "The Complaints of Khakheperre-senb." n. 16; "The Prophecies of Neferti" n. 29 and "The Dispute between a Man and his *Ba*," 113ff (see COS 3). It appears also in biblical wisdom; cf. Eccl 10:6-7, 3:16, 7:15, 8:10; Prov 30:22-24.

³³ "Shows partiality" Eg. *rdi hr gs* lit., "incline sideways." This is a legal terminus technicus probably derived from the image of scales. Cf. B1 149, 312-313 and see: Shupak 1992:15-16.

"High steward, my lord,
 You are Re, the lord of heaven, with your
 courtiers.
 Men's sustenance is from you as from the
 flood,
 You are Hapy who makes green the fields
 And re-establishes destroyed mounds.³⁴
 Punish the robber and protect the miserable.
 (144) Be not flood against the pleader! ...
 (148) Does the hand-balance deviate?
 (148-149) Does the stand-balance tilt?³⁵
^h Does Thoth³⁶ show favour
 So that you may do wrong? ...^h
 (156) By the sail-wind you should steer,
 Control the waves to sail aright,
 Guard from landing by the helm-rope ...
 (160) Speak not falsely — you are the stan-
 dard,
 You are the one with the hand-balance,
 If it tilts you may tilt ...
 (165) Your tongue is the plummet,
 Your heart is the weight,
 Your two lips are its arms (167) ...
 (180) Hearer, you hear not! Why do not you hear!
 ... (182) When the secret of truth is found,
 falsehood is thrown on its back on the ground.
 Trust not the morrow before it has come;ⁱ one
 knows the trouble in it."³⁷

Now this peasant had made this claim³⁸ to the
 high steward Rensi, son of Meru, at the entrance
 of the judgement hall.³⁹ Then he had two guards
 stand up against him bearing whips and they
 thrashed all his limbs. The peasant said:

"The son of Meru goes on erring. His face is
 blind to what he sees, deaf to what he hears,
 forgetful about what he should have remembered.

Behold, you are a town (190) without a mayor,
 Like a group without its ruler,
 Like a ship without a captain,
 Like a band without a leader.
 Behold, you are an officer who steals,

h-h Prov 21:2;
 24:12; 16:2;
 Job 31:6

i Prov 16:9;
 19:21; 27:1

A mayor who accepts (bribes),
 A district overseer who should punish crime
 Who is the model for him who does (it)."

Fourth Petition (B1 194-225)

And then this peasant came to appeal to him a
 fourth time ... he said:

(197) "Goodness is destroyed, none adhere to
 it

(198) Throwing falsehood's back to the ground
 (has also perished)⁴⁰ ...

(201) Who can sleep until daybreak? Gone is
 working by night, travel by day⁴¹ and letting a
 man defend his own right case.⁴²

Behold, it is of no use telling you this; mercy has
 passed you by. How miserable is the wretch
 whom you have destroyed! ...

(215) He who eats tastes; he who is asked an-
 swers; he who sleeps sees (217) the dream; and a
 judge who deserves punishment is a model for
 him who does evil. Fool, you are attacked! Igno-
 rant man you are questioned! ...

(221) Steersman, let not drift your boat

Life-sustainer, let not one die

Provider, let not one perish.

Shadow, be not sunlight

Shelter, let not the crocodile snatch!

The fourth time I apply to you! Shall I go on
 all day!"

Fifth Petition (B1 225-239)

And then this peasant came to appeal to him a
 fifth time; he said:

"High steward, my lord ... (231) Rob not a poor
 man of his property, a weak man whom you
 know. Breath to the poor is his property; he who
 takes it away stops up his nose. You are appoint-
 ed to investigate complaints and pass judgement
 between two (litigants),⁴³ to punish the robber.
 But behold, supporting the thief is what you do!
 One puts his trust in you, but you have become a

³⁴ The reference here is to the fertilizing process performed by the Nile, whereby the river first destroys the land and then rebuilds it. Cf. B1 144. See: Götula 1978:129-130.

³⁵ Eg. *rdi hr gs*; see n. 33, above.

³⁶ Thoth, the god of wisdom and writing is in charge of writing down the results of the judgement of the dead, alluded to here. Thoth is the ideal judge "who never inclined sideways" (B1 268-269). Cf. also B1 305, where the writing instruments with which Thoth recorded justice are enumerated.

³⁷ The idea that the knowledge of the future is hidden from human beings is common to the Egyptian and biblical wisdom literature. Cf. "The Instruction of Kagemni" II 2; "The Instruction of Ptahhotep" 343; "The Instruction of Anii" 8, 9-10; "The Instruction of Amenemope" 19, 10-13; Prov 17:9, 19:21, 27:1. For more parallels from the New Kingdom see Lichtheim 1983:7 and Griffiths 1960:219-222.

³⁸ The Egyptian word *mdt* usually meaning "words", "matter", designates "complaint", "claim", in legal context. Cf. B1 234, B2 118 and see Shupak 1992:12 n. 46.

³⁹ Eg. *rryt* see n. 17, above.

⁴⁰ See n. 27, above.

⁴¹ For a similar description of dangers and bloodshed on the highways, see "The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage" (text 1.42 above) 12.13.

⁴² Lit., "letting a man stand up to his case," i.e., to defend his case in the court. Cf. "The Installation of a Vizier" (5) where the vizier is warned to enable man to present his arguments in court.

⁴³ Lit., "you are appointed to hear (*sdm*) complaints and to cut (*wꜥꜥ*) between two." The double task of the judge is marked by two verbs: *sdm* appearing in legal context often means "to investigate" and *wꜥꜥ* has the sense of "to adjudicate between two litigants," "to pass judgement." Cf. B1 217, 269, B2 133.

transgressor. You were placed as a dam for the poor, as a safeguard against drowning. But, behold, you are his lake, a water pourer!"

Sixth Petition (B1 239-265)

And then this peasant came to appeal to him a sixth time; he said:

"High steward, my lord! ...

(247) Look with your own eyes:

The arbitrator is a robber,

The peace-maker is one who makes grief,

He who should soothe causes suffering ...

(260) You are learned, skilled, accomplished,

But not in order to plunder!

You should be the model for all men,

But your affairs are crooked!

(263) The standard for all men cheats the whole land! ..."

Seventh Petition (B1 266-289)

And then this peasant came to appeal to him a seventh time; he said:

"High steward, my lord!

You are the steering oar of the whole land,

This land sails around by your command.

(268) You are brother to Thoth,

The judge who is not partial ...⁴⁴

(275) Indeed my belly is full, my heart is heavy. Therefore it has come out from my belly.⁴⁵

When there is a breach in a dam its waters rush out. (278) So my mouth opened to speak.

I have fought my sounding pole.⁴⁶ I have boiled (279) out my water. I have emptied what was in my belly;⁴⁷ I have washed my soiled linen. My speech is over; my grief is all before you.

Eighth Petition (B1 289-322)

Then this peasant came to appeal to him an eighth time; he said:

"High steward, my lord ...

(303) Do justice for the Lord of Justice⁴⁸

Whose justice is always true;

(305) Pen, papyrus, palette of Thoth,⁴⁹

May you be afar from wrongdoing!

When good is good, it is really good.

For justice is for eternity;

It enters the Necropolis with its doer,⁵⁰

When he is buried and interred.

His name does not pass from the earth,

He is remembered because of (his) goodness,

This is the rule of god's command.

The hand-balance — it tilts not; the ⁵¹ stand-balance — it leans not to one side. (313) Whether I come or whether another comes, you will have to address (us). Do not answer (us) with the answer of silence.⁵² Do not attack one who cannot attack you. You have no pity, you are not troubled, you are not disturbed! You do not repay my good speech⁵³ which comes from the mouth of Re himself ..."

Ninth Petition (B2 91-115)

And then this peasant came to appeal to him a ninth time; he said:

"High steward, my lord! (92-93) The tongue is men's stand-balance. It is the hand-balance that detects deficiency. Punish him who should be punished ... (98) If falsehood walks it goes astray. It cannot cross in the ferry; it cannot advance. He who is enriched by it has no children, has no heirs on earth. He who sails (102) with it cannot reach land; (103) his boat cannot moor at its landing place ... (113) Behold, I have been appealing to you (but) you do not listen to it. I shall go and appeal to Anubis about you."⁵⁴

Frame-Story: Conclusion (B2 115-142)

And then the high steward, Rensi, son of Meru caused two guards to go to bring him back. Then this peasant was fearful, thinking it was done so as (118) to punish him for the claim he made ... (123) And then the high steward, Rensi, son of Meru said: "Just stay here so you can hear your petitions."

Then he caused them to be read from a new papyrus-roll, each petition in its turn.

⁴⁴ Alternative interpretation: "who investigates without being partial." On "being partial" see n. 33, above.

⁴⁵ In the Egyptian perception the heart is the seat of wisdom and intellect and it dwells within the belly. When a man expresses his thoughts it is as if his heart was going out of his belly. Cf. "The Instruction of Amenemope" 22, 11-16; "The Instruction of Khety" XXV B-C.

⁴⁶ See: Gardiner 1923:17 n. 10.

⁴⁷ The comparison of the act of giving voice to one's troubles to a purgation, an "emptying of the belly," is widespread in the Egyptian wisdom literature. It derives from the belief that the belly is the seat of human thought and intelligence; cf. "The Complaints of Khakheperresonb" Recto 3 and n. 7; "The Instruction of Ptahhotep" 266-267; "The Stele of Mennuhotep" 11-12.

⁴⁸ "Lord of Justice" may apply to Re, the sun god who is the creator of Maat-justice. But it may equally denote Thoth, "the ideal judge" (see n. 36 above) or another god, since various gods carried this epithet. See: ANET 410, n. 25.

⁴⁹ See note 36, above.

⁵⁰ The high official is warned that after his death — when his heart will be weighed up against the emblem of justice — he will have to pay for his misdeeds. Cf. "The Instruction Addressed to Merikare" (text 1.35 above) 127-128; "The Instruction of Ptahhotep" 84-99.

⁵¹ See n. 30, above.

⁵² Alternative interpretation: "Answer not as one who addresses a silent man"; "silent man" denoting the petitioner.

⁵³ See n. 29, above.

⁵⁴ Being disenchanted with the corrupt legal system of mere mortals the peasant asked in his final appeal for the help of Anubis, i.e., he expressed his desire to consult the oracle, one of the means of passing a verdict in Egypt. See: Shupak 1992:11 n. 39. Similarly, the biblical Job disappointed by his friends' counsels appealed to God as the last means of restoring justice to earth.

The high steward, Rensi, son of Meru, presented them to his majesty, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebkaure, the justified. And then it pleased the heart of his majesty more than anything in this whole land. And then his majesty said: (133) "May you yourself judge, son of

Meru!" And then the high steward, Rensi son of Meru, caused two guards to go to [bring Nemty-nakht] (135). He was brought and a report was made of [all his property] ... his wheat, his barley, his donkeys ... of this Nemty-nakht [which was given] to this peasant ...

REFERENCES

ANET 407-410; *Urk.* IV; Berlev 1987:78-83; Fensham 1962:129-139; Gardiner 1923:5-23; Gilula 1978:129-130; Griffiths 1960:219-221; Herrmann 1963:106-115; Kuhlmann 1992:191-207; Lichtheim *AEL* 1:169-184; 1983; Parkinson 1991a:171-181; 1991b; Perry 1986; Shupak 1992:1-18; 1993.

THE COMPLAINTS OF KHAKHEPERRĒ-SONB (1.44)

Nili Shupak

The work was composed during the Middle Kingdom and has been preserved on a writing tablet from the 18th Dynasty. This tablet, no. 5645 in the BM, is the single surviving copy. The author is a priest of Heliopolis and his name contains the pronomen of Sesostriis II who ruled during the 12th Dynasty.

Unlike other compositions pertaining to the genre of speculative wisdom literature — "The Eloquent Peasant," "The Prophecies of Neferti," "The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage," and "The Dispute between a Man and His Ba" — this one does not contain a narrative frame in prose that serves as a setting for a rhetoric section in verse. But it has a title which is usually characteristic of the wisdom instructions (*Lebenslehre*) and which informs us of the nature of the subject and gives us the name of the author.¹

The items enumerated in the title as making up the contents of the work are called — "words," "maxims," and "phrases."² These words are used again in the prologue of Khakheperre-sonb's instruction where he announces his literary ambition to say things that have never been said before.³ Nevertheless, when he comes to speak of the grievous state of society, his observations differ in no way from the utterances of either his predecessors or those who would come after him. Like them Khakheperre-sonb gives an account of adversities and calamities falling on the land and describes the ruin of the country. It also contains social admonition concerning inversion of normal social hierarchies and religious censure.

It is not clear whether the text is complete or not; it may have continued on another tablet. The author Khakheperre-sonb was famous in the Ramesside period, as one may conclude from the appearance of his name among the eight great Egyptian scribes in Papyrus Chester Beatty IV. On the manuscript, the verses of the composition are marked off by red dots.

Title (Recto 1) The collection of words,⁴ The gathering of maxims, The quest of phrases^a with a searching heart,^{5 b} Made by the priest of Heliopolis, the ... Khakheperre-sonb called Ankhu.	a Eccl 12:9 b Eccl 1:13, 17; 8:16; 9:1	Prologue: the Aim of the Composition or the Author's Literary Ambitions (Recto 2-7) He says: Would I had unknown phrases, Maxims that are strange, Novel untried words,
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¹ For a discussion of parallels to Khakheperre-sonb's title and prologue in the Egyptian wisdom instructions ("The Instruction of Ptah-hotep" [1; 47-50], "The Instruction of Amenemope" [1, 1-12; 1, 13-3, 7 etc.], and in the biblical wisdom literature (Prov 1:1, 2-6; 30:1; 31:1; Eccl 1:1, 12) see: Shupak 1990:84-85.

² See n. 4, below.

³ For a different explanation of the aim and message of Khakheperre-sonb see Ockinga 1983:89-90.

⁴ The three terms appearing here — "words" (*mdwt*), "maxims" (*ḡsw*) and "phrases" (*ḡnw*) are repeated in the next section, which stands in chiasmic parallelism with it. These terms belong to the terminology of the wisdom literature and are regularly applied to wisdom utterances. In the speculative compositions they are used to designate the complaints and exhortations of the authors. Thus the sayings of "The Eloquent Peasant" are "phrases" (B1 280); Neferti is able to address "some good words" and "chosen maxims" to the king (l. 7-8, 13 and see "The Prophecies of Neferti" n.1). For discussion of the etymology and the semantics of *mdwt*, *ḡsw*, *ḡnw* and their parallels in biblical Hebrew, see Shupak 1993:313-321, 324-325.

⁵ In Recto 1-4 Khakheperre-sonb expresses his desire to say new things. These concerns of the Egyptian priest are very similar to those of the architect Amenhetep of the 18th Dynasty and his Hebrew counterpart Ecclesiastes. Amenhetep sings his own praise as one who "has a hearing heart seeking (*ḡḥr*) counsel regarding strange things, like one whose heart understands them" (*Urk.* IV 1817,8-9); cf. Khakheperre-sonb's "the quest (*ḡḥr*) of phrases with searching heart." This spirit of inquiry is also characteristic of Ecclesiastes who uses his heart as an

Void of repetitions; Not maxims of past speech, ⁶ (3) Spoken by the ancestors. I empty my belly of that which is in it, ⁷ In loosing all that I have said (before); For what has been said is repetition, When what was said is said. There is no boasting in the speech of the ancestors, When those of later times find them. (5) One who has spoken should not speak, ⁸ But one should speak who has something to speak, May another find what he will speak, Not a teller of tales afterwards, ⁹ This is vain endeavour, it is lies, And no one will mention his name to others. ^c I said this in accord with what I have seen: ¹⁰ From the first generation, Down (7) to those who come after, They imitate ¹¹ that which is past. ^d <i>The Author's Complaint about His Inability to Speak to His Heart about It</i> (Recto 7-9) Would that I knew what others do not know, ¹² Things that have never been repeated, Then I would say them and my heart would answer me! ^{13 e} (8) Then I would explain to it my distress, Then I would shift to it the burden which is on	c Eccl 1:11 d Eccl 1:9-10 e Eccl 1:16; 2:1, 15; 3:17-18 f Isa 21:3-4; Jer 23:9; cf. Jer 4:19	my back, The matters that oppress me, I would express to it what I suffer through it ¹⁴ (9) And I would say "ah" with relief. <i>The Calamities of the Times: The Description of the Ruined Land</i> (Recto 10-12) I meditate on what has happened, ¹⁵ The events that have passed throughout the land. Changes have taken place, it is not like last year, One year is more burdensome than the others, The land is in confusion and is destroyed, Made as ... (11) Right is cast outside, Wrong is in the council hall; ¹⁶ The plans of the gods are violated, Their ordinances neglected, ¹⁷ The land is in turmoil, ¹⁸ Mourning is in everyplace, The towns (12), the districts are in grief. Everybody alike is subjected to wrongs, (As for) reverence, backs are turned to it, The Lords of Silence ¹⁹ are disturbed; (When) morning comes every day, The faces shrink back from what has happened. <i>The Author Tries to Speak with His Heart about These Calamities</i> (Recto 12 - Verso 1) I cry out about it, My limbs are weighed down; I grieve in my heart, ^{20 f}
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instrument to search out and to gain knowledge see: Scripture References *a* (cf. Sira 44:5) and *b*.

⁶ Eg. *sbt r*. Alternative translation: "Transmitted (familiar) language."

⁷ Khakheperre-sonb compares the act of giving voice to his troubles to a purgation "emptying the belly." This image, which is widespread in the Egyptian wisdom literature, derives from the belief that the belly is the seat of human thought and intelligence. Cf. "The Eloquent Peasant" B1 275-277, 280 and p. 103, n. 47; "The Instruction of Ptahhotep" 266-267. See also Shupak 1993:293-295.

⁸ Lit., "There speaks one who will speak." Alternative translation: "But one who (at first time) speaks should speak."

⁹ Cf. "The Prophecies of Neferti" where Neferti asks the king what he prefers: "Something that happened or something that is going to happen" (14).

¹⁰ Khakheperre-sonb does not foretell of things to come but relies, rather, on the experience of the past: "I meditate on what has happened" (Recto 10); cf. "The Prophecies of Neferti": "I cannot foretell what has not yet come" (26). The Hebrew sages too drew on their own experience. The method of learning through personal experience is characteristic of Ecclesiastes (1:12-2:26; 7:23-39; 8:16-17). And in the Book of Proverbs the sage learns a lesson by observing the fate of the slothful (24:30-32), or from his personal experience as a pupil (4:3-4).

¹¹ Eg. *sni*. See "The Admonitions" n. 39.

¹² The author cannot express himself since he knows only the traditional-conventional sayings. Yet he rejects the uttered repetitions of the past and thus deviates from the wisdom instructions based on the experience of previous generations.

¹³ The formula of a man speaking to his heart or his soul is a literary pattern frequently used in the genre of speculative wisdom literature. Khakheperre-sonb seeks to share his troubles with his heart (Recto 7-9, Recto 12 - Verso 1). Neferti begins his speech with "Stir, my heart" etc. (8 cf. *ibid.* n.9), and "The Dispute between a Man and His *Ba*" (see COS 3) is conceived as a dialogue between a man and his soul. The same device is used by the authors of the Hebrew speculative wisdom literature; in Ecclesiastes the speaker addresses his heart six times; see Scripture References *e*.

¹⁴ Eg. *s3r nf nnt m'f* for which different readings have been suggested; cf. Kadish 1973:78, Lichtheim AEL 1:147.

¹⁵ This section and Verso 1-5, which begin with the same phrase, "I meditate on what has happened," describe the troubled conditions of the country in a way similar to that of Ipuwer, Neferti and the Eloquent Peasant, at times even using the same words and phrases. Cf. Junge 1977:275 and Shupak 1990:91-92.

¹⁶ The stylistic device of contrasts used here and in Verso 2-3 is aimed to describe the turbulent state of the land. This device is a dominant feature in the Egyptian as well as in the biblical wisdom literature. Cf. "The Eloquent Peasant" n. 32, "The Admonitions" n. 11, and "The Prophecies of Neferti" n. 29. On the antonyms "right-wrong" (*m'3t - isft*) see "The Prophecies of Neferti" 68-69 and p. 110, n. 39. See also "The Eloquent Peasant" n. 27.

¹⁷ Cf. "The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage," 10, 12-11, 10.

¹⁸ Eg. *sny mn*. Cf. "The Prophecies of Neferti" where the following refrain appears: "I show you the land in turmoil (*sny mn*)" (38,54).

¹⁹ The "Lords of Silence" are the dead in the necropolis who are identified with Osiris, the god of the dead, whose epithet is the "Lord of Silence" in "The Eloquent Peasant" B1 27.

²⁰ The sense of anguish and physical suffering that accompanies Khakheperre-sonb's complaints (cf. also Recto 3) recalls the agonies

It is hard to keep silent²¹ about it.

Another heart would bend,
(But) a stout heart in trouble,
It is companion to his master.

Would that I had (such) a heart (14) that knew
how to suffer,

Then I would find relief in it,
I would load it with my words²² of grief,
I would impose on it my malady.

(Verso 1) He said to his heart:

Come my heart, that I may speak to you —
Answer me my maxims,
And explain to me what is going on in the land,
Why those who were bright²³ have been cast
down.

*Description of the Bad State of the Land (cont.)
and the Inability to Speak with the Heart about It*
(Verso 1-6)

I meditate about what has happened,
Misery enters in today,
Strange deeds²⁴ will not cease (also) tomorrow,
And all are silent about it.²⁵

The whole land is in great confusion,

Nobody is free from wrong,

All people alike are doing it,

Hearts are greedy.²⁶

He who used to give commands (3) is (now) one
to whom commands are given,²⁷

And the hearts of both of them are content.

One awakes to it every day,

And the hearts do not reject it,

The state of yesterday is like today;

And one passes over it because it (the bad) is
much,²⁸

(Thus) the faces (stay) solid.

None is wise (enough) to recognize it,

(4) None is angry (enough) to cry out,

One awakes to suffer every day.

Long and heavy is (my) malady,

There is no strength in the wretched man to save
himself from one who overwhelms him.

It is painful to remain silent about what one
hears,

It is misery to answer the ignorant.

To oppose speech makes enmity,

The heart does not accept the truth,

None endures contradiction,

Every man loves his own words.

Every man is lying²⁹ in crookedness,

Right speaking is abandoned.

I speak to you (6) my heart,

Answer me!

A heart that is approached does not keep silent,

Behold the affairs of the slave are like those of
his master,³⁰

There is much that weighs upon you!

associated with the vocation of the biblical prophets, see Scripture References f.

²¹ Eg. *h²p hr*. Lit., "to hide the belly" is a common expression denoting that the belly is man's innermost soul, the seat of his intelligence and thoughts which should be well guarded and wisely used. Cf. n. 7, above and see *Urk.* IV 47, 10; 971,2; 1198, 13 and *Wb.* III 357,3.

²² Eg. *hnw* here may also mean "complaints"; see: Ockinga 1983:89-90.

²³ "Who were bright" refers to those wearing white garments.

²⁴ Eg. *drdr*, lit., "strange," is not suitable in this context; but since the word stands in parallelism with "misery" it might be understood as "strange deeds," "hostilities." Another suggestion proposed in research is instead of *drdrw* to read *dr drtiw*, i.e., "since the ancestors" (Kadish 1973:83).

²⁵ Silence in response to the anarchy prevailing in the land is condemned see Verso 4,5 and cf. "The Prophecies of Neferti" 20; "The Admonitions" 6,5.

²⁶ Eg. *snm* may be also translated "sad."

²⁷ See n. 16, above.

²⁸ Difficult sentence. Alternative readings suggested in research are: "Because it is imitated by the masses, because of inflexibility," Ockinga 1983:92; "Because of the transpiring of many things because of the cruelty (?)," Kadish 1973:78. The keyword is *smi* which can be explained as "to go beyond," "pass over," "miss" as well as "to imitate," "copy," see "The Admonitions" (p. 97 above) n. 39.

²⁹ Eg. *grg* has double meaning "to rely on," and "to lie" both of which may be suitable in this context.

³⁰ The word "slave" here relates to the heart.

REFERENCES

Urk. IV; *Wb.*; Junge 1977:275-284; Kadish 1973:77-90; Lichtheim *AEL* 1:145-149; Ockinga 1983:88-95; Shupak 1990:81-102; 1993.

THE PROPHECIES OF NEFERTI (1.45)

Nili Shupak

The single complete version of this composition is preserved on Pap. Petersburg 1116B which derives from the 18th Dynasty. This is augmented by fragments preserved on writing tablets and ostraca. "The Prophecies of Neferti" is a political document which was apparently composed in the court of the King Amenemhet I (1990-1960 BCE) who is here cast in the role of a redeemer-king. The text is introduced by a narrative frame, setting the work in the court of King Snefru of the Fourth Dynasty. The king wishing to be entertained, a lector-priest

named Neferti is brought before him. Neferti is also a sage, able to utter "good words" and "choice maxims," qualities that place him in the same category as Khakheperre-sonb and the "Eloquent Peasant." His speech, which is presented as a prophecy, contains two main topics: The calamities of the time followed by redemption by a royal deliverer called Ameni; and social admonition concerning a variety of wrong-doings (murder, family rivalry, inversions of normal social hierarchies). But the pattern of prophecy is here only a literary disguise. The aim of the composition is to criticize the current government of the realm on the one hand, and to legitimize the monarchy of Amenemhet I on the other.

Frame-story: Introduction (1-18)

It happened when his majesty the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Snefru, the justified, was potent in this entire land. On one of these days it happened that the administrative council of the residence entered the palace l.p.h. to greet (the king). And they went out after they had greeted (him) according to their daily custom. Then his majesty l.p.h. said to the seal-bearer who was at his side: "Go and bring me back the administrative council of the residence who have gone from here after greeting (me) on this day."

They were brought to him (5) at once and they were on their bellies before his majesty l.p.h. once more. His majesty l.p.h. said to them: Fellows, behold I have caused you to be called that you seek for me a son of yours who is wise, a brother of yours who is excellent, a friend of yours who has done a good deed, who will tell me some good words, choice formulations,¹ which should entertain my majesty on hearing them.

Frame-Story (cont): The Summoning of Neferti (8-19)

They were on their bellies before his majesty once more. Then they said before his majesty l.p.h.: "There is a great lector priest of Bastet,² O sovereign, our lord, Neferti³ is his name. He is a citizen valiant with his arm;⁴ he is excellent with his fingers; he is a wealthy man, who has

greater wealth (11) than any peer of his. Let him [be permitted] to see his majesty." Then said his majesty l.p.h. "Go and bring him to me." And he was brought to him immediately. And he was on his belly before his majesty l.p.h. Then his majesty l.p.h. said: "Come now Neferti (13) my friend, tell me some good words, choice formulations, which will entertain my majesty on hearing them. And the lector-priest Neferti said: "Something that happened or something that is going to happen, O sovereign l.p.h., my lord." (15) Then his majesty l.p.h. said "Something that is going to happen. It is (still) today and the passing of it already happens."⁵ He stretched out his arm to a writing case and then he took for him a papyrus roll and a palette and put in writing what the lector-priest Neferti said;⁶ A sage from the east he was, one belonging to Bastet when she appears, a child of the Heliopolitan⁷ nome. He was concerned about what was happening in the land, calling to mind the state of the east with the Asiatics⁸ travelling in their strength (19) upsetting those who were harvesting and grabbing the taxes (assigned) for the time of ploughing.

Neferti's Prophecies (20-71)

I. Calamities (20-57)

The Ruin of the Country (20-24)

He said:

Stir, my heart,⁹

Bemoan this land from which you derived.

¹ Mastery of the art of eloquence is a major attribute of the Egyptian sage (also see I. 13ff.). Neferti, like the Eloquent Peasant (see there n. 29) and Khakheperre-sonb (Recto 1-13), is distinguished by his accomplishments in rhetoric. In the Book of Proverbs too there is frequent praise of eloquence: cf. Prov 15:23; 24:26; 25:10 and Shupak 1993:334-336. On the connection of the Eg. word *ts*, formulation, maxim, with the image of knots and its Hebrew parallel *taḥbulôt*, see *ibid.*, 313-317.

² Bastet. The cat-goddess of Bubastis in the eastern Delta.

³ Neferti is mentioned among the eight great Egyptian scribes who are praised in Pap. Chester Beatty IV, dating from the period of the New Kingdom (Verso 3,6).

⁴ "Valiant with his arm" - Eg. *kn n g³b.f* means a self-made official who rose to a high rank through his own efforts. See: Derchain 1972; cf. Westendorf 1973.

⁵ Here the King declares his preference for hearing "something that is going to happen," i.e., the future, after which the verb *sr*, foretell, is employed in the text (see n. 16 below). Although the following words of Neferti are presented as prophecy it seems that they are a portrayal of contemporary or past events.

⁶ Cf. "The Eloquent Peasant" (B1 80, B2 123ff.) where the words of the peasant are similarly written down at the king's command.

⁷ "Heliopolitan nome." The northern derivation of Neferti is emphasized since Amenemhet I moved his seat from Thebes in the south, to the area of Memphis in the north.

⁸ Also see 32-33, 63ff. On the phenomenon of Asiatics (*ḥmw*) penetrating into Egypt cf. "Pap. Anastasi VI" 51ff.; for a detailed description of their land and way of life see: "The Instruction Addressed to Merikare" 92. In the light of II. 32ff. one may assume that the *ḥmw* were Palestinians who sought refuge in Egypt for economic reasons, as described in the patriarchs' stories in the book of Genesis; see: Scripture References d; Goedicke 1977:71.

⁹ A literary pattern frequently used in works belonging to the speculative wisdom literature is the opening formula of a man speaking to his heart (*ib*) or to his soul (*ba*). Cf. "The Complaints of Khakheperre-sonb" Recto 7, Verso 1.5ff. and "The Dispute between a Man and His Ba" (see COS 3). The same device is used in the Hebrew speculative wisdom literature: Eccl 1:16; 2:1, 15-16; 3:17-18 and also *ibid.*, 1:13,17; 2:20; 8,16, 19; 9,1. See also "The Complaints of Khakheperre-sonb" n. 13.

He who is silent is a wrongdoer. ¹⁰	a Ezek 30:3, 17; 32:7-8	Delta
Behold, there was something of which one talks respectfully, ¹¹		After making a nest near the people.
Behold, he who was official is cast to the ground. ¹²	b-b Isa 19:5-7; Ezek 30:12; 31:15	The people let them approach because of the shortage. ²⁰
Weary not of what is in front of you, (22) Stand against that which is before you!		Perished indeed are those good things, ^c
Behold, officials in the governance of the land are no more;	c Isa 19:19-20	Those fish ponds (where there were) those who clean fish, ²¹
What is to be done is no (longer) done, Re should begin to recreate.		Overflowing with fish and fowl.
(23) The land is entirely lost, ¹³ no remnant is left,	d Gen 12:10-20; 42:1-5; 43:1-2; 47:1-11	All good things have passed away, (32) The land is burdened with misfortune
Without that the black of a nail (remains) from its taxes, ¹⁴		Because of those looking (?) for food, Asiatics roaming the land. ²²
(24) This land is destroyed, none cares about it, None speaks and none sheds a tear: "How will this land be?"	e Isa 19:2	Foes (33) have arisen in the east, Asiatics have descended into Egypt. ^d
		The fortifications are destroyed ...
		(34) When one will enter the fortifications, When sleep will be banished from my eyes, I spend the night wakeful.
		The wild beasts of the desert will drink from the river (36) of Egypt,
		They will be content on their banks by the absence of anyone to chase them away. ²³
		For the land is seized and recovered (lit., brought)
		And no one knows the result.
		What will happen is hidden according to the saying,
		(38) "When sight and hearing fail, the mute leads." ²⁴
<i>Natural Disasters (25-29)</i>		
The sun is covered and does not shine for the people to see, ^{15 a}		
No one can live when the clouds cover (the sun),		
Every face is numb from lack of it.		
I shall say what is before me,		
I cannot foretell what has not yet come. ¹⁶		
The river of Egypt is empty, ^b		
One can cross the water on foot,		
One will seek water for the ships to sail on.		
Its course has become a riverbank,		
A riverbank will be water,		
What is in the water place will be riverbank. ^{17 b}		
Southwind will combat northwind,		
So that sky will lack the single wind. ¹⁸		
<i>Disasters Caused by Human Beings (29-57)</i>		
1. <i>Infiltration of Delta by Asiatics (29-38)</i>		
Strange birds ¹⁹ will breed in the marshes of the		
		2. <i>Civil Disasters (38-54)</i>
		I show you the land in turmoil, ²⁵
		(39) That which has never happened has happened.
		One will seize the weapons of warfare, ^c
		The land lives in (40) confusion.
		One will make arrows of copper,
		One will beg for bread with blood,

¹⁰ A difficult sentence. For different readings see: Barta 1971:37, Goedicke 1977:75-76, Helck 1970a:18 and Lichtheim *AEL* 1:140.

¹¹ The reading "respectfully" follows Helck 1970a:18.

¹² *šc.n.k* probably crept in from l. 20 and should be deleted, as suggested by Helck 1970a:18.

¹³ "Land" Eg. *ꜥꜣ*, is one of the key terms in the composition. Synonymous formulas consisting of the word accompanied by phrases expressing loss, grief, or distress appear in ll. 23-24, 37. See also: 39,40; 45-46; 50 and cf. 20.

¹⁴ "The black of the nail" is a metaphor for small measure and the phrase stresses the bad economic situation of the land. Alternative explanation: "The black of the nail" refers to Re's work of creation, meaning that everything that was created by him is now destroyed, even the black under the nail.

¹⁵ The motif of the "hidden sun" returns in detail in ll. 51-54.

¹⁶ "I cannot foretell (*sr*) what has not yet come." Cf. "foretelling by the ancestors," in "The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage" 1,10.

¹⁷ The metaphorical use of the image of the course of the Nile in reference to the fate of human beings appears in the wisdom literature. Cf. "The Instruction Addressed to Merikare" 125-126; "The Instruction of Amenemope" 6, 18-7,6; "The Instruction of Anii" 8,3-10.

¹⁸ Another variation: "So that sky will consist of only one wind."

¹⁹ The metaphor of "strange birds" refers to the foreign Asiatic tribes who were accustomed to settling down in the eastern Delta in order to survive the summer. For an alternative explanation see Blumenthal 1982:3 n. 24.

²⁰ Alternative reading: "After the weakened people let them come near."

²¹ Lit., "Fish-slitting people."

²² See n. 8 above.

²³ Another variation: "For lack of one to fear."

²⁴ Alternative reading: "Behold, when one who should hear is deaf the silent one is in front."

²⁵ This refrain reappears in l. 54. The phrase "the land is in turmoil" (Eg. *šny mny*) also comes in "The Complaints of Khakheperre-sonb" Recto 11 and *Urk.* IV 2027. 11; The introductory phrase "I show you ..." (lit., "I give you") is repeated five times in our text (38, 44, 48, 54, 55).

One will laugh²⁶ at distress;
 None will weep over death,
 None spends the night fasting because of death,
 The heart of a man cares only for himself.
 Mourning is no (longer) carried out today,
 Hearts have quite abandoned it.
 A man sits with his back turned,
 While one man kills another.
 I show you a son as an enemy,
 A brother as a foe,
 A man (45) killing his (own) father.^{27 f}

Every mouth is full of "love me,"
 Everything good has disappeared.
 The land has perished, laws are destined for it,
 Deprived of produce, lacking in crops,²⁸
 What was done is (47) as if it were not done.
 One will take the property of a man, and give it
 to a stranger,
 I show you a lord in worries, the stranger satisfied.
 (48) He who has never filled up for himself is
 now empty.^{29 g}

One will give something (only) out of hatred,
 In order to silence the mouth that speaks;
 One answers a complaint with an arm holding a
 stick
 And says, Kill him!
 The words fall on the heart like fire,
 (50) None can endure a saying.
 The land diminishes but its rulers are numerous,^h
 Bare, (but) its taxes are great.³⁰
 The grain is low (51) the measure is large,
 One measures it in overflow.

Re separates himself (from) mankind^a
 If he shines the hour exists
 (But now) none knows when noon comes;
 None can discern his shadow,
 None is dazzled by seeing (him),
 Nor do the eyes fill with water.
 As he is in the sky like the moon,
 But his time of nightfall cannot be transgressed
 (i.e., remains unchanged),

ff Isa 1:21,
 23; 59:3-8;
 Prov 30:11-
 14; cf. ibid.,
 6:17-19

g Prov 30:22;
 Eccl 10:6-7

h Eccl 5:7

i Isa 11:1,
 10; Jer 23:5;
 30:9; Ezek
 34:23; Hos
 3:5

j Isa 11:12-
 13; Ezek
 37:15-28;
 Mic 5:2;

k-k Isa 9:3-6,
 11; Mic 5:3-
 5; Zech 9:10

(54) His rays will be on the face again as in
 former times.

3. The World Upside Down: Inversion of Social Order (54-57)

I show you the land in turmoil,³¹
 The weak of arm is (now) the possessor of an
 arm,
 One salutes him who (formerly) saluted.
 I show you the lowly as superior ...^g
 One lives in the necropolis.
 The poor man will make wealth,
 The great one will [pray]³² to live.
 The beggar will eat bread,
 The slaves will be exalted (?).^{33 g}
 The Heliopolitan nome, the birthplace of every
 god, will not (longer) be.

II. Redemption (58-71)

The Redeemer King (58-62)

Then a king will come from the south,
 Imeny,³⁴ the justified, is his name,
 A son is he of a woman of the land of Nubia,ⁱ
 A child is he of Upper Egypt.³⁵
 He will take the white crown,
 He will wear the red crown;
 (60) He will unite the Two Mighty Ones,^{36 j}
 He will appease the Two Lords with what they
 desire,
 The field-encircler in his fist, the oar in motion.³⁷
 Rejoice, O people of his time,
 The son of man will make his name forever and
 ever.

The Rehabilitation of the Country: Driving Away the Enemy and Restoring Order (62-71)

They who incline toward evil,^k
 Who plot rebellion,
 (63) They subdued their mouth in fear of him.
 The Asiatics will fall to his slaughter,
 The Libyans will fall to his flame,
 The rebels to his wrath, the traitors to (65) his
 might,
 The serpent which is on his forehead will still the
 traitors for him.

²⁶ A bitter laugh derives from a disturbed social order; cf. Blumenthal 1982:4 n. 33.

²⁷ Cf. "The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage" 1.5.

²⁸ Cf. Lichtheim *AEL* 1:144 n. 11; alternative reading: "Damaging has been done, that which was lost is found."

²⁹ The stylistic device used in ll. 48, 54-57, i.e., presenting a series of contrasts to highlight absurdity, is common in the Egyptian as well as the Hebrew wisdom literature. See "The Eloquent Peasant" n. 32; "The Admonitions" n. 11; "The Complaints of Khakheperre-sonb" n. 16.

³⁰ Another variation: "While it dries up, its servants are rich."

³¹ See n. 25 above.

³² Obscure sentence; the reading above follows Goedicke's reconstruction: *wr(t) r ftjri hpr*. Goedicke 1977:123-124.

³³ *Bhk*² an obscure word to which a variety of meanings have been given. It may derive from *bh* forced labour, and *k*², high.

³⁴ Ameny is a short name of Amenemhet I (1990-1960 BCE), the first King of the Twelfth Dynasty. The motif of a redeemer king also appears in "The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage" (11.11-12.6) and see p. 97, n. 34, and has common features with the portrayal of the eschatological king in the Bible. See Shupak 1989-90:32-33.

³⁵ Eg. *Hn* - *nhn* designates the southern region of Egypt.

³⁶ "Two Mighty Ones" are the two goddesses, the vulture goddess Nekhebet of Upper Egypt and the cobra goddess Wadjet of Lower Egypt who preside over the double crown. These goddesses, like the "Two Lords" Horus and Seth, symbolize the unified Kingdom.

³⁷ Objects carried by the King during the coronation ceremony.

One will (66) build the Walls of the Ruler³⁸
 l.p.h.,
 To prevent Asiatics from descending to Egypt;
 They will beg for water in the customary man-
 ner,
 In order to let their herds drink.
 Then order will come into its place
 While wrongdoing is driven out.³⁹

k-k see note
 on previous
 page

Joyful will be he who will observe and he who
 will serve the king.⁴⁰
 The wise man will pour out water for me,⁴⁰
 When he sees that what I have spoken comes to
 pass.
 It has come to its end successfully by the scribe
 ...

³⁸ A series of fortresses built by Amenemhet I to protect the eastern frontier from penetration by foreign tribes. Cf. "The Story of Sinuhe" B17.

³⁹ The contrast pair *mꜣꜥꜣ* — justice and *isft* — wrong symbolize order and chaos and play an important part in the Egyptian wisdom ideology, as shown by their common usage in the wisdom texts. See: "The Eloquent Peasant" B1 67, and *ibid.*, n. 27; "The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage," n. 20 (text 1.42); "The Complaints of Khakheperre-sonb," n. 16 (see text 1.44).

⁴⁰ The custom of the Egyptian scribes to bring libation for the sages of bygone times is alluded to here. Cf. Blumenthal 1982:11.

REFERENCES

Barta 1971; Blumenthal 1982; Derchain 1972; Goedicke 1977; Helck 1970a; Lichtheim *AEL* 1:139-145; Shupak 1989-90:1-40; 1993; Westendorf 1973.

3. INSTRUCTIONS

INSTRUCTION OF ANY (1.46)

Miriam Lichtheim

The Instruction of Any has long been known through a single manuscript: Papyrus Boulaq 4 of the Cairo Museum, which dates from the 21st or 22nd Dynasty. Of the first pages only small fragments have remained, and the copy as a whole abounds in textual corruptions due to incomprehension on the part of the copying scribe. The introductory sentence of the work is preserved on a tablet in the Berlin Museum (No. 8934), and small portions of the text are found in three papyrus fragments in the Musée Guimet, in Papyrus Chester Beatty V of the British Museum, and in four ostraca from Deir el Medina.

Given the corruption and lacunae of the main text copy and the absence of sizeable duplicate copies, the text has presented great difficulties to editors and translators. In the words of Gardiner: "The papyrus known as *P. Boulaq IV*, to the contents of which Chabas gave the name *Les Maximes du scribe Anii*, has long enjoyed the unenviable reputation of being the obscurest of all Egyptian wisdom texts" (1959a:12).

The work itself was composed in the New Kingdom, almost certainly in the 18th Dynasty. It combines traditional themes with a certain amount of innovation. Two aspects, in particular, distinguish it from most earlier Instructions. One is the fact that the Instruction of Any comes from the sphere of the middle class and is meant for the average man. The author presents himself as a minor official, and the advice he dispenses, in the usual form of a father instructing his son, is suited to the thinking of anyone who possessed a modicum of education and of material comforts. Thus there is nothing specifically aristocratic about the values that are taught. This is, of course, in keeping with the evolution of Egyptian society and with the growth of the middle class.

The other novel feature appears in the epilogue. In earlier Instructions the epilogue had consisted either in the grateful acceptance of the teaching by the listeners, or in the teacher's conclusion urging compliance. The epilogue of Any, however, is a debate between father and son in which the son makes the objection that the father's teachings are too difficult to be understood and obeyed. By making the son disinclined to learn and obey, the author of the work introduced a new dimension into the concept of didactic literature: the thought that instruction might fail to have an impact. The thought is introduced in order to be refuted. The father has the last word as well as the more telling arguments. Yet the expression of a negative point of view adds a fresh and realistic note

to the Instruction genre by showing an awareness that the efficacy of teaching could be questioned and that the teachability of man had its limitations.

The page and line numbering used here is that of Suys's publication (1935) which was also employed by Volten (1937-38). My translation begins with page 3.1 preceded by the title of the work found on the Berlin tablet.

Beginning of the educational instruction made by the Scribe Any of the Palace of Queen Nefertari.¹

(3.1) Take a wife while you're young,
That she make a son for you;
She should bear for you while you're youthful,
It is proper to make people.²
Happy the man whose people are many,
He is saluted on account of his progeny.^a

Observe the feast of your god,³
And repeat its season,
God is angry if it is neglected.
Put up witnesses (3.5) when you offer,
The first time that you do it.
When one comes to seek your record,
Have them enter you in the roll;
When time comes to seek your purchase,⁴
It will extol the might of the god.
Song, dance, incense are his foods,
Receiving prostrations is his wealth;
The god does it to magnify his name,
But man it is who is inebriated.

Do not (3.10) enter the house of anyone,
Until he admits you and greets you;
Do not snoop around in his house,
Let your eye observe in silence.
Do not speak of him to another outside,
Who was not with you;
A great deadly crime

.....

^b Beware of a woman who is a stranger,
One not known in her town;
Don't stare at her when she goes by,
Do not know her carnally.
A deep water whose course is unknown,
Such is a woman away from her husband.
"I am pretty," she tells you daily,
When she has no witnesses;
She is ready to ensnare you,
A great deadly crime when it is heard.^b
.....⁵

Do not leave when the chiefs enter,
Lest your name stink;
In a quarrel (4.1) do not speak,

a Prov 17:6

b-b Prov
6:24-26; 7:6-
27; 2:16-19

c-c Prov
20:1;
30:4-5

Your silence will serve you well.

Do not raise your voice in the house of god,
He abhors shouting;
Pray by yourself with a loving heart,
Whose every word is hidden.
He will grant your needs,
He will hear your words,
He will accept your offerings.
Libate for your father and mother,
Who are resting in the valley;
When the gods (4.5) witness your action,
They will say: "Accepted."
Do not forget the one outside,
Your son will act for you likewise.

^c Don't indulge in drinking beer,
Lest you utter evil speech⁶
And don't know what you're saying.
If you fall and hurt your body,
None holds out a hand to you;
Your companions in the drinking
Stand up saying: "Out with the drunk!"
If one comes to seek you (4.10) and talk with
you.
One finds you lying on the ground.
As if you were a little child.^c

Do not go out of your house,
Without knowing your place of rest.
Let your chosen place be known,
Remember it and know it.
Set it before you as the path to take,
If you are straight you find it.
Furnish your station in the valley,
The grave that shall conceal your corpse;
Set it before you as your concern,
A thing that matters in your eyes.
Emulate the great departed,
Who are at rest within their tombs.
No blame accrues to him who does it,
It is well that you be ready too.
When your envoy⁷ (5.1) comes to fetch you,
He shall find you ready to come
To your place of rest and saying:
"Here comes one prepared before you."

¹ Queen Ahmes-Nefertari, the wife of King Ahmose. The reading is due to Posener 1949:42 n. 2.

² Or: "Teach him to be a man" (Wilson ANET 420). There is no doubt that *iri rmt* sometimes means "to be a man"; but in this context a term denoting procreation seems more suitable. I can, however, not quote parallels.

³ The understanding of this maxim was much advanced by Gardiner's rendering (1959a:12-14).

⁴ Gardiner (1935b:143 n. 10) pointed out that *šsp* can have the meaning "purchase." This meaning suits here: the worshiper pays for offerings that are made in his name.

⁵ Several obscure sentences.

⁶ *Šmi snw*, "evil speech," "noxious remarks," and the like.

⁷ Death.

Do not say, "I am young to be taken,"
For you do not know your death.
When death comes he steals the infant
Who is in his mother's arms,
Just like him who reached old age.

Behold, I give you these useful counsels,
For you to ponder in your heart;
Do it (5.5) and you will be happy,
All evils will be far from you.
Guard against the crime of fraud,
Against words that are not <true>;
Conquer malice in your self,
A quarrelsome man does not rest on the morrow.

^d Keep away from a hostile man,
Do not let him be your comrade; ^d
Befriend one who is straight and true,
One whose actions you have seen.
If your rightness matches his,
The friendship will be balanced.
Let your hand preserve what is in your house,
Wealth accrues to him who guards it;
Let your hand not scatter it to (5.10) strangers,
Lest it turn to loss for you.
If wealth is placed where it bears interest,
It comes back to you redoubled;
Make a storehouse for your own wealth,
Your people will find it on your way.
What is given small returns augmented,
What is replaced brings abundance.¹
The wise lives off the house of the fool,
Protect what is yours and you find it;
Keep your eye on what you own,
Lest you end as a beggar.
He who is slack amounts to nothing,^c
Honored is the man who's active.

.....⁸

(6.1) Learn about the way of a man
Who undertakes to found his household.
Make a garden, enclose a patch,
In addition to your plowland;
Set out trees within it,
As shelter about your house.
Fill your hand with all the flowers
That your eye can see;
One has need of all of them,
It is good fortune not to lose them.⁹

Do not rely on another's goods,
Guard what you acquire yourself;
Do not depend on another's wealth,
Lest he become master in your house.
Build a house or find and buy one,
Shun 'contention'
Don't say: "My mother's father has a house,

d-d Prov
22:24; 29:22

e Prov 6:6-
11

['A house that lasts,¹ one calls it;"]

When you come to share with your brothers,
Your portion may be a storeroom.

If your god lets you have children,
They'll say: "We are in our father's house."

Be a man hungry or sated in his house,
It is his walls (6.10) that enclose him.

Do not be a mindless person,
Then your god will give you wealth.

Do not sit when another is standing,
One who is older than you,

Or greater than you in his rank.

No good character is reproached,

An evil character is blamed.

Walk the accustomed path each day

Stand according to your rank.

"Who's there?" So one always says,

Rank creates its rules;

A woman is asked about (6.15) her husband

A man is asked about his rank.

Do not speak rudely to a brawler,

When you are attacked hold yourself back;

You will find this good (7.1) when your relations
are friendly,

When trouble has come it will help you bear up,
And the aggressor will desist.

Deeds that are effective toward a stranger

Are very noxious to a brother.¹⁰

Your people will hail you when you are joyful,

They will weep freely <when you are sad>;

When you are happy the brave look to you,

When you are lonely you find your relations.

One will do all you say

If you are versed in writings;

Study the writings, put them in your heart,

(7.5) Then all your words will be effective.

Whatever office a scribe is given,

He should consult the writings;

The head of the treasury has no son,

The master of the seal has no heir.

The scribe is chosen for his hand,

His office has no children;

His pronouncements are his freemen,

His functions are his masters.

Do not reveal your heart to a stranger,

He might use your words against you;

The noxious speech that came from your mouth,

He repeats it and you make enemies.

A man may be ruined by his tongue,

Beware and you will do well.¹¹

A man's belly is wider than a granary,

And full of all kinds of answers;

(7.10) Choose the good one and say it,

⁸ I do not understand the maxim in lines 5.15-17.

⁹ The flowers are a metaphor for children.

¹⁰ Parts of this maxim were rendered by Posener 1964:42-43.

¹¹ Read *ikr*.

While the bad is shut in your belly.
 A rude answer brings a beating,
 Speak sweetly and you will be loved.
 Don't ever talk back to your attacker,
 'Do not set a trap <for him>';
 It is the god who judges the righteous,
 His fate comes and takes him away.^{12 f}

Offer to your god,
 Beware of offending him.
 Do not question his images,
 Do not accost him when he appears.
 Do not jostle him in order to carry him,
 Do not disturb the oracles.¹³
 Be careful, help to protect him,
 Let your eye watch out (7.15) for his wrath,
 And kiss the ground in his name.
 He gives power in a million forms,
 He who magnifies him is magnified.
 God of this earth is the sun in the sky,
 While his images are on earth;
 When incense is given them as daily food,
 The lord of risings is satisfied.

Double the food your mother gave you,
 Support her as she supported you;
 She had a heavy load in you,
 But she did not abandon you.
 When you were born after your months,
 She was yet yoked <to you>,
 Her breast in your mouth for three years.⁸
 As you grew and your excrement disgusted,
 She was not disgusted, saying: "What shall I
 do!"

When she sent you to school,
 And you were taught to write,
 She kept watching over you daily,
 With bread (8.1) and beer in her house.
 When as a youth you take a wife,
 And you are settled in your house,
 Pay attention to your offspring,
 Bring him up as did your mother.
 Do not give her cause to blame you,
 Lest she raise her hands to god,
 And he hears her cries.

Do not eat bread while another stands by
 Without extending your hand to him.
 As to food, it is here always,
 It is man (8.5) who does not last;
 One man is rich, another is poor,
 But food remains for him 'who shares it.'¹
 As to him who was rich last year,
 He is a vagabond this year;
 Don't be greedy to fill your belly,

f Prov 25:11

g 1 Sam 1:22-
24

You don't know your end at all.
 Should you come to be in want,
 Another may do good to you.
 When last year's watercourse is gone,
 Another river is here today;
 Great lakes become dry places,
 Sandbanks turn into depths.
 Man does not have a single (8.10) way,
 The lord of life confounds him.¹⁴

Attend to your position,
 Be it low or high;
 It is not good to press forward,
 Step according to rank.
 Do not intrude on a man in his house,
 Enter when you have been called;
 He may say "Welcome" with his mouth,
 Yet deride you in his thoughts.
 One gives food to one who is hated,
 Supplies to one who enters uninvited.

Don't rush to attack your attacker,
 Leave him to the god;
 Report him daily to the god,
 (8.15) Tomorrow being like today,
 And you will see what the god does,
 When he injures him who injured you.

Do not enter into a crowd,
 If you find it in an uproar
 And about to come to blows.
 Don't pass anywhere near by,
 Keep away from their tumult,
 Lest you be brought before the court,
 When an inquiry is made.
 Stay away from hostile people,
 Keep your heart quiet among fighters;
 An outsider is not brought to court,
 One who knows nothing is not bound in fetters.

(9.1) It is useful to help one whom one loves,
 'So as to cleanse him of his faults;'¹
 'You will be sage from his errors,'¹

.....
 The first of the herd leads to the field.
¹⁵

Do not control your wife in her house,
 When you know she is efficient;
 Don't say to her: "Where is it? Get it!"
 When she has put it in the right place.
 Let your eye observe in silence,
 Then you recognize her (9.5) skill;
 It is joy when your hand is with her,
 There are many who don't know this.
 If a man desists from strife at home,

¹² I.e., the aggressor will be punished.¹³ This passage was explained by Posener 1963a:98-102.¹⁴ The theme is the reversal of fortune, a topos that plays a considerable part in Eg. wisdom literature. Some of its aspects were studied by Volten 1941:371-379. A wide-ranging study of the theme in Mesopotamian literature is by Buccellati 1972:241-264.¹⁵ Several sentences which I do not understand. The whole maxim which occupies lines 9.1-3 is obscure to me.

He will not encounter its beginning.
Every man who founds a household
Should hold back the hasty heart.
Do not go after a woman,
Let her not steal your heart.¹⁶

Do not talk back to an angry superior,
Let him have his way;
Speak sweetly when he speaks sourly,^h
It's the remedy that calms the heart.
Fighting answers carry sticks,
And your strength collapses;

.....

Do not vex your heart.
He will return to praise you soon,
When his hour of rage has passed.
If your words please the heart,
(9.10) The heart tends to accept them;
Choose silence for yourself,
Submit to what he does.

Befriend the herald¹⁷ of your quarter,
Do not make him angry with you.
Give him food from your house,
Do not slight his requests;
Say to him, "Welcome, welcome here,"
No blame accrues to him who does it.

.....¹⁸

Epilogue

The scribe Khonshotep answered his father, the scribe Any:

I wish I were like (you),
As learned as you!
Then I would carry out your teachings,
And the son would be brought to his father's place.

Each man (9.15) is led by his nature,
You are a man who is a master,
Whose strivings are exalted,
Whose every word is chosen.
The son, he understands little
When he recites the words in the books.
But when your words please the heart,
The heart tends to accept them with joy.
Don't make your virtues too numerous,
That one may raise one's thoughts to you;
A boy does not follow the moral instructions,
Though the writings are on his tongue!

The scribe Any answered his son, the scribe Khonshotep:

Do not rely on such worthless thoughts,
Beware of what you do to yourself!
I judge your complaints to be wrong,
I shall set you right about them.

^h Prov 15:1

There's nothing [superfluous in] our words,
Which you say you wished were reduced.
The fighting (10.1) bull who kills in the stable,
He forgets and abandons the arena;
He conquers his nature,
Remembers what he's learned,
And becomes the like of a fattened ox.
The savage lion abandons his wrath,
And comes to resemble the timid donkey.
The horse slips into its harness,
Obedient it goes outdoors.
The dog obeys the word,
And walks behind its master.
The monkey carries the stick,
Though its mother did not carry it.
(10.5) The goose returns from the pond,
When one comes to shut it in the yard.
One teaches the Nubian to speak Egyptian,
The Syrian and other strangers too.
Say: "I shall do like all the beasts,"
Listen and learn what they do.

The scribe Khonshotep answered his father, the scribe Any:

Do not proclaim your powers,
So as to force me to your ways;
[Does it not happen to a man to slacken his hand,¹
So as to hear an answer in its place?
Man resembles the god in his way
If he listens to a man's answer.
[One (man) cannot know his fellow,¹
If the masses are beasts;
[One (man) cannot know his teachings,¹
And alone possess a mind,
If the multitudes are foolish.
All your sayings are excellent,
But doing them [requires virtues]¹
Tell the god who gave you wisdom:
"Set them on your path!"

The scribe Any answered his son, the scribe Khonshotep:

Turn your back to these many words,
That are [not worth]¹ being heard.
The crooked stick left on the ground,
With sun and shade attacking it,
If the carpenter takes it, he straightens it,
Makes of it a noble's staff,
And a straight stick makes a collar.¹⁹
You foolish heart,
Do you wish us to teach,
Or have you been corrupted?
"Look," said he,²⁰ "you [my father,¹

¹⁶ If that is the meaning, the two lines are tacked on incongruously. Volten 1937-38:132 and 136, tried to obtain a different meaning.

¹⁷ The policeman.

¹⁸ The remainder of the maxim is obscure to me.

¹⁹ *ḏrt*, a horse collar; i.e., the crooked stick is made straight, and the straight one is rounded. On the passage see Posener 1973:130.

²⁰ The son speaks.

You who are wise and strong of hand:
The infant in his mother's arms,
His wish is for what nurses him."

"Look," said he,²¹ "when he finds his speech,
He says: 'Give me bread.'"

²¹ The father answers. Any's concluding answer apparently means that when a child is old enough to speak he asks to be nourished materially and spiritually.

REFERENCES

Text: Mariette 1871 pls. 15-28; Suys 1935. Other fragments: Gardiner 1935a 2:50 and 2:27; P. Chester Beatty V, verso 2,6-11 (= P. Boulaq 4, 3,1-3 and 6,1-4); Posener 1935: nos. 1063, 1257, 1258, 1259. Translation: Volten 1937-38; Erman 1927:234-242. *ANET* 420-421 (excerpts); Volten 1941:373-374; Gardiner 1959a; Lichtheim *AEL* 2:135-146.

INSTRUCTION OF AMENEMOPE (1.47)

Miriam Lichtheim

With this long work, the Instruction genre reaches its culmination. Its worth lies not in any thematic richness, for its range is much narrower than, for example, that of the *Instruction of Ptahhotep*. Its worth lies in its quality of inwardness. Though it is still assumed that right thinking and right action will find their reward, worldly success, which had meant so much in the past, has receded into the background. Even poverty is no longer viewed as a misfortune.

The shift of emphasis, away from action and success, and toward contemplation and endurance, leads to an overall regrouping of values and a redefinition of the ideal man. As early as Ptahhotep, the ideal man lacked all martial values; he was a man of peace who strove for advancement and was generous with his wealth. The new ideal man is content with a humble position and a minimal amount of material possessions. His chief characteristic is modesty. He is self-controlled, quiet, and kind toward people, and he is humble before God. This ideal man is indeed not a perfect man, for perfection is now viewed as belonging only to God.

The style of Amenemope is rich in similes and metaphors which are sustained at length and with skill. The work as a whole is carefully composed and unified, both through the device of thirty numbered chapters and through a concentration on two basic themes: first, the depiction of the ideal man, the "silent man," and his adversary, the "heated man"; second, the exhortation to honesty and warnings against dishonesty. All other themes are subservient to these central ones.

The composition of the work is now usually assigned to the Ramesside period, although all the manuscript copies that have reached us are of later date. It was during the Ramesside age that the tribes of Israel became a nation, and much of Israelite knowledge of things Egyptian, as reflected in the Bible, resulted from contacts during this period. The most tangible literary evidence of these contacts is found in the chips from the Instruction of Amenemope that are embedded in the Book of Proverbs.⁶ It can hardly be doubted that the author of Proverbs was acquainted with the Egyptian work and borrowed from it, for in addition to the similarities in thought and expression — especially close and striking in Proverbs 22 and 23 — the line in 22:20: "Have I not written for you thirty sayings of admonition and knowledge" derives its meaning from the author's acquaintance with the "thirty" chapters of Amenemope. Ever since Adolf Erman pointed this out there has been a consensus among scholars on a literary relationship, although some scholars have tried to interpret it in reverse by claiming priority for the Hebrew text, or have proposed to derive both works from a lost Semitic original.

The Instruction of Amenemope is completely preserved in the British Museum Papyrus 10474. Small portions of it are found on a papyrus in Stockholm, three writing tablets in Turin, Paris, and Moscow, respectively, and an ostrakon in the Cairo Museum. In the British Museum papyrus and on the Turin and Louvre tablets the text is written stichically, that is to say, in lines that show the metrical scheme. This is unusual and important, for it allows us to see the metrical organization rather than having to guess it. And since the work is also divided into thirty numbered chapters, we are here precisely informed about two basic features of Egyptian prosody as applied to a particular work: the organization of the metrical line and the grouping of lines into sections or chapters.

The metrical line turns out to be exactly what one expects it to be. It consists of self-contained sentences or clauses. Through parallelism and related devices the lines are grouped loosely into distichs, tristichs, and quatrains. There is no indication that these groups of lines were further gathered into strophes or stanzas. Nor

would such strophes be suited to the nature of instructional works. For the Instructions consist of thoughts developed freely over greater or lesser length, and the natural divisions occur when one topic is concluded and another taken up. In earlier Instructions such divisions were not marked by graphic or verbal devices; in Amenemope they are brought out clearly through the use of numbered chapters.

Amenemope is a difficult text. It abounds in rare words, elliptic phrases, and allusions whose meaning escapes us. Furthermore, the copying scribes introduced numerous errors. But we are fortunate to have the complete text preserved in the British Museum Papyrus, where it occupies all twenty-seven pages of the recto and the first line of the verso.

Prologue

- I.1 Beginning of the teaching for life,
The instructions for well-being,
Every rule for relations with elders,
For conduct toward magistrates;
5 Knowing how to answer one who speaks,
To reply to one who sends a message.
So as to direct him on the paths of life,
To make him prosper upon earth;
To let his heart enter its shrine,¹
10 Steering clear of evil;
To save him from the mouth of strangers,
To let (him) be praised in the mouth of
people.
Made by the overseer of fields, experienced
in his office,
The offspring of a scribe of Egypt,
15 The overseer of grains who controls the
measure,
Who sets the harvest-dues for his lord,
Who registers the islands of new land,
In the great name of his majesty,
Who records the markers on the borders of
fields,
II.1 Who acts for the king in his listing of
taxes,
Who makes the land-register of Egypt;
The scribe who determines the offerings for
all the gods.
Who gives land-leases to the people,
5 The overseer of grains, [provider of] foods,
Who supplies the granary with grains;
The truly silent in This of Ta-wer,
The justified in Ipu,
Who owns a tomb on the west of Senu,
10 Who has a chapel at Abydos,
Amenemope, the son of Kanakht,
The justified in Ta-wer.²
<For> his son, the youngest of his
children,
The smallest of his family,
15 The devotee of Min-Kamutef,
The water-pourer of Wennofer,
Who places Horus on his father's throne,
Who guards him in his noble shrine,

a Prov 22:17-
24:22

b Prov
22:22-23

Who ----

- III.1 The guardian of the mother of god,
Inspector of the black cattle of the terrace
of Min,
Who protects Min in his shrine:
Hor-em-maakher is his true name,
5 The child of a nobleman of Ipu,
The son of the sistrum-player of Shu and
Tefnut,
And chief songstress of Horus, Tawosre.

Chapter 1

- He says:
Give your ears, hear the sayings,
10 Give your heart to understand them;
It profits to put them in your heart,^a
Woe to him who neglects them!
Let them rest in the casket of your belly,
May they be bolted in your heart;
15 When there rises a whirlwind of words,
They'll be a mooring post for your tongue.
If you make your life with these in your
heart,
You will find it a success;
IV.1 You will find my words a storehouse for
life,
Your being will prosper upon earth.

Chapter 2

- Beware of robbing a wretch,^b
5 Of attacking a cripple;
Don't stretch out your hand to touch an old
man,
Nor 'open your mouth¹³ to an elder.
Don't let yourself be sent on a mischievous
errand,
Nor be friends with him who does it.
10 Don't raise an outcry against one who at-
tacks you,
Nor answer him yourself.
He who does evil, the shore rejects him,
Its floodwater carries him away.
The northwind descends to end his hour,
15 It mingles with the thunderstorm.
The storm cloud is tall, the crocodiles are
vicious,

¹ The heart is viewed as the god who dwells in man. On this concept see Bonnet, *RÄRG* 225-228.

² Ipu and Senu are names for Akhmim (Panopolis); Ta-wer is the nome of Abydos. Amenemope identifies himself as a citizen of Akhmim who has built his tomb there and also owns a funerary monument at Abydos.

³ The meaning of *t²i-r*, which recurs in 15.13, is not clear and it has been variously rendered. See Grumach 1972:31.

- You heated man, how are you now?
He cries out, his voice reaches heaven,
It is the Moon⁴ who declares his crime.
- V.1 Steer, we will ferry the wicked,
We do not act like his kind;
Lift him up, give him your hand,
Leave him <in> the hands of the god;
- 5 Fill his belly with bread of your own,
That he be sated and weep.
Another thing good in the heart of the god:
To pause before speaking.

Chapter 3

- 10 Don't start a quarrel with a hot-mouthed
man,
Nor needle him with words.
Pause before a foe, bend before an at-
tacker,
Sleep (on it) before speaking.
A storm that bursts like fire in straw,
- 15 Such is the heated man in his hour.
Withdraw from him, leave him alone,
The god knows how to answer him.
If you make your life with these (words) in
your heart,
Your children will observe them.

Chapter 4^c

- As for the heated man in the temple,⁵
He is like a tree growing 'indoors';
A moment lasts its growth of 'shoots';
Its end comes about in the 'woodshed';
- VI.5 It is floated far from its place,
The flame is its burial shroud.
The truly silent, who keeps apart,
He is like a tree grown in a meadow.
It greens, it doubles its yield,
- 10 It stands in front of its lord.
Its fruit is sweet, its shade delightful,
Its end comes in the garden.

Chapter 5

- Do not falsify⁶ the temple rations,
- 15 Do not grasp and you'll find profit.
Do not remove a servant of the god,
So as to do favors to another.
Do not say: "Today is like tomorrow,"
How will this end?
- VII.1 Comes tomorrow, today has vanished,
The deep has become the water's edge.
Crocodiles are bared, hippopotami strand-
ed,
The fish crowded together.⁷
- 5 Jackals are sated, birds are in feast,

c Ps 1:3-4

d Prov 22:8;
23:10

- The fishnets have been drained.⁸
But all the silent in the temple,
They say: "Re's blessing is great."
Cling to the silent, then you find life.
- 10 Your being will prosper upon earth.

Chapter 6

- Do not move the markers on the borders of
fields,^d
Nor shift the position of the measuring-
cord.
Do not be greedy for a cubit of land,
- 15 Nor encroach on the boundaries of a
widow.
The trodden furrow worn down by time,
He who disguises it in the fields,
When he has snared (it) by false oaths,
He will be caught by the might of the
Moon.

VIII.1 Recognize him who does this on earth:

- He is an oppressor of the weak,
A foe bent on destroying your being,
The taking of life is in his eye.
- 5 His house is an enemy to the town,
His storage bins will be destroyed
His wealth will be seized from his child-
ren's hands,
His possessions will be given to another.
Beware of destroying the borders of fields,
- 10 Lest a terror carry you away;
One pleases god with the might of the lord
When one discerns the borders of fields.⁹
Desire your being to be sound,
Beware of the Lord of All;
- 15 Do not erase another's furrow,
It profits you to keep it sound.
Plow your fields and you'll find what you
need,
You'll receive bread from your threshing-
floor.
Better is a bushel given you by the god,
- 20 Than five thousand through wrongdoing.
- IX.1 They stay not a day in bin and barn,
They make no food for the beer jar,
A moment is their stay in the granary,
Comes morning they have vanished.
- 5 Better is poverty in the hand of the god,
Than wealth in the storehouse;
Better is bread with a happy heart
Than wealth with vexation.

Chapter 7

- 10 Do not set your heart on wealth,

⁴ The god Thoth.⁵ On this chapter see now Posener 1973:129-135.⁶ The verb *sg* recurs in 7.17, 18.12, and 18.15. I follow Griffith in taking it to mean "overlay," "falsify," "disguise."⁷ So with Grumach 1972:50.⁸ The theme is the reversal of fortune; see the "Instruction of Any," text 1.46, n. 14 (above).⁹ Some translators take *wpt* as a participle referring to god: "He who determines the borders of fields." But then the meaning of the couplet is poor. I have followed Griffith.

There is no ignoring Fate and Destiny;
Do not let your heart go straying,
Every man comes to his hour.
* Do not strain to seek increase,
15 What you have, let it suffice you.
If riches come to you by theft,
They will not stay the night with you.
Comes day they are not in your house
Their place is seen but they're not there;
20 Earth opened its mouth, leveled them,
swallowed them,
X.1 And made them sink into *dat*.
They made a hole as big as their size,
And sank into the netherworld;
They made themselves wings like geese,
5 And flew away to the sky.⁴
Do not rejoice in wealth from theft,
Nor complain of being poor.
If the leading archer presses forward,
His company abandons him;
10 The boat of the greedy is left (in) the mud,
While the bark of the silent sails with the
Wind.
You shall pray to the Aten when he rises,
Saying: "Grant me well-being and health";
He will give you your needs for this life,
15 And you will be safe from fear.

Chapter 8

Set your goodness before people,
Then you are greeted by all;
One welcomes the Uraeus,
20 One spits upon Apopis. Guard your tongue
from harmful speech,
XI.1 Then you will be loved by others.
You will find your place in the house of
god,
You will share in the offerings of your
lord.
When you're revered and your coffin con-
ceals you
5 You will be safe from the power of god.¹⁰
Do not shout "crime" against a man,
When the cause of (his) flight is hidden.
Whether you hear something good or evil,
Do it outside where it is not heard.
10 Put the good remark on your tongue,
While the bad is concealed in your belly.

Chapter 9

Do not befriend the heated man,
Nor approach him for conversation.⁷
15 Keep your tongue from answering your
superior,
And take care not to insult him.
Let him not cast his speech to catch you,
Nor give free rein to your answer.

e-e Prov
23:4-5

f Prov 23:24-
25

Converse with a man of your own measure,
20 And take care not to 'offend' him.
XII.1 Swift is the speech of one who is angered,
More than wind 'over' water.
He tears down, he builds up with his ton-
gue,
When he makes his hurtful speech.
5 He gives an answer worthy of a beating,
For its weight is harm.
He hauls freight like all the world,
But his load is falsehood.
He is the ferry-man of snaring words,
10 He goes and comes with quarrels.
When he eats and drinks inside,
His answer is (heard) outside.
The day he is charged with his crime is
misfortune for his children.
15 If only Khnum came to him,
The Potter to the heated man,
So as to knead the 'faulty' heart.
He is like a young wolf in the farmyard,
He turns one eye against the other,
XIII.1 He causes brothers to quarrel.
He runs before every wind like clouds,
He dims the radiance of the sun;
He flips his tail like the crocodile's young,
5 'He draws himself up so as to strike.'¹
His lips are sweet, his tongue is bitter,
A fire burns in his belly.
Don't leap to join such a one,
Lest a terror carry you away.

Chapter 10

Don't force yourself to greet the heated
man,
For then you injure your own heart;
Do not say "greetings" to him falsely,
While there is terror in your belly.
15 Do not speak falsely to a man,
The god abhors it;
Do not sever your heart from your tongue,
That all your strivings may succeed.
You will be weighty before the others,
XIV.1 And secure in the hand of the god.
God hates the falsifier of words,
He greatly abhors the dissembler.

Chapter 11

5 Do not covet a poor man's goods,
Nor hunger for his bread;
A poor man's goods are a block in the
throat,
It makes the gullet vomit.
He who makes gain by lying oaths,
10 His heart is misled by his belly;
Where there is fraud success is feeble,
The bad spoils the good.¹¹

¹⁰ "Power" here in the sense of "wrath."

¹¹ Assuming *wh*² to be transitive. The usual rendering, "good and bad fail," is not satisfactory.

- You will be guilty before your superior,
And confused in your account;
15 Your pleas will be answered by a curse,
Your prostrations by a beating.
The big mouthful of bread — you swallow,
you vomit it,
And you are emptied of your gain.⁸
Observe the overseer¹² of the poor,
XV.1 When the stick attains him;
All his people are bound in chains,
And he is led to the executioner.
If you are released before your superior,
5 You are yet hateful to your subordinates;
Steer away from the poor man on the road,
Look at him and keep clear of his goods.

Chapter 12

- Do not desire a noble's wealth,
10 Nor make free with a big mouthful of bread;
If he sets you to manage his property,
Shun his, and yours will prosper.
Do not converse¹³ with a heated man,
So as to befriend a hostile man.
15 If you are sent to transport straw,
Stay away from its container.
If a man is observed on a fraudulent errand,
He will not be sent on another occasion.

Chapter 13

- Do not cheat a man <through> pen on scroll,
The god abhors it;
XVI.1 Do not bear witness with false words,
So as to brush aside a man by your tongue.
Do not assess a man who has nothing,
And thus falsify your pen.
5 If you find a large debt against a poor man,
Make it into three parts;
Forgive two, let one stand,
You will find it a path of life.
After sleep, when you wake in the morning,
10 You will find it as good news.
Better is praise with the love of men
Than wealth in the storehouse;
Better is bread with a happy heart
Than wealth with vexation.

15 Chapter 14

Do not recall yourself to a man,
Nor strain to seek his hand.
If he says to you: "Here is a gift.

g Prov 23:6-8

"No have-not¹ will refuse it,"¹⁴
Don't blink at him, nor bow your head,
Nor turn aside your gaze.
Salute him with your mouth, say,
"Greetings,"

- XVII.1 He will desist, and you succeed.
Do not rebuff him in his approach,
"Another time he'll be taken away."¹

Chapter 15

- 5 Do the good and you will prosper,
Do not dip your pen to injure a man.
The finger of the scribe is the beak of the Ibis,
Beware of brushing it aside.
The Ape dwells in the House of Khmun,¹⁵
10 His eye encircles the Two Lands;
When he sees one who cheats with his finger,
He carries his livelihood off in the flood.
The scribe who cheats with his finger,
His son will not be enrolled.
15 If you make your life with these (words) in your heart,
Your children will observe them.

Chapter 16

- Do not move the scales nor alter the weights,
Nor diminish the fractions of the measure;
20 Do not desire a measure of the fields,
Nor neglect those of the treasury.
The Ape sits by the balance,
XVIII.1 His heart is in the plummet;
Where is a god as great as Thoth,
Who invented these things and made them?
Do not make for yourself deficient weights,
5 They are rich in grief through the might of god.
If you see someone who cheats,
Keep your distance from him.
Do not covet copper,
Disdain beautiful linen;
10 What good is one dressed in finery,
If he cheats before the god?
Faience disguised as gold,
Comes day, it turns to lead.

Chapter 17

- 15 Beware of disguising the measure,
So as to falsify its fractions;
Do not force it to overflow,
Nor let its belly be empty.
Measure according to its true size,

¹² The meaning of *hy* is not well established; the word recurs in 24.17 where the meaning "overseer," or "superior," is suitable. But here a negative connotation such as "oppressor" seems called for.

¹³ See note 3.

¹⁴ The verb *b^c* (or *b^c*) recurs in 21.2, 27.1, and 27.5. The meaning assigned in *Wb.* 1:446 "beachten, berücksichtigen," does not appear suitable here. The four occurrences in Amenemope suggest "rebuff," "refuse," as well as "pass up," "let pass."

¹⁵ The ibis and the ape are the images of Thoth.

- 20 Your hand clearing exactly.
Do not make a bushel of twice its size,
For then you are headed for the abyss.
The bushel is the Eye of Re,
XIX.1 It abhors him who trims;
A measurer who indulges in cheating,
His Eye seals (the verdict) against him.
Do not accept a farmer's dues
5 And then assess him so as to injure him;
Do not conspire with the measurer,
So as to defraud the share of the Residence.
Greater is the might of the threshing floor
Than an oath by the great throne.

10 Chapter 18

- Do not lie down in fear of tomorrow:
"Comes day, how will tomorrow be?"
Man ignores how tomorrow will be;
God is ever in his perfection,
15 Man is ever in his failure.¹⁶
The words men say are one thing,
The deeds of the god are another.
Do not say: "I have done no wrong,"
And then strain to seek a quarrel;
20 The wrong belongs to the god,
He seals (the verdict) with his finger.
There is no perfection before the god,
But there is failure before him;¹⁷
XX.1 If one strains to seek perfection,
In a moment he has marred it.
Keep firm your heart, steady your heart,
Do not steer with your tongue;
5 If a man's tongue is the boat's rudder,
The Lord of All is yet its pilot.

Chapter 19

- Do not go to court before an official
In order to falsify your words;
10 Do not vacillate in your answers,
When your witnesses accuse.
Do not strain <with> oaths by your lord,
<With> speeches at the hearing;
Tell the truth before the official,
15 Lest he lay a hand on you.
If another day you come before him,
He will incline to all you say;
He will relate your speech to the Council of
Thirty,
It will be observed on another occasion.

20 Chapter 20

Do not confound a man in the law court,
In order to brush aside one who is right.

- XXI.1 Do not incline to the well-dressed man,
And rebuff the one in rags.
Don't accept the gift of a powerful man,
And deprive the weak for his sake.
5 Maat is a great gift of god,
He gives it to whom he wishes.
The might of him who resembles him,
It saves the poor from his tormentor.
Do not make for yourself false documents,
10 They are a deadly provocation;
They (mean) the great restraining oath,¹⁸
They (mean) a hearing by the herald.
Don't falsify the oracles in the scrolls,¹⁹
And thus disturb the plans of god;
15 Don't use for yourself the might of god,
As if there were no Fate and Destiny.
Hand over property to its owners,
Thus do you seek life for yourself;
Don't raise your desire in their house,
20 Or your bones belong to the execution-
block.

Chapter 21

- XXII.1 Do not say: "Find me a strong superior,
For a man in your town has injured me";
Do not say: "Find me a protector,
For one who hates me has injured me."
5 Indeed you do not know the plans of god,
And should not weep for tomorrow;
Settle in the arms of the god,
Your silence will overthrow them.²⁰
The crocodile that makes no sound,²¹
10 Dread of it is ancient.
Do not empty your belly to everyone,
And thus destroy respect of you;
Broadcast not your words to others,
Nor join with one who bares his heart.
15 Better is one whose speech is in his belly
Than he who tells it to cause harm.
One does not run to reach success,
One does not move to spoil it.

Chapter 22

- 20 Do not provoke your adversary,
So as to <make> him tell his thoughts;
Do not leap to come before him,
XXIII.1 When you do not see his doings.
First gain insight from his answer,
Then keep still and you'll succeed.
Leave it to him to empty his belly,
5 Know how to sleep, he'll be found out.
[Grasp his legs,²² do not harm him,

¹⁶ Lit., "the god," and "the man." Amenemope says "god" and "the god," interchangeably. The presence or absence of the definite article seems to be a matter of style.

¹⁷ I emend *mn* to *wn*; otherwise the sentence contradicts all that has gone before.

¹⁸ On the oath *sdf tr* see Baer 1964:179-180.

¹⁹ The passage was explained by Posener 1963a.

²⁰ The adversaries.

²¹ On this passage see Posener 1968.

²² This meaning does not suit; I suspect a corruption.

Be wary of him, do not ignore him.
Indeed you do not know the plans of god,
And should not weep for tomorrow;
10 Settle in the arms of the god,
Your silence will overthrow them.

Chapter 23

Do not eat in the presence of an official
And then set your mouth before <him>;
15 If you are sated pretend to chew,
Content yourself with your saliva.²³
Look at the bowl that is before you,
And let it serve your needs.
An official is great in his office,
20 As a well is rich in drawings of water.

Chapter 24

Do not listen to an official's reply indoors
XXIV.1 In order to repeat it to another outside.
Do not let your word be carried outside,
Lest your heart be aggrieved.
The heart of man is a gift²⁴ of god,
5 Beware of neglecting it.
The man at the side of an official,
His name should not be known.

Chapter 25

Do not laugh at a blind man,
Nor tease a dwarf,²⁵
10 Nor cause hardship for the lame.
Don't tease a man who is in the hand of the
god,²⁶
Nor be angry with him for his failings.
Man is clay and straw,
The god is his builder.
15 He tears down, he builds up daily,
He makes a thousand poor by his will,
He makes a thousand men into chiefs,
When he is in his hour of life.²⁷
Happy is he who reaches the west,
20 When he is safe in the hand of the god.

Chapter 26

Do not sit down in the beer-house
XXV.1 In order to join one greater than you,
Be he a youth great through his office,
Or be he an elder through birth.
Befriend a man of your own measure,
5 Re is helpful from afar.
If you see one greater than you outdoors,
Walk behind him respectfully;

h Prov
22:20-21

Give a hand to an elder sated with beer,
Respect him as his children would.
10 The arm is not hurt by being bared,²⁸
The back is not broken by bending it.
A man does not lose by speaking sweetly,
Nor does he gain if his speech bristles.
The pilot who sees from afar,
15 He will not wreck his boat.

Chapter 27

Do not revile one older than you,
He has seen Re before you;
Let <him> not report you to the Aten at
his rising,
20 Saying: "A youth has reviled an old man."
Very painful before Pre
XXVI.1 Is a youth who reviles an elder.
Let him beat you while your hand is on
your chest,
Let him revile you while you are silent;
If next day you come before him,
5 He will give you food in plenty.
A dog's food is from its master,
It barks to him who gives it.

Chapter 28

Do not pounce on a widow when you find
her in the fields²⁹
10 And then fail to be patient with her reply.
Do not refuse your oil jar to a stranger,
Double it before your brothers.
God prefers him who honors the poor
To him who worships the wealthy.

Chapter 29

Do not prevent people from crossing the
river,
If you stride freely in the ferry.³⁰
When you are given an oar in the midst of
the deep,
Bend your arms and take it.
20 It is no crime before the god,
XXVII.1 'If the passenger is not passed up'³¹
Don't make yourself a ferry on the river
And then strain to seek its fare;
Take the fare from him who is wealthy,
5 And let pass him who is poor.

Chapter 30

Look to these thirty chapters,^h
They inform, they educate;

²³ So following Polotsky 1973:140 n. 3.

²⁴ The Turin tablet has "gift" instead of the "nose" of the British Museum papyrus; see Posener 1966b:61-62.

²⁵ In the British Museum papyrus the two sentences appear as a single line but on the Turin tablet as two lines.

²⁶ Here in the special meaning of one who is ill or insane.

²⁷ Volten (1963:88) explained this to mean that the sun-god acts through the gods who are assigned to each hour of the day.

²⁸ I.e., stretching the arm out of the sleeve in a gesture of greeting. The same remark occurs in "Prahhotep," line 445/448.

²⁹ I.e., when you find her gleaning in fields not her own.

³⁰ I.e., when there is ample room in the ferry.

³¹ It is not clear whether *hwy* means "passenger" or "sailor"; in any case, the meaning is that the passenger should help with the rowing if asked to do so.

They are the foremost of all books, 10 They make the ignorant wise. If they are read to the ignorant, He is cleansed through them. Be filled with them, put them in your heart, And become a man who expounds them, 15 One who expounds as a teacher.	Prov 22:29	The scribe who is skilled in his office,ⁱ He is found worthy to be a courtier. <i>Colophon</i> That is its end. XXVIII.1 Written by Senu, son of the divine father Pemu.
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REFERENCES

Text: Budge 1923:9-18 and 41-51 and pls. 1-14; Lange 1925. Translation: Erman 1924b cols 241-252; Budge 1924:93-234; Griffith 1926:191-231; Lexa 1929:14-49; von Bissing 1955:80-90; *ANET* 421-424 (excerpts); Simpson, 1972:241-265; Grumach 1972; Lichtheim *AEL* 2:146-163. Discussion: Erman 1924 no.15; Simpson 1926:232-239; Humbert 1929 ch. 2; Williams 1961:100-106; Peterson 1966:120-128 and pls. xxxi-xxxia (the Stockholm fragment); Posener 1966:45-62 and pls. 1-2 (the three tablets); Anthes 1970:9-18; Posener 1973:129-135; Loprieno 1980:47-76; Ruffle 1977:29-68.

DUA-KHETY OR THE SATIRE ON THE TRADES (1.48)

Miriam Lichtheim

Like the other Instructions, this work has a prologue and an epilogue which frame the actual teaching and set its stage. A father conducts his young son to the residence in order to place him in school, and during the journey he instructs him in the duties and rewards of the scribal profession. In order to stress the amenities and advantages that accrue to the successful scribe, he contrasts the scribal career with the hardships of other trades and professions, eighteen of which are described in the most unflattering terms.

Ever since Maspero called this Instruction "Satire des Métiers," scholars have understood it to be a satire, that is to say, a deliberately derisive characterization of all trades other than the scribal profession. Helck, however, in his new edition of the text has denied its satiric character and has claimed it to be a wholly serious, non-humorous work. I continue to think of it as a satire. What are the stylistic means of satire? Exaggeration and a lightness of tone designed to induce laughter and a mild contempt. Our text achieves its satirical effects by exaggerating the true hardships of the professions described, and by suppressing all their positive and rewarding aspects.

If it were argued that the exaggerations were meant to be taken seriously we would have to conclude that the scribal profession practiced deliberate deception out of a contempt for manual labor so profound as to be unrelieved by humor. Such a conclusion is, however, belied by all the literary and pictorial evidence. For tomb reliefs and texts alike breathe joy and pride in the accomplishments of labor. Moreover, the principal didactic works, such as Ptahhotep and the Eloquent Peasant, teach respect for all labor.

In short, the unrelievedly negative descriptions of the laboring professions are examples of humor in the service of literary satire. The result is obtained through unflattering comparisons and through exaggerations that rise to outright fabrications. What if not a fabrication for the sake of caricature is a bird-catcher who does not have a net — the very tool of his trade? What if not a caricature is a potter who is compared to a grubbing pig, a cobbler whose hides are termed "corpses," a courier terrorized out of his wits by the dangers of the road, and a fisherman blinded by his fear of crocodiles?

The text is preserved entirely in P. Sallier II, and partially in P. Anastasi VII (both in the British Museum), both of which were written by the same Nineteenth Dynasty scribe. Small portions are preserved on an Eighteenth Dynasty writing board in the Louvre, the Eighteenth Dynasty P. Amherst in the Pierpont Morgan Library, P. Chester Beatty XIX of the British Museum, and numerous, mostly Ramesside, ostraca.

Though ample, the textual transmission is exceedingly corrupt. Helck's comprehensive new edition has advanced the understanding considerably. But the corruptions are so numerous and so extreme that there remains much room for differing conjectures and interpretations.

(3.9) Beginning of the Instruction made by the man of Sile, ¹ whose name is 'Dua-khety', ² for his son, called Pepi, as he journeyed south (4.1)	to the residence, to place him in the school for scribes, among the sons of magistrates, with the elite of the residence. He said to him:
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¹ *Tꜣn*, or *Tꜣrw*, i.e., Sile, the border fortress in the eastern Delta.

² Three manuscripts write the name as "Khety, son of Duauf," two write "Dua-Khety"; a sixth gives yet another form. Helck has adopted Seibert's preference for "Dua-Khety." Brunner 1969:71, has reaffirmed his support for "Khety, son of Duauf."

I have seen many beatings —
Set your heart on books!
I watched those seized for labor —
There's nothing better than books!
It's like a boat on water.

Read the end of the *Kemit-Book*,³
You'll find this saying there:
A scribe at whatever post in town,
He will not suffer in it;
As he fills another's need,
He will 'not lack rewards'.
I don't see a calling like it
Of which this saying could be (5) said.

I'll make you love scribedom more than your
mother,
I'll make its beauties stand before you;
It's the greatest of all callings,
There's none like it in the land.

Barely grown, still a child,
He is greeted, sent on errands,
Hardly returned he wears a gown.
I never saw a sculptor as envoy,
Nor is a goldsmith ever sent;
But I have seen the smith at work
At the opening of his furnace;
With fingers like claws of a crocodile
He stinks more than fish roe.

The carpenter who wields an adze,
He is wearier than a field-laborer;
His field is the timber, his hoe the adze.
There is no end to his labor,
He does more (5.1) than his arms can do,
Yet at night he kindles light.
The jewel-maker bores with his chisel⁴
In hard stone of all kinds;
When he has finished the inlay of the eye,
His arms are spent, he's weary;
Sitting down when the sun goes down,
His knees and back are cramped.

The barber barbers till nightfall,
He betakes himself to town,⁵
He sets himself up in his corner,
He moves from street to street,
Looking for someone to barber.
He strains his arms to fill his belly,

(5) Like the bee that eats as it works.

The reed-cutter travels to the Delta to get ar-
rows;
When he has done more than his arms can
do,
Mosquitoes have slain him,
Gnats have slaughtered him,
He is quite worn out.

The potter is under the soil,
Though as yet among the living;
He grubs in the mud more than a pig,
In order to fire his pots.
His clothes are stiff with clay,
His girdle is in shreds;
If air enters his nose,
It comes straight from the fire.
He makes a pounding with his feet,
And is himself crushed;⁶
He grubs the yard of every house
And roams the public places.

(6.1) I'll describe to you also the mason:
His loins give him pain;
Though he is out in the wind,
He works without a cloak;
His loincloth is a twisted rope
And a string in the rear.⁷
His arms are spent from exertion,
Having mixed all kinds of dirt;
When he eats bread [with] his fingers,
'He has washed at the same time'.⁸

The carpenter also suffers much⁸

.....
The room measures ten by six cubits.
A month passes after the beams are laid,
.....

And all its work is done.
(5) The food which he gives to his house-
hold,
It does not 'suffice' for his children.

The gardener carries a yoke,
His shoulders are bent as with age;
There's a swelling on his neck
And it festers.
In the morning he waters vegetables,
The evening he spends with the herbs,⁹

³ A book of Instructions, the fragments of which were published by Posener 1972 2:pls. 1-25; see also Posener 1956:4-6.

⁴ Eg. *Ms-^cr*. Brunner, "Steinmetz," Wilson, "fashioner of costly stones," Seibert, "Schmuckarbeiter," and Helck, "Juwelier." The activity of this craftsman is described by the verb *whb* in *DM* 1014, which means "to bore." The conjecture that *mnh* means "to string beads" lacks support, for in *Admonitions* 3.3 Gardiner merely took it to mean "to fasten."

⁵ Emending *m^cyt* to *dwyt*, as proposed by Vandier 1949:15.

⁶ The pounding with the feet that occurred in pottery making was in the initial molding of the clay prior to its being shaped by hand. I see no occasion for the conjectured pounding tools.

⁷ This seems to refer to the narrow strip of cloth tied in front, with its ends hanging down to cover the genitals, which was worn by some laborers. The dangling ends were sometimes tucked into the waistband or turned to the back. The resulting nudity may have aroused the derision of the well-dressed scribes.

⁸ As Helck pointed out, this section deals with the carpenter. Unfortunately it is very obscure.

⁹ A meaning broader than "coriander" is indicated for *j²w*. In the sun-temple of Ni-user-re, *j²w* is a water plant eaten by fish; see Edel 1961-1964:217.

While at noon he has toiled in the orchard.
He works himself to death
More than all other professions.

The farmer wails more than the guinea fowl,
His voice is louder than a raven's;
His fingers are swollen
And stink to excess.
He is weary

... (7.1) ...

He is well if one's well among lions.¹⁰

.....

When he reaches home at night,
The march has worn him out.

The weaver¹¹ in the workshop,
He is worse off than a woman;
With knees against his chest,
He cannot breathe air.
If he skips a day of weaving,
He is beaten fifty strokes;
He gives food to the doorkeeper,
To let him see the light of day.

The arrow-maker suffers much
As he goes out (5) to the desert;
More is what he gives his donkey
Than the work it does for him.
Much is what he gives the herdsmen,
So they'll put him on his way.
When he reaches home at night,
The march has worn him out.

The courier¹² goes into the desert,
Leaving his goods to his children;
Fearful of lions and Asiatics,
He knows himself (only) when he's in Egypt.
When he reaches home at night,
The march has worn him out;
Be his home of cloth or brick,
His return is joyless.¹³

The 'stoker', his fingers are foul,
Their smell is that of corpses;
His eyes are inflamed by much smoke,
(8.1) He cannot get rid of his dirt.
He spends the day cutting reeds,
His clothes are loathsome to him.

The cobbler suffers much
Among his vats of oil;
He is well if one's well with corpses,
What he bites is leather.

The washerman washes on the shore
With the crocodile as neighbor;
[“Father, leave the flowing water,”]
Say his son, his daughter,
[It is not a job that satisfies]

.....

His food is mixed with dirt,
No limb of his is clean
[He is given] (5) women's clothes,

.....

He weeps as he spends the day at his wash-
board

.....

One says to him, “Soiled linen for you,”

.....

The bird-catcher suffers much
As he watches out for birds;
When the swarms pass over him,
He keeps saying, “Had I a net!”
But the god grants it not,
And he's angry with his lot.

I'll speak of the fisherman also,
His is the worst of all the jobs;
He labors on the river,
Mingling with crocodiles.
When the time of reckoning comes,
He is full of lamentations;
He does not say, “There's a (9.1) croco-
dile,”

Fear has made him blind.
[Coming from] the flowing water
He says, “Mighty god!”

See, there's no profession without a boss,
Except for the scribe; he is the boss.
Hence if you know writing,
It will do better for you
Than those professions I've set before you,
Each more wretched than the other.¹⁴
A peasant is not called a man,
Beware of it!

Lo, what I do in journeying to the residence,
Lo,¹⁵ I do it for love of you.
The day in school will profit you
Its works are for ever ...

.....

I'll tell you also other things,
So as to teach you knowledge.
Such as: if a quarrel breaks out,

¹⁰ This rendering, which is Brunner's, was rejected by Seibert and Helck but seems to me the right one. The sentences following it are extremely obscure.

¹¹ Or specifically, the “mat-weaver.”

¹² Eg. *Šḫꜣḫꜣty*. Brunner, “Eilbote,” Helck, “Karawanenträger.” A member of a caravan would have much less reason to be frightened than a lone courier.

¹³ This was Brunner's tentative rendering and seems to me the best guess.

¹⁴ I emend to: *mk ky iry ḥwrr r iry.f*.

¹⁵ Connective iterated *mk*, as also in the first poem of the “Dispute between a Man and His Ba,” and in the “Prophecies of Neferti” (see there n. 2).

Do not approach the contenders!
 If you are chided
 And don't know how to repel the heat,
 'Call the listeners to witness',
 And delay the answer.

When you walk behind officials,
 Follow at a proper distance.
 When you enter a man's house,
 And he's busy with someone before you,
 Sit with your hand over your mouth.
 Do not ask him for anything,
 Only do as he tells you,
 Beware of rushing to the table!

Be weighty and very dignified,
 Do not speak of (10.1) secret things,
 Who hides his thought¹⁶ shields himself.
 Do not say things recklessly,
 When you sit with one who's hostile.
 If you leave the schoolhouse
 When midday is called,
 And go roaming in the streets,
 'All will scold you in the end'.¹⁷
 When an official sends you with a message,
 Tell it as he told it,
 Don't omit, don't add to it.¹⁸
 He who neglects to praise,
 His name will not endure;
 He who is skilled in all his conduct,
 From him nothing is hidden,
 He is not 'opposed' anywhere.

Do not tell lies (5) against your mother,
 The magistrates abhor it.
 The descendant who does what is good,
 His actions all emulate the past.

Do not consort with a rowdy,
 It harms you when one hears of it.
 If you have eaten three loaves,
 Drunk two jugs of beer,
 And the belly is not sated, restrain it!
 When another eats, don't stand there,
 Beware of rushing to the table!
 It is good if you are sent out often,
 And hear the magistrates speak.
 You should acquire the manner of the well-
 born,¹⁹
 As you follow in their steps.
 The scribe is regarded as one who hears,
 For the hearer becomes a doer.
 You should rise when you are addressed,
 Your feet should hurry when you go;
 'Do not' (11.1) 'trust'.
 Associate with men of distinction,
 Befriend a man of your generation.

Lo, I have set you on god's path,
 A scribe's Renenet²⁰ is on his shoulder
 On the day he is born.
 When he attains the council chamber,
 The court
 Lo, no scribe is short of food
 And of riches from the palace.
 The Meskhenet assigned to the scribe,
 She promotes him in the council.
 Praise god for your father, your mother,
 Who set you on the path of life!
 This is what I put before you,
 Your children and their children.

Colophon

(5) It has come to a happy conclusion.

¹⁶ Lit., "his belly."

¹⁷ In this garbled passage I chose the reading of *DM* 1039, emending only *bw nk* to *bw nb*.

¹⁸ Cp. the eighth maxim of the Instruction of Ptahhotep, see Lichtheim *AEL* 1:65.

¹⁹ Lit., "the children of people," which is the plural counterpart of the term *s' s*, "son of man."

²⁰ Renenet (Thermuthis) was a goddess of bounty and good luck. She was frequently associated with the goddess Meskhenet who presided over births.

REFERENCES

Text: Budge 1910:pls. 65-73. Brunner 1944; Helck 1970. Translation: Erman 1927:67-72; Van de Walle 1949:244-256; *ANET* 432-434; Lichtheim *AEL* 1:184-192; Studies: Piankoff 1933:51-74; Théodorides 1958-1960:39-69; Van de Walle 1947:50-72;11; Seibert 1967:99-192.

4. LOVE POEMS

The extant Egyptian love song texts all date from the 19th dynasty (ca. 1305-1200 BCE) and the early 20th dynasty (ca. 1200-1150 BCE). The songs' composition too seems to date from the Ramesside period. They are collected on large papyri or inscribed on ostraca. They are sometimes labelled "Entertainment" (lit. "diverting the heart") and probably served to entertain guests at banquets. Numerous tomb murals show musicians singing to the guests and urging them to "divert" their hearts.

The sex of the speakers is indicated by grammatical gender. They all seem to be adolescents living under their parents' control. For a hieroglyphic transcription, translation, commentary, see Fox (1985). The numbering in

the following is according to the numeration in Fox 1985 (see 5-7). Some of the following are stanzas extracted from longer songs. The translation below presupposes some minor emendations and supplies some pronouns and minor connectives.

PAPYRUS HARRIS 500 (1.49)

Michael V. Fox

BM 10060 (*HPBM* 2, pls. XLI-XLVI). The manuscript is a sort of literary anthology, containing two stories ("The Doomed Prince" and "The Capture of Joppa"), a mortuary song (the "Harper's Song") and three groups of love songs.

(Girl) (Number 4) My heart is not yet done with your love, my wolf cub!^a Your liquor is your lovemaking.^{1 b} I will not abandon it until blows drive me away to spend my days in the marshes, (or) to the land of Syria with sticks and rods, to the land of Nubia with palms, to the highlands with switches, to the lowlands with cudgels. I will not listen to their advice.²	a Cant 2:15 b Cant 5:1; 8:2b c Cant 2:5; 5:8 d Cant 7:9	your love captured me.⁶ (Girl) (Number 11) The goose soars and alights: while the ordinary birds circle, he has disturbed the garden.⁷ ... I am excited (?) by your love⁸ alone. My heart is in balance with your heart.⁹ May I never be far from your beauty! (Girl) (Number 12) I have departed [from my brother]. [Now when I think of] your love, my heart stands still within me. When I behold sw[et] cakes, [they seem like] salt. Pomegranate wine, (once) sweet in my mouth — it is (now) like the gall of birds. The scent of your nose alone^{10 d} is what revives my heart. I have obtained forever and ever what Amun has granted me.¹¹ (Girl) (Number 13) The most beautiful thing has come to pass! My heart [desires] (to tend) your property (?) as the mistress of your house, while your arm rests on my arm, for my love has surrounded you. I say to my heart within me in prayer:
(Boy) (Number 6) I will lie down inside, and then I will feign illness. Then my neighbors will enter to see, and then my sister³ will come with them. She'll put the doctors to shame for she (alone) will understand my illness.^{4 c}		
(Girl) (Number 10) The voice of the goose cries out, as he's trapped by the bait. Your love restrains me, so that I can't release it. I'll take my nets⁵, but what shall I say to Mother, to whom I go every day laden down with birds? I set no trap today —		

¹ I.e., your lovemaking is what intoxicates me. The word for lovemaking, *dd*, with the phallus determinative, is a semiticism cognate to Hebrew *dodim*. It refers to acts of erotic love, from caresses to intercourse.

² "They" — her family, perhaps, or the society about her — try to separate the girl from her lover, but she defies them. For the motif of hostile surroundings compare the brothers in Cant 1:6 and (more severely) the watchmen in 5:7. For the maiden's defiance cf. Cant 8:5b-7.

³ "Brother" (*sn*) and "sister" (*sn*) are common epithets of endearment. In the Song of Songs, only the latter is used.

⁴ The boy plans a ruse to get his beloved to visit him. But his feigned sickness may be a reality: love-sickness, which cannot be cured by physicians; cf. numbers 21F, 32, 37. *Mr* "sickness" may be a pun on *mrwt* "love."

⁵ The net is the girl's hair. *snw* represents consonantal homonyms meaning "garden," "hair," and "net" (number 10); cf. Cant 7:6.

⁶ The "love trap" theme. The girl has set out her bird traps (a favorite activity portrayed in tomb murals) and has caught a goose, yet she has no birds to take home that evening. The trapped goose is the youth, and she herself is ensnared in love. Several poems play on the love-trap theme; e.g. P. Chester Beatty I (text 1.51, no. 43 below).

⁷ *snw*; see n. 5. Here, the garden is the girl herself; cf. Cant 4:12-5:1a.

⁸ "Your love" here and elsewhere may mean "you" or "your lovemaking" and well as "your love for me."

⁹ That is, we feel the same way. The image of "balance" (*mh*), used also in numbers 17 and 20A, suggests an equal and mutual emotion.

¹⁰ Love paralyzes and confuses both in presence (Cant 2:5) and in absence (as here and in nos. 6, 34, and 37). "Scent of your nose" (as in Cant 7:9) may refer to the practice of nose kissing. The Eg. word for "kiss" is, in fact, written with a nose-determinative.

¹¹ I have obtained what the god Amun determined as my lot, namely your love.

["Give me] my prince tonight,¹² or I am like one who lies in her grave!" For are you not health and life itself? The approach [of your face will give me joy for your health, for my heart seeks you. <i>The Beginning of the Song of Entertainment</i>¹³ (Girl) (Number 17) <i>Mhmh</i>-flowers: my heart is in balance¹⁴ with yours. For you I'll do what it wills, when I'm in your embrace. It is my prayer that paints my eyes. Seeing you has brightened my eyes. I've drawn near you to see your love, O prince of my heart!¹⁵ How lovely is my hour (with you)! This hour flows forth for me forever — it began when I lay with you. In sorrow and in joy, you have exalted my heart. Do not [leave] me.	e Cant 4:12-5:1	(Girl) (Number 18) In it are s^{c2}m-trees; before them one is exalted¹⁶: I am your favorite girl.¹⁷ I am yours like the field planted with flowers and with all sorts of fragrant plants.¹⁸ e Pleasant is the canal within it, which your hand scooped out, while we cooled ourselves in the north wind: a lovely place for strolling about, with your hand upon mine! My body is satisfied, and my heart rejoices in our walking about together. To hear your voice is pomegranate wine (to me): I draw life from hearing it. Could I see you with every glance, it would be better for me than to eat or to drink.
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¹² Lovers speak of themselves and each other as royal or noble because of the way they feel. The youth is a "prince" in her affections, a "prince of my heart" (number 17), while the maiden is the Mistress of the Two Lands, i.e. the queen of Egypt (number 8), when she is with her beloved. The references to royalty (1:4a, 12; 3:7-11) and nobility (7:2) in the Song of Songs can be understood similarly.

¹³ This is the title given a song of three stanzas, each one opening with a pun on the name of a flower. "Entertainment" (*shmh ib*), cf. number 31, is lit., "making the heart forget" or "diverting the heart."

¹⁴ Eg. *mh*². See n. 9.

¹⁵ See n. 12.

¹⁶ Eg. s^{c2}, playing on s^{c2}m.

¹⁷ Lit. "foremost sister."

¹⁸ The girl is likened to a garden; see n. 7. The flowers are, perhaps, her perfumes.

CAIRO LOVE SONGS (1.50)

(Deir el-Medineh 1266 + Cairo cat. 25218; Posener 1972)

Michael V. Fox

The following are stanzas from the second of two seven-stanza love songs (numbers 21A-21G) written on a vase, now shattered.¹

(Boy) (Number 21A) If only I were her Nubian maid, her attendant in secret! She brings her [a bowl of] mandragoras ... It is in her hand, while she gives pleasure. In other words: she would grant me the hue of her whole body. (Boy) (Number 21B) If only I were the laundryman of my sister's linen garment		even for one month! I would be strengthened by grasping [the clothes] that touch her body. For it would be I who washed out the moringa oils that are in her kerchief. Then I'd rub my body with her cast-off garments, and she ... [Oh I would be in] joy and delight, my [bo]dy vigorous!
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¹ In each stanza of this song the youth expresses a wish to be something in close contact with the beloved, something that can touch and see her. The wish theme appears elsewhere in Eg. love poetry (numbers 7, 38-40) and in Cant 8:1-2.

(Boy) (Number 21C) If only I were her little seal-ring, the keeper of her finger! ^f	f Cant 8:6	I would see her love ² each and every day, ... [and it would be I who] stole her heart ...
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² I.e., her.

PAPYRUS CHESTER BEATTY I (1.51)
(Gardiner 1931)

Michael V. Fox

A large papyrus containing three groups of love songs, the tale of "Horus and Seth," two hymns to the king, and a short business note.

From Pap. Chester Beatty I, C1,1-C5,2; the first group of love songs.

The Beginning of the Sayings of the Great Entertainer¹ (Boy) (Number 31) One alone is my sister, having no peer: more gracious than all other women. Behold her, like Sothis² rising at the beginning of a good year: shining, precious, white of skin, lovely of eyes when gazing. Sweet her lips when speaking: she has no excess of words. Long of neck, white of breast, her hair true lapis lazuli. Her arms surpass gold, her fingers are like lotuses. Full (?) her derrière, narrow (?) her waist, her thighs carry on her beauties. Lovely of walk when she strides on the ground, she has captured my heart in her embrace.³ She makes the heads of all men turn about when seeing her. Fortunate is whoever embraces her — he is like the foremost of lovers. Her coming forth appears like (that of) the one yonder — the Unique One.^{3 h}	g Cant 4:9 h Cant 4:1-7; 4:9-15; 5:10-16; 6:4-10; 7:2-10a	(Girl) (Number 32) <i>Second Stanza</i> My brother roils my heart with his voice, making me take ill. Though he is among the neighbors of my mother's house, I cannot go to him. Mother is right to command me thus: "Avoid seeing him!" Yet my heart is vexed when he comes to mind, for love of him has captured me. He is senseless of heart — and I am just like him! He does not know my desires to embrace him, or he would send word to my mother. O brother, I am decreed for you by the Golden One.⁴ Come to me that I may see your beauty! May father and mother be glad! May all people rejoice in you together, rejoice in you, my brother!⁵ ... (Girl) (Number 34) <i>Fourth Stanza</i> My heart quickly scurries away⁶ when I think of your love.

¹ The feminine participle (*šmḥt ib* [Ⓢ]) suggests that the composer was a woman, a professional singer. In this song, each stanza after the first is labelled *hwt* (lit., "house") and numbered. Each stanza begins and ends with a word playing on the stanza-number. A similar device is used in a hymn to Amun from the same period.

The stanzas alternate between the boy and the girl, who are speaking to their hearts, not to each other. The underlying story is that the youth passed by the maiden's house and they fell in love with each other. Later, she passed by his house when walking with her mother. But the young lovers never got together to declare their love and make it public.

² The star Sirius, whose rising was supposed to occur in conjunction with the rise of the Nile and to bring fertility to the land.

³ That is, Sothis-Sirius, who "goes forth" every year. The first stanza is a praise song enumerating the beloved's beauties approximately from head to foot.

⁴ Hathor, goddess of love.

⁵ Cf. numbers 36, 54. Compare the Shulammite's wish that her love will become public and accepted, Cant 8:1.

⁶ The Egyptians often spoke of the heart as an independent entity and pictured it that way. The heart "goes forth" or "flees" to the object of its longing. In this stanza, the girl has a little argument with her heart.

It does not let me act like a (normal) person —
 it has leapt from its place.
 It does not let me don a tunic;
 I cannot put on my cloak.
 I cannot apply paint to my eyes;
 I cannot anoint myself at all!
 "Don't stop until you get inside" —
 thus it says to me, whenever I think of him.
 O my heart, don't make me foolish!
 Why do you act crazy?
 Sit still, cool down, until (my) brother comes
 to you,
 when I shall do many such things (?).
 Don't let people say about me:
 "This woman has collapsed out of love."⁷
 Stand firm whenever you think of him,
 my heart, and scurry not away.

i Cant 8:1b

Then I could hurry to my brother
 and kiss him before his company,
 and not be ashamed because of anyone.⁹
 I would be happy to have them see
 that you know me,
 and I'd hold festival to my goddess.
 My heart leaps up to go forth
 to make me gaze on my brother tonight.
 How lovely it is to pass by!

(Boy) (Number 37)

Seventh Stanza

Seven whole days I have not seen my sister.
 Illness has invaded me,
 my limbs have grown heavy,
 and I barely sense my own body.
 Should the master physicians come to me,
 their medicines could not ease my heart.
 The lector-priests have no (good) method,
 because my illness cannot be diagnosed.
 Telling me, "Here she is!" — that's what will
 revive me.
 Her name — that's what will get me up.
 The coming and going of her messengers —
 that's what will revive my heart.
 More potent than any medicine is my sister
 for me;
 she is more powerful for me than the
 Compendium.¹⁰
 Her coming in from outside is my
 amulet.
 I see her — then I become healthy.
 She opens her eyes — my limbs grow
 young.
 She speaks — then I become strong.
 I hug her — and she drives illness from me.
 But she has left me for seven days.¹¹

(Girl) (Number 36)

Sixth Stanza

I⁸ passed close by his house,
 and found his door ajar.
 My brother was standing beside his mother,
 and with him all his kin.
 Love of him captures the heart
 of all who stride upon the way —
 a precious youth without peer!
 A brother excellent of character!
 He gazed at me when I passed by,
 but I exult by myself.
 How joyful my heart in rejoicing,
 my brother, since I (first) beheld you!
 If only mother knew my heart —
 she would go inside for a while.
 O Golden One, put that in her heart!

This song is from another group of seven independent songs on the Papyrus Chester Beatty I (ro. 16,9-17:13; nos. 41-47) that are ascribed to the scribe Nakhtsobek.

(Boy) (Number 43)

How skilled is she — my sister — at casting
 the lasso,
 yet she'll draw in no cattle!¹²

With her hair¹³ she lassos me,
 with her eye she pulls me in,
 with her thighs she binds,
 with her seal she sets the brand.¹⁴

⁷ See P. Harris 500 (text 1.49, n. 4 above).

⁸ The text has "he passed," an error.

⁹ Cf. n. 5.

¹⁰ A medical text.

¹¹ See P. Harris 500 (text 1.49, n. 4 above).

¹² A difficult line. This rendering takes *ms* as an aural error for *ms* "bring" and *irw* as a variant of *iry* "cow."

¹³ *šnw*; see P. Harris 500 (text 1.49, n. 5).

¹⁴ The young lady lassoes not cattle but the youth. Cf. the "love trap" in P. Harris 500 (text 1.49, no. 10 above). The sexual allusions are transparent.

OSTRACON GARDINER 304 (1.52)

Recto (HO I, 38)*Michael V. Fox*

A number of ostraca, mostly written as school exercises, hold love songs or phrases typical of love songs. This ostrakon dates to the reign of Ramses III (ca. 1182-1151 BCE).

(Boy) (Number 54)

My sister's love is in the ...
 Her necklace is of flowers;
 her bones are reeds.
 Her little seal-ring is [on her finger],
 her lotus in her hand.

J Cant 8:1

k Cant 4:9

I kiss [her] before everyone,
 that they may see my love.¹ J
 Indeed it is she who captures my heart,^k
 when she looks at me,
 I am refreshed.

¹ See P. Chester Beatty I (text 1.51, n. 5) above.

REFERENCES

Texts and translations: Fox 1985; Gardiner 1931; Schott 1950.

5. PSEUDEPIGRAPHIA

THE FAMINE STELA (1.53)

(On Sehel Island)

Miriam Lichtheim

The inscription is carved in thirty-two columns on the face of a granite rock where it was given the shape of a rectangular stela. The rock face is split by a broad horizontal fissure, which already existed when the inscription was carved. After the carving, further ruptures occurred in the rock, and they have caused a number of textual lacunae. Above the text is a relief scene showing King Djoser offering to Khnum-Re, Satis, and Anukis, the gods of the cataract region.

The stela purports to be a decree by King Djoser of the Third Dynasty addressed to a "Governor of the South" at Elephantine. In it the king informs the governor that, distressed over the country's seven-year famine, he had consulted a priest of Imhotep. After a study of the sacred books, the priest had informed him in detail about the temple of Khnum at Elephantine, and how Khnum controlled the inundation. The priest had also named to him all the minerals, precious stones, and building stones found in the border region. In the following night the king had seen Khnum in his dream, and the god had promised him an end to the famine. In gratitude to the god, the king now issues a decree granting to the temple of Khnum of Elephantine a share of all the revenue derived from the region extending from Elephantine south to Takompso, a distance of "twelve *iter*." In addition, a share of all Nubian imports was to be given to the temple. The governor was charged with carrying out the decree.

In its present form, the text is undoubtedly a work of the Ptolemaic period. Some scholars have surmised that it was based on a genuine Old Kingdom decree from the time of Djoser. Others take it to be a complete fiction. In any case, the text puts forth a claim to revenue on behalf of the Khnum temple of Elephantine.

Who stood behind this claim? According to P. Barguet, it was Ptolemy V who issued the decree as a means of proclaiming Ptolemaic control of this Nubian region. H. de Meulenaere countered this suggestion by asking whether the "governor of the south," who bore the non-Egyptian name Mesir, may not have been a Nubian chief ruling the area in defiance of the Ptolemaic king. The most plausible hypothesis, it seems to me, is the one that sees the inscription as the work of the priesthood of the Khnum temple, who were anxious to strengthen their privileges in the face of the encroaching claims made by the clergy of Isis of Philae.

The extent of the "12-*iter* land" or, Dodekaschoinos, has also been much discussed, for the location of Takompso, its southern limit, is not known, and the length of the *iter* appears to have varied. The problem now seems to have been settled in favor of an *iter* usually averaging 10.5 km, except for a much shorter *iter* indicated by the boundary stelae of Akhenaten at El-Amarna. Thus, the "12-*iter* land" would designate the northern half of Lower Nubia, extending south from Elephantine for a length of about eighty miles.

Barguet's good edition has greatly advanced the understanding of this difficult text. There remain a number of problems and uncertainties.

(1) Year 18 of Horus: *Neterkhet*; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: *Neterkhet*; Two Ladies: *Neterkhet*; Gold-Horus: *Djoser*; under the Count, Prince, Governor of the domains of the South, Chief of the Nubians in Yebu, Mesir.¹ There was brought to him this royal decree. To let you know:

I was in mourning on my throne,
Those of the palace were in grief,
My heart was in great affliction,
Because Hapy had failed to come in time
In a period of seven years.²

Grain was scant,
Kernels were dried up,
Scarce was every kind of food.
Every man robbed (3) his twin,³
Those who entered did not go.⁴
Children cried,
Youngsters fell,
The hearts of the old were grieving;
Legs drawn up, they hugged the ground,
Their arms clasped about them.
Courtiers were needy,
Temples were shut,
Shrines covered with dust,
Everyone was in distress.

I directed my heart to turn to the past,
I consulted one of the staff of the Ibis,
The chief lector-priest of Imhotep,
Son of Ptah South-of-his-Wall;⁵
"In which place is Hapy born?
Which is the town of the Sinuous one?
Which god dwells there?
That he might join with (5) me."

^a Gen 41:25-32

He stood "I shall go to Mansion-of-the-Net,⁶
[it is designed to support a man in his deeds]⁷

I shall enter the House of Life,
Unroll the Souls of Re,⁸
I shall be guided by them."

He departed, he returned to me quickly,
He let me know the flow of Hapy,
[His shores] and all the things they contain.
He disclosed to me the hidden wonders,
To which the ancestors had made their way,
And no king had equaled them since.

He said to me:

"There is a town in the midst of the deep,
Surrounded by Hapy, (7) Yebu by name;
It is first of the first,
First nome to Wawat,⁹
Earthly elevation, celestial hill,
Seat of Re when he prepares
To give life to every face.
Its temple's name is 'Joy-of-life,'
'Twin Caverns' is the water's name,
They are the breasts that nourish all.

It is the house of sleep of Hapy,¹⁰
He grows young in it in [his time],
[It is the place whence] he brings the flood:
Bounding up he copulates,
As man copulates with woman,
Renewing his manhood with joy;
Coursing twenty-eight cubits high,
He passes Sema-behdet (9) at seven.¹¹
Khnum is the god [who rules] there,
[He is enthroned above the deep],¹²
His sandals resting on the flood;

¹ The reading of the name is not quite certain, and the name is probably not an Eg. one.

² When the inscription was first published, the description of a seven year famine was believed to be connected with the biblical story of a seven-year famine in Egypt (Gen 41). Since then it has been shown that a tradition of seven years of famine was widespread in the literatures of the ancient Near East; see Gordon 1953:79-81. Hapy is the deified Nile.

³ Barguet 1953a:15, took *htr* to be the word for "revenue," while I take it to be the word for "twin."

⁴ The meaning seems to be that those who had entered a house were too weak to leave it again.

⁵ The "staff of the Ibis" designates the corporation of scribes whose patron was Thoth. As Barguet (1953a:16) pointed out, the king consults a priest of Imhotep, not the god Imhotep himself, as previous translators had thought. The earlier view is argued by Wildung 1977:149-152.

⁶ *Hwt-ibt.t*, the "Mansion of the Net," appears to have been a name for the temple of Thoth at Hermopolis Magna. The logic of the tale would seem to require that the king's consultation with the priest of Imhotep takes place in the capital, i.e., at Memphis, which was also the cult center of Imhotep. Since the priest is said to have returned "quickly," or "immediately," poetic license might stretch this to include a quick trip from Memphis to Hermopolis, but surely not a voyage to the Khnum temple of Elephantine. Hence the "Mansion of the Net," if it does not here refer to the temple of Hermopolis, could only designate a sanctuary in, or close to, Memphis.

⁷ A somewhat obscure sentence which rendered literally would be: "gathered for the steadfastness of everyone for what they do," which I take to refer to the sanctuary, whereas Barguet construed it as referring to the priest.

⁸ The "Souls of Re" are the sacred books kept in the temple's "House of Life."

⁹ I.e., Elephantine, in the first nome of Upper Egypt, faces toward Lower Nubia (Wawat).

¹⁰ The passage gives the traditional view that the inundation rose from twin caverns at Elephantine.

¹¹ I.e., by the time the inundation has reached the Delta town of Sema-behdet, the metropolis of the 17th nome of Lower Egypt, its height of twenty-eight cubits above low water has diminished to seven cubits.

¹² I have restored the lacuna merely to indicate that some such meaning is required. It is Khnum, the creator, who releases Hapy, the inundating Nile.

He holds the door bolt in his hand,
 Opens the gate as he wishes.
 He is eternal there as Shu,¹³
 Bounty-giver, Lord-of-fields,
 So his name is called.
 He has reckoned the land of the South and the
 North,¹⁴
 To give parts to every god;
 It is he who governs barley, [emmer],
 Fowl and fish and all one lives on.
 Cord and scribal board are there,
 The pole is there with its beam
¹⁵
 (11) His temple opens southeastward,
 Re rises in its face every day;
 Its water rages on its south for an *iter*,
 A wall against the Nubians each day.¹⁶
 There is a mountain massif in its eastern
 region,
 With precious stones and quarry stones of all
 kinds,
 All the things sought for building temples
 In Egypt, South and North,¹⁷
 And stalls for sacred animals,
 And palaces for kings,
 All statues too that stand in temples and in
 shrines."

"Their gathered products are set before the face
 of Khnum and around him; likewise (13) tall
 plants and flowers of all kinds that exist between

Yebu and Senmut,¹⁸ and are there on the east and
 the west."

"There is in the midst of the river — covered by
 water at its annual flood — a place of relaxation
 for every man who works the stones on its two
 sides."

"There is in the river, before this town of Yebu,
 a central elevation of difficult body which is
 called *grf-bw*."¹⁹

"Learn the names of the gods and goddesses of
 the temple of Khnum: Satis, Anukis, Hapy, Shu,
 Geb, Nut, Osiris, Horus, Isis, Nephthys."

"Learn the names of (15) the stones that are
 there, lying in the borderland:²⁰ those that are in
 the east and the west, those [on the shores] of
 Yebu's canal, those in Yebu, those in the east
 and west, and those in the river: *bhn*,²¹ *mt*²²,²²
mhbtb,²³ *r^cgs*, *wšy*²⁴ in the east; *prdn*²⁵ in the
 west; *tšy*²⁶ in the west and in the river."

"The names of the precious stones of the quarries
 that are in the upper region — some among them
 at a distance of four *iter* — are: gold, silver,
 copper, iron, lapis lazuli, turquoise, *thnt*,²⁷ red
 jasper, *k^c*,²⁸ *mnw*,²⁹ emerald,³⁰ *tm-ikr*.³¹ In
 addition, *nšmt*,³² *t^c-mhy*,³³ *hm^cgt*,³⁴ (17) *ibht*,³⁵
bks-nh,³⁶ green eye-paint, black eye-paint,
 carnelian,³⁷ *shrt*,³⁸ *mm*,³⁹ and ochre⁴⁰ are within
 this township."

¹³ The identification of Khnum with Shu also occurs in other texts of the Ptolemaic period, notably at Esna.

¹⁴ Lit., "the land of Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt."

¹⁵ Despite Barguet's explanation I fail to understand the words used to describe the instrument, its location, and its relation to Shu. Barguet 1953a:20-21 translated: "Il y a là un support de bois et sa croix faite de poutres *swt*, pour son poisson, qui sont sur la rive; à cela est affecté Chou, fils de Re, en tant que 'maître de largesse'," and he discussed the instrument further in *CdE* 28 1953:223-227.

¹⁶ I.e., the first cataract of the Nile, which was an effective boundary throughout Egypt's history.

¹⁷ Lit., "temples of Upper and Lower Egypt."

¹⁸ The island of Biggah, south of Elephantine and opposite Philae.

¹⁹ The two elevations described here, a pleasant one and a difficult one, have been identified with the "two mountains called Crophi and Mophi," mentioned in Herodotus 11.28. See Barguet 1953a:22, where Crophi is identified with *grf-bw*.

²⁰ Since many of the stones have not been identified, it is not clear to what extent the list may have been accurate.

²¹ On the much discussed *bhn* stone see now Harris 1961:78-82, where the translation "greywacke" is favored.

²² Harris (1961:74) thinks it probable that *mt*²² was merely another spelling of *m^ct*, "granite."

²³ An unidentified material seemingly of golden color; see Harris 1961:88.

²⁴ The stones *r^cgs* and *wšy* have not been identified; see Harris 1961:85 and 89.

²⁵ According to Harris (1961:105), this may be the Greek *prason*, "prase."

²⁶ An unidentified stone, see Harris 1961:92.

²⁷ This is both a precious stone and a term for faience, glass, and glaze, see Harris 1961:135-138.

²⁸ An unidentified stone, see Harris 1961:133 and 232.

²⁹ Harris (1961:110-111) thinks it probable that this is "quartz."

³⁰ Or perhaps "beryl," see Harris 1961:105.

³¹ An unidentified stone, see Harris 1961:92.

³² According to Harris (1961:115), this term usually designates "green felspar."

³³ According to Harris (1961:154), this is a writing of *tmhy* and signifies a species of "red ochre."

³⁴ Harris (1961:118-120) thinks it probable that this is "garnet."

³⁵ An unidentified stone, see Harris 1961:96-97.

³⁶ Harris (1961:168 and 933-234) concludes that this stone, originally called *bt^c ksy*, is haematite and possibly also magnetite.

³⁷ On *hrt*, "carnelian," see Harris 1961:120-121.

³⁸ Harris (1961:130-131) concludes that this was a semiprecious stone probably of green color.

³⁹ *Mm* or *mini* is known as a word for seed-grain, but that does not suit here.

⁴⁰ On *sty* and *t^c-sty*, "ochre," see Harris 1961:150-152.

When I heard what was there my heart ¹was guided¹. Having heard of the flood <I> opened the wrapped books.⁴¹ <I> made a purification; <I> conducted a procession of the hidden ones; <I> made a complete offering of bread, beer, oxen, and fowl, and all good things for the gods and goddesses in Yebu whose names had been pronounced.

As I slept in peace, I found the god standing before me. <I> propitiated him by adoring him and praying to him. He revealed himself to me with kindly face; he said:

"I am Khnum, your maker!
My arms are around you,
To steady your body,
To (19) safeguard your limbs.⁴²
I bestow on you stones upon stones,
That were not found¹ before,
Of which no work was made,
For building temples,
Rebuilding ruins,
Inlaying statues' eyes.

For I am the master who makes,
I am he who made himself,
Exalted Nun, who first came forth,
Hapy who hurries at will;
Fashioner of everybody,
Guide of each in his hours,
Tatenen, father of gods,
Great Shu, high in heaven!

The shrine I dwell in has two lips,⁴³
When I open up the well,⁴⁴
I know Hapy hugs the field,
A hug that fills each nose with life,
(21) For when hugged the field is reborn!
I shall make Hapy gush for you,
No year of lack and want anywhere,
Plants will grow weighed down by their fruit;
With Renuet ordering all,
All things are supplied in millions!
I shall let your people fill up,
They shall grasp together with you!
Gone will be the hunger years,
Ended the dearth in their bins.
Egypt's people will come striding,

b Gen 14:20
etc.

Shores will shine in the excellent flood,
Hearts will be happier than ever before!"

The Donation

I awoke with speeding heart. Freed of fatigue I made (23) this decree on behalf of my father Khnum. A royal offering to Khnum, lord of the cataract region and chief of Nubia:

In return for what you have done for me, I offer you Manu as western border, Bakhu as eastern border,⁴⁵ from Yebu to Kemsat,⁴⁶ being twelve *iter* on the east and the west, consisting of fields and pastures, of the river, and of every place in these miles.

All tenants⁴⁷ who cultivate the fields, and the vivifiers who irrigate the shores and all the new lands that are in these miles, their harvests shall be taken to your granary, in addition to (25) your share which is in Yebu.⁴⁸

All fishermen, all hunters, who catch fish and trap birds and all kinds of game, and all who trap lions in the desert — I exact from them one-tenth of the take of all of these, and all the young animals born of the females in these miles [in their totality].

One shall give the branded animals for all burnt offerings and daily sacrifices; and one shall give one-tenth⁴⁹ ^b of gold, ivory, ebony, carob wood, and ochre, carnelian, *shrt*, *diw*-plants, *nfw*-plants, all kinds of timber, (being) all the things brought by the Nubians of Khent-hen-nefer⁵⁰ (to) Egypt, and (by) every man (27) ¹who comes with arrears from them.¹

No officials are to issue orders in these places or take anything from them, for everything is to be protected for your sanctuary.

I grant you this domain with (its) stones and good soil. No person there ----- anything from it. But the scribes that belong to you and the overseers of the South shall dwell there as accountants, listing everything that the *kiry*-workers, and the smiths, and the master craftsmen, and the goldsmiths, and the ...,⁵¹ (29) and the Nubians, and the crew of Apiru,⁵² and all corvée labor who

⁴¹ I.e., the king consulted the manuals that taught how to perform the temple ritual.

⁴² The speech of the god abounds in assonances, which I have imitated whenever possible.

⁴³ The "lips" suggest some kind of gate or lid made of two sections which, when opened, releases the water.

⁴⁴ I take this to be the word for "well" rather than "sieve."

⁴⁵ Lit., "your west as Manu, your east as Bakhu," the two names for the mountain ranges bordering the Nile valley on the west and east.

⁴⁶ The Greek Takompos, the locality that marked the southern limit of the Dodekaschoinos.

⁴⁷ Barguet (1953a:29) read *imy s nb*; I wonder if it might be *imy nhb nb*, meaning the *nhb* of Wb. 2:293.15.

⁴⁸ Barguet (1953a:29) read the name as "Ville du Piège" (Hermopolis). I think it is merely another writing of "Yebu."

⁴⁹ Barguet (1953a:30) read the signs as *rf*, "sack," rather than *di r-10*. I have retained the reading *di r-10* and have discussed the problem of the whole donation in my article on the *Naucratis Stela* in Lichtheim 1977:142-144.

⁵⁰ A region of Nubia south of the second cataract; see Vandersleyen 1971:64-68.

⁵¹ I wonder if the unread word might be *hnrw*, "prisoners"?

⁵² On the Apiru, see Rowton 1976:13-20.

fashion the stones, shall give of gold, silver, copper, lead, baskets of ...,⁵³ firewood, the things that every man who works with them shall give as dues, namely one-tenth of all these. And there shall be given one-tenth of the precious stones and quarrying stones that are brought from the mountain side, being the stones of the east.

And there shall be an overseer who measures the quantities of gold, silver, copper, and genuine precious stones, the things which the sculptors shall assign to the gold house, (31) (to) fashion the sacred images and to refit the statues that were damaged, and any implements lacking there.

Everything shall be placed in the storehouse until one fashions anew, when one knows everything that is lacking in your temple, so that it shall be as it was in the beginning.

Engrave this decree on a stela of the sanctuary in writing, for it happened as said, (and) on a tablet, so that the divine writings shall be on them in the temple twice.⁵⁴ He who spits (on it) deceitfully shall be given over to punishment.

The overseers of the priests and the chief of all the temple personnel shall make my name abide in the temple of Khnum-Re, lord of Yebu, ever-mighty.

⁵³ It is not clear what word is written, see Barguet 1953a:31. Since the edible produce has been listed separately, a species of grain is hardly suitable.

⁵⁴ What is written is: "in the temples twice on it."

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Text: Brugsch 1891; Barguet 1953a. Translation: Roeder 1915:177-184. Translation of excerpts: Vandier 1936:38-44 and 132-139; *ANET* 31-32. Studies: Sethe 1901; 1904:58-62; Schubart 1910:154-157; de Meulenaere 1957:33-34; Brunner 1967:cols. 2255-2256. *Wildung*, 1969:85-91; Schwab-Schlott 1969; 1972:109-113; 1975:cols. 1112-1113. Lichtheim 1977:142-144; *AEL* 3:94-103; Harris 1961.

THE LEGEND OF THE POSSESSED PRINCESS ("BENTRESH STELA") (1.54)

(From Karnak, Louvre C 284)

Miriam Lichtheim

A stela of black sandstone, 2.22 x 1.09 m, found in 1829 in a small, no longer extant, Ptolemaic sanctuary near the temple of Khons erected at Karnak by Ramses III. The stela was brought to Paris in 1844. The scene in the lunette shows King Ramses II offering incense before the bark of Khons-in-Thebes-Neferhotep. Behind the king, a priest offers incense before the smaller bark of Khons-the-Provider-in-Thebes. Below the scene is the text in twenty-eight horizontal lines.

Though made to appear as a monument of Ramses II, the stela is in fact a work of either the Persian or the Ptolemaic period. It tells a wondrous tale of healing performed by the Theban god Khons-the-Provider. If the tale had been written on papyrus it would rank with other stories told about the gods. But in the guise of a monument of Ramses II it possessed a propagandistic purpose. Just what the purpose was does not emerge very clearly. Was it meant to glorify the two principal manifestations of the Theban god Khons: Khons-the-Merciful (*nfr-htp*) and Khons-the-Provider (*p³ ir shr*)? Or did it project a rivalry between their two priesthoods? Was it also designed to recall the glory of Egypt's native kings at a time of foreign — Persian or Ptolemaic — domination?

(1) Horus Mighty bull beautiful of crowns; Two Ladies abiding in kingship like Atum; Gold-Horus: Strong-armed smiter of the Nine Bows; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands *Usermare-sotpenre*; the Son of Re, of his body: *Ramesses beloved of Amun*,¹ lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, and of the Ennead, mistress of Thebes.

Good god, Amun's son,
Offspring of Harakhti,
Glorious seed of the All-Lord,

Begotten by Kamutef,
King of Egypt, ruler of Red Lands,
Sovereign who seized the Nine Bows;
Whom victory was foretold as he came from
the womb,
Whom valor was given while in the egg,
Bull firm of heart as he treads the arena,
Godly king going forth like Mont on victory
day,
Great of strength like the Son of Nut!

When his majesty was in Nahrin according to his

¹ The two principal royal names are those of Ramses II, but the Horus, Two-Ladies, and Gold-Horus names are mistakenly composed, being derived from the titulary of Thutmose IV.

annual custom,² the princes of every foreign land came bowing in peace to the might of his majesty from as far as the farthest marshlands. Their gifts of gold, silver, lapis lazuli, (s) turquoise, and every kind of plant of god's land³ were on their backs, and each was outdoing his fellow. The prince of Bakhtan⁴ had also sent his gifts and had placed his eldest daughter in front of them, worshipping his majesty and begging life from him. The woman pleased the heart of his majesty greatly and beyond anything. So her titulary was established as Great Royal Wife *Nefrure*.⁵ When his majesty returned to Egypt, she did all that a queen does.

It happened in year 23,⁶ second month of summer, day 22, while his majesty was in Thebes-the-victorious, the mistress of cities, performing the rites for his father Amun-Re, lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, at his beautiful feast of Southern Ipet, his favorite place since the beginning, that one came to say to his majesty: "A messenger of the prince of Bakhtan has come with many gifts for the queen." He was brought before his majesty with his gifts and said, saluting his majesty: "Hail to you, Sun of the Nine Bows! Truly, we live through you!" And kissing the ground before his majesty he spoke again before his majesty, saying "I have come to you, O King, my lord, on account of Bentresh,⁷ the younger sister of Queen *Nefrure*. A malady has seized her body. May your majesty send a learned man to see her!"

His majesty said: "Bring me the personnel of the House of Life⁸ and the council (10) of the residence." They were ushered in to him immediately. His majesty said: "You have been summoned in order to hear this matter: bring me one wise of heart with fingers skilled in writing from among you." Then the royal scribe Thothemheb came before his majesty, and his majesty ordered him to proceed to Bakhtan with the messenger.

The learned man reached Bakhtan. He found Bentresh to be possessed by a spirit; he found him to be an enemy whom one could fight.⁹ Then the prince of Bakhtan sent again to his majesty, saying: "O King, my lord, may your majesty command to send a god [to fight against this spirit!]" The message reached his majesty in year 26, first month of summer, during the feast of Amun while his majesty was in Thebes. His majesty reported to Khons-in-Thebes-Neferhotep, saying: "My good lord, I report to you about the daughter of the prince of Bakhtan." Then Khons-in-Thebes-Neferhotep proceeded to Khons-the-Provider, the great god who expels disease demons.¹⁰ His majesty spoke to Khons-in-Thebes-Neferhotep: "My good lord, if you turn your face to (15) Khons-the-Provider, the great god who expels disease demons, he shall be dispatched to Bakhtan." Strong approval twice.¹¹ His majesty said: "Give your magical protection to him, and I shall dispatch his majesty to Bakhtan to save the daughter of the prince of Bakhtan." Very strong approval by Khons-in-Thebes-Neferhotep. He made magical protection for Khons-the-Provider-in-Thebes four times. His majesty commanded to let Khons-the-Provider-in-Thebes proceed to the great bark with five boats and a chariot, and many horses from east and west.¹² This god arrived in Bakhtan at the end of one year and five months.¹³ The prince of Bakhtan came with his soldiers and officials before Khons-the-Provider. He placed himself on his belly, saying: "You have come to us to be gracious to us, as commanded by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Usermare-sotpenre*!" Then the god proceeded to the place where Bentresh was. He made magical protection for the daughter of the prince of Bakhtan, and she became well instantly.

Then spoke the spirit who was with her¹⁴ to Khons-the-Provider-in-Thebes: "Welcome in

² The land of Mitanni on the Upper Euphrates had been reached by Thutmose I and III, but Ramses II had never been there.

³ On "god's land" meaning wooded regions see Lichtheim *AEL* 3:84, n. 105 and 86, n. 2.

⁴ It has been surmised that the name "Bakhtan" is a corrupted Eg. version of the name of Bactria; see Lefebvre 1949:222.

⁵ The historical marriage of Ramses II with a Hittite princess who was given the Egyptian name Maatnefrure is the basis for this fictional marriage.

⁶ The scribe wrote "year 15," but the easy emendation to "year 23," first proposed by Erman, is very probable in view of the dates given later.

⁷ This may be a Canaanite name; see Lefebvre 1949:222, n. 7.

⁸ On the "House of Life" see Lichtheim *AEL* 3:36, n. 10.

⁹ The learned scribe Thothemheb diagnosed the malady as one that might be cured, but he himself could not effect the cure, i.e., expel the demon.

¹⁰ The Theban god Khons was worshiped under several distinct manifestations, with Khons-in-Thebes-Neferhotep occupying the leading position, while the most outstanding trait of Khons-*p³-ir-s³hr* was that of a healer. The epithet *p³ ir s³hr* has been translated in various ways, including "he who determines fate." Bearing in mind that we do not know the exact shade of meaning, I have preferred "the Provider." See also Lichtheim *AEL* 3:33, n. 4.

¹¹ A movement on the part of the god's statue signifying approval.

¹² The chariot and horses were needed for the overland part of the journey.

¹³ The remoteness of the land of Bakhtan is indicated in fairy-tale manner by the extreme length of the journey.

¹⁴ I.e., "who had been in her."

peace, great god who expels disease demons! Bakhtan is your home, its people are your servants, I am your servant! (20) I shall go to the place from which I came, so as to set your heart at rest about that which you came for. May your majesty command to make a feast day with me and the prince of Bakhtan!" Then the god motioned approval to his priest, saying: "Let the prince of Bakhtan make a great offering before this spirit."

Now while this took place between Khons-the-Provider-in-Thebes and the spirit, the prince of Bakhtan stood by with his soldiers and was very frightened. Then he made a great offering to Khons-the-Provider-in-Thebes and the spirit; and the prince of Bakhtan made a feast day for them. Then the spirit went in peace to where he wished, as commanded by Khons-the-Provider-in-Thebes. The prince of Bakhtan rejoiced very greatly together with everyone in Bakhtan.

Then he schemed with his heart, saying: "I will make the god stay here in Bakhtan. I will not let

him go to Egypt." So the god spent three years and nine months in Bakhtan. Then, as the prince of Bakhtan slept on his bed, he saw the god come out of his shrine as a falcon of gold and fly up to the sky toward Egypt. (25) He awoke in terror and said to the priest of Khons-the-Provider-in-Thebes: "The god is still here with us! He shall go to Thebes! His chariot shall go to Egypt!" Then the prince of Bakhtan let the god proceed to Egypt, having given him many gifts of every good thing and very many soldiers and horses.

They arrived in peace in Thebes. Khons-the-Provider-in-Thebes went to the house of Khons-in-Thebes-Neferhotep. He placed the gifts of every good thing which the prince of Bakhtan had given him before Khons-in-Thebes-Neferhotep, without giving anything to his (own) house.¹⁵ Khons-the-Provider-in-Thebes arrived in his house in peace in year 33, second month of winter, day 19, of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Usermare-sotpenre*, given eternal life like Re.

¹⁵ I.e., Khons-the-Provider delivered all the presents to his superior, Khons-in-Thebes-Neferhotep, without keeping anything for his own temple.

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HITTITE CANONICAL COMPOSITIONS

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A. DIVINE FOCUS

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1. MYTHS

ELKUNIRŠA AND AŠERTU (1.55)

Gary Beckman

Although the particular events of this tale are not known from the mythological tablets recovered at Ugarit, the story certainly belongs to the corpus of northern Syrian myths which they represent. This composition has come down to us in a number of fragments which originally belonged to two or three separate manuscripts, but only two portions of the text are well-enough preserved for connected translation. The Hittite translator has misunderstood the Canaanite phrase "El, Creator of Earth" as a simple divine name, which he has rendered as Elkunirša.

Fragment 1

(A i 1'-7') (Ašertu said to Baal:) "[Get behind me, and I will get behind] you. I will press [you] down with [my] word. I will pierce [you] with [my] little spindle(?). I will stimulate(?) you [...]" Baal heard (this) [and he] stood [up]. He came to the headwaters of the Euphrates River. [He came to] Elkunirša, husband of Ašertu. He entered the tent [of] Elkunirša.

(A i 8'-21') [Elkunirša] saw Baal and asked him, "[Why] have you come?" Baal said, "When I came into your house, [just then] Ašertu sent girls to me (with the message): 'Come sleep with me!' I refused. She ... me and said [as follows]: 'Get behind me, and I will get behind you. I will press you down with my [word. I will pierce] you [with] my [little spindle(?)].' On that account I have come, my father. I have not come to you [as] a messenger. I [have come] to you on my own behalf. Ašertu is rejecting your manhood. [...] your wife. She keeps sending to me: '[Sleep with me]!'" Elkunirša [replied] to Baal: "Go, ... her! ... my [wife Ašertu]! Humiliate her!"

(A i 22'-27') [Baal] heard the word [of Elkunirša] and he [went] to Ašertu. Baal said to Ašertu: "I have slain your seventy-seven [sons]. I have slain eighty-eight." [When] Ašertu heard the humiliation, she was troubled in her soul and had mourning [women] take their places. She waited for seven

a Ps 102:7

years. [The ...] ate and drank for them (the sons).

Fragment 2

(A ii 1'-3') (Ašertu said to Elkunirša:) "[...] I will press [down Baal with my word. I will pierce him with my little spindle(?). Then] I will sleep with you." [Elkunirša] listened and said to his wife: "Come, [I will turn] Baal [over to you. Do] with him as you wish."

(A ii 4'-16') Astarte overheard these words and became a goblet in the hand of Elkunirša. She became an owl and perched on his wall. Astarte overheard the words which husband and wife spoke to one another. Elkunirša and his wife went to her bed and they slept together. Astarte flew like a bird across the desert.^a In the desert she found Baal, [and said] to him: "O Baal, [the husband(?)] of Ašertu [...] Do not drink wine together [...] do not ...] against [...] she(?) will seek [...]"

It seems that despite Astarte's warning Ašertu took her vengeance on Baal, for the remaining fragments of the text, which are very badly broken, discuss the treatment of various parts of Baal's body, including his penis, tendons, and muscles, as well as his ritual purification. Also mentioned are the "Dark Earth," the Hittite term for the Netherworld, and the Annunaki-deities, known from Mesopotamian texts as the rulers of this dismal portion of the universe. Thus it seems that Baal must have died and been brought back from the dead, an impression strengthened by the presence of the Mother-goddesses in this portion of the composition.

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Text: CTH 342; Fragment 1: A. KUB 36.35 i. B. KUB 36.34 i. Fragment 2: A. KUB 36.37 + KUB 31.118. B. KUB 12.61 ii. Literature: ANET 519; Bernabé 1987:127-29; Hoffner 1965; 1990:69-70; Laroche 1968b:25-30; Otten 1953.

THE STORM-GOD AND THE SERPENT (ILLUYANKA) (1.56)

Gary Beckman

The conflict between the Storm-god and the forces of chaos represented by the serpent (*illuyanka*- in Hittite) was the focus of two different tales known in second-millennium Anatolia, both of which served as etiological cult myths of the important Hittite festival called *purulli*, a term whose precise meaning remains unknown.

(A i 1-4) (This is) the text of the *purulli* (festival) for the [...] of the Storm-god of Heaven, according to Kella, [the "anointed priest"] of the Storm-god of (the town of) Nerik: When they speak thus —

(A i 5-8) "Let the land grow and thrive, and let the land be secure!" — and when it (indeed) grows and thrives, then they perform the festival of *purulli*.

(A i 9-11) When the Storm-god and the serpent came to grips in (the town of) Kiškilišša, the serpent smote the Storm-god.

(A i 12-14) (Thereafter) the Storm-god summoned all the gods (saying): "Come in! (The goddess) Inara has prepared a feast!"

(A i 15-18) She prepared everything in great quantity — vessels of wine, vessels of (the drink) *marnuwan*, and vessels of (the drink) *walḫi*. In the vessels [she made] an abundance.

(A i 19-20) Then [Inara] went [to] (the town of) Ziggurata and encountered Ḫupašiya, a mortal.

(A i 21-23) Inara spoke as follows to Ḫupašiya: "I am about to do such-and-such a thing — you join with me!"

(A i 24-26) Ḫupašiya replied as follows to Inara: "If I may sleep with you, then I will come and perform your heart's desire." [And] he slept with her.

(B i 3'-8') Then Inara transported Ḫupašiya and concealed him. Inara dressed herself up and invited the serpent up from his hole (saying): "I'm preparing a feast — come eat and drink!"

(B i 9'-12') Then the serpent came up together with [his progeny], and they ate and drank. They drank up every vessel and became intoxicated.

(B i 13'-16') They were no longer able to go back down into (their) hole, (so that) Ḫupašiya came and tied up the serpent with a cord.

(B i 17'-18') The Storm-god came and slew the serpent. The (other) gods were at his side.

(C i 14'-22') Then Inara built a house on a rock (outcropping) in (the town of) Tarukka and settled Ḫupašiya in the house. Inara instructed him: "When I go out into the countryside, you must not look out the window. If you do look out, you will see your wife and your children."

(C i 23'-24') When the twentieth day (after Inara's departure) had passed, he looked out the window

and [saw] his wife and [his] children.

(C i 25'-27') When Inara returned from the countryside, he began to whine: "Let me (go) back home!"

(A ii 9'-14') Inara spoke as follows [to Ḫupašiya]: "... away [...] through an offense [...] the meadow of the Storm-god [...] she [...] killed(?) him.

(A ii 15'-20') Inara [went] to Kiškilišša and how she set her(?) house and [the river(?) of the watery abyss [into] the hand of the king — because (in commemoration thereof) we are (re-)performing the first *purulli* festival — the hand [of the king will hold(?) the house(?) of Inara and the [river(?) of the watery abyss.

(A ii 21'-24') (The divine mountain) Zaliyanu is first (in rank) among all (the gods). When he has allotted rain in Nerik, then the herald brings forth a loaf of thick bread from Nerik.

(A ii 25'-29') He had asked Zaliyanu for rain, and he brings it to him [on account of(?) the bread ...

[Several badly damaged lines are followed by a break.]

(D iii 2'-5') That which [Kella, the "anointed priest,"] spoke — [The serpent] defeated [the Storm-god] and took [(his) heart and eyes]. And the Storm-god [...] him.

(A iii 4'-8') And he took as his wife the daughter of a poor man, and he sired a son. When he grew up, he took as his wife the daughter of the serpent.

(A iii 9'-12') The Storm-god instructed (his) son: "When you go to the house of your wife, then demand from them (my) heart and eyes."

(A iii 13'-19') When he went, he demanded from them the heart, and they gave it to him. Afterwards he demanded from them the eyes, and they gave these to him. And he carried them to the Storm-god, his father, and the Storm-god (thereby) took back his heart and his eyes.

(A iii 20'-28') When he was again sound in body as of old, then he went once more to the sea for battle. When he gave battle to him and was beginning to smite the serpent, then the son of the Storm-god was with the serpent and shouted up to heaven, to his father:

(A iii 29'-33') "Include me! Do not show me any mercy!" Then the Storm-god killed the serpent and his (own) son. And now this one, the Storm-god

[...] (A iii 34'-35') Thus says Kella, [the "anointed priest" of the Storm-god of Nerik: "...] when the gods [...]" [A break intervenes.] (D iv 1'-4') [Then] for the "anointed priest" they made the foremost gods the humblest, and the humblest they made the foremost gods. (D iv 8'-10') The cultic revenue of Zaliyanu is great. Zašhapuna the wife of Zaliyanu is greater than the Storm-god of Nerik. (D iv 8'-10') The gods speak as follows to the "anointed priest" Tahpurili: "When we go to the Storm-god of Nerik, where will we sit?" (D iv 11'-16') The "anointed priest" Tahpurili speaks as follows: "When you sit on a diorite stool, and when the 'anointed priests' cast the lot,^a then the 'anointed priest' who holds (the image of) Zaliyanu — a diorite stool will be set above the spring, and	^a Esth 4:7; 9:26	he will be seated there." (A iv 14'-17') "All the gods will arrive, and they will cast the lot.^a Of all the gods of (the town of) Kaštama, Zašhapuna will be the greatest." (A iv 18'-21') "Because she is the wife of Zaliyanu, and Tazzuwašši is his concubine, these three persons will remain in (the town of) Tanipiya." (A iv 22'-23') And thereafter in Tanipiya a field will be handed over from the royal (property) — (A iv 24'-28') Six <i>kapunu</i>-measures of field, one <i>kapunu</i>-measure of garden, a house together with a threshing floor, three buildings for the household personnel. It is recorded [on] a tablet. I am respectful [of the matter], and I have spoken these things (truly). (A iv 29'-33') Colophon: One tablet, complete, of the word of Kella, the "anointed priest." [The scribe] Piḫa-ziti wrote it under the supervision of the chief scribe Walwa-ziti.
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Text: CTH 321; A. KBo 3.7. B. KUB 17.5. C. KUB 17.6. D. KUB 12.66. E. KUB 36.54. F. KBo 12.83. G. KBo 12.84 (+) KBo 13.84. H. KBo 22.99. J. KUB 36.53. Bibliography: ANET 125-126; Beckman 1982; Bernabé 1987:29-37; Gonet 1987; Hoffner 1990:10-14; Laroche 1968b:65-72; Pecchioli Daddi and Polvani 1990:39-55.

THE WRATH OF TELIPINU (1.57)

Gary Beckman

In the Hittite view, the operation of the universe required that each deity and human conscientiously perform his or her proper function within the whole. Calamity manifested in some sector of the cosmos was an indication that the god or goddess responsible for it had become angry and had abandoned his or her post. The remedy for this evil situation was the performance by both human and divine practitioners of an expiatory ritual which included a mythological account of the deity's displeasure, departure, and reconciliation. Such "disappearing god texts" (Parker 1989) are attested for at least a dozen Hittite divinities. The example translated here, the best preserved and consequently best known to non-specialists, is addressed to Telipinu, who belonged to the large class of Anatolian Storm-gods.^a

[The beginning of the text has been lost.]

(A i 1'-4') Telipinu [became angry and said]: "Do not practice intimidation!" He slipped(?) his right [shoe] on his left (foot). [He slipped(?)] his left [shoe] on his right.

(A i 5'-9') Mist seized the windows. Smoke seized the house. On the hearth the logs were stifled. [On the altars] the gods were stifled. In the fold the sheep were stifled. In the corral the cows were stifled. The sheep refused her lamb. The cow refused her calf.

(A i 10'-15') Telipinu went off and took away grain, the fertility of the herds, growth(?), plenty(?), and satiety into the wilderness, to the meadow and the moor. Telipinu proceeded to disappear into the moor. The *halenzu*-plant spread over him. Barley

^a 1 Kgs 17:18

and wheat no longer grow. Cows, sheep, and humans no longer conceive, and those who are (already) pregnant do not give birth in this time.

(A i 16'-20') The mountains dried up. The trees dried up, so that buds do not come forth. The pastures dried up. The springs dried up. Famine appeared in the land. Humans and gods perish from hunger. The great Sun-god prepared a feast and invited the Thousand Gods. They ate but were not sated; they drank but were not satisfied.

(A i 21'-25') The Storm-god concerned himself for his son Telipinu: "My son Telipinu is not here. He became angry and took away for himself everything good." The great gods and the lesser gods began to search for Telipinu. The Sun-god dispatched the swift eagle: "Go search the high mountains!

(A i 26'-31') Search the deep valleys! Search the blue sea! The eagle went, but he did not find him. He brought back a report to the Sun-god: "I didn't find him, the honored god Telipinu." The Storm-god said to the Mother-goddess: "What will we do? We will perish from hunger!" The Mother-goddess said to the Storm-god: "Do something, Storm-god! You go search for Telipinu!"

(A i 32'-35') The Storm-god set out and began to search for Telipinu. He [comes] to his city, to the city gate, but he is not able to open (it). He broke his mallet and wedge. The Storm-god [...], covered himself (with his garment), and sat down. The Mother-goddess [dispatched a bee]: "You go search for Telipinu!"

(A i 36'-39') [The Storm-god] spoke [to the Mother-goddess]: "The great gods and the lesser gods repeatedly searched for him, but [they did not find] him. Now [will] this [bee] go [find] him? His wingspan is small, he himself is small, and furthermore they (the gods) ..."

[A break intervenes. Parallel texts inform us that despite the scepticism of the Storm-god, the bee indeed succeeded in finding the lost god, who was asleep in a meadow. The bee stung Telipinu on his hands and feet, awakening him and only increasing his rage. It is to placating this anger that the program of ritual action which constitutes the remainder of this text is directed. Here the actions of the human magical specialist and of Kamrušepa, goddess of magic, are inextricably intertwined.]

(A ii 3'-8') And Telipinu [...] And she (the human practitioner) ground up(?) malt and beer-bread. [...] came forth(?). She cut off good [...] at the gate. [Let] the pleasant smell [summon(?) you], Telipinu. Choked (with rage), [may you be reconciled (with gods and humans)]!

(A ii 9'-11') Here (before you) [lies] water of *wal-šeššar*. [Let] your soul, O Telipinu, [be ... Turn] to the king in favor.

(A ii 12'-14') Here lies *galaktar*. Let [your soul, O Telipinu], be pacified. Here [lies *parhuena*]. Let (its) form entice you(!), [O Telipinu].

(A ii 15'-18') Here lie *šamama*-nuts. Let [your soul, O Telipinu], be sated with oil. Here [lie] figs. As [figs] are sweet, let [your soul, O Telipinu], likewise become sweet.

(A ii 19'-21') As the olive [holds] its oil in its heart, [and as the grape] holds its wine in its heart, may you, Telipinu, likewise hold goodness in your soul and heart.

(A 22'-27') Here lies *liti*-wood. Let it anoint [your soul(?)], O Telipinu. As the malt and beer-bread are joined in their essence, let your soul likewise [be] joined, [O Telipinu], to the words of the humans. [As ...] is pure, let Telipinu's soul likewise become pure. [As] honey is sweet and as ghee is mild, let [the soul] of Telipinu likewise become

sweet and likewise become mild.

(A ii 28'-32') I have now sprinkled the paths of Telipinu with fine oil. O Telipinu, tread the paths sprinkled with fine oil. Let boughs of *šahi*- and *happuriya*- be your bed. As (stalks of) lemon grass(?) are intertwined, may you, O Telipinu, be reconciled (with gods and humans).

(A ii 33'-iii 2) In fury Telipinu came. He thunders with the lightning bolt. He smites the Dark Earth below. Kamrušepa saw him, [took] an eagle's wing (as an instrument of magic), and carried him off. She [brought] it, the displeasure, [to an end]. She brought it, the wrath, to an end. She brought [the offense] to an end. She brought the anger to an end.

(A iii 3-7) Kamrušepa speaks to the gods: "Go, O gods. *Ḫapantali* [is] now [herding] the sheep of the Sun-god. Cut out twelve rams so that I may treat the *karāš*-grain of Telipinu." I (the human practitioner) have taken for myself a sieve with a thousand 'eyes,' and I have sifted (in it) the *karāš*-grain, the rams of Kamrušepa.

(A iii 8-12) I have burned (a purificatory substance) over Telipinu on this side and that. I have taken his evil from Telipinu, from his body. I have taken his (perceived) offense. I have taken his displeasure. I have taken his wrath. I have taken his irritation. I have taken his anger.

(A iii 13-20) Telipinu is wrathful. His soul and [his] figure were stifled (like) kindling. As they have burned this kindling, let the displeasure, wrath, (perceived) offense, and anger of Telipinu likewise burn. As [malt] is meager (in fertility), and one does not take it to the field to use as seed, nor does one make it into bread, [nor] does one place [it] in the storehouse, so let the displeasure, [wrath], (perceived) offense, and anger of Telipinu likewise become meager (in effect).

(A iii 21-23) Telipinu is wrathful. His soul [and his figure] are a burning fire. As this fire [is extinguished], let (his) displeasure, wrath, and anger likewise [be extinguished].

(A iii 24-27) O Telipinu, let go of displeasure. [Let go of] wrath. Let go of anger. As a rain spout does not flow [backwards], so [let the displeasure, wrath], and anger of Telipinu not [come] back.

(A iii 28-34) The gods [take their seats in the place] of assembly beneath the hawthorn tree. Beneath the hawthorn tree [are set] long [...] All of the gods are seated (including): [Papaya], *Ištuštaya*, the Fate-deities, the Mother-goddesses, the Grain-deity, the Spirit of growth, Telipinu, the Tutelary Deity, *Ḫapantali*, [and ...] I have treated the deities for long years [and for ...] I have purified him (Telipinu).

(C 9'-12') [I have taken] evil from Telipinu, [from his body]. I have taken his [displeasure. I have taken his] wrath. I have taken [his (perceived) offense. I have taken his] anger. I have taken [the evil] tongue. [I have taken] the evil [...]

[There is a break. The preserved text resumes with an address to the hawthorn tree.]

(A iv 1-3) [The ox goes beneath you, and] you pluck [his] coat(?). The sheep [goes] beneath you, and you pluck her fleece. Pluck from Telipinu (his) wrath, displeasure, (perceived) offense, and anger.

(A iv 4-7) In fury the Storm-god comes, and the man of the Storm-god (his priest) brings him to a halt. A pot comes to a boil, and the wooden spoon(?) brings it to a halt. Furthermore, let my words, those of the human, likewise bring displeasure, wrath, and anger to an end for Telipinu.

(A iv 8-13) Let them depart, the displeasure, wrath, (perceived) offense, and anger of Telipinu. Let the house release them. Let the central ... release them. Let the window release them. Let the door-pivot <release them>. Let the central courtyard release them. Let the city gate release them. Let the gate structure release them. Let the royal road release them. They shall not go to the fertile field, or garden, or grove. They shall go along the road of the Sun-goddess of the Earth.

(A iv 14-19) The doorkeeper opened the seven doors; he drew back the seven bolts. Below, in the Dark

Earth, there stand bronze kettles. Their lids are of lead. Their latches are of iron. Whatever goes into (them) does not come up again, but perishes therein. Let them capture the displeasure, wrath, (perceived) offense, and anger of Telipinu, so that they do not come back.

(A iv 20-26) Telipinu came back home and concerned himself for his land. The mist released the window. The smoke released the house. The altars were reconciled with the gods. The hearth released the log. In the fold he (Telipinu) released the sheep. In the corral he released the cows. Then the mother tended her child. The sheep tended her lamb. The cow tended her calf. And Telipinu <tended> the king and queen. He concerned himself for them in regard to life, vigor, and future (existence).

(A iv 27-31) Telipinu concerned himself for the king. An *eya*-tree stands before Telipinu. From the *eya*-tree hangs a hunting bag (fashioned from the skin) of a sheep. In it is mutton fat. In it are grain, the fertility of the herds, and the grape. In it are cow and sheep. In it are long years and progeny.

(A iv 32-35) In it is the gentle bleating of the lamb. In it are ... and renown. In it is the ... In it is the right shank. In it [is growth(?), plenty(?), and satiety].

[The preserved text ends.]

REFERENCES

Text: CTH 324.1; A. KUB 17.10. B. KUB 33.2. C. KUB 33.1. D. KUB 33.3. E. KBo 24.84. Bibliography: ANET 126-128; Bernabé 1987:49-54; Hoffner 1990:14-17; Kellerman 1986; Laroche 1965b:89-98; Parker 1989; Pecchioli Daddi and Polvani 1990:71-84.

APPU AND HIS TWO SONS (1.58)

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

This text has been translated here as an independent story. According to Güterbock (1946), the text is continued in the tale of the Sun God, the Cow, and the Fisherman. Although the extant copies of the Appu story are New Hittite, archaic language indicates an archetype composed in the Old or Middle Hittite period. The story has a moral, which is stated in the *proemium*. The unnamed deity who is praised for always vindicating the just person will also thwart the evil son of Appu who attempts to defraud his honest brother. Only a little bit of the beginning is lost. Where the text becomes intelligible, a *proemium* is in progress.

He/she it is (i.e., some deity) who always exonerates just men, but chops down evil men like trees, repeatedly striking evil men on their skulls (like) ...s until he/she destroys them.

There was a city named Šudul. It was situated on the seacoast in the land of Lulluwa. Up there lived a man named Appu. He was the richest man in all

^a Gen 15:2

the land. He had many cattle and sheep. He had amassed silver, gold and lapis lazuli like a huge heap of threshed grain. There was nothing which he lacked but one thing: he had neither son nor daughter.^{1 a}

The elders of Šudul sat eating in his presence. One gave bread and a piece of grilled meat to his son;

¹ With the wealthy Appu, who had everything anyone might want, but was childless, cp. biblical Abraham (Gen 15:2).

another gave his son a drink. But Appu had no one to whom to give bread. The table was covered with a linen cloth and stood in front of the altar. Appu arose, went home, and lay down on his bed with his shoes on.

Appu's wife questioned their servants: "He has never had success before. You don't think he has now had success, do you?" The woman went and lay down with Appu with her clothes on. Appu awoke from his sleep, and his wife questioned him: "You have never had success before. Have you now had success?" When Appu heard this, he replied: "You are a woman and think like one. You know nothing at all."^{2 b}

Appu rose from his bed, took a white lamb, and set out to meet the Sun God. The Sun God looked down from the sky, changed himself into a young man, came to him, and questioned him: "What is your problem, that [I may solve] it for you?"

When [Appu] heard this, he replied to him: "[The gods] have given me wealth. They have given [me cattle and sheep]. I lack only one thing: I have neither son nor daughter." When the Sun God heard this, he said: "Get drunk, go home, and sleep with your wife. The gods will give you a son."

When Appu heard this, he went back home, but the Sun God went back up to the sky. Now Teššub (the Storm God) saw the Sun God coming three miles distant, and said to his vizier: "Look who's coming: the Sun God, Shepherd of the Lands! You don't suppose that somewhere the land is laid waste? Might not cities somewhere be devastated? Might not troops somewhere be put to rout? Tell the cook and cupbearer to provide him with food and drink."

[The Sun God] came, [...], and [Teššub ...ed] him there. Teššub [...ed] the Sun God, and began to question him: "Why [have you come, O Sun God of the Sky? ...]"

[Long break.]

[Beginning of column iii broken.]

Appu's wife became pregnant. The first month, the second month, the third month, the fourth month, the fifth month, the sixth month, the seventh month, the eighth month, the ninth month passed, and the tenth month arrived. Appu's wife bore a son. The nurse lifted the boy and placed him on

b Job 2:9-10

c Gen 31:4-12

Appu's knees. Appu began to amuse the boy and to clean him off(?). He put a fitting name upon him: "Since my ancestral gods didn't [take] the right way for him, but followed a wrong way, let his name be Wrong."³

Again, a second time Appu's wife became pregnant. The [tenth] month arrived, and the woman bore a son. The nurse lifted [the boy] and (Appu) put the right name upon him, "Let them call him by a right name. Since my ancestral gods took the right way for him, let his name be Right."

[Appu's boys] grew up and matured and came into manhood. [When] Appu's boys had grown up [and matured] and come into manhood, they parted [from] Appu, and [divided up] the estate.

Brother Wrong said to Brother Right: "Let us separate and settle down in different places." Brother Right said [to Brother Wrong]: "Then who [...]?" Brother Wrong said to Brother Right: "Since the mountains dwell separately, since the rivers flow in separate courses, as the very gods dwell separately — I say these things to you: The Sun God dwells in Sippar. The Moon God dwells in Kuzina. Teššub dwells in Kummiya. And Šawuška dwells in Nineveh. Nanaya [dwells] in Kiššina. And Marduk dwells in Babylon. As the gods dwell separately, so let us also settle in different places."

Wrong and Right began to divide up (the estate), while the Sun God looked on from heaven. Brother Wrong took [a half] and gave the other half to his brother Right. They [...]ed among themselves. There was one plow ox and [one] cow. Wrong took the one healthy plow ox, and [gave] the unhealthy cow to his brother Right. The Sun God looked [on] from heaven (and said): "Let [Right's unhealthy] cow become healthy, and let her bear [...]"^{4 c}

(Colophon:) First tablet of Appu: incomplete.

[A separate fragment offers part of the continuation. Beginning broken away.]

[But when they] arrived in Sippar and took their stand before the Sun God for judgment, [the Sun God] awarded the judgment to Brother Right.

[Then Brother Wrong] began to curse. The Sun God heard the curses [and] said: "I will not [decide] it for you. Let Šawuška (a goddess), Nineveh's Queen, judge it for you."

[Wrong and Right] set out. And when they arrived

² For the wife who mocks the suffering of her righteous husband compare Job's wife (Job 2:9-10).

³ For naming a child according to either circumstances at birth or its presumed destiny see Hoffner 1968a. This is a commonplace in the birth narratives of Genesis and Exodus.

⁴ For a just deity's unseen frustration of fraud attempted against his worshiper compare Yahweh's protection of Jacob from Laban (Gen 31:4-12).

at Nineveh and stood before Šawuška [for judgment, ...] drew one acre in one direction [and ... in

the other direction].
[Rest of the text lost.]

REFERENCES

Hoffner 1975a; 1990.

THE SUN GOD AND THE COW (1.59)

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

[Güterbock believes that this story is a continuation of Appu and his Two Sons. Beginning of the preserved portion is too broken for connected translation.]

The cow thrived and ...-ed. The Sun God looked down from the sky, and his desire leaped forward upon the cow. [He became] a young man, came down from the sky, and began to speak to the cow: "Who do you think you are, that you continually graze on our meadow [...] When the grass is tender and young, [and you graze here], you destroy the meadow."

[The cow] replied: "Is [...] hire [...] in its [...]?" Then the Sun God responded: "[...] and it [is] in bloom [...] me [...]" [The Sun God] spoke [further] to the cow: "[...]"

[The rest of the column is broken away, as are the first lines of the next column.]

The Sun God drove the cow [...], and the Sun God [...] the cow, [and ...] cattle [...] ¹

[Most of three lines missing.]

... the second, third, [fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth], ninth and tenth month arrived, [and the cow gave birth]. The cow [called] back up to the sky [and] glowered [at the Sun God]. She said [to the Sun God]: "Now I ask you please: [My calf] should have four legs. Why have I borne this two-legged thing?" Like a lion, the cow opened her mouth and went toward the child to eat (it?). The cow made her ... as deep as the Deep Blue and set out toward the child [to ...].

The Sun God looked down from the sky. [He came down] and took his stand beside the cow. He began [to say to her:] "And who are you, [that you have approached ...] to gulp down [...]"

The Sun God [...-ed] the cow [and ...]. And (s)he [...-ed ...]. When the child [...-ed, ...] grass [...] his eyes [...]. The Sun God [...] and him [...].

[Break of about 17 lines.]

"The great rivers [...] are troubled. The [...] are troubled for washing, [...] of blood [...] for wash-

ing. [...] let it keep on living." The day becomes warm [...]

When the Sun God had set out to go back up to the sky, he [...-ed] the child [...]. He strokes(?) its members along with [its head]. The Sun God spoke to [...]: ² "Take a staff in hand, put the winds on [your feet as] winged [shoes]. Make the trip in one stage. Over the child [...] birds, ...-birds, [...] ...-birds, eagles [...] Let them ... their pegs away from over him. [...] snakes intertwined [...]"

[The rest of column iii and the beginning of column iv lost.]

[A fisherman] said [to ...]: "I will go see. [The ...-s] are standing in the mountains [...]" The fisherman arrived at the child. ...-birds [...] shelducks fly up. [...] are ascending(?) and they [...] to the sky.

[When the fisherman approached], the poisonous snakes retired to a distance. [...] strokes (the child's) members along with its head. He strokes [...] He strokes its eyes [...] The fisherman said to himself: "Somehow I have pleased(?) the gods, so that they have removed the unfavorable bread from the rock.³ I have struck the Sun God's fancy, and he has led me out (here) for the sake of [the child]. Do you perhaps know about me, O Sun God, that I have no child, that you have led me out (here) for the sake of the child? Truly the Sun God puts [...] bread out for him who is dear to him!" The fisherman lifted the child up from the ground, tidied him up, rejoiced in him, held him close to his chest, and carried him back home.

The fisherman arrived at the city of Urma, went to his house, and sat down in a chair. The fisherman said to his wife: "Pay close attention to what I am about to say to you. Take this child, go into the bedroom, lie down on the bed, and wail. The whole city will hear and say: 'The fisherman's wife has borne a child!' And one will bring us bread, another will bring us beer, and still another will bring us fat. A(n ideal) woman's mind is clever. She has cut (herself) off from command(ing others).

¹ It appears that the Sun God copulated with the cow, since in the following context it gives birth to a two-legged being. Compare Ba'al's copulating with a cow in Ugaritic myths.

² His messenger.

³ This saying in the language of fishermen probably means: "Now the fish will take my bait."

She is dependent on the authority of the god. She stands in woman's subordination, and she does not disobey (her) husband's word."

(The fisherman's wife) heard the man's word, went into [the bedroom], lay down on the bed, [and began to wail]. When the men of the city heard, they

said: "[The fisherman's] wife [has borne a child!]" The men of the city [said this] and began to bring [things to her. One] brought [bread, and another] fat [and beer].

[The colophon indicates that the story was continued on another tablet.]

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Hoffner 1975a; 1981; 1990.

2. PRAYERS

PLAGUE PRAYERS OF MURŠILI II (1.60)

Gary Beckman

When he came to the throne, the Great King Muršili II was confronted with both the fragmentation of the Hittite empire and the raging of an epidemic of uncertain character which had carried off in short succession both his father Šuppiluliuma I and his brother Arnuwanda II. Innumerable ordinary Hittites had perished as well. While Muršili mastered the political situation within the first decade of his rule, the plague continued unabated for many more years. To persuade the gods to bring the suffering to an end, the king (or his scribes) composed several prayers in which he confesses his own guilt and that of his land for various offenses, and details the reparations which have already been made. He also points out to the gods that they will only harm themselves by thinning out the ranks of their human servants. The order of the prayers is not indicated in the texts themselves but has been postulated by modern scholars on the basis of the development of Muršili's argumentation over the course of the series.

First Prayer

(A obv. 1-7) O [all of] you [male deities], all female deities, [all] male deities [of the oath], all female deities of the oath, [all] primeval [deities], all [male] deities and all female deities who were summoned to assembly for witnessing an oath in this [matter]! O mountains, rivers, springs, and underground watercourses! I, Muršili, your priest and servant, have now pled my case before you. O gods, my lords, [listen] for me to my concern about which I present you my justification.

(A obv. 8-15) O gods, [my] lords, a plague broke out in Ḫatti, and Ḫatti has been beaten down by the plague.^a It [has been] very much [oppressed]. This is the twentieth year. Because Ḫatti is (still) experiencing many deaths, the affair of Tudḫaliya the Younger, son of Tudḫaliya, began to haunt [me]. I inquired of a god through an oracle, [and] the affair of Tudḫaliya the Younger was ascertained by the god (as a source of our suffering). Because Tudḫaliya the Younger was lord of Ḫatti, the princes, the noblemen, the commanders of the thousands, the officers, [the subalterns(?)], and all [the infantry] and chariotry of Ḫattuša swore an oath to him. My father also swore an oath to him.

(A obv. 16-22) [But when my father (Šuppiluliuma I)] mistreated Tudḫaliya, all [the princes, the noblemen], the commanders of the thousands, and the officers of Ḫattuša [went over] to my [father].

a 2 Sam 24

Although they had sworn an oath (to him), [they seized] Tudḫaliya, and they killed [Tudḫaliya]. Furthermore, they killed those of his brothers [who stood by] him. [...] they sent to Alašiya (Cyprus). [Whatever] was their [...] they [...] in regard to him. [Thus the ...] and the lords transgressed the oath.

(A obv. 23-40) [But] you, [O gods], my [lords], safeguarded my father. [...] And because Ḫattuša [had been burned down(?)] by the enemy, and the enemy had taken [borderlands] of Ḫatti, [my father repeatedly attacked the enemy lands] and repeatedly defeated them. He took back the borderlands of Ḫatti which [the enemy had taken]. He [settled] them anew (with Hittites). Furthermore, [he conquered] additional foreign lands [during] his reign. He sustained Ḫatti and [secured] its frontiers on every side. All of Ḫatti prospered in his time. [Humans], cows, and sheep became numerous in his time. The civilian captives who [were carried off] from the land of the enemy survived; none died. But later you came, O gods, [my lords], and have now taken vengeance on my father for this affair of Tudḫaliya the Younger. My father [died] because of the blood of Tudḫaliya. And the princes, the noblemen, the commanders of the thousands, and the officers who went over [to my father] also died because of [this] affair. This same affair also affected the (entire) land of Ḫatti, and

[Ḫatti] began to perish because of [this] affair. And Ḫatti [wasted(?)] away. Now the plague [has become] yet [worse]. Ḫatti has been [very much] oppressed by the plague and has become diminished. I, Muršili, [your servant], cannot [master] the turmoil [of my heart]. I cannot [master] the anguish of my body.

[The end of the obverse and the beginning of the reverse are too fragmentary for translation.]

(A rev. 8'-12') [... Because] my father [killed] this Tudḫaliya, my father therefore later [performed] a ritual of (expiation of) bloodshed. But Ḫattuša did not [perform] anything. I came along, and I performed [a ritual of bloodshed], but the population did [not] perform anything. [No one] did anything [on behalf of] the land.

(A rev. 13'-20') Now because Ḫatti has been very much beaten down by the plague, and Ḫatti continues to experience many deaths, the affair of Tudḫaliya has begun to trouble the land. It was ascertained for me (through an oracle) by [a god], and I made (further) oracular inquiries [about it]. They will perform before you, [the gods], my lords, the ritual of (transgressing of) the oath which was ascertained for you, [the gods], my lords, and for your temples in regard to the plague. They will purify [... before you]. And I will make restitution to you, the gods, my lords, with reparation and propitiatory gift on behalf of the land.

(A rev. 21'-40') Because you, the gods, my lords, have taken vengeance for the blood of Tudḫaliya, those who killed Tudḫaliya have made restitution for the blood. This bloodshed has again ruined Ḫatti. Ḫatti has already made (sufficient) restitution for it. Because I have now come along, I and my household will make restitution for it through reparation and propitiatory gift. Let the souls of the gods, my lords, again be appeased. May you, the gods, my lords, be well-disposed toward me once more. Let me appear [before you]. May you listen to what I say to you. I have [not] done anything evil. (Of) those who sinned and did do evil, not one is still here today. They all died off previously. But because the affair implicating my father has devolved upon me, on behalf of the land I am now giving to you, the gods, my [lords], a propitiatory gift on account of the plague. I am making restitution. I am making restitution to you with propitiatory gift and reparation. May you, the gods, my lords, [be] well-disposed toward me once more. Let me appear before you. Because Ḫatti has been oppressed by the plague, [and] has been diminished, [they prepared] the offering bread and libation for you, the gods, my lords. He (the murderer?) is very much beaten down by the plague, and it (Ḫatti?) was [...] from the plague. Meanwhile, the aforementioned plague does not simply take it

(Ḫatti) away, but people continue to die. These few bakers of offering bread and libation bearers who [are still here] — if they perish, no one will any longer give you offering bread or libation.

(A rev. 41'-51') May you, [the gods, my lords], be [well-disposed toward me once more] because of the offering bread and libation which [they prepare]. Let me appear before you. Send the plague [out of Ḫatti]. Let (no one) beat down any further these few bakers of offering bread [and libation bearers] who [are still here] for you. Let them not [continue to die in great numbers]. They shall prepare [offering bread] and libation for you. [Come], O gods, my lords. Send the plague [away]. Whatever evils [...] to the enemy land, [or which] occurred in the midst of Ḫatti concerning [Tudḫaliya], send them [... away], O gods. Send them to the enemy land. May you be well-disposed toward Ḫatti. Let [the plague] abate once more. [Because] I am appearing before you as your priest and your servant, may you be well-disposed [toward me]. Send away the turmoil from my heart. Take away the anguish from my body.

(A Colophon): [One tablet], complete. When Muršili [pled] his case.

Second Prayer

(C i 1-18) O Storm-god of Ḫatti, my lord, [and gods], my [lords, King] Muršili, your servant, has sent me (saying): Go speak to the Storm-god of Ḫatti, my lord, and to the gods, my lords, as follows: What is this that you have done? You have allowed a plague into Ḫatti, so that Ḫatti has been beaten down severely by the plague. In the time of my father (Šuppiluliuma I) and of my brother (Arnuwanda II) people were dying, and since I have become priest of the gods, people are continuing to die in my time. This is the twentieth year that people have been dying in Ḫatti. By no means has the plague been removed from Ḫatti. I cannot master the turmoil of my heart. I can no longer master the anguish of my body.

(C i 19-28; A obv. 2'-5') Furthermore, when I performed festivals, I paced back and forth (in worship) for all the gods. I did not privilege any single temple. I have pled my case concerning the plague to all the gods, and I have repeatedly offered [votive gifts to you (saying)]: "Listen [to me, O gods], my [lords, and send the plague out of Ḫatti. Ḫattuša simply cannot ...] master [the plague. Let the matter on account of which] people have been dying [in Ḫatti either be established through oracle], or [let me see] it [in a dream, or let a prophet (lit., 'man of god')] speak [of it]." But the gods [did not listen] to me, [and] the plague did not abate [in] Ḫatti. [Ḫatti has been beaten down severely].

(A obv. 6'-12') The [few] bakers of offering bread

[and libation bearers] of the gods who [still] remained died off. [The affair of ...] continued to trouble [me. I sought (the cause of) the anger] of the gods, [and I found] two old tablets. One tablet [dealt with the ritual of the Euphrates River...] Earlier kings [performed] the ritual of the Euphrates [...], but since the time of my father (Šuppiluliuma I) [people have been dying] in Hatti, [and] we have never performed [the ritual] of the Euphrates.

(A obv. 13'-24') The second tablet dealt with (the town of) Kuruštama — how the Storm-god of Hatti took the men of Kuruštama to Egyptian territory, and how the Storm-god of Hatti made a treaty concerning them with the Hittites. Furthermore, they were put under oath by the Storm-god of Hatti. And although the Hittites and the Egyptians had been put under oath by the Storm-god of Hatti, the Hittites came to repudiate (the agreement), and suddenly the Hittites transgressed the oath. My father sent infantry and chariotry, and they attacked the border region of Egyptian territory in the land of Amka. He sent (them) again, and they attacked again. When the Egyptians became frightened, they came and actually asked my father for his son for kingship. When my father gave them his son, and when they took him off, they killed him. My father became hostile, went to Egyptian territory, and attacked Egyptian territory. He killed the infantry and chariotry of Egypt.

(A obv. 25'-34') And at that time the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord, gave my father the upper hand in the lawsuit (manifest in the armed conflict), so that he defeated the infantry and chariotry of Egypt. He killed them. When the prisoners of war who had been captured were brought back to Hatti, the plague broke out among the prisoners of war, and they [began] to die in great numbers. When the prisoners of war were carried off to Hatti, the prisoners of war introduced the plague into Hatti, and from that time people have been dying in Hatti. When I found the tablet mentioned earlier dealing with Egypt, I made an oracular inquiry of a god about it: "Has this matter discussed earlier been brought about by the Storm-god of Hatti because the Egyptians and the Hittites had been put under oath by the Storm-god of Hatti?"

(A obv. 35'-46'; C iii 3'-7') It was ascertained (through an oracle) that the cause of the anger of the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord, was the fact that (although) the *damnaššara*-deities (guarantors of the oath?) were in the temple of the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord, the Hittites on their own suddenly transgressed the word (of the oath). Due to the plague I also made an oracular inquiry about the ritual of [the Euphrates], and at that point it was ascertained that I should appear before the Storm-

b Gen 4:7;
6:5; 8:21;
1 Kgs 8:46;
Ecc 7:20

c Deut 5:9;
Jer 31:29;
Ezek 18:2;
17:24

god of Hatti, my lord. I have (therefore) now confessed (my) [sin before the Storm-god]: It is true. We have done [it. But the sin] did [not] take place in my time. [Rather, it took place] in the time of my father. [...] I am certainly aware. [...] The Storm-god [of Hatti, my lord], is angry about [...] If people have been dying in Hatti, I am [now] pleading my [case] concerning this [to] the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord. I kneel down to you and [cry out]: "Have mercy!" Listen to me, O Storm-god, my lord. Let the plague be removed from Hatti.

(C iii 8'-19'; B iii 16'-20'; A rev. 8'-9') I will dispose of the matter which I thoroughly researched (through oracular inquiry) [and] of the affairs which were ascertained concerning the plague. I will make full restitution for them [...] In regard to the matter of [the oath] which was ascertained concerning the plague, I have offered the ritual [of] the oath for the Storm-god of Hatti, [my lord. For the gods, my lords], I have offered [it]. They have [...] a ritual] for you, the Storm-god of Hatti, [my lord], and [they have ...] a ritual for you, [the gods, my lords]. Because [the ritual of the Euphrates] was ascertained for me [concerning the plague], and because I am now on my way [to] the Euphrates, O Storm-god [of Hatti], my lord, and gods, my lords, leave me alone concerning the ritual of the Euphrates. I shall perform the ritual of [the Euphrates], and I shall perform it fully. In regard to such matter as I will do it, namely the plague — may the gods, my lords, be well-disposed toward me. Let the plague abate in Hatti.

(A rev. 10'-19') O Storm-god of Hatti, my lord, and gods, my lords — so it happens: People always sin.^b My father sinned and transgressed the word of the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord. But I did not sin in any way. But so it happens: The sin of the father devolves upon his son.^c The sin of my father has devolved upon me, and I have now confessed it to the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord, and to the gods, my lords: It is true. We have done it. Because I have confessed the sin of my father, let the souls of the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord, and of the gods, my lords, again be appeased. May you be well-disposed toward me once more. Send the plague away from Hatti again. Let those few bakers of offering bread and libation bearers who remain not die.

(A rev. 20'-36') I am now pleading my case concerning the plague to the Storm-god, my lord. Listen to me, O Storm-god of Hatti, my lord, and save me! [I say] to you [as follows]: The bird takes refuge in the nest, and the nest [saves] it. Or if anything has become troublesome to some servant, and he pleads his case to his lord, his lord will listen to him and correct for him whatever had be-

come troublesome [to him]. Or if a sin (hangs over) some servant, and he confesses the sin before his lord, then his lord may treat him however he wishes. But since he confesses his sin before his lord, the soul of his lord is appeased, and his [lord] does not call that servant to account. I have confessed the sin of my father: It is true. I did it. [If] there is any reparation (due), then there has indeed already been much because of this [plague introduced by] the prisoners of war whom they brought from the territory of Egypt and the civilian captives whom [they brought]. What is [this]? Hattuša has made restitution through the plague. It [has made restitution] twenty-fold.^d So it happens. And the souls of the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord, [and of] the gods, my lords, are simply not appeased. Or if you wish to impose upon me some special restitution, tell me about it in a dream so that I can give it to you.

(A rev. 37'-40') I repeatedly plead my case [to you], Storm-god of Hatti, my lord. Save me! [If] perhaps people have (indeed) been dying because of this matter, let those bakers of offering bread and libation bearers who remain not continue to die while I am correcting it.

(A rev. 41'-44'; C iv 14'-22') [Or] if people have been dying because of some other matter, let me either see it in a dream, or [let] it [be discovered] by means of an oracle, or let a prophet speak of it.^e Or the priests will sleep long and purely (in an incubation oracle) in regard to that which I convey to all of them. [...] Save me, O Storm-god of Hatti, my lord! Let the gods, my lords, reveal to me their providence. Let someone then see it in a dream. Let the matter on account of which people have been dying be discovered... Save me, O Storm-god of Hatti, my lord! Let the plague be removed from Hatti.

(C Colophon): One tablet, complete. [When] Muršili [...] because of the plague [...] pled his case].

Third Prayer

(obv. 1-6) O Sun-goddess of (the town of) Arinna, my lady, and gods, my lords, what [have you done]? You have allowed a plague into Hatti, so that Hatti has been beaten down severely [by the plague]. In the time of my father (Šuppiluliuma I) and of my brother (Arnuwanda II), [people were dying]. Now I have become priest of the gods, [and] people are continuing to die [in my time]. This is the twentieth year [that] people have been dying [in great numbers in Hatti]. Hatti [has been very much oppressed] by the plague.

(obv. 7-13) Hatti has been very much beaten down by the plague. [If someone] produces a child, the [...] of plague [will ...] to him. He may attain adulthood, but he will not [grow old...] will remain

^d Isa 40:2

^e 1 Sam 28:6

for someone. He [will experience the plague(?)]. To [his] previous condition [he will] not [return]. If he should become old [...], he will not be warm.

[The bottom of the obverse and the upper portion of the reverse have been lost.]

(rev. 2'-14') Now I, Muršili, [have pled my case. Listen] to me, O gods, my lords. [Send(?) away] the turmoil from my heart. [Let] the plague [be removed] from Hatti. Send [it] to the enemy lands. In Hatti [...] If you, the gods, my lords, [do not send] the plague [away] from Hatti, the bakers of offering bread and the libation bearers [will die]. And if they die off, [the offering bread] and the libation will be cut off for the gods, [my lords]. Then you will come to me, O gods, [my lords], and hold this (to be) a sin [on my part] (saying): "Why [don't you give] us offering bread and libation?" May you now be well-disposed to Hatti once more, O gods, my lords. Send the plague away again. [Let the plague abate] in Hatti. Let it (Hatti) thrive and grow. Let it [return] to its previous condition.

Fourth Prayer

(A i 1-16) O gods, my lords: Exalted Storm-god, the two lords of Landa, Iyarri, the deities of Hattuša, the deities of Arinna, the deities of Zippalanda, the deities of Tuwanuwa, the deities of Hupišna, the deities of Turmitta, the deities of Ankuwa, the deities of Šamuha, the deities of Šarišša, the deities of Hurma, the deities of Hanhana, the deities of Karaḥna, the deities of Illaya, Kamrušepa of Taniwanda, the deities of Zarruiša, the Storm-god of Liḫzina, the Tutelary Deity of the Army Camp of the father of My Majesty which is in Maraššantiya, Uliliyašši of Parmanna, the deities of Kattila, the Storm-god of Hašuna, the deities of Muwanu(?), the deities of Zazziša, the Telipinus whose temples(?) in the land have been destroyed, the deities of Šalpa, and the Storm-god of [Arziya(?)].

(A i 17-20) O gods, my lords, I, Muršili, your priest, have now bowed down to you. Lend an ear and listen for me to the matter on account of which I have bowed down to you.

(A i 21-35) O gods, my lords, since earliest times you have been concerned with [humans], and you have [not] abandoned humankind. [You have] (rather) very much [safeguarded] humankind. Your divine servants [were] numerous, and they(!) set out for the gods, my lords, offering bread and libation. But now you have turned on humankind, so that it happened that in the time of [my] grandfather (Tudḫaliya III) Hatti was oppressed. [It was devastated] by the enemy. Then humankind [was diminished] by the plague; your [divine] servants [were reduced in number]. And of you, [the gods], my lords, [one had no] temple, and [the temple] of

another [fell into ruin]. Whoever [served] before a god perished. [No] one performed for you the rites [which ...]

(A i 36-46) [But] when my [father] took his seat in kingship, [you], the gods, my lords, stood with him. He resettled once more the [depopulated] lands. [And for you], the gods, my lords, in whatever temple there were no [furnishings], or whatever divine image had been destroyed — my father made up that which he was able to do. He did not make up that which he was not able to do. O gods, [my] lords, you were never troublesome to my father, and you were never troublesome to me, but now you have troubled me.

(A i 47-55) When it happened that my father [went] to Egypt — since the time of (the campaign against) Egypt, the plague has persisted in [Ḫatti]. And from that [time] (the population of) Ḫatti has been dying. [My] father repeatedly made oracular inquiries, but he did not discover (the mind of) you, the gods, <my> lords, through the oracles. And I have repeatedly made oracular inquiries of you, but I have not discovered (the mind of) you, the gods, my lords, through the oracles.

[For the following section the scribe of the primary manuscript indicates that the tablet from which he was copying had been destroyed.]

(B ii 3'-11') Because the gods, my lords, not [...] Because your eyes [...] I am already aware in regard to you [...] I will make] up [everything(?) for

you]. I will restore the [furnishings] for whatever [god] has [a temple] but no divine [furnishings]. I will rebuild a temple for whatever god [has no temple]. I will restore whatever divine image has been destroyed, [as] the image [had been] previously [...]

[A long break intervenes.]

(A iv 1-5) [...] Should I have restored it for [the gods], my lords, either with (the resources of) the land, or with the infantry and chariotry? If I should reestablish the gods — since my household, land, infantry, and chariotry continue to die, by what means should I reestablish you, O gods?

[Here the earlier tablet had once more been damaged.]

(A iv 16-28) And since they(!) died, by what means should I reestablish [you]? O gods, be well-disposed to me once more because of this [fact]. Bring me peace. Send the plague away from the land once more. Let it abate in the towns where people are dying. Let the plague not return to the towns in which it has (already) abated. [I have said] to myself(?) thus: "[If] the previously-mentioned matter concerning the god is true, my father [could not discover it (the mind of the gods)] through an oracle, nor could I discover it [through an oracle]. But Ḫatti [has made an oracular inquiry], and [has now discovered] it through an oracle." I have pled my case. [...]

[The final few lines are too fragmentary for translation.]

REFERENCES

Text: CTH 378; First Prayer: A. KUB 14.14 + KUB 19.1 + KUB 19.2 + KBo 3.47 + 1858/u + Bo 4229 + Bo 9433. B. KUB 23.3. Second Prayer: A. KUB 14.8. B. KUB 14.11 + 650/u. C. KUB 14.10 + KUB 26.86. Third Prayer: KUB 14.12. Fourth Prayer: A. KUB 14.13 + KUB 23.124. B. KBo 22.71. Bibliography: ANET 394-396 (Second Prayer only); TUAT 2/6:808-810 (First Prayer only); Malamat 1955; Bernabé 1987:279-284; Hoffner 1971b; Goetze 1930; Lebrun 1980:191-239.

3. RITUALS

THE "RITUAL BETWEEN THE PIECES" (1.61)

Billie Jean Collins

This ritual is written on a *Sammeltable*, which, judging by the use of double paragraph dividers, contains at least ten separate compositions. The final composition is a lustration ritual to be performed in the event of military defeat. It has been dated to the Middle Hittite period. The tablet itself, however, was copied in the Empire period.

If the troops are defeated by the enemy, then they prepare the "behind the river" ritual as follows: Behind the river they sever a human,¹ a billy-goat, a puppy^a (and) a piglet. On one side they set halves

^a Isa 66:3-4a
^b Gen 15:7-18

and on the other side they set the (other) halves.^b In front (of these) they make a gate of hawthorn and stretch a cord(?) up over (it). Then, before the gate, on one side they burn a fire and on the other

¹ Possibly a prisoner of war.

side they burn a fire. ² The troops go through, ^c but when they come alongside the river, they sprinkle water over them(selves). They perform the ritual	c Jer 34:18-20	again in the steppe. They celebrate the ritual of the steppe in the same way. ³
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² A fire is not always required in such rituals.

³ For other examples of the "ritual between the pieces" see Collins (1990).

REFERENCES

Text: CTH 426; KUB 17.28 iv 45-56. Editions: Collins 1990; Kümmel 1967:150-152; Masson 1950. Discussion: Eitrem 1947; Moyer 1983.

PULIŠA'S RITUAL AGAINST PLAGUE (1.62)

Billie Jean Collins

Puliša's Ritual ^a was recorded on a *Sammeltafel*. It is one of a handful of Hittite scapegoat rituals, all of which were performed to counteract plague. This particular ritual uses human beings as the scapegoats, both belonging to the enemy population and therefore expendable. They act as substitutes for the king, with whom responsibility for divine disfavor and the welfare of the population ultimately lay. Both a male and a female substitute were required to allow for a deity of either sex. The rituals with the man and the woman are followed immediately by identical rites involving a bull and a ewe.

§1 [T]hus says Puliša [... when the king] strikes an enemy [la]nd and marches [away from the border of the enemy land, if then ...] either some [male] deity [or female deity of the enemy land is angered(?) and (as a result) among] the people a plague occur[s, I do the following:]	a Lev 16	§3 He speak[s t]o the woman also in the same way in case of a fema[le dei]ty.
§2 As he [is marching a]way from the border of the land of the enemy, they take one prisoner and one woman of the (enemy's) land. [On which(ever) road] the ki[ng] came from the land of the enemy, the king tr[avels] on that road. All of the lords travel with him. One prisoner and one woman they bring before him. He removes the garments from his body. They put them on the man. But on the woman [they p]ut the garments of a woman. To the man the king says as follows (if it is [not] convenient for the king, then he sen[ds] another and that one takes care of the ritual) that one [sa]ys [to] the man as follows: "If some male god of the enemy land has caused this plague, for him I have just given an adorned man as a substitute. This o[ne] is gr[ea]t with respect to his head, this one is great with respect to his heart, and this [one] is gr[ea]t with respect to his limb. You male god, be pacified with t[his ad]orned man. Turn [agai]n in friendship to the king, the [lords], the ar[my, and] to the land of Ḫatti. [...] but [let] this prisoner be[ar] the plague and transport (it) ba[ck] into the land of the enemy.]"		§4 Afterward, [they drive up] one bull and one e[we and ...] of the la[nd] of the enemy. Th[ey ...] him, his ears, an earrin[g ...]. Red wool, yellow-green wool, bla[ck] wool, [white wool ...] he dra[ws] forth from the king's mouth. [He says as follows:] "Because the king kept becoming blood[-red, yellow-green, b]lack [and white ..., let t]hat [...] back to the land of the en[emy] and [for] the person of [the king], the lords, the inf[antry], the [cha]riotry [...] do not] take notice, (but) take notice of it for the land of the enemy." ... The ašušant- bull [they bring before him(?) and] he [s]ays as follows: "The god [of]the enem[y] who [caused this plague], if he is a male god, to you I have gi[ven] an [ado]rned, ašušant-, and powerful(?) [bull]. You, O male god, be pacified. Let [th]is bull carry [this plague] back into the land of the enemy. [Turn again in friendship to the king, to the prin]ces, the lords, the army and to the la[nd of Ḫatti]."
		§5 Afterwards, he speaks to the ado[rned] ewe [also in the same way] in case of a female deity.
		§6 Then th[ey] send the ašušant- bull [and the ewe] to run in front [of the prisoner] and the woman.
		§7 Then afterwards [...].

REFERENCES

Text: CTH 407; Duplicates: A. KBo 15.1 i 1 - ii 4, B. KBo 21.9 (= A i 34-39); Edition: Kümmel 1967:111-125; Translation: Wright 1987:45-47. Discussions: Gurney 1977:47-58; Moyer 1983:35; Janowski and Wilhelm 1993.

UḪḪAMUWA'S RITUAL AGAINST PLAGUE (1.63) ^a

Billie Jean Collins

§1 Thus says UḪḪamūwa, man of Arzawa. If in the land there is continual dying and if some god of the enemy has caused it, then I do as follows:	a Lev 16	
§2 They bring in one wether and they combine blue wool, red wool, yellow-green wool, black wool and white wool and they make it into a wreath and they wreath the one wether and they drive the wether forth on the road to the enemy and they say to him (the god) as follows: "What god of the enemy has made this plague, now this wreathed wether we have brought for your pacification, O god! Just as a fortress is strong and (yet) is at peace with this wether, may you, the god who has made this plague, be at peace in the same way with the land of Hatti. Turn again in friendship to the land of Hatti." Then they drive the wreath-		ed sheep into the enemy territory. §3 Afterward they bring fodder for the god's horses and sheep fat, and they recite as follows, "You have harnessed your horses. Let them eat this fodder and let them be satiated. Let your chariot be anointed with this sheep fat. Turn toward your land, O Storm God. Turn in friendship toward the land of Hatti." §4 Afterward they bring one billy goat and two sheep. He consecrates the goat to the Heptad, and one sheep he consecrates to the Sun God, but the other sheep they kill and (then) they cook it. Then they bring one cheese, one rennet, one <i>pulla</i> -vessel, a sour-bread, one <i>hūppar</i> -vessel of wine, one <i>hūppar</i> -vessel of beer, and fruit. They prepare these for the god of the journey.

REFERENCES

Text: CTH 410; Duplicates: A. HT 1 ii 17-47 (NS), B. KUB 9.31 ii 43-iii 13 (NH), C. KUB 41.17 ii 18-24. Translations: Friedrich 1925:10; ANET 347; Wright 1987:55-57. Discussions: Gurney 1977:47-58; Janowski and Wilhelm 1993:135 and passim.

ZARPIYA'S RITUAL (1.64)

Billie Jean Collins

The Ritual of Zarpiya ^a is the second of three scapegoat rituals contained on a single *Sammeltafel*. The author of the text is from Kizzuwatna and as a result the text is laden with Luwian words and incantations, often rendering translation difficult. The first half of the ritual involves an oath-taking on the part of the participants; the second half is a scapegoat ritual of sorts. The human scapegoats in this case are nine young boys. The theme of the number nine is repeated throughout the ritual. The gods at whom the ritual is directed are Šantaš and the Innarawanteš, a group of deities perhaps totalling nine.

§1 [Thus says Zarpiya, physician of Kizzuwatna, (regarding) [when the year] is ruinous (and) in the land there is continual dying. [Then] in which(ever) city (there is) ruin as a result, [the master of (each)] house will do as follows:	a Lev 16	
§2 I hang up the <i>kelu</i> - [of the cli]ent. Its <i>huppali</i> - is bronze. Its [<i>kariu</i>]/li-[cloth] is of a shaggy lion-skin. But its footstool is of basalt, and its (the footstool's) <i>hazziul</i> is a paw(?) of lapis, the strong paw(?) of a bear, [...] but he h[angs the ...] of a wild goat.		while on the other side he hangs one (piece) on a peg (made of) cornel wood. §4 First and foremost, in front on that side he hits the apricot(?) wood peg into the gate. He hangs a cooked <i>kuggulaš</i> of barley flour, a <i>kuggulaš</i> of <i>hariyanti</i> -barley flour, and one jug of wine. On this side, however, he hits [the peg] of cornel wood i[n]to the gate], and from it (the peg) he hangs a cooked <i>kuggulaš</i> of barley flour, a <i>kuggulaš</i> of <i>hariyanti</i> -barley flour, and one jug of wine.
§3 And the <i>ali</i> -s are of black wool and red wool (and) the yellow wool of the town of Ḫarnu-wašila. Before the sinew of a dog is ...ed, he [...] three [...]. On one side he hangs one (piece) on a peg (made of) apricot(?) wood, ¹		§5 With the pegs, a white bush is stuck in/planted. Downwards from the ground [...] downwards at the front. On either side he buries <i>wašši</i> -, whose name is <i>huwallari</i> . Furthermore, the gate behind the door of the courtyard on which he hangs the <i>kelu</i> -s — down in

¹ For the identification of *GišSĒNNUR* see Postgate 1987:131.

- front of the *kelu-s* he places a wicker table and on top of it he sets an ax² of bronze, one warm bread, thick bread (and) cheese. Thereon (he sets) a bronze ax, a bronze dagger, a strung bow, [and] one arrow.
- §6 Down in front on the wicker table he places one *huppar*-vessel of wine from the *puri*-stand, and from the *puri*-stand he places one pitcher of *PIHU* drinking beer. Into the pitcher of *PIHU* drinking beer he inserts one straw.
- §7 They bring in one billy-goat and the master of the estate libates it with wine before the table for Šantaš. Then he holds out the bronze ax and says as follows: "Come Šantaš! Let the Innarawanteš-deities come with you, (they) who are wearing bloodied (clothes), who have bound on (themselves) the sashes(?) of the mountain dwellers,
- §8 who are girt(?) with daggers, who hold strung bows and arrows. "Come and eat! We will swear (an oath)." When he is finished speaking, he places the bronze ax³ down on the table and they slit (the throat of) the billy-goat.
- §9 He takes the blood and the straw that was left in the mug — he anoints that with the blood. Then they bring the raw liver and the heart and the master of the estate holds them out for the gods. Further he takes a bite (and) they imitate (him).⁴ He puts (his) lips on the straw and sips and says as follows:
- §10 "O Šantaš and Innarawanteš-deities, we have just taken the oath.
- §11 We have bitten from the raw liver; from a single straw we have drunk. O Šantaš and Innarawanteš-deities, do not approach my gate again." They cook the liver and heart on a fire and they butcher the entire goat "plain."
- §12 Then, when the fat arrives, they bring out the liver and heart and the flesh — everything — to the god. With it they bring two times nine thick loaves (made) from wheat flour of one-half handful (of flour). He breaks nine loaves. Over these they place the liver and heart and he sets them back on the table and says as follows: "Eat, O Sun God of Heaven above and below. Let the gods of the father of the house eat! Let the thousand gods eat.
- §13 And for this oath be witnesses." Next he libates the wine nine times before the table of the Innarawanteš-deities. He takes the shoulder and the breast (of the sacrifice) and breaks nine loaves of bread.
- §14 He scatters them on the potstand and pours wine opposite. Then they bring (in) nine(!)⁵ boys who have not yet gone to a woman. On one boy they put a goatskin and that one walks in front and calls (out) in the manner of a wolf. They surround the tables and devour the shoulder and breast.
- §15 But [when they] wish to eat [...], he brings (them) in the same way and they devour the li[ver and heart]. They also drink. [He brings] the pitcher [of *PIHU* drinking beer] and they drink the pitcher of *PIHU* beer.
- §16 The master of the house <holds> a staff/branch from a *šuruhha*-tree, steps into the gate and in Luwian conjures as follows:
- §§17-18 {Luwian incantation}
- §19 He breaks a thick bread, while reciting as follows in Luwian:
- §§20-21 {Luwian incantation}
- §22 They take up the ritual implements and he closes the door. He anoints it with fine oil, and says:
- §23 "Let (the door) shut out evil and let it keep in good."
- §24 One tablet. Finished. The word of Zarpiya, physician from Kizzuwatna. If a year is ruinous and the land is dying, then the *kelu*-rituals he offers in this way.

²Hittite *ateš*- is unambiguously translated "ax" although how big this weapon was and what type of ax are matters of speculation. See Beal 1986.

³Presumably the bronze dagger in §5 was used for slitting the animal's throat, which prompts the question: what is the purpose of the ax here? I would suggest, based on Greek parallels, that the ax was used to stun the animal prior to killing it. This must have occurred in §7 during the recitation, which is when he is said to be holding the ax. The text fails to mention the act itself, we must assume, because it was taken for granted, as were so many other details of Hittite sacrifice.

⁴Hitt. *himma*- "model, replica, imitation (of an object or animal)." The sense here seems to be that other participants in the ritual imitate the master of the house in biting from the liver and heart, since in §11 the text says that "we (plural) have bitten." Differently HED H 314.

⁵The text says eight.

REFERENCES

Text: CTH 757. Duplicates: A = KUB 9.31 i - ii 42 (MH/NS); B = HT 1 i - ii 16 (MH/NS); C = KUB 35.9; D = KUB 35.10; E = Bo 4809 (Otten and Rüster 1978:276, no. 68); F. KBo 34.243 (Rüster 1992:477f.). Edition: Schwartz 1938; Parital Translation: Starke 1985b:46-55. Discussion: Collins 1989:55f.

RITUAL AND PRAYER TO ISHTAR OF NINEVEH (1.65)

Billie Jean Collins

The beginning of this text, containing a ritual for the goddess, is broken. In §4, where the text becomes legible, the officiant is reciting an invocation.

- §3 [...] they cover [her?] with a cloth [...] all the singers play [the ...-instruments] and sin[g]. [...] outside on seven paths [...] they go to [...] and [...]. The diviner [sets(?)] down a table. ... red, what are la[id] for soldier breads [...] he takes, and the singers pull [...] of the path (or: for the paths?).
- §4 [...] He says as follows "... O Ištar [...] I will keep [...]ing and for you ... [If you are in Nineveh] then come from Nineveh. (But) if you are [in] R[imuš], then come from Rimuš. If you are in Dunta, then come from Du[nta].
- §5 (O Ištar,) [if you are] in [Mittanni], then come from Mittanni. [If you are in ..., then come from] If you are in Dunippa then [come from] Duni[ppa]. If you are in Ugarit then com[e] from Ugarit. [If you are in ... then come from ...]. Come from Dunanapa. [Come from Come from Come] from Alal-haz. [Come from Come from] A[murra.] Come from Zīduna. [Come from] Come from Nu[hāšša]. Come from Kulzila. [Come from] Come from Zunzurha. Come from Aššur. [Come from] Come from Kašga. Come from every land. [Come from] Alašiya. Come from Ālziya. Come from Papanha. [Come from] Come from Ammaha. Come from Hayaša. [Come from] Come from Karkiya. [Come] from the lands of Arzauwa. [Come from] Come from the land of Maša. [Come] from Kuntara. [Come from] Come from Ura. Come from Luḥma. [Come from ...]. Come from Partahuina. Com[e] from Kašula. [Come from]
- §6 If (you are) in the rivers and streams [then come from there.] If for the cowherd and shepherds [you ...] and (you are) among them, then come away. If (you are) among [the ...], if you are with the Sun Goddess of the Earth and the Primor[dial Gods] then come from those.
- §7 Come away from these countries. For the king, the queen (and) the princes bring life, health, streng[th], longevity, contentment(?), obedience (and) vigor, (and) to the land of Ḥatti growth of crops (lit., grain), vines, cattle, sheep (and) humans, šalḫitti-, mannitti- and annari-.
- §8 Take away from the (enemy) men manhood,
- a Deut 18:9-12; 22:5
- b 1 Sam 28:8-15; Isa 8:19; 29:4
- courage, vigor and *māl*, maces, bows, arrows (and) dagger(s), and bring them into Ḥatti. For those (i.e., the enemy) place in the hand the distaff and spindle of a woman and dress them like women. Put the scarf¹ on them and take away from them your favor.^{2 a}
- §9 But from the women take away motherliness, love (and) *mūšni*- and bring it into the Ḥatti-land. Afterwards care for the king, the queen, the sons of the king (and) the grandsons of the king in wellbeing, life, health, vigor, (and) long years forever. Sustain it and make it rich. Let the land of Ḥatti, (which is) for you (both) bride and offspring, be a pure land.
- §10 I have handed over to you the land of Ḥatti (which) again (has been) damaged. O Ištar of Nineveh, Lady, do you not know how the land of Ḥatti is damaged by this deadly plague?
- §11 The diviner breaks one thin loaf for Ištar of Nineveh and crumbles it into the spring. Afterward he again breaks one thin loaf for Ištar of Nineveh and sets it down on the table. He sprinkles oatmeal before the table. Next he sprinkles meal into the spring.
- §12 Further, before the table on the oatmeal he sprinkles sweet oil cake (and) meal. He libates wine three times into the spring and libates three times before the table.
- §13 The diviner says these words, and when they attract (lit., pull) her with the thick loaf, they fill a *KUKUB*-vessel with water besides. Then in that place they open up ritual pits,^b and the diviner pulls the deity up from there seven times with "ear" loaves. He says, "If the king, queen, or princes — anyone — has done something and has buried it, I am now pulling it from the earth." He recites the same words again, and they do the same in that place also.
- §14 He cuts into one thin loaf and sets it on a pine cone. He pours fine oil on it and the diviner having taken the "ear" bread pulls the deity from the fire fourteen times and says as follows: "I have pulled it from the fire."
- §15 He recites the same words again. He sets down the "ear" bread at the soldier loaves and buries one large bird for Ištar of Nineveh and *ḫūwalzi*-s. But they burn two birds for *unalzi*.
- §16 When he is finished, the diviner takes up the table and in front of the red headband that lies

¹ A garment associated with women.² For Deut 18:9-12, see Hallo *BP* Sel. 53; for Deut 22:5, see Hoffner 1966:331.

on the table he holds another, and they bring (it) in to the goddess. The singers play the INANNA-instrument and the cymbals(?) and

sing. They bring the god back into the temple.

[The remaining §§ are too fragmentary for translation.]

REFERENCES

Text: *CTH* 716. Duplicates: A = KUB 15.35 + KBo 2.9(MH/NS); B = KBo 2.36; C = KBo 21.48 (MH/NS). Discussions: Archi 1977; Bossert 1946:34f.; Ehret 1937:68; Hoffner 1966:331; 1967:391f.; Sommer 1921.

THE FIRST SOLDIERS' OATH (1.66)

Billie Jean Collins

The following is the second tablet¹ of a two-tablet text of a military oath, known as the first soldiers' oath. The language of the composition indicates that it was composed in the Middle Hittite period (late 15th century BCE), although the copies that survive were inscribed in the Empire period. The text is especially interesting for its parallels in the literature of other cultures, including Indian, Mesopotamian, Greek and Israelite.

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| <p>§1 [...] he places [cedar in] their [hands]. [...] they [...] it]. He [spread]s [out]² a net [...] and he says to them, ["this [...] is it not [...] in(?)] his house? Do the gods [not [...] them? Just as cedar [...] its fragrance [...].³</p> <p>§2 [...⁴ these oajth d[eities [...].⁵</p> <p>§3 [The diviner(?)⁶ ...]s and says, ["Because] [this person wajs living and used to find heaven above, now they have blinded him in the place of the oath. [...] Who transgre[sses] these oaths and takes deceptive action against the king of Hatti, and sets (his) eyes upon the land of Hatti as an enemy, may these oath deities seize him and [may they] blind his army too, and further, may they deafen them. May comrade not see comrade. May this one not hear [that one]. May they give them a horrible d[eath]. May they fetter their feet with a wrapping below, and bind their hands above. Just as the oath deities bound the troops of the land of Arzawa by their hands and feet and set them in a heap, in the same way may they bind his troops too, and set them in a heap.</p> <p>§4 He places yeast in their hands and they lick it.</p> | <p style="text-align: right;">a Ps 68:2</p> <p>Then he says as follows⁷: "What is this? Is it not yeast? Just as they take a little of this yeast and mix it into the kneading bowl and (as) they let the bowl sit for one day, and it (i.e., the dough) rises, who transgresses these oaths and takes deceptive action against the king of Hatti and sets his eyes upon Hatti as an enemy, may these oath deities seize him. May he be completely broken up by diseases. May he carry off (i.e., suffer) a horrible death." They say, "(So) be it."⁸</p> <p>§5 He places wax and sheep fat in their hands and he casts (some) on the flame and says, "Just as this wax melts ^a and just as the sheep fat is rendered,⁹ who breaks the oath and takes deceptive action against the king of Hatti, may he melt like the wax and may he be rendered like the sheep fat." They say, "(So) be it."</p> <p>§6 He places sinew (and) salt in their hands and he casts (some of) them into the flame. He says as follows: "Just as this sinew melts(?)¹⁰ on the hearth, just as salt disintegrates on the hearth, so may he who transgresses these oaths and takes deceptive action against the</p> |
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¹ The first tablet of the First Soldiers' Oath survives in a fragmentary state only, making a coherent translation impossible. Duplicates to tablet one: A = KBo 21.10; B = KUB 40.13; C = KUB 48.75; D = KBo 27.12.

² This restoration has been proposed by H. A. Hoffner, Jr., personal communication. On the meaning of *ekt*- see Hoffner 1977.

³ Three lines broken.

⁴ Four lines broken.

⁵ One line broken.

⁶ The identity of the person administering the oath is not preserved. As suggested here, he may have been a diviner (^{1b}HAL), one of a select number of professions qualified to carry out rituals of this kind.

⁷ Text has KL.MIN "ditto."

⁸ Oettinger 1976:73.

⁹ English "render" refers to the extraction of the fat from the solid in the process of cooking, as for example, when bacon is fried. Cf. *CHD* L-N 180f.

¹⁰ A *hapax legomenon*. Oettinger 1976:9 translates: "verschmoren" ("smeared").

- king of Hatti and sets (his) eyes upon the land of Hatti as an enemy, may these oaths (var. oath deities) seize him and like the sinew may he melt(?) and like the salt may he disintegrate. Also, just as the salt does not (produce) its seed, for that man, may his name, his progeny, his household, his cattle, and his sheep perish in the same way."
- §7 He places malt and beer seasoning in their hands and they lick it. He says to them as follows: "Just as they mill this beer seasoning with a millstone and mix it with water and cook it and mash it, who transgresses these oaths and takes part in evil against the king, the queen or against the princes or against the land of Hatti, may these oath deities seize him and in the same way may they mill his bones and in the same way may they heat him up and in the same way may they mash him. May he carry off a horrible death." They say, "(So) be it."
- §8 "Just as this malt has no propagation, (and) they do not carry it to the field and make it (into) seed, and they do not make it (into) bread and store it in the storehouse, for him who transgresses these oaths and takes part in evil against the king, queen or against the princes, may the oath deities destroy his future in the same way, and may his wives not bear him a son or a daughter. In the plain, the field and the meadow may the vegetation not grow. May his cattle and sheep not bear calf or lamb."
- §9¹¹ They bring a woman's garment, a distaff and a spindle and they break an arrow (lit., reed). You say to them as follows: "What are these? Are they not the dresses of a woman? We are holding them for the oath-taking. He who transgresses these oaths and takes part in evil against the king, queen and princes may these oath deities make (that) man (into) a woman. May they make his troops women. Let them dress them as women.^b Let them put a scarf on them. Let them break the bows, arrows, and weapons in their hands and let them place
- b Deut 18:9-12; 22:5
- c Num 5:16-28
- the distaff and spindle in their hands (instead)."
- §10 They lead before them a woman, a blind man and a deaf man and you say to them as follows: "Here (are) a woman, a blind man and a deaf man. Who takes part in evil against the king and queen, may the oath deities seize him and make (that) man (into) a woman. May they b[li]nd him like the blind man. May they d[ea]f[en] him like the deaf man. And may they utt[erly] destroy him, a mortal, together with his wives, his sons, and his clan."
- §11^c ¹² He places [in] their hands a fig[urine of a man]¹³ with its [in]sides full of water, and says as follows: "Who is this? Has he no[t] taken an oath? He took [an oath] before the gods, then he [tra]nsgressed the oath, and the oath deities seized him. His insides filled (with water). With his hands he holds his stomach lifted up in front. May these oath deities seize whoever transgresses these oaths. May his insides fill (with water). Within his insides may the child(ren?) of Išhara¹⁴ (i.e., disease) [dwell(?)] and may they devour him."¹⁵
- §12 He holds out [a ...] and he [thro]ws it face (lit., eyes) down and they trample it with their foot. He says to them as follows: "Who breaks these oaths let it happen that the [troop]s of Hatti trample his city with (their) foot in the same way, and that they render the settlements deserted."
- §13 They inflate a [bl]adder¹⁶ and [tra]mple it with their foot, so that the air is [ex]pelled. He says, "As this has been emptied, let the house of who(ever) transgresses these oaths be emptied of people, his cattle and his sheep in the same way."
- §14 You set an oven down before them and you set down before (them) models of a plow, a wagon and a chariot. They break them up. And he says as follows: "Who transgresses these oaths, for him may the Storm God break up (his) plow. Just as vegetation does not come up from an oven, may wheat and barley not come up in his field. Let cress (var. weeds)

¹¹ See Hoffner 1966 on the meaning of the magic used in this paragraph.

¹² The figurine has dropsy. Oettinger 1976:72 has suggested that dropsy as a punishment for oath-breaking and the practice of "Schwur beim Wasser" was a legacy of proto-Indo-European religion. See his discussion on pp. 71-73.

¹³ Restoration suggested by H. A. Hoffner, Jr., personal communication. Such a figurine has been recovered; see Börker-Klähn 1992.

¹⁴ Išhara was a Netherworld goddess whose particular sphere was medicine and disease. See the discussion by Burde 1974:12-16. The "child" or "children(?)" of Išhara could therefore be disease(s), an idea that seems to suit this context. Alternatively, Oettinger 1976:41 attributes her presence here to her role as "Königin des Eides," further suggesting that Išhara together with the Moon God (who appears by name only in the second soldiers' oath, see below) are the oath deities referred to in this text.

¹⁵ Oettinger 1976:40f. offers an alternative possibility, restoring: *an-dur-za-ma-[aš-ši]-kán I-NA ŠA-ŠU DUMU <-an> 'Iš-ḫa-a-ra <-aš> ['šN ap-pa-an-d]u na-an ka-ri-pa-an-du "drinnen aber in seinem Innern sollen [ihm] den Sohn Išhara (und) [der Mondgott ergreifen] und ihn fressen!"* solving the problem of the plural verb by adding an additional subject. There is room for his restoration, but the fact that the Moon God does not appear elsewhere in this text (although he does appear in the second soldiers' oath, see below) renders his restoration uncertain.

¹⁶ [nu UZU]ulan is another possible restoration. *ula-* is a body part, but which one is not known. *walula-* may not be "bladder." Cf. CHD P *panduḫa-* "bladder(?)."

go up (instead)." §15 You give to them a red pelt and he says, "Just as they make this red pelt blood colored and from it the bl[oo]d color does not leach out, in the same way may the oath deities seize you and may it (i.e., the blood color) not leave you." §16 He sprinkles water on the fire and says to them as follows: "As this burning fire was extinguished, who[ever] breaks these oaths,		let these oath deities seize him, and also may his life, his youth, (and) his prosperity in future — together with his wives and his sons — be extinguished in the same way. May the oath deities curse him cruelly. May the meadow not thrive for his herd, his flock (and) his livestock. And from his field and furrow may vegetation not come for him." §17 Second Tablet. When they bring the troops for the oath.
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REFERENCES

Text: CTH 427. Duplicates: A = KBo 6.34 + KUB 48.76; B = KUB 40.16 + KUB 7.59 (+) 342/u (+) 524/u (+) 1087/z + 797/v; C = KUB 40.13. Editions: Friedrich 1924; Oettinger 1976. Translations: ANET 353f.; Cornil 1994:102-108. Discussions: Börker-Klähn 1992; Burde 1974; Hoffner 1966; 1977.

THE SECOND SOLDIERS' OATH (1.67)

Billie Jean Collins

This text is of New Hittite date and shows many developments from the older example translated above. Among other things, there are marked Hurrian influences.¹

§1' [... If you transgress these oaths ...] may they [...], may they [...], may they [...]. §2' But [if you keep them], for you (pl.). [...] he says: [...] §3' [He] h[olds] out torches [to them, and says,] "[...] these torches [...], if [you transgress] these [words,] may Umpa² and Šarruma³ [destroy you along with your ...]." §4' "And as [the fire(?) ...] burns [the torches ...] again [he ...]s, (so) he who [transgresses] these wor[ds ...] entirely(?) from the dark [netherworld ...] again to the dark netherworld [may he not(?) ...]. §5' "[But if] you [keep them (i.e. the words), may it be] wel[l] with you." §6' [Afterwards] they extinguish [the torches], [and he says] to them [as follows: "...just as] the torches [...] and no one [...] him/it, [... in the same way who transgresses these words may] no one [... him ...]." §7' "[Just as you have] extinguish[ed the torches, ...], may he [who transgresses] these wo[rds b]e extinguished [in the same way along with] his [progeny,] his house, his wife [...⁴] and to you (pl.) [...]." §8' [He places bowls in their hands and] they break [them] up [...] at the same time [say- ing] as follows: "[These are not bowls], they		are your heads. [If] you do [not] keep [them (i.e., the words)] may the gods break [up your heads in the same way], and [may they ...] you in the [same way.] §9' "Bu[t if] you keep them may [the gods] break up [a horrible death] for [yo]u in the same way." §10' [Aft]erwards they pour out water [and simul- taneously] he sa[ys as follows]: "Just as the earth [swallows down] this water and after- ward no trace of it is visible, may the earth swallow [you] down in the same way, and, like the water, may no [trace] of you be visible afterward." §11' [Aft]erwards he pours out wine, and simul- taneously [he says as follows:] "[This] is not w[in]e, it is your blood. [Just as] the earth swallowed (this) dow[n], may the earth swal- low down your [blood] and [...] in the same way." §12' [After]wards he pours water into the wine and [simultaneously] says as [follo]ws: "Just as this water [is mixed] with the wine, may these oath deities mix sick[ness] within your bodies in the same way." §13' (Concerning) t[his wh]ich is from the head, may the Moon God continually strike you.⁵ May [...] flee from [your] insides and for you
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¹ See Oettinger 1976:52f., 58, 94.

² This divine name, usually spelled Umbu, belongs firmly in the Hurrian pantheon. Umbu is a Moon God.

³ Storm God and son of Tešub and Hebat, forming the third member of the Hurrian triad adopted by the Hittites in the period of the Empire.

⁴ Two lines broken.

⁵ I.e., give an astronomical omen portending evil? Cf. "[Whe]n the Moongod gives an omen, and in the portent he strikes [a per]son", then I do as follows" KUB 17.28 i 1-2 (Incantation of the Moon, MH/NS).

[may] the inside [be ...], and may the Moon God make ..., and for you (pl.) ...[...], and may he [not] go to see the lands.		sickness become heavy [in your insides].
§14' [Afterwards] they hold a rock with their hands underneath (it) and [simultaneously] they say [as fol]lows: "As this rock is h[eavy], [in the same way] may the oath and		§15' [If] you keep these oaths, [just as] they are [everla]sting for you, in the same way [may you be] everlasti[ng]." §16' If (it is) a <i>patili</i> -priest ⁶ then [...] him in [but if (it is) a ... then ... be]fore the gate [...].

⁶ For the functions of the ^U*patili*-, see Beckman 1983:235-238.

REFERENCES

Text: CTH 427; KUB 43.38. Edition: Oettinger 1976.

4. INCANTATIONS

PURIFYING A HOUSE: A RITUAL FOR THE INFERNAL DEITIES (1.68)

Billie Jean Collins

This text offers a tantalizing glimpse into Hurro-Hittite mythology. The underworld deities, referred to as the Primordial or Ancient Gods, are solicited on behalf of a house possessed of various types of uncleanness, to come up from below the earth and carry the uncleanness back down into the underworld with them.

The ritual is completed over two days, the location alternating between the house and various outdoor locales, including, at the end of the ritual, the steppe, where the ritual paraphernalia can be disposed of safely. The main recensions of this narrative were composed in the Middle Hittite period. The copies date to the Empire Period.

§1 When [they] cleanse a house of blood, impuri[ty], threat, (and) perjury, its treatment (is) as follows:		the house. May this now release the evil, impurity, perjury, bloodshed, curse, threat, tears (and) sin of the house. May the floor (lit., earth), the floorboard, the bedroom, the hearth, the four corners, (and) the gates of the courtyard release (them).
§2 In the morning the exorcist opens the house [and] he goes [in]. He holds a hoe, a spade and a shovel(?). He digs the ground (with) the hoe, (and) he [clears(?)] ¹ the (resulting) pit ² with the spade.		§7 He goes forth to the courtyard. He takes mud in the courtyard and speaks in the same way. He takes mud in the gatehouse and speaks in the same way.
§3 He digs in this same way at the four corners (of the house) and he digs in this very same way [to the side of(?) the hea]rth. The (resulting) pit [he clears(?)] ¹ with the shovel(?).		§8 He goes out. He cuts a reed off with an ax before the gate and says as follows: "Just as I cut this reed and it does not (re)attach (itself), now in the same way let it cut the evil bloodshed of the house, and let it not come back."
§4 He says as follows: "O Sun Goddess of the Earth, we are taking this m[atter ...]. Why is this house gasping? Why does it look upward to heaven?"		§9 [Then] at the top (lit., back) of the rain pipe they pour a <i>hanešša</i> -vessel of wine [and he says], "As water flows down [from the roof] and it does not go [back (up)] the rain pipe [again], may the evil, impurity, perjury, blood, tears, sin, curse, and threat of this house pour out and may they not come back again."
§5 Either a human has perjured (himself), or he has [shed] blood and has turned [up] his <i>šeknu</i> -garment to these houses, ³ or someone has made a threat, or someone has spoken a curse, or someone having shed blood or having committed perjury has entered,		
§6 or someone has practiced (witchcraft(?)) ⁴ and [has] en[tered], or bloodshed has occurred in		

¹ Restoration of *liššaiuzzi* "to clear" suggested to me by H. A. Hoffner, Jr. and H. G. Güterbock, personal communication.

² The Hittite uses *pateššar* and *haneššar* interchangeably in this text as a hole over which sacrifices are made. In contrast, an *āpi* is opened up in §31 as a hole through which to contact the Underworld Deities directly.

³ The interpretation of this line follows CHD P sub *pippa*-, contra Otten 1961.

⁴ So interpreted by Otten 1961:116f.

- §10 He throws the *ḫanešša*-vessel down from the roof and smashes it. But the mud that he had taken,⁵ that⁶ he carries to (the place) where all the ritual paraphernalia⁷ has been placed.
- §11 He goes to the river bank and takes oil, beer, wine, *walḫi*-drink, *marnuan*-drink, a cupful (of) each in turn, sweet oil cake, meal, (and) porridge. He holds a lamb and he slaughters it down into a pit. He speaks as follows:
- §12 "I, a human being, have now come! As *Ḫannahanna* takes children⁸ from the river bank and I, a human being, have come to summon the Primordial Deities of the river bank⁹, let the Sun Goddess of the Earth open the Gate and let the Primordial Deities and the Sun God(dess) of the Earth (var. the Lord of the Earth) up from the Underworld (lit., earth).
- §13 Aduntarri the diviner, Zulki the dream interpreter, Irpitiga Lord of the Earth, *Narā*, *Namšarā*, *Minki*, *Amunki*, *Ābi*¹⁰ — let them up! I, a human, have not come independently, nor have I come in quarrel. In a house, blood, tears, perjury, quarrel, (and) sin have occurred. Heaven above has been angered, and the Underworld below has been angered.
- §14 The exorcist of the Storm God¹¹ sent¹² you, the Primordial Deities, from the underworld. He said this word to you:
- §15 "[In this house] evil impurity, [blood, tears], quarrel, sin, (and) perjury [have occurred]. The exorcist¹³ [has] summon[ed you,] the [Primord]ial Deities. [...] go back and go [...]. Cleanse [the house from] the evil, impurity, blood, [perjury, sin], quarrel, curses, tears, (and) [threat].
- §16 "Bind [their (i.e., each evil's)] [fee]t (and) hands and carry them down to the Dark Underworld." He takes the clay of the river bank, but in its place he sets sweet oil cake, meal (and) porridge. He libates beer, wine, [*walḫi*]-drink, (and) [*marnuan*]-drink. He takes [up] (what has) bubbled and binds it in.
- §17 He stretches out a scarf along the ground [...]

- and] walks along the scarf [...] and he goes in.
- §18 He sprinkles the clay of the river bank with oil and honey. (With it) he fashions [the]se gods: Aduntarri the exorcist, Zulki the dream interpreter, Irpitiga, *Narā*, *Namšara*, *Minki*, *Amunki*, *Ābi*. He fashions them as (i.e., in the form of) daggers.¹⁴ Then he spreads them along the ground and settles these gods there (-*šan*).
- §19 He takes four jugs of wine, a thick loaf, meal, porridge, (and) *gangati*-vegetable soup and goes to the water and says as follows: "(Concerning) the matter for which I have come, let the spring, the water, ask me. With me the Lady (*Ištar*) has come from the vegetation.
- §20 In her [le]ft ear they set earrings (in the form) of a *šuraššura*-(bird). It is important. But she does not [re]move¹⁵ (her) cloak. She holds an empty vessel in her hand. [...] On her head was placed a wreath(?) of string.
- §21 She spoke to the spring, and she spoke to the swamp, she spoke to the deity [of(?)] the *piten*[...] water, "The water for which I have come, give that water to me — the water of purification that cleanses bloodshed and perjury, that cleanses the gatehouse, that cleanses com[mon gossip, cur]se, sin, (and) threat."
- §22 [The spring(?)] answered *Ištar*: "Draw the water seven times or draw the water eight times. Pour out [the water seven or eight times].¹⁶ But on the ninth time what water you request, draw that [wa]ter and ta[ke] it."
- §23 Her h[air fl]owed down from the throne to *Kumarbi*. Her hair flowed to [the under]world, to the Sun Goddess of the Earth. While you are carrying [tha]t water, the falcon then brings other water from the sea. He holds the water in the right hand, while in the left hand he holds the words.
- §24 *Ištar* is able to fly. She flew from Nineveh to

⁵ In §7.

⁶ The common accusative form *apūn* can only refer back to *purut* "mud" despite the fact that *purut* is a neuter noun. Cf. another case of gender disagreement in the following note and cf. *CHD P purut*.

⁷ *aniyaz ḫuman* "all the ritual paraphernalia," is a case of gender disagreement between a common noun and its attributive, here in the neuter.

⁸ KUB 41.8 i 20 has *i-tar*, 729/t i 3 has *DUMU-tar*. As the goddess of birth, *Ḫannahanna* fashions people from clay and gives fertility to women. See also Otten 1961:144.

⁹ KUB 41.8 i 21 *wappuš*, KBo 10.45 i 37 [*wappu*]waš, 729/t i 4 *wappuw*[aš].

¹⁰ *Ābi* is a divinization of the ritual pit and thus an underworld deity.

¹¹ Not the exorcist/diviner who is officiating in this ritual, but a mythological agent of the Storm God in an allusion to a mythological theomachy.

¹² Var. has "drove" in the sense of "transported" or "ferried".

¹³ The titles ¹⁰AZU and ¹⁰HAL are used interchangeably for the officiant of this text. Note also that the god Aduntarri is called the ¹⁰HAL in §13 but the ¹⁰AZU in §18.

¹⁴ Cf. the dagger god at Yazilikaya; see Akurgal n.d. plates 80-83.

¹⁵ Restoration follows *CHD L-N* 366 (mng. 1 g).

¹⁶ The main copy for this paragraph is KBo 10.45, restored from IBoT 2.128. The latter copy clearly contained more than was present in KBo 10.45. Cf. *CHD L-N* 4 which offers a translation based on a faulty transliteration.

- meet the falcon. In her right hand she took water, while in her left hand she took the words. The water she sprinkles to the right, while the words she speaks toward the left:
- §25 "May good enter the house. May it seek out the evil with (its) eyes and cast it out. May the pure water cleanse the evil tongue, impurity, bloodshed, sin, curse (var. adds: threat, [and] common gossip). Just as the wind blows away the chaff and carries it across to (var. into) the sea, let it likewise blow away the bloodshed and impurity of this house, and let it carry it across to (var. into) the sea.
- §26 "Let it go into the sacred mountains. Let it go into the deep wells." He breaks a thick loaf and libates wine. He draws water seven times and pours (it) out. [On the eighth] time what he draws, that [he] k[ee]ps. Further,] two times seven stones he takes from the spring and he throws [them] in[to the ...]. In-to a cup he throws two times seven *kappi*-measures. He takes red wool and binds it to <...>.
- §27 He brings the water into the house and carries that also there where all the implements are placed, and puts it on the *pūriya*-stands. All the paraphernalia he places before the Anunnaki-deities.¹⁷ He mingles(?) silver, gold, iron, tin, stone, oil, honey, baked clay implements, wicker implements, the mud of the house, (and) the mud of the gatehouse.
- §28 He fashions it (-an) (into a figurine of) the Deity of Blood and seats it (-an) before the *taršanzipa*.¹⁸ He takes all the seeds and grinds them (-at) with the millstone.
- §29¹⁹ He pounds (them) with the basalt(?) of the millstone and wipes them off and they fashion it (-an) (into) a *kugulla*-vessel. What is left over they fashion it (-at) (into) a *kurtal*-container and he fills it (-at) with mud. He sets it with/below the God of Blood and seats the gods thereon. He places the *kugulla*-vessel before the deity.
- §30 He washes his hands. He takes porridge and *gangati*-vegetable soup. The water that he had brought from the spring he libates into the water. Afterward he libates one lamb with
- a 1 Sam 28:8-15; Isa 8:19; 29:4
- the water and they slit it(s) throat). The blood flows into a clay basin and he sets it down before the God of Blood and recites as follows: *ališ mammaš*, O Anunnaki-deities, I have invoked you in this matter. (So) decide the case of this house. What evil blood is present, you take it and give it to the God of Blood. Let him carry it down to the Dark Underworld, and there let him nail it down.
- §31 Before the Anunnaki-deities he opens up a Pit²⁰ with a knife and into the Pit he libates oil, honey, wine, *walhi*-drink, and *marnu-wan*-drink. He also throws in one shekel of silver. Then he takes a hand towel and covers over the Pit.²¹ He recites as follows: "O Pit, take the throne of purification and examine the paraphernalia of purification.
- §32 "Examine the silver, gold, iron, tin, lapis lazuli, and carnelian with (your) scales.²¹ What the God of Blood has said, the exorcist has set it all up. But since the exorcist set up the implements of the gods, ... the exorcist ... [...] broke, and he cast it into the hearth.
- §33 "But if you (O Anunnaki) do not decide the case of this house fairly may the earth below you become the 'striker' and may the sky above become the 'crusher',²² and may the sky(?) crush [you(?)] therein.²³ May no one break a thick loaf for you and may you not taste the fragrance of cedar!"
- §34 He takes three birds and offers two of them to the Anunnaki deities, but the other bird he offers to the Pit and he says as follows: "For you, O Primordial Deities, cattle and sheep will not be forthcoming. When the Stormgod drove you down to the Dark Underworld he established for you this offering."²⁴
- §35 He cooks the birds with fire (and) places them before the deity. He also places *PIHU*-beer before the deity for drinking and provides four straws. He places assorted seeds before the deity: barley, wheat, *šepit*-grain, *p[arh]uena*-grain, chick peas, broad beans, lentils, *karaš*-grain, malt, beer-bread, coriander, *apr[ico]t(?)*, white cumin, black cumin, *tiapala*-seed, salt, *lakkarwan*-plant, *šeniya(?)*-plant, a little (of) [ea]ch, and all these [he ...].

¹⁷ The Primordial Deities are sometimes referred to by the Akk. name for the group of deities with which they were identified.

¹⁸ A part of a building.

¹⁹ KBo 10.45 iii 3 (B) has no § divider here.

²⁰ Written with the divine determinative.

²¹ The new duplicate KBo 39.12:7, kindly provided to me by H. Otten, offers a heretofore unknown syllabic reading of ^{MS}ER/N ZI.BA.NA, the beginning of which is, unfortunately, broken: -]iš-wa-it.

²² CHD L-N 451 tr. mortar(?) and pestle(?).

²³ Following CHD P 59.

²⁴ Reference is made to a time when the Storm God exiled the Ancient Gods from the earth, and established that in their cult, as Underworld Deities, they would receive birds as their sacrifice rather than cattle or sheep. Cf. §14 which refers to the same mythological events.

- §36 The priest²⁵ [ta]kes [...]. For the *PIHU*-beer for drinking [...] he makes the offering rounds [for the god]s. Day one is finished.
- §37 [In the morning(?)] the exorcist [tak]es one sheep, one container of *PIHU*-beer, one thick loaf, wine, [...] and goes into the house. [...] he prepares. [...] he inscribes(?). The earth [...] he says as follows:
- §38 "[Memešarti of Heaven] and [Earth],²⁶ Moon God, Išhara, — gods [of perjury, curse, sin, (and) bloodshed — I have [...]ed [you ...] ... he(?) comes."
- §39 [this § is too fragmentary for translation]
- §40 "Push yourselves back! O Dark Underworld, restrain their inclination and swallow down the bloodshed, sin, impurity, perjury, evil step(?) (lit., "foot") and common gossip of the house (and) city."
- §41 He²⁷ cooks the liver and cuts it (in half). He also breaks thick loaves and lays them upon the hole and upon the hearth. He also libates wine and pours *PIHU*-beer for drinking and he provides straws. But no one drinks!
- §42 He says, "Memešarti of Heaven and Earth, Moon God, Išhara — gods of perjury, curse, and death — who(ever) is hungry, who(ever) is thirsty (among) the gods, come, eat and drink, and join with me. From the house and city may you cleanse the evil impurity, bloodshed, perjury, sin, and curse. He bound them, (each evil's) feet and hands, so let the Dark Underworld keep them in!"
- §43 Those who are in the house, the guardians of the hearth, sit down and they eat the fat but they do not drink the *PIHU*-beer. The exorcist comes back into the city and goes into the house and bows to the gods. He offers porridge, *gangai*-vegetable soup, beer, and wine to the gods.
- §44 And he says as follows: "O Anunnaki-deities, I have just been on the steppe. ... [...] restrain! O Memešarti of He[av]len and Earth! For you (gods) *PIHU*-beer (has been) poured out for drinking. Let them bind them (var. him) (with(?)) a *haputri* to the evil impurity, perjury, sin, bloodshed (and) curse. Let it pull those forward, and may you push them from behind.
- §45 The exorcist stands a ram and a ewe before the gods and says as follows: "The ram mounts the ewe and it becomes pregnant. Let this town and house become a ram, and in the steppe let it mount the dark earth and let the dark earth become pregnant with the blood, pollution, and sin. Just as the pregnant woman and ewe give birth, let this city and house bear evil blood in the same way, and let the Dark Underworld keep it in.
- §46 "As the downpour washes urine and mud from the city, (as) the water washes the roof, and flows down the rain gutters, let this ritual likewise clean away the evil tongue of this city (and) house and let the downpour carry it into the sea."
- §47 When he is finished, the exorcist sets the ritual paraphernalia on the copper vessel. He sets the gods thereon and picks it up and carries it to the steppe. He settles the deities where (the spot) is marked, and their ritual paraphernalia he sets before (them). He libates wine. He offers one lamb and eight birds to the Anunnaki-deities. On three hearths he burns (them) together with flat breads, cedar, oil and honey and he libates wine and says as follows:
- §48 "O Anunnaki-deities, your tribute has just been set up. Accept these offerings to you. Chase out the bloodshed, impurity, sin, perjury, (and) threat of the house and carry them down (with you to the Dark Underworld).
- §49 "You, O Primordial deities, who [...] come and [turn(?)] down from that [...]."
- §50 Tablet One finished. [When they cleanse a house of] bloo[dshed, impurity, sin, perjury (and) threat, this is its treatment.]

²⁵ Even after collation, I cannot dismiss the completely the possibility that the sign is an AZU, and thus that the exorcist who is the main officiant of this text is the person referred to here. Cf. n. 27 below.

²⁶ The syntax does not follow Hittite rules of grammar, and one expects the translation "Memešarti, Moon God of Heaven and Earth, Išhara ...," but see §44 where Memešarti appears alone with the epithet "of Heaven and Earth."

²⁷ Who is the officiant here? The activities of §§40-43 are taking place in the house, as the beginning §43 tells us. Although the exorcist was in the house in §37, he is said to return to the house again in §43 and so presumably had gone back out to the countryside somewhere in the fragmentary sections of §§38-39. This means that he cannot be officiating at the ritual meal described in §§41-43. If indeed another officiant is present, could it be the priest who is mentioned in §36?

REFERENCES

Text: CTH 446; Duplicates: A = KUB 7.41 (MH/NS), B = KBo 10.45 (MH/NS), C = KUB 41.8 + 251/w (MH/NS), D = KUB 12.56 (MH), E = IBoT 2.128 (MH/NS), F = KBo 7.57, G = 218/v, H = 427/t, I = III2/u, J = 208/u, K = 1621/u, L = 729/t, M = KBo 39.12. Edition: Otten 1961:114-157. Discussion: Hoffner 1967:391; Moyer 1983:21-24.

THE STORM GOD AT LIHZINA (1.69)¹

Billie Jean Collins

This is a mythological text belonging to the group of Anatolian myths known as the missing deity myths. The original composition dates to the period of the Hittite Old Kingdom. The supreme Storm God is the deity whose absence is the focus of this particular narrative. Presumably the Storm God absented himself in the first column of the tablet, after which chaos ensued for man and livestock. When the text picks up in col. ii, a ritual incantation is underway that successfully contains the evils resulting from his absence in copper cauldrons lying beneath the sea, where they can no longer cause harm. Mankind is thus restored. What follows then is a resumption of the mythological portion of the narrative relating the Storm God's interlude in the town of Lihzina, where he spent his time cultivating crops and fruit trees. He makes a triumphal return from Lihzina, meeting nine divinities on the way, who inquire of his whereabouts. His supremacy is proclaimed and sacrificial animals are assembled for a celebration. Col. iv may have contained details of this celebration.

§2² The palms [gave] it [to] the fingers, the fingers [gave] it to the nails, the nails gave it to the dark e[arth]. §3³ The dark earth [carried] it to the Sun God, and the Sun God carrie[d] it to the sea. §4⁴ "In the sea are lying cauldrons of copper.³ Their lids (are) of lead. ^a [Everything(?) he put therein: he put a demon (<i>tarpin</i>),⁴ ^b he put <i>par</i>[...], he put bloodshed, he p[ut] <i>ha-panzi</i>, §5⁵ he put "red,"⁵ he put tears, he put [...], he put ...,⁶ [he put] fog, he put "white,"⁷ he p[ut] disease. §6⁸ It became luminous on the human's [entire(?) body: On <his> head ditto (i.e., it became luminous), on the eyes ditto, on the <i>walulaša-s</i> ditto, on the white[s] of the eyes ditto, on his forehead ditto, [on] the eye-bro[ws] ditto, and on the eyelashes [ditto]. As (he was) formerly, just so did he become [again(?)].	a Zech 5:5-11 b Gen 31:34-35; Judg 17:5 1 Sam 19:16; Ezek 21:21; Hos 3:4; Zech 10:2	§7⁹ The Storm God went and keeps striking t[hem(?) and he kills him [...]. [In] Zihz[i-na] he worked [the land(?) and he harvested it.⁹ §8¹⁰ He planted an orchard¹⁰ and [opened(?)¹¹ it]. He [came] back from Lihzina. §9¹² The Storm God [met] nine lesser gods¹² on the road, and they bowed to him (saying), "O Storm God, [we were searching(?) for you. Where were you?" (He replies,) "In Lihzina [I worked the land(?) and I harvested it. I planted an or[chard] and [I] ope[ned(?) it." §10¹³ (They reply,) "Leave (it). In the fallow land¹³ the [...] of things/words is/are weak. W[e] are small, we are [...], we are in the land ...[...]." The Storm God their father [...] them/it and [he] conquered the lands §11¹⁴ Down in the holes [...] them/it and they assembled an ox, [they assembled] sheep, they assembled human beings. §12¹⁵ [...] Zihz[i-na ...]
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¹ The name of the town in this text is twice spelled Lihzina and twice Zihzina. An explanation for this alternation of consonants is not easily forthcoming.

² The translation begins with col. ii; col. i is too fragmentary for connected translation.

³ Cf. KUB 17.10 iv 15 (Tel. myth), the standard version of the missing deity myth, in which the cauldron is of bronze rather than copper and is located in the "dark earth." For a comparison of the Anatolian motif of the banishment of evil to a container in the underworld with Zech. 5:7, see Haas 1993:77-83.

⁴ For Hitt. *tarpin* = Akk. *šedu* and a discussion of its possible range of meanings see Otten and von Soden 1968:27-32; Hoffner 1968b.

⁵ Hoffner 1968b:65 n. 30 suggests reading the SA₃ sign as DIRI "sorrow, grief." In my opinion, this suggestion causes more problems than it solves. In view of the presence of *harki* "white" two lines later, it seems simplest to give the Sumerogram its commonest value as SA₃, and to consider the two colors as symbolic of some specific kinds of evil, that is, as code words that would have been understood by the ancient audience.

⁶ The signs are ŠI-PA-AN. Moore 1975:180 suggested a translation "sheaves" noting the form *še-e-pa-an* "sheaf" in §158 of the Hittite Laws, ed. Friedrich, HG 72f. In 1968 Hoffner suggested reading *lūm-pa-an* (1968b:65 n. 31). The value *lūm* for ŠI/PI is not otherwise attested at Boğazköy, which makes his reading unlikely. Moreover, the parallel list transcribed KBo 23.4:5-11, not available in 1968, renders the reading *šipān* certain. Hoffner now reads *ši-pa-an* "daemon;" cf. divine names in -z/šipā-.

⁷ For possible alternative readings see Hoffner 1968b:65 n. 32 and cf. n. 5 above.

⁸ For this § cf. CHD L-N 28.

⁹ Cf. KUB 33.34 obv. 8.

¹⁰ For *teššar* as "orchard" (as opposed to *warhuesšar* "forest") see Košak 1993:112. The present text strongly supports Košak's supposition. I am grateful to R. Beal for bringing this reference to my attention.

¹¹ That is, he harvested the trees. This word is partially preserved in the following §, hence this restoration, suggested already by Moore 1975:181 with n. 6.

¹² Alternatively, "divine sons of the Storm God" (DUMU.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ 'IM-aš). But since no enclitic object is indicated, but rather the reflexive particle -za, the former translation seems more likely.

¹³ KI.KAL-li = Akk. *kankallu* seems likely here. The Hittite phonetic complement -li requires an underlying Hittite word with a stem ending in -li.

REFERENCES

Text: CTH 331; KUB 33.66 (OH/MS). Discussions: Haas 1993:67-85; Hoffner 1968b:61-68; 1973a:197-228; Josephson 1979:177-184; Laroche 1965:70-71; Moore 1975:180-183; Moyer 1983:19-38; Otten and von Soden 1968:27-34.

ESTABLISHING A NEW TEMPLE FOR THE GODDESS OF THE NIGHT (1.70)

Billie Jean Collins

This is a four column tablet composed in the period of the Hittite Empire. It is the first of two tablets.¹ The second tablet is not preserved, although the first tablet has survived in four recensions. The main tablet describes the procedure for establishing a satellite temple for the Goddess of the Night. Her cult was centered in Kizzuwatna in south-eastern Anatolia, and thus many Hurrian offering terms appear in this text. The nature of this deity is ambiguous.²

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|--|---|
| <p>§1 Thus says the priest of the Deity of the Night (var. [Thus says "NIG.BA-⁴U³"] the Babylonian [scribe(?) and Ulippi, priest of the Deity of the Night).⁴ If a person becomes associated with the Deity of the Night in some temple of the Deity of the Night and if it happens that, apart from that temple of the Deity of the Night, he builds still another temple of the Deity of the Night, and settles the deity separately, while he undertakes the construction in every respect:</p> <p>§2 The smiths make a gold image of the deity. Just as her ritual (is prescribed) for the deity, they treat it (the new image) for celebrating in the same way. Just as (it is) inlaid(?)⁵ (with) gems of silver, gold, lapis, carnelian, Babylon-stone, chalcedon(?), quartz(?), alabaster, sun disks, a neck(lace), and a comet(?) of silver and gold — these they proceed to make in the same way.</p> <p>§3 One sun disk of gold of one shekel (weight), its name is Pirinkir.⁶ One gold navel. One pair of gold <i>purka-</i> — they are set with Babylon stone. The priest assigns these to the smiths as their task. One (vessel) for "carry-</p> | <p>ing forth" (made) of stone inlaid(?)⁷ with silver, gold, lapis, carnelian, Babylon stone, quartz(?), NFR-stone, (and) alabaster.</p> <p>§4 Two broaches of iron inlaid with gold, two pegs of iron, two <i>halwani</i>-vessels of silver, two cups of silver, two <i>ētmari-</i> of silver, two <i>ētmari-</i> of bronze (and) a potstand of bronze are included. Six sun disks of bronze, among them three inlaid with silver and three inlaid with gold. Two knives of bronze, two pairs of bronze GİR.GÁN-vessels, one set of bronze cymbals(?),⁸ one set of tambourines(?) either of boxwood or of ivory, one drum.</p> <p>§5 One bull's horn (full of) fine oil, one set of cups either of boxwood or of ivory. One set of combs either of boxwood or ivory. Two wooden stands, two wooden tables, two wooden potstands. One set of <i>kišhita</i>-chairs, six <i>šekan</i> in height — they are doubly <i>paz-zanān</i>-ed. One set of <i>kišhita</i>-chairs for sitting. One footstool, one set of wooden <i>tarmalla</i>.</p> <p>§6 They take red wool, blue wool, black wool, green wool and white wool and they make two pair of <i>āzzalli-</i>. They again take blue</p> |
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¹ A catalog text (KUB 30.64, CTH 282, ed. CTH p. 191) reveals that this ritual was complete on two tablets: "[First tablet not finished. Second tablet [i]n[is]hed. [The word of NIG.BA-⁴U] and of Ulippi, priest of the Goddess of the Night. When] someone settles [the deity] separately, [th]is is the ritual [for it]."

² For the possible identifications of this goddess see Lebrun 1976:30f., where three not necessarily mutually exclusive possibilities are offered. A deity named Išpanza, also spelled Išpanzašepa and GE₂-za-⁴še-pa, may be the phonetic spelling of DINGIR.GE₂. Carruba 1971 and Lebrun 1976 have proposed an identification with the Moon God, Arma. But the Moon God is male, while in our text DINGIR.GE₂ appears to be female (her cult statue wears the *kureššar*, a woman's headdress or scarf, see §31). Lebrun suggests that DINGIR.GE₂ is to be identified with Ištar/Šauška, an idea that might help to explain the presence of Pirinkir in this ritual as well, since Pirinkir seems herself to be an aspect of Šauška. For all these possibilities see Ünal 1993.

³ Read Qišti-Adad?, or Ari-Tešub?

⁴ Var. D, KBo 16.85 + KBo 15.29 i 1: [UMMA "NIG.BA-⁴U L⁰DUB.SA]R(?) URU KÁ.DINGIR.RA Û "U-li-ip-pi L⁰SANGA DINGIR-LIM. At the time of Kronasser's edition, KBo 16.85 had not been identified as belonging to this tablet. The restoration of the name "NIG.BA-⁴U here and in note 2 above is based on KUB 29.4 i 39 (A).

⁵ *appan išgarant-* lit., "back stuck" perhaps meaning that the back of the gems are stuck to the image, thus the meaning "inlaid." The alternative, that the back of the image was encrusted with precious stones, doesn't seem logical. I am indebted to Richard Beal for this suggestion.

⁶ Present in the Temple of the Goddess of the Night apparently is a sun disk representing the goddess Pirinkir. An image of the goddess herself is not present (see Kronasser 1963:42). Kronasser attributes her presence here to the presumed similar nature and/or background of the two goddesses.

⁷ See n. 5.

⁸ *HAŠKALLATUM* is possibly the Akkadographic writing of *galgalluri-*, see Friedrich, *HW 3. Erg.* 18; Güterbock 1995:57-72.

wool, red wool, black wool, green wool and white wool and they make a *šuturiya*.⁹ They nail two bronze pegs into the entryway of the courtyard of the (new) temple — one on one side and one on the other side. The *šuturiya* (is made to) hang down (from them). One basket(?) either of wicker or of *tamalata*.¹⁰ One (bolt of?) *hūpara*-fabric, one red scarf, two bowls(?) of wine.

§7 These NĪG.BA-¹¹U dispatched: One door, one [..., two ...] — one for setting down and one for carr[ying] forth [...] — one set of small bed(s) of boxwood [...], one bronze cutting implement, one bronze-handled pitcher for viewing, one bronze [...] vessel, one small copper cauldron, seven *TAKITTUM* of bronze, one small bronze wash basin of one mina weight for the washing of the deity.

§8 One gathered garment,¹¹ one trimmed tunic, one hood, one cap, one *kaluppa*-garment, one set of belted tunics, one set of silver broaches — these are (the garments) of a woman. One garment, one set of tunics, one set of Hurrian tunics, one trimmed (and) ornamented cloth belt, one trimmed tunic, one set of robes, one set of *šATURRATU*-garments, one set of belted tunics, one bow, one quiver, one axe and one knife — these are (the garments) of a man. When they complete the making (of) the deity('s image), all this they arrange in (its) place. The officiant who is settling the goddess separately, the priest and the *katra*-priestesses wash on the following day. (Thus) that (first) day passes.

§9 When on the morning of the second day the Sun God has not yet risen, they take these things of his from the house of the officiant: One skein/strand of red wool, one skein/strand of blue wool, one plain (i.e. undyed) wool, one shekel of silver, one (bolt of?) *gazzarnul* fabric, a small amount of fine oil, three flat breads, one pitcher of wine. They go for drawing to the waters of purification and they draw the waters of purification. They carry them to the temple of the Deity of the Night from the temple of the Deity of the Night — (that is from) the temple of the Deity of the Night which is being built to that (old) temple of the Deity of the Night. They set it (the water) on the roof and it spends the night (lit., sleeps) beneath the stars. On the day on which they take the waters of purification, (they attract) the previous deity with

a 1 Sam 28:8-15; Isa 8:19; 29:4

with red wool and fine oil along seven roads and seven paths from the mountain, from the river, from the plain, from heaven and from the earth.

§10 On that day they attract (lit., pull) (the deity). They attract (lit. pull) her into the previous temple and bind the *ulīhi* to the deity('s image). The servants of the deity take these things: One skein/strand of red wool, one skein/strand of blue wool, one plain (i.e. undyed) wool, one white scarf, one gem, one *kirinni*-stone, one shekel of silver, a little fine oil, five flat breads, two *mūlati*-loaves of ½ handful (of flour), one small cheese, one pitcher of wine — these they take for the ritual of "pulling up." One skein/strand of red wool, one skein/strand of blue wool, one loop of white wool, two *mūlati*-loaves of ½ handful (of flour), five flat breads, a little fine oil — these they take for the ritual of *dupšahi*.

§11 One white scarf, one skein/strand of blue wool, one skein/strand of red wool, one plain (i.e. undyed) wool, one set of blankets four layers thick, two shekels of silver of which one shekel is for the ritual pit and one shekel is for the *gangata*-, ten flat breads, two *mūlati*-loaves of ½ handful (of flour), one small cheese, a little fine oil, ½ handful of vegetable oil, ½ handful of honey, 1½ handfuls of butter, one *wakšur* of wine, and either a lamb or a kid — these they take for the ritual of blood. Five flat breads, three *mūlati*-loaves of ½ handful (of flour), one measure of wine and one sheep they take for the ritual of praise. Twenty flat breads, two *mūlati*-loaves of ½ handful, one measure of wine, ½ handful of vegetable oil, ½ handful of honey, ½ handful of butter, one handful of barley flour, one lamb — these they take for the *ambašši*- ritual. All this they arrange each in (its) place. The second day is finished.

§12 On the third day, at dawn, the officiant comes into the temple first thing in the morning. The stars are still standing (in the sky). Then they bring the waters of purification down from the roof and the officiant enters into the presence of the deity and bows to the deity. He then proceeds with¹² the ritual of "pulling up." The priest pulls the deity up from the pit seven times.^a The officiant also pulls (the deity) up seven times.

§13 Furthermore, they come forth from the tem-

⁹ HW² I:638f. follows Kronasser 1963:43 in suggesting that both *azzalli*- and *šuturiya* are types of weaves ("Gewebe") made of wool, such as gauze or netting.

¹⁰ Hitt. *tamalata* occurs only in this text.

¹¹ Lit., "one garment pulled up" may refer to a pleated or gathered skirt or dress. Such are known for Hittite women in the iconography.

¹² The verb is *niya*- "to step up, approach" etc. In this context it seems to denote getting on with the proceedings, hence the present translation.

ple into the storehouse. In the storehouse they perform the *dupšāhi*- ritual. For the *dupšāhi*-ritual they take one *mūlati*-loaf, but the single *mūlati*-loaf that remains they take later for the *dupšāhi*- ritual (or) for the ritual of praise. Wherever it is acceptable to the officiant, he goes thither.¹³ But when on the evening of that day a star rises (lit., leaps), the officiant comes into the old temple. He does not bow to the deity. He proceeds with the ritual of blood. They offer the ritual of blood with a bird. Afterward they offer either a kid or a lamb. They ...¹⁴ the officiant, and he stands up.

§14 He then proceeds with the ritual of praise. They make the sacrifice of praise with a sheep. Further, they purify the officiant along with the deity with silver and *gangati*-vegetable. Afterward, they burn the lamb for the *ambašši*- (ritual). The officiant bows and goes back home to his house.

§15 During the [night on that day], while the Sun God is still standing (in the sky), the servants of the deity [take these (things): one skein/strand] of red wool, one skein/strand of blue wool, one plain (i.e. undyed) wool, [one shekel of silver, one (bolt of?) *gazza*] *rnul* fabric, three flat breads, one pitcher of wine, a [little] fine oil. They go to the waters of [purification and the waters of purification] they bring to the old temple. They set it on the roof and it spends the night (lit., sleeps) [beneath the stars. But those things (also they take): one sheep, one moist bread of ½ *šātu*, five loaves (made of) *GÜG* of a handful (of flour), three oil cakes of ½ handful, one *mūlati*-loaf of ½ handful, ten flat breads, three *haršpauwant*-breads, their flour of ½ handful, *gangati*-soup, porridge, chick pea soup, broad bean soup, lentil soup, *euwan*-stew, stew of *ARSANNU*-meal, each of ½ handful, dried fruits, a small quantity of each, cress, *ŠU.KIŠ*-herb, a little fine oil, two skeins/strands of red wool, two skeins/strands of blue wool, one plain (i.e. undyed) wool, one jug of beer, one pitcher of wine — these they take up to the roof for the wellbeing (of) Pirinkir. One shekel of silver for the pit, two skeins/strands of red wool, two skeins/strands of blue wool, two plain (i.e. undyed) wools, a little fine oil, ½ handful of vegetable oil, ½ handful of butter, ½ handful of honey, one (bolt of?) *gazzarnul* fabric, one *mūlati*-loaf of ½ handful, three oil cakes of ½ handful,

one loaf (made of) *GÜG*, one sweet bread of a handful, twenty flat breads, two *huthatal*-breads of ½ handful, three *haršpauwant*-breads, their flour of ½ handful,

§16 *gangati*-vegetable soup, porridge, chick pea soup, broad bean soup, lentil soup, *euwan*-stew, stew of *ARSANNU*-meal, each of ½ handful, dried fruits, a small quantity of each, one *SÖTU*-measure of barley flour, one sheep, one jug of beer, one pitcher of wine, cress, *ŠU.GÁN*-herb — these they take inside before the deity (for the ritual) of wellbeing.¹⁵ The officiant prepares a gift for the deity, either a neck(lace) of silver, or a "*wannup-pastalla*-star" of silver. Day three is finished.

§17 But when on the fourth day a star comes out (lit., leaps), the officiant comes into the temple and looks after Pirinkir. For Pirinkir they offer the ritual of wellbeing. But when they celebrate it, then they bring the deity down from the roof and for her they scatter dough balls and fruits and they bring her (i.e. the divine image) into the temple.

§18 Inside, before the deity they offer for wellbeing. The officiant rewards the deity, the priest and the *katra*-women. The officiant bows and goes out. Day four is finished.

§19 On the fifth day when it is morning, they take five flat breads, one *mūlati*-loaf of ½ handful, *gangati*-vegetable soup, cress, *ŠU.KIŠ*-herb, one pitcher of beer. They offer [to the deity for *tuḫalzi*]. The officiant [...] does not come again. The [ritual] of the old temple is finished.

§20 The new temples which have been built [...] because they were turned in, and them [...]. They wave [...] and a lamb. Afterward [...] they wave. A new gold [garment] [...] together with her implements they carry into the new temple and set it down on the table from the basket(?) thusly.

§21 When those <perform> the *tuḫalzi* ritual in the temple of the old deity, they pour fine oil into the *tallai*-container and he speaks thus to the deity: "You, honored goddess, protect your person/body, divide your divinity, come to these new temples, take an honored place." When she goes and take<s> the aforementioned place, then they pull the deity out from the wall with red wool seven times and he sets the *ulih*i in the *tallai*-container of fine oil.

§22 The *tallai*-container is stoppered, and they carry it into the new temple and set it down

¹³ This sentence simply means that the officiant has the afternoon off.

¹⁴ A Luwian verb.

¹⁵ Unless we supply <ANA SISKUR> *keldiyaš*, the sentence makes no sense grammatically. The ritual of well-being is performed in the following paragraph. The proposed emendation follows the grammatical pattern established in earlier paragraphs.

- apart. They do not put it with the deity.
- §23 If it is acceptable to the officiant, on the day on which they offer *tuhalzi* in(?) the old temple, on that day they also attract (lit., pull) the new deity into the new temples. If it is not acceptable to him, then they will attract (lit., pull) her on the second day. These (things) they will take for the attracting (lit., pulling): One skein/strand of red wool, one red scarf, a little fine oil, a *tallai*-container, twenty flat breads, two *mūlati*-loaves of ½ handful, one small cheese, one pitcher of wine. They go out to the river.
- §24 They attract (lit., pull) the deity from Akkad, from Babylon, from Susa, from Elam, from Hursagkalamma to the city which she loves, from the mountain, from the river, from the sea, from the valley, from the meadow, from the *uṣarunt*-, from the sky, from the earth by means of seven roads and by means of seven paths. The officiant goes behind.
- §25 When they are finished attracting (lit., pulling) the deity, the tents have already been constructed before the river, and they carry the *ulīhi*- into the tents and set it on the wicker table. They (also) set (down) a little fine oil, a *naḥzi*-measure of vegetable oil, a *naḥzi*- of honey, a *naḥzi*- of fruit, twenty flat breads, three *mūlati*-loaves of ½ handful, three oil cakes of ½ handful, three small cheeses, one handful of barley flour, three pitchers of wine.
- §26 They offer the ritual of blood with a kid. Afterward, they offer the ritual of praise with a lamb. Afterward the lamb is burned for the *ambašši*- (ritual). Afterward, with (the help of) a table man, they bring for the deity all the stews, one warm bread of ½ *šāṭṭ*, one loaf (made of) GÜG, one sweet bread of one handful, one jug of beer, one pitcher of wine and give to the deity to eat. Then they carry the *ulīhi*- into the house of the officiant with (the accompaniment of) a drum and cymbals(?). They scatter sour bread, crumbled cheese and fruits down for him/her.¹⁶ Then they circle the deity with a *ḥūšti*-stone. Then they seat the deity in the storehouse.
- §27 For the *ambašši*- (ritual): One lamb, twenty flat breads, one *mūlati*-loaf of ½ handful, one oil cake of ½ handful, one handful of barley meal, ½ handful of vegetable oil, ½ handful of ghee, ½ handful of honey, ½ handful of fruit are arranged. They dedicate the lamb to the deity for the *ambašši*- (ritual). Then they bring in the *ulīhi*- for the deity and they bind the *ulīhi*- to the new deity. There is no ritual of blood and no ritual of praise. The officiant leaves.
- §28 Those take one skein/strand of red wool, one skein/strand of blue wool, one shekel of silver, one (bolt off[?]) *gazzarnul* fabric, one plain (i.e. undyed) wool, a little fine oil, three flat breads, one pitcher of wine and they go to the waters of purification. They carry the waters of purification to the new temple and set them on the roof and they spend the night (lit., sleep) beneath the stars. On that day they do nothing (more).
- §29 Those ones take twenty flat breads, two *mūlati*-loaves of ½ handful, three oil cakes of ½ handful, three *ḥaršpauwant*-breads, their flour (is) a *tarna*- in weight, porridge, *gan-gati*-vegetable stew, *euwan*-stew, chick pea soup, broad bean soup, stew of *ARSANNU*-meal, each of ½ handful of flour, cress, *ŠU.GÁN*-herb, one jug of beer, one pitcher of wine, one moist bread of ½ *šāṭṭ*, one loaf (made of) GÜG, one sweet bread (of) one handful, and a little fruit.
- §30 The *ulīhi*- which had been brought from the temple of the old (deity), they open that *tallai*-container and they wash the wall of the [tem]ple with this water. They mix that [in] with the old fine oil of the *tallai*-container and they wash the wall with that. The wall (is) pure. But the officiant does not come (in).
- §31 The old *ulīhi*- they bind to the red [s]carf of the new deity.
- §32 When at night on the second day (of the ritual)¹⁷ a star comes out (lit., leaps), the officiant comes to the temple and bows to the deity. They take the two daggers that were made along with the (statue of) the new deity and (with them) dig a ritual pit for the deity in front of the table. They offer one sheep to the deity for *enumaššiya* and slaughter it down in the hole. However, there is no [pulling] from the wall. The table (that) had been built¹⁸ they remove(?). They bloody the golden (image of the) deity, the wall and all the implements of the new [de]ity. Then the [ne]w deity and the temple are pure. But the fat is burned up. No one eats it.
- colophon: Tablet One. The word of the priest of the Deity of the Night. When someone set-

¹⁶ Does the pronoun refer to the goddess or to the officiant in whose house this action takes place?

¹⁷ That is, the second day of the ritual for the new temple, the ritual for the old one having been completed in §19 on day five.

¹⁸ In §5.

bles the Deity of the Night separately, for
her/ it this is the ritual. Not finished. Hand

of Ziti, son of Mr. "Gardener"¹⁹ written under
the supervision of Anuwanza, the eunuch.

¹⁹ The Hittite or Hurrian reading of this Sumerogram is unknown.

REFERENCES

Text: CTH 481. Duplicates: A = KUB 29.4 + KBo 24.86; B = KUB 29.5; C = KUB 12.23; D = KBo 16.85 + KBo 15.29 (+) KBo 8.90 (+) KUB 29.6 + KUB 32.68 + KBo 34.79 (edited as 102/f by Otten and Rüter 1981:123, 127f.). Edition: Kronasser 1963. Discussions: Beckman 1983:169; Carruba 1971:355; Haas 1993:74-76; Haas and Wegner 1979; Hoffner 1967; Lebrun 1976:28-31; Ünal 1993.

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B. ROYAL FOCUS

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1. EPIC

THE QUEEN OF KANESH AND THE TALE OF ZALPA (1.71)

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

The Queen of Kanesh

The Queen of Kanesh in the course of a single year gave birth to thirty sons. She said: "What a multitude(?)¹ ^a I have begotten!" She filled² (the interstices of) baskets with grease,³ put her sons in them, and set them into the river.⁴ ^b The river carried them down to the sea,⁵ to the land of Zalpuwa.⁶ The gods recovered the children from the sea and raised them.

After several years had passed, the queen gave birth again — (this time) to thirty daughters. These she raised herself. The sons are on their way back to Neša, driving a donkey. When they reached the city of Tamar[marā], they say: "Heat up an inner-chamber here, and the donkey will climb(?)." The men of the city replied: "Where we came,⁷ a donkey [never(?)] climbs(?)." The sons said: "Where we came, a woman gives birth to [one or two] sons (at one time). Yet (our mother) begot us at one time!" The men of the city said: "Once our Queen of Kanesh⁸ gave birth to thirty daughters at one time. (Her) sons had disappeared." The boys said to themselves: "We have found our mother, whom we have been seeking. Come, let us go to Neša (= Kanesh)." When they had gone to Neša, the gods made them look different(?), so that their mother [...] did not recognize them. She gave her daughters in marriage to her sons. The older sons did not recognize their sisters. But the youngest [said]: "Shall we take [th]ese our own sisters in marriage? You must not go near them. [It is cer-

a Gen 25:22-23;
Gen 30:11

b Exod 2

c Judg 11

tainly not] right, that [we should] sl[ee]p with them. [...]⁹

When morning came, [they] wen[t] to the city of Zalpa. [...] thick bread to the Earth Goddess, the daughter of the Sungod [...] The Sungod strewed meal into her mouth [...], and she tasted it. The Sungod said: "[...] May it come about that the city of Zalpuwa prospers [...]."

When later on war broke out, [...] made peace with the grandfather of the king. [...] was the king of Zalpa, and to him in that same way [...] Allu[... was] the chamberlain of the king of Zalpa. He put to death [...] daughter [...], and Tabarna's¹⁰ [...] you put to death. And my daughter to/for [...] The [grand(?)]father of the king [went(?). Towards(?)] Zalpa, in Mt. Kapa[kapa], Alluwa died in that very defeat. [...] defeated [the allies(?) of] Zalpa. They [...] sixty houses [...] the "lord of his word(s)." And he brought them and settled them in Tawiniya. [...]ed.

Hittite King gives prince Hakkarpili to govern Zalpa.

The men of Zalpa heard, and they let him down from the city of [...]pina. [...]ed] them in Hatti peacefully. The [grand]father of the king [...]ed] the city Hurma to the old father of the king. [...] and Hatti. And the elders of Zalpa¹¹ asked for a son from him. He [sent] them his son Hakkarpili.¹² [And] he instructed [him] as follows: "What separately [...] you place, in the same way [...] on

¹ Some translate this word as "monstrosity" or "bad omen." More likely it is related to Latin *vulgus* "crowd," as indicated by Hoffner 1980. Cp. Gen 25:22-23 ("two nations are in your womb") and Gen 30:11 (KJV "a troop cometh").

² Perhaps caulking or sealing is the idea.

³ The Hittite word can be derived from either the word for "oil, fat, grease" or "dung." If waterproofing is intended, then "grease" is the preferred translation.

⁴ The Marašanta River (= classical Halys, Turkish Kizilirmak). The motif of setting an infant adrift in a basket on a river and its being found, raised by others, and becoming eminent has been often pointed out for Sargon and Moses (Lewis 1980). But it is often overlooked that the motive of the parent differs: the Queen of Kanesh wanted to get rid of her child. Jochebed, Moses' mother, wanted to save his life from the death decree of the Pharaoh (Exod 2). Moses' basket was placed in the reeds so that it would not flow with the Nile current.

⁵ The Black Sea.

⁶ Obviously, a region on the lowermost course of the Kizilirmak River, near to the coast of the Black Sea.

⁷ Or: "Where we have seen," reading *a-ú-me-en* with the copy against the edition's *a-ru-me-en*.

⁸ Tamarara must have been under the control of Kanesh/Neša at this time.

⁹ In the Hittite laws (§§187-200) brother-sister unions were prohibited as incest.

¹⁰ This could be the name of a non-royal person here.

¹¹ Compare Judg 11. On Hittite elders see Klengel 1965.

¹² An otherwise unknown Hittite prince.

whose head [he ...] a *tupalan*."

When Hakkarpili w[ent] to Zalpa, [he ...-ed] and he said to them: "The king gave this to me. He holds evil [in his heart(?)]. So make war. He sows(?) for himself [...]. So let the sword cut [...] down to the second and third generations."¹³ Now Kišwa said: "[...] defeated [them(?)] as far as Mt. Tapazzili. They defeated [...] So I will request a long weapon(?). Let him give [...], and indeed much." Hakkarpili replied: "I will request it from the king." Thus he said: "[...] we will [...], and [...] to us a weapon(?)." Kišwa came and [...]

(Continuation lost in large break in the text.)

Happi and Tamnaššu Incite Zalpa to Revolt.

[...] my brother [...] was king [...] the king of the city Zi[...] turned [...] Tamnaššu [...] m[ade ...] king [...] a gold throne [...] this to you [...] ... [...] the gods [...]. Happi [...] "..." if [...] let me take [...] I will fill for you [...] with a shovel." He wrote (thus). He set out [...] and went back to Kummanni. But Zalpa made war. He went away [to/from] the city of [...] But Happi [went(?)] to the city of Alhiuta.

d 2 Sam 13-19

Happi spoke to the men of Zalpa: "I am not loved by my father. I went to Hatti to die. Were there not 100 troops, men of Zalpa, with me? Yet they did not die."¹⁴

The Battle of Haraḥšu.

The king (of Hatti) heard (about this). He set out (for Zalpa) and arrived at Haraḥšu.¹⁵ The troops of Zalpa came against him. The (Hittite) king defeated them, but Happi escaped. They captured Tamnaššu alive and brought him to Hattuša.

The Siege and Destruction of Zalpa.

In the third year the king went and blockaded Zalpa. He remained there for two years. He demanded the extradition of Tabarna and Happi, but the men of the city would not give them up. So (the Hittite troops) besieged them until they all died. The king returned to Hattuša to worship the gods, but he left the old king there. He went up against the city (saying) "I will become your king". Troops were with them. And he destroyed the city. (The End)

¹³ Compare the rebellious prince Hakkarpili with David's son Absalom (2 Sam 13-19).

¹⁴ Happi's point seems to be that the Zalpans need not be intimidated by the Hittites. Although, as a prince not in favor, he went to Hattuša expecting death, neither he nor his Zalpan accompaniment were harmed.

¹⁵ On road North from Hattuša to Zalpa.

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2. HISTORIOGRAPHY

PROCLAMATION OF ANITTA OF KUŠŠAR (1.72)

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Reign of Piṭhana of Kuššar

§1 (lines 1-4) (Thus speaks) Anitta, son of Piṭhana, king of Kuššar. Say:¹ (Piṭhana) was dear to the Stormgod of the Sky.² When (Piṭhana) was dear to the Stormgod of the Sky, the king of Neša³ was ...⁴ to the king of Kuššar (= Piṭhana).

§2 (lines 5-9) The king of Kuššar ca[me] down out of the city (of Kuššar) with large numbers and

to[ok] Neša during the night by storm. He captured the king of Neša but did no harm to any of the citizens of Neša. He treated [them] (all) as mothers and fathers.⁵

Reign of Anitta, son of Piṭhana

§3 (lines 10-15) After (the death of) [Piṭ]hana, my father, in the first year I suppressed a revolt. [Whate]ver land arose (in revolt) from the

¹ Forrer 1922, 1926:8, not seeing the -MA sign which the scribe inserted slightly below and to the right of the final sign in this line, read *Qf-B[if?]-MA?* "speak!". Figulla correctly copied that "extra" sign in KBo 3.22, making a reading *Qf-B[if?]-MA* likely. Steiner 1984 modified the reading to: *Qf-B[if?]-ŠU?* "his utterance/command." Badali's reading 1987 as a Hittite verb: *ki-ša-[a]r* "(Anitta, son of Piṭhana,) has become (king of Kuššara)" encounters too many paleographic and grammatical difficulties to be acceptable. Therefore we must retain the reading *Qf-B[if?]-MA* favored by the combination of Forrer's and Figulla's copies.

² See Starke 1977 #46.

³ The modern site of Kaneš/Neša is Kültepe excavated by T. Özgüç.

⁴ For possible readings and interpretation see Neu 1974.

⁵ That is, he treated them mercifully. See Güterbock 1956; Archi 1979.

direction of the east,⁶ I de[feated] them all. §4 (lines 13-16) [...] the city of Ullamm[a⁷ ...] the king of Ḫatti⁸ c[ame(?) ...] back [...] in (the city of) [T]ešma⁹ I defeated. Neša f[ire(?) ...]. §5 (lines 17-19) [I took] the city of Harkiuana in broad daylig[ht]. I took the city [Ullam]ma at night. [I took] the city Tenenda in broad daylight. §6 (lines 20-26) I devoted¹⁰ (them) to the Stormgod of Neša.¹¹ We [all]otted¹² (them) to the Stormgod [of Neša(?) (as) a de[vo]ted thing].¹³ Whoever after me becomes king, whoever resettles [the cities of Ullamma, Tenend]a, and Harkiuana, [the enemies of] Neša, let him be enemy to [the Stormgod] of Neša.¹⁴ And he — let him be [...] of all the lands. Like a lion¹⁵ the land [...]. §7 (lines 27-29) (If) he [doe]s (any other) [harm], (if) he settles [...] upon [...], and [...] it to the Stormgod [...].	a Deut 13:16; Josh 6:26; 1 Kgs 16:34; Isa 25:2; Ezek 26:14; Ezra 4:12-22 b 1 Sam 4-6 c Judg 6:1; 13:1; 2 Kgs 18-19; Isa 36-37; Jer 12:7; 21:10 d Judg 9:45	<i>Additions to the Original Monumental Inscription in the Gate</i> §10 (lines 36-37) A second time Piyušti, king of Ḫattuša, came. At the city Šalampa [I defeated(?) his auxiliary troops²⁰ which he brought in (to aid him). §11 (lines 38-48) [I ...] all the lands [...] this side of Zalpuwa by the sea. Previously Uḫna, king of Zalpuwa, had carried off (the cult statue of) our goddess⁶ (Ḫalmaššuit) from Neša to Zalpuwa, and I brought [Hu]zziya, king of Zalpuwa, back alive to Neša. P[iyu]sti had [f]ortified Ḫattuša. So I left it alone. But subsequently, when it became most acutely beset with famine(?),²¹ their²² goddess Ḫalmaššuit gave it over (to me),^c and I took it at night by storm. In its place I sowed cress.²³ §12 (lines 49-51) Whoever after me becomes king and resettles Ḫattuša, [let] the Stormgod of the Sky strike him. §13 (lines 52-54) Toward Šalatiwara [I] tur[ned] my face. šalatiwara drew out [its] ... [...] (and) troops to meet me. I carried them off to Neša. §14 (lines 55-56) I built various city (fortifications) in Neša. Behind I built the temple of the Stormgod of the Sky and the temple of our goddess (Ḫalmaššuit). §15 (lines 57-58) I built the temple of Ḫalmaššuit,²⁴ the temple of the Stormgod my lord, [and the temple of ...].²⁵ And those goods which I had brought back from my campaign(s) I dedicated(?)²⁶ to that place.
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Year Two

- §8 (lines 30-32) After (the death of) my father, [in the ... year, I proceeded(?) to the s[ea] of the city of Zalpuwa.¹⁶ The sea of [Zal]puwa [was my boundary].¹⁷
- §9 (lines 33-35) [I have copied] these [words] from the tablet(s) in my gate. Hereafter for all time [let no] one de[face] th[is tablet]. But whoever defaces¹⁸ it, [let him] b[e] an enemy of [the Storm]god.¹⁹

⁶ Less likely because of the word order: "Whatever land arose, I defeated them all with (the help of) the Sungod"; so Neu 1974:11.

⁷ To the SW of Neša. See del Monte and Tischler 1978:452.

⁸ Cf. §10 ("the second time").

⁹ Also written Taišama. Restoration according to Balkan, 1957:53. Neu 1974:10 considers the name [...]x-te-e-š-mi to be incomplete. Del Monte and Tischler 1978:429 sub Taišama do not list this passage.

¹⁰ Lit., "sold" (*ḫappariya*). See Deut 32:30; Judg 2:14; 3:8 for God "selling" Israel "into the hands" of its enemies.

¹¹ So in the Old Script copy A; var. in C (KUB 36.98 obv. 11) "Stormgod of the Sky."

¹² [*ḫin*]kuen in dupl. C obv. 12.

¹³ *ḫappar*. The following lines make it clear that this meant the permanent barring of human habitation from the site, i.e., its total annihilation. This is very much like the "ban" (Hebrew *herem*) imposed on certain Canaanite cities by Joshua in the Hebrew Bible. See Deut 7:2; 13:16-18; Josh 6:17-18; 7:1, 11; 10:28-41. See Stern 1991.

¹⁴ For the curse on one who resettles these cities see §12 below and Josh 6:26 (curse on builder of Jericho).

¹⁵ For the lion simile cf. Imparati and Saporetti 1965 (*CTH* 4) §§ 10 and 15. On the similes in the texts of Ḫattušili I see Hoffner 1980.

¹⁶ Zalpuwa (also known as Zalpa) was located close to the Black Sea coast, near the mouth of the Marassanta River (Classical name Halys, Turkish name Kizil Irmak). Cf. del Monte and Tischler 1978:490f. and literature cited there.

¹⁷ For subsequent Old Hittite kings making "the seas" their boundaries cf. Hoffmann 1984 (*CTH* 19) §§ 3, 6.

¹⁸ *ḫulliezzi*, Neu 1974:12f.: "zerschlägt."

¹⁹ Reading *ku-i-ša-at ḫu-ul-li-ez-zi-ma* ¹⁹ISKUR-un-n]a-aš. Neu 1974:12f. reads *ku-i-ša-at ḫu-ul-li-ez-zi* ¹⁹U[¹⁹Ne-eš]a-aš ("of Neša").

²⁰ *šardiyāššann-a*.

²¹ Steiner 1993 (esp. p. 174) questions the validity of the accepted interpretation "beset by famine/hunger" and suggests instead that it means the city was left unprotected by troops who had gone elsewhere on campaign.

²² Following Singer 1995, who reads: "Ḫal-ma-š[u-iz] / Ḫi-i-uš-mi-iš and correctly notes the difference between -*šummiš* "our" and -*šmiš* "their." Neu 1974:12f. differently: "lieferte sie [i.e., die Stadt] mein Gott Šiu der Throngöttin Ḫalmaššuit aus."

²³ On cress (*saḫlū*) in Hittite texts see Hoffner 1974a:111. For sowing ruins with cress see CAD S sub *saḫlū* 2 b 3' (p. 64). See also Judg 9:45, where a conqueror sows salt on a sacked city's ruins.

²⁴ The deified throne dais (see Starke 1979).

²⁵ The New Hittite duplicate reads here: "of our god(ess)." But, if this is taken to refer to Ḫalmaššuit, it would be redundant with the first part of the same sentence. There is, therefore, some reason to be skeptical about the accuracy of the late duplicate here.

²⁶ Hittite *ḫališšiya* usually means "to plate (with silver or gold)."

§16 (lines 59-63) I made a vow. And [I went on] a hun[t].²⁷ On the first day (I captured): two lions, seventy boars, one boar of the cane-brake, and 120 (other) wild animals, whether leopards, lions, mountain sheep, wild sheep, or [...], and I brought this to my city Neša.²⁸	f Josh 8:19	behind him (stealthily) and set fire to his city.²⁹ Them in[side(?) ...] in the city [...] his [...], 1400 troops, chariots, horses, ...[...] he drew up and marched off.
<i>Year Four</i> §17 (lines 64-67) In the following year I went to battle (again) a[gainst Šalatiwa]ra. The "man" (= ruler) of Salatiwara arose together with his sons and came against me. He left his land and his city behind and took up a position on the Hulanna River.		<i>Year Five</i> §19 (lines 73-79) When I went on a campaign [to ...], the "man" of Puruṣḥanda [...] of his <i>hengur</i>-gift. He brought to me as a <i>hengur</i>-gift one iron throne and one iron crook.²⁹ But when I returned to Neša, I brought with me the "man" of Puruṣḥanda. When he goes to the inner chamber,³⁰ he shall sit before me on the right.³¹
§18 (lines 68-72) [The army of] Neša came around		

²⁷ For this reading see Hoffner 1977.

²⁸ Many think that these were not dead animals "bagged" in a hunt, but rather animals captured alive to stock a royal zoo. For possible Middle Hittite evidence for the collecting of live animals for such a park see Hoffner 1995.

²⁹ Sumerian PA.GAM "bent staff," perhaps = Hittite *kalmuš*.

³⁰ Late duplicate has "to Zalpa" instead of "to the inner chamber."

³¹ Imparati and Saporetti 1965 (CTH 4) §20, CTH 81 §12.

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Text: CTH 1. A = KBo 3.22, B = KUB 26.71 i 1-19, C = KUB 36.98 (+) 98a (+) 98b obv.-rev.6'. Bibliography: Edition Neu 1974. Discussions: Badali 1987; Güterbock 1936:139ff.; 1983:23-25; Otten 1961:335-336; Hoffner 1980:291-293; Singer 1995; Steiner 1984; 1989; 1993.

CROSSING OF THE TAURUS (1.73)

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

§1 Thus (says) Puḫanu, the servant of Šarmaššu [...] A person to him [...] is dressed in a colorful tunic/garment. On his head a basket¹ has been placed. He holds his bow (variant: a bow). He has called for help, (saying:) "What have I done? What?"	a Num 16:15; 1 Sam 12:3	rows. You, (O arrow,) will plunge into (i.e., penetrate) their heart(s)."⁴
§2 "I haven't taken anything from anyone. I haven't taken an ox from anyone.² I haven't taken a sheep from anyone.² I haven't taken anyone's male or female servants."	b Gen 27:40; Lev 26:13; Deut 28:48; 1 Kgs 12:4-14; Isa 14:25; Jer 27:8	§4 "Isn't that opponent of mine whom you (plural) escorted to Arinna my donkey?⁵ I will sit upon him,⁶ and you (plural) shall escort me there!"
§3 "Why have you (plural) treated me so and bound this yoke⁶ upon me? (Therefore) I must always bring ice³ in this basket and keep fighting (until) I destroy the land(s) with these ar-	c Jer 5:22	§5 "Who holds all the lands? Don't I fix in place the rivers, mountains and seas? I fix the mountain in place, so that it cannot move from its place. I fix the sea in place, so that it cannot flow back."⁶ §6 [Beh]ind them he became a bull, and its horns were a little bit bent. I ask [him:] "Why are its horns bent?" And he said: "[...] Whenever I went on campaigns/trips, the mountain was dif-

¹ Not "Korb in der Funktion als Köcher" (so Soysal 183f.), since the occurrence of *patar* together with bow and/or arrows in ritual texts is no proof that the former is serving as a quiver to hold arrows. Nor is it likely that the quiver would be placed on the head(!) of the man, whereas both male and female workers regularly carry cargo in baskets on their heads. In Mesopotamia even kings are shown with baskets on their heads in which they (ceremonially) carry bricks for building temples, etc. See: AHw 1371 sub *tupšikku(m)*.

² See a similar statement in a quote inside a ritual: "He has committed no sin; he has not taken anything from anyone" KBo 10.37 i 59-60 (CTH 429.1).

³ Not "Todeskälte" (so Soysal). Even if my earlier explanation (Hoffner 1971) as one of the duties of vassals is unprovable and might turn out to be wrong, one should not force the translation of the words for "basket" and "ice" in order to achieve the description of a military action. Acquiring ice is included among the "public works" (*luzzi* and *šahhan*) in the Hittite laws (§56). Soysal's objections (233) and claim that *e-ki* in the OH copy A is a scribal error for *e-di* are unconvincing. One must first show that the emended reading is clearly preferable to explain the passage.

⁴ With Starke 1985b:35 ("und du wirst in ihr Herz dringen") and contra Soysal 1987:174, 179 ("ihn [= den Pfeil] wirst du auch in ihr Herz schießen").

⁵ Or perhaps: "Whom did you bring to Arinna? That opponent of mine? Isn't he my donkey?"

⁶ Not "Ich werde mich ihm widersetzen" (so Otten, followed by Soysal 1987:179), but with Neu apud Soysal 1987:252 (Nachträge).

ficult for us. But this bul[1] was [strong]. And when it came, it lifted that mountain and [m]oved it, so that we reached(?) the sea.⁷ That is why its horns are bent.”	d Deut 33:17; Pss 22:22; 92:11	Zidi are there. [...] The goddess Inara of Hatti and Zidi. [...] of Hatti [...]. [...] g]o, say: ‘Come (plural) to [Za]lpa! Come! [...] their/your land!’”
§7 The Sungod(dess) of [...]’ is sitting [...], and he sends out messengers, (saying:) “Go to Aleppo.” Say [...] to the troops: “Šuppiyahšu and		[The remainder of the tablet is too broken and disconnected for reliable translation.]

⁷ So Otten. Soysal “[Jetzt?] sitzt [e]r (auf dem Thron als) Majestät.”

REFERENCES

Text: *CTH* 16a; A = KUB 31.4 + KBo 3.41, B = KBo 12.22 i 1-14, C = KBo 13.78 obv. 1-15. Editions: Otten 1963b; Soysal 1987:173-176, 179-180, 183-190. Bibliography: Hoffner 1971; Otten 1963b; Soysal 1987.

DEEDS OF ŠUPPILULIUMA (1.74)

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Among the Hittite kings Šuppiluliuma I was the greatest conqueror. To him was due the destruction of the great and powerful rival kingdom of Mitanni and the eastward expansion of the Hittite state into North Syria during the first half of the 14th Century BCE. The story of his reign has often been told. Among the more recent attempts Güterbock 1960, Kitchen 1962, Bryce 1989, and Kempinski 1993 may be named. Letters from Šuppiluliuma to the Egyptian pharaoh Amenophis IV, which show the Hittite king's prestige and power, were found in the corpus of Akkadian tablets found at Amarna (Moran 1992). His reign was a long one, during which he established his sons as dynastic rulers in strategic Syrian urban centers such as Aleppo and Carchemish.

The Hittite text called “The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma” (*CTH* 40) was composed by one of his younger sons, who reigned as his second successor under the throne name of Muršili II. A first son and successor, Arnuwanda, was sickly and ruled only a few years. This composition was part of a large historiographic work by Muršili II comprising three compositions (Hoffner 1980, Güterbock 1983). The deeds of his father, the subject of the first part, served as a kind of prologue to the second and third parts: two sets of annals of his own reign, one a chronicle of his first ten regnal years, and the second a more detailed account of his entire reign. Muršili II's ten-year and extensive annals were edited by Goetze (1933). As might be expected, the *Annals of Muršili II* and the *Deeds of Šuppiluliuma* (abbreviated “DS”), since they are products of the same author, show many similarities in literary style.

In DS Muršili refers to Šuppiluliuma only as “my father,” and Šuppiluliuma's father, Tudḫaliya, as “my grandfather.” Even during the reign of his father, Šuppiluliuma was active as a battlefield commander, and on at least one occasion volunteered to lead campaigns when his father was ill (fragment 14, see also 11). Among the opponents faced by Tudḫaliya and Šuppiluliuma were armies from Ḫayaša and the Kaška, both located to the north or northeast of the Hittite capital. When campaigning in this region, the Hittite king used the city of Šamuḫa as a base of operations (fragment 10). Strategic maneuvers mentioned in this text included ambush (fragments 10, 14 and 17). Although usually the battles are described in a very general way, we occasionally meet with vivid details. In fragment 15 Šuppiluliuma fought Arzawan troops in the vicinity of Tuwanuwa and Tiwanzana. The text describes how he encountered them unexpectedly, while he was driving his own chariot in advance of his own supporting chariotry, and how the enemy assaulted him with arrows. In fragment 28 a plague broke out in the Hittite army, which must have been common enough in military encampments with so many people living together in close quarters. The glorification of the Hittite king as a warrior does not exclude the mention of the role of his commanders, Lupakki, Ḫimuili and Ḫannuti, or the activities of the corps of engineers (fragment 28), whose duties included the fortifying of towns and strong points along the way. Hittite princes, brothers of Muršili, such as Arnuwanda, Zita and “The Priest,” are also mentioned by name. Rarely, even the name of an enemy commander — such as Takuḫli the Hurrian (fragment 28, A ii 15-20) — is mentioned. The author lays stress on the military organization of his father's various opponents, calling some of them “tribal groups” (see Güterbock 1956:62 note c and Hoffner 1979). This organization especially characterizes the Kaška people, who in Muršili's own annals are described as not being ruled by kings (Goetze 1933:88f., lines 73-75). Such tribal fighting groups must have been quite elusive, since the author states that his father only defeated them when he was able to “catch” them (fragment 14). The Kaška enemy sometimes attacked by night (fragment 28, A i 21ff., ii 1ff.). Often the author indicates how many of such tribes or tribal groups were fighting in the confederation: nine in fragment 13, twelve in fragment 14, seven in fragment 15. This recalls the various groupings of the Israelite tribal confederacy involved in the localized wars of the Book of Judges. In one

instance (fragment 13) an enemy surrenders to the Hittite army only to take up arms again behind its back and sabotage its recently built fortifications. Relocations of enemy population are also recorded. Both in this text (e.g., fragments 18, 19, 26) and in Muršili's own annals exchanges of messages by tablet are recorded, among which are several which challenge the enemy force to combat. Similar exchanges of messages prior to battle are recorded in Judg 11:12-28. The longest messages whose contents are recorded are those exchanged between Šuppiluliuma and the Egyptian queen in fragment 28.

The surviving colophons to the various tablets reveal not only that the native title of the work was "The Manly Deeds of Šuppiluliuma" (fragment 28, colophon of E₃), but also that the text of the Deeds was to be subsequently inscribed on a bronze tablet (fragment 28, colophon to copy A). Such a bronze tablet, although not containing this composition, was unearthed by Peter Neve in the 1986 season of excavations at Boğazköy (Otten 1988). It contained the full text of a state treaty between Tudḫaliya IV of Hatti and Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša.

A large part of the narrative is fragmentary, not lending itself to connected, easily understandable translation. We have limited ourselves therefore to the best preserved and most familiar parts. The full text with its many breaks and discontinuities may be found in Güterbock's edition.

This composition was first recognized by Emil Forrer, who collected all fragments he could identify in Forrer 1922, 1926) under numbers 31-37. These tablets were gradually republished in cuneiform, mostly by Goetze, in KUB 14 (1926: Nos. 22, 23), 19 (1927: Nos. 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 18), 21 (1928: No. 10), 26 (1933: Nos. 73, 84), but some by Heinrich Otten and J. Sturm in KUB 31 (1939: Nos. 6, 7, 21, and 8). In addition, some fragments that Forrer had not recognized were published in cuneiform copies, in particular KUB 19: 4, 12, 47, 23: 2, 7, 8, 50, 31: 11, 25, 33 and 34. Excavations conducted by Kurt Bittel after 1931 added a large number of new fragments, almost all from Archive A in the south-east part of the acropolis. Hans Ehelolf made hand copies of some Šuppiluliuma fragments, which eventually appeared in two posthumous volumes, KUB 32 and 34.

An edition of the entire composition was published as Güterbock (1956). Further small fragments have continued to be identified since 1956, but none which adds appreciably to the text base used by Güterbock. Güterbock's numbering of the fragments has been retained. But since not all fragments are sufficiently well-preserved to allow coherent translation, there will be gaps in the numbering of fragments translated here.

Second and Third Tablets (Fragments 9-17)

(Fragment 10, D col. i) [beginning broken]

(2) When my father ma[rched on], he [did not] meet the Ḫayaša enemy in [the land of ...]. My father went [after the Ḫayaša] enemy, but again he did not [meet] him. (Instead) he met the Kaška enemy, all of their tribal troops,^a in [the midst of the land]. The gods stood by him: [the Sun Goddess of Arinna], the Storm God of Ḫatti, the Storm God of the Army, and Ištar of the Battlefield, (so that) the en[emy] suffered many casualties. He also [took] ma[n]y prisoners and brought them back to Šamuḫa.

(11) Again [my] fa[ther] set out from [Šamuḫa]. And [in the land(?) of ...] which had been laid waste by i[ts] enemy, there stood the a[rmy(?) of the enemy. [(Even) the ...] and the shepherds [had come to] help. [My father] laid an ambush^b [for them] and [attacked] the Ka[ška] men. [He also attacked] the auxiliaries who had come, (so that) the Kaška troops and the au[xiliary] troops [suffered many casualties]. But the captives whom [he took were beyond counting].

(Fragment 11, A ii // B ii and C)

"[...] let him go. [...] There [...] because [...] does not(?) die, kill him [...]." — Thus (spoke) my father to my grandfather: "O my lord, send me on that [campaign]. Then the gods will fulfill what is in my [heart]."

^a Judg 1:3;
6:34-35;
7:24; 8:1-2

^b Josh 8;
Judg 9 and
20

(8) So my grandfather sent forth my father from Šamuḫa. [And when he (my father)] arrived in the land of Ḫatti, since [the ... had been] burned down by the enemy, my father began to cast away the *kunzi*. And they cast it away [and] took [...]. ...

(Fragment 13, D iv // E i) [Beginning of the column in E is broken away.]

(end of D iii) [When my father] (iv 1) heard this, he set about [...].

(3) He proceeded to lay an ambush^b in front of [...]. And he [slew(?) the enemy who(?) had arrived [at ...]. [The Kaška men(?) assembled nine tribal groups.^a [My father took away] from him [what] he was holding. (8) And everyone [went away] to his own [town]. When my father [arrived with] l[arge numbers of troops], the Kaška enemy was afraid, and they put their weapons down.

(12) Si[nce] my father had built fortifications behind the empty towns of the whole land which had been emptied by the enemy, he brought the inhabitants back, everyone to his own town, and they occupied their towns again.

(E 7) My grandfather became well again and came down from the Upper Land. And since the troops of the lands of Maša and Kammala kept attacking the land of the Ḫulana River and the land of Kaš-šiya, my grandfather went to attack them. My father went along too on the campaign. (13) The

gods went before my grandfather, (so that) he proceeded to destroy the land of Maša and Kammala. While my grandfather [was] in the land of Kammala, my father was with him. In the rear the Kaška enemy took up arms again; and the enemy for a second time destroyed the empty towns behind which my father had built fortifications.

(D 29) Now when my grandfather [came] back from the land of Maša — the lands of Kaḫariya and Kazzapa which kept destroying [towns(?) (as) the Kaška [troops] carried away their goods, silver, gold, bronze utensils and everything — my grandfather went to those towns in order to attack (the troops of Kaḫariya and Kazzapa). [Then] the gods marched before my grandfather, (so that) he destroyed (the towns of) Kaḫariya and Kazzapa and burned them down. The gods marched before my grandfather, (so that) he also defeated the Kaška troops who had come to help Kaḫariya — and those Kaška troops [...] died en masse.

(40) When my grandfather came back from there, he went to the land of Ḫayaša. And my father was still with him. When my grandfather arrived in the land of Ḫa[yaša], Karanni (or: Lanni?), king of Ḫayaša, [came] to (meet him in) battle below (the town of) Kummaḫa. [... broken]

(Colophon of E) Third (tablet), (text) not complete, of the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma, the great king, the hero. [erasure]

(Fragment 14, F iii) [beginning broken]

(2) [... laid an] am[bush for the K]aška people. [... Piy]apili (nom.) [...] they kill. [... Pi]yapili (nom.) [...] tr[eated] nothing [badly]. (7) But [when] my grandfather heard [of theof] Pi[y]apili — since my grandfather was still [si]ck, my grandfather (spoke) thus: “[Who] will go?” My father answered: “I will go.” [So] my grandfather sent my father out.

(12) When my father arrived in the land, (he found that) the Kaška enemy who had entered the land of Ḫatti had badly damaged the land. The Kaška enemy whom my father met inside the land consisted of twelve tribal groups.⁶ The gods marched before my father, (so that) he defeated the aforementioned Kaška enemy, the tribal troops, wherever he caught them. My father took away from (the enemy) what he was holding, and gave it back to the Hittites. (22) My grandfather became well again and came down from the Upper Land. And when he arrived at (the town of) Ziḫara, he met a[ll] the troops of (the town of) [...] in Ziḫara. (26) The gods marched before my grandfather, (so that) he defeated [the enemy]. ...

(38) [My father said] to my grandfather: “[O my lord, send] me aga[inst the Arz]awa enemy.” [So my grandfather sent my father(?) aga[inst] the

Arzawa enemy. (41) [And when] my father [had marched for] the first [day(?), he came(?) to (the town of?) K]ašḫa. [The gods] — [the Sun Goddess of Arinna, the Storm God of] Ḫatti, the Storm God of the Army, and Ištar of the Battlefield] — marched before [my father] (45) [(so that) my father defeated the] Arzawa [enemy] and the enemy troops [died in] lar[ge numbers ... [end of column, continuation of text lost]

(Fragment 15, F iv // G i) [beginning broken]

(1) [...on Mo]unt Allina [...] and [...] it with (its) goods; [...] bu[ilt ...] again. [But when(?) he arrived [at ...], they brought [word to] my father below (the town of) [...]: “The enemy who had gone forth to (the town of) Aniša, is now below (the town of) [...]—išša.” (So) my father went against him. And the gods — the Sun Goddess of Arinna, the Storm God of Ḫatti, the Storm God of the Army, and the Lady of the Battlefield — marched before my father (so that) he slew that whole tribal group, and the enemy troops died en masse.

(11) Furthermore again he met six tribes in (the town of) Ḫuwana[...], and he (var: my father) defeated these, too, (so that) the enemy troops died en masse. He met still another seven tribal groups⁷ in (the towns of) Ni[-] and Šapparanda and defeated them, (so that) the enemy troops died en masse. Still another Arzawa enemy was out in the land of Tupaziya and on Mount Ammuna in order to attack. Anna(?) was helping(?) as an ally(?), and he attacked Mount Ammuna, the land of Tupaziya and the [...] Lake, and kept its goods, along with the inhabitants, cattle and sheep. (21) When he arrived at (the town of) Tuwanuwa, he stopped below Tuwanuwa and fought against Tuwanuwa. My father defeated the enemy in (the towns of) [...], Naḫhuriya and Šapparanda. Then he [we]nt back to (the town of) Tiwanzana to spend the night, and my father spent the night in Tiwanzana.

(26) In the morning my father drove down from Tiwanzana into the land, (while) in the rear his charioteers and six teams of horses were supporting him. And as my father was driving, he encountered(?) that whole enemy all at once, and my father engaged him in battle. Then the gods — the Sun Goddess of Arinna, the Storm God of Ḫatti, the Storm God of the Army, and [Ištar of the Battlefield] — marched before my father (so that) he (var.: my father) defeated that enemy. [And] because [the] was [v]ery(?) large, he cast away the civilian captives, cattle and sheep [which] they had taken. (36) [When the enemy had abandoned the boot[y](?), [he] fled and took to the moun[tain]. [And ... (?) they attacked with arro[ws]. When my father saw the attack, he drove up to Tuwanuwa [and] bound the [...]. ... (end of tablet)

(Colophon of F) Second tablet, (text) not complete, of the [De]eds of Su[ppiluliuma ...]. [Hand of (?) ...]-su-ziti (?).

(Fragment 17, G iv) [beginning broken]

(1-2)(3) against my father [(4) Then the gods helped him, [(so that) he defeated the enemy, and the enemy] died [en masse]. The auxiliaries(?) [...-ed] Takkuri [and] Himuili [...].

(7) And when he had slain the enemy, he defeated [...] and made it again [into Hittite land]. Then [he went] to (the town of Anz[i]liya).

(10) And when Anzi[i]liya]. But my father haste[ned]. And when my fa[ther], they brought word] to my father:

(14) "The enemy who was [...], now [attacked(?) (the towns of)] and Pargalla." (17) "But besides [he attacked(?) (the towns of)], Hattina, [and] Ha[-...] and holds [their goods, inhabitants], cattle and sheep, and [...]." (20) When my father he[ard (this), he] and [laid] an ambush^b for the enemy. [And the gods] marched before [my father, (so that) he defeated] the enemy, and the enemy troops died] en masse.

(24) And the civilian captives, cattle, sheep and go[ods] which [the enemy held], he took away from him and ga[ve] them back [to the Hittites]. Then [...] forth [...] (end of tablet in G; continuation of text lost)

Fragments (18-27) Whose Tablet Numbers are Unknown

(Fragment 18, No. 4 i) (beginning of tablet) // No. 5 iv

(A i 1) The scout(?) troops of (the town(s) of) Peta [and Ma]hurašša who] had [gon]e [...] ... in the land of Arza[wa], tho[se] he brought back [and] settled [them again(?)] in their own lands.

(A i 4) Furthermore, while [my father(?)] was campaigning against the [...]s, (the towns of) Ma]hurašša, [...], and Peta rose u[p]. And he went [...into] the land of Arzawa to meet Anza-pahhaddu.....]. (8) And for(?) them Anza-pahhaddu,....] Alaltalli, Zapalli [.....] gov[ern-]ed] these. (10) [And] my father [wrote] [to Anza-pahhaddu]: "These (are) m[y subjects... ..], but you [ha]ve [taken them away from(?)] me. And [...] [. 1..... (14) [..... for] struggle [.....]" And [he.....] to him [.....: "...] my subjects up [in] the tow[n]" And it happened (that) my father [.....] said: "Go to [the land] (of) [...and] give [me ba]ck [my subjects]. But if [you do not] deli[ver my] subjects, then be [my ene]my and be...[...]." (21) [...] my father [...] to the people of Arza[wa] and he [.....] deli[ver]ed nothing.

c Judg 11:12-28; 1 Sam 22:3; 2 Sam 14:32

(23) [Then] my father consequently sent [out Himu-]ili, the commander, [and gave him(?) troops and ch]ariots. [And Hi]muili we[nt, and] attacked [the land of] Ma(huirašša [... and] held [it. But] w[hen] Anzapahhaddu [and (?) hea]rd [(this) thing], they [came] after (him) out of [...] and to[ok] him [by surpri]se on the way (28) [and defeated him]. When my father [heard] of the defeat of [Himu]ili, [his an]ger ro[se, and] he mobilized the troops and chariots [of Hatti at once and went into the land of Arzawa. [When] he [arri]ved [in the land of] Arzawa, he [...-ed] the land of Mira [...(broken)]

(Fragment 19, KBo 14.6 i) [beginning broken]

(2) [...] defeated [...]. But (the town of) Ma(huirašši [...] and al[l the inh]abitants of Arzawa took [Mount Tiwatašša, but ...] kept Mount Kuriwanda apart and [turned] it into(?) three fortified c[amps]. But] the enemy held [Mount Tiwatašša] with his force. [...] Alantalli [and] Zapalli [were.....] below(?) Mount Tiwatašša. [...] (10) He surrounded it and [besieged(?) it. [And] when [he] besieged it, [...] came [wi]th troops and chariots, and he [...].

(13) When my father heard [thi]s, [he... and] besieged the mountain. [And he wrote him: "Come, let us fight." [But] Anzapahhaddu] did not [...] come to a battle and was [...]. Of the mounta[in] held, and he [...] spoke [...] [broken]

(Fragment 20, KBo 14.7 i) [beginning broken]

(1) [.....ch]ariot[s.....]. ... (2) [When] my father hear[d.....], he gave [troops and ch]ariots [to Mammali] and [...]. And [the enemy(?) over-]took(?) Mammali [on the] wa[y], and [captured] his troops, chariots, (and) depor[tees]. Mammali alone d[i]ed(?)...]. (7) My father (abandoned?) Mount Tiwa[tašša]. When Zapalli [and ...] were [no longer(?)] besieged, they went [...] into (the town of) Hapalla. [But] my father [...], and so to his chariots [...] (end of column, continuation of text lost)

(Fragment 25, KUB 34.23 i) [beginning broken]

(1) [...] to the troops [.....the peop]le of H[ul]-... had] gone over [...] kept attacking [...] in [som]e rich tow[n(?) the.....of H]atti he took away and [.....] their father(s), their mother(s) (and) their brothers [...] to his own father, mother, and portico [...] who [had gone] over to [...] (10) [...] (he) led (away? the popula- tion, cattle and sheep, [and] brought [them to]. And everyone took [...]. But the people of Išuwa were [...], and to them, to (the things that had been) carried (away), they [...]ed. But the Hittite civilian captives to them [...], [...] (he) took away. (16) [...] (he) left [.....] (he) brought. [...] (he) was. But my father [...] revenge against [...] (20) [and]

went [into the land of] Zuhhapa and [burned] it down: [What] was around [the town, that] he burned down, and [all] of the town of Zuhhapa he burned [down, (too)]. But the civilian captives went (sg. 1) [.....]into (the land of) Hayaša, [.....]-ed, and they [.....]-ed them from Mount Laša.

(27) [The.....] which [...] in the land of Išūwa, [.....]; they belonged to Hatti. [.....] something to someone [.....] (30) [.....] even in the winter (he) went [and] attacked [the land of]-šeni. And the civilian captives, [cattle, sheep, and bronze] utensils which the army had left behind [in....., those bronze utensils] he brought from there. [.....] (he) came, and in the land of Išūwa [.....] which [in(?)] Išūwa [.....] chariots [... [broken] [gap of about 25 lines]

(Fragment 26, KUB 34.2:3 ii) [beginning broken]

(2) from the battle [.....]. And the civilian captives, cattle [and sheep.....] back to the army [...] whom they held back(?) [.....]. Then in the land of Ha[tti] empty granaries(?) [.....] and him [.....] broke(?) [.....] 370[+]

(11) And when [my father....., he sent a message] to the k[ing of Mitanni and [wrote] him thus: ".....] came before [...] (the town of) Carchemish (acc.), the to[wn.....] I attacked, but to you [I wrote thus]: 'Come, let us fight.' But you] did not come [to battle]. So now [.....] and the land to you wi[th.....]. (20) So come and [let us] fight. [...]" But he stayed in (the town of) [Wašukanni], he did not [answer(?) ...] and did not [come] to a battle. [So my father went] there after [him]. (25) The harvest which was [.....,] in Wašukanni there was no water at all [.....] the towns which (nom.) [.....were] looted(?) [.....] (30) around [...] with fru[it]]. And again [.....] to drink [...to my father [broken]

Tablet Seven (Fragment 28, KBo 5.6 and duplicates)

(A i 1) Then he went back to Mount Zukkuki and built (fortified) two towns: Athulišša and Tuḫupur-puna. While (the Hittite) built the towns, the enemy kept boasting: "Down into the land of Almina we shall never let him (come)." But when he had finished building the towns, he went into Almina, and none of the enemies could any longer resist him in battle.

(A i 9) So he set out to fortify (the town of) Almina. In the rear, in the army, a plague^d broke out. Then my father took a stand on Mount Kuntiya. Ḫimuili, the commander, held the river Šariya, and Ḫannutti, the marshal, held a position in (the town of) Parparra. But the corps of engineers was still fortifying Almina. And because all Kaška-land was at peace, some of the Hittite people had inns behind Kaška towns, (while) some had again gone to the town.

d Num 11:33,
14:37; 16:46-
49; 17:13;
25:8-9

(A i 18) But when the Kaška men saw that there was a plague^d in the army, they seized the people who had again gone into their towns.

(A i 21) They killed some and seized others. Then the enemy came by night and deployed. They went to fight against all the fortified camps which the lords were holding. The gods of my father marched before the lords at whichever of the fortified camps they went for battle, so that they defeated them all, and the enemy died en masse. No one could resist the army of my father. When my father had killed the enemy, all the Kaška enemy feared him.

(A i 31) While he was fortifying Almina, he sent out Urawanni and Kuwalana-ziti, the Great Shepherd, to attack the land of Kašula. The gods of my father marched before them, so that they conquered all of the land of Kašula and brought its people, cattle and sheep before my father. There were one thousand civilian captives whom they brought. Then my father conquered all of the land of Tumanna and rebuilt it and reestablished it and made it again part of the Hittite land.

(A i 40) Afterwards he came back to Ḫattuša to spend the winter. When he had celebrated the year festival (in the spring), he went into the land of Išṭahara. And since the Kaška enemy [had] taken Išṭahara, Hittite territory, [my father] drove the enemy out of it and re fortified the town of [...], Manaziya[na(?)], Kalimuna, and the town of [...] and reestablished them and made them again part of [the Hittite land]. And when he had reestablished [the land of Išṭahara], he came back to Ḫattuša to spend the winter.

(A ii 1) Tribal troops came en masse and attacked his army by night. Then the gods of his father marched before my brother, so that he defeated the tribal troops of the enemy and [killed] them. And when he had defeated the tribal troops, [the land] of [the enemy] saw him, and they were afraid, and all the lands of Arziya and Carchemish made peace with him, and the town of Murmuriga made peace with him (too).

(A ii 9) In the land of Carchemish, Carchemish itself, as the one town, did not make peace with him. So the Priest, my brother, left six hundred men and chariots and Lupakki, the commander often of the army, in the land of Murmuriga, (while) the Priest came to Hatti to meet my father. And since my father was in the town of Uda performing festivals, he met him there. (A ii 15) When the Hurrians saw that the Priest was gone, the troops and chariots of the Hurrian land came — Takuḫli, the *amumikuni*, was among them — and surrounded Murmuriga. And they were superior to the troops and chariots of Hatti who were there.

(A ii 21) Egyptian troops and chariots came to the

land of Kinza, which my father had conquered, and attacked the land of Kinza (Kadesh). My father was informed: "The Hurrians have surrounded the troops and chariots that are up in Murmuriga." (A ii 26) So my father mobilized troops and chariots and marched against the Hurrians. When he arrived in the land of Tegarama,¹ he reviewed his troops and chariots in (the town of) Talpa. Then he sent his son Arnuwanda and Zita, the Chief of the Royal Guard, from Tegarama ahead into the Hurrian country. When Arnuwanda and Zita arrived in the country, (A ii 33) [the enemy] attacked them. Then the gods of my father marched before them, [(so that) they defeat]ed [the enemy]. But the enemy [...] below the town and went [down] from the town [in order to escape(?) ... the moun]tains of the land of Tegarama [...]. When [my father he]ard: "He [is trying to] escape from the town ahead of time" — (A ii 42) when my father came down into the land, he did not meet the enemy from the Hurrian land (variant adds: below the town). So he went down to (the town of) Carchemish and surrounded it and (E₂ 6) [...]ed [...] on this side] and that side, (so that) he [surr]ounded it [completely]. The river [...] below the place [...] ships [...] (he) took, then [...] [broken]

(A iii 1) While my father was in the land of Carchemish, he sent Lupakki and Tarhunta(?)—zalma into the land of ^cAmqa. They went to attack ^cAmqa and brought civilian captives, cattle and sheep back to my father. (5) When the people of Egypt heard of the attack on ^cAmqa, they were afraid. And since their lord Nibhururiya (=Tutankhamun) had just died, the Queen of Egypt (=Ankhesenamun), who was the king's wife,¹⁷ sent a messenger to my father (10) saying: "My husband has died, and I have no son. They say you have many sons. If you will give me one of your sons, he will become my husband. I do not wish to choose a subject of mine and make him my husband ... I am afraid." (16) When my father heard this, he convened the Great Ones for council (saying): "Nothing like this has ever happened to me in my whole life." (20) My father sent Hattuša-ziti, the chamberlain, to Egypt (with this order): "Go bring back the true story to me. Maybe they are trying to deceive me. Maybe (in fact) they do have a son of their lord. Bring back the true story to me."

(A iii 26) (In the meantime) until Hattuša-ziti came back from Egypt, my father finally conquered the city of Carchemish. He had besieged it for seven days. Then on the eighth day he fought a battle against it for one day and [took(?)] it in a terrific battle on the eighth day, in [one] day. And when he had conquered the city — since [my father] fear[ed]

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1 Kgs 11:19-20

the gods — on the upper citadel he let no one in[to the presence(?)] of (the deities) [Kubaba(?)] and LAMMA, and he did not intrude into any [of the temples]. (Rather,) he bowed (to them) and gave [...]. But from the lower town he removed the in-h[abitants], the silver, gold, and bronze utensils and carried them to Hatti. (42) And the civilian captives whom he brought to the palace numbered three thousand three hundred and thirty, (E₃ iii 15) [whereas] those whom the Hitti[tes] brought (home) [were beyond counting]. Then [he ...] his son Šarri-Kušuh and [gave] him the land of Carchemish [and] the city of [Carchemish] to govern and ma[de] him a king in his own right.

(E₃ iii 21) When he had e[stablished] Carchemish, he [went] back into the land of Hatti and spe[nt] the winter in the land of Hatti.

(E₃ iii 24) When spring arrived, Hattuša-ziti [came back] from Egypt, (A iii 44) and the messenger of Egypt, Lord Hani, came with him. Now, since my father — when he sent Hattuša-ziti to Egypt — had given him these orders: "Maybe they have a son of their lord. Maybe they deceive me and do not want my son for the kingship." — therefore the queen of Egypt wrote back to my father as follows: "Why did you say 'they deceive me' in that way? If I had a son, would I (A iv 1) have written about my own and my land's embarrassing predicament to a foreign land? You did not believe me and have dared to speak this way to me. My husband has died, (6) and I have no son. I do not wish to take one of my subjects and make him my husband. I have written to no other land, only to you. They say you have many sons. Well then, give me one of them. To me he will be a husband, but in Egypt he will be king." (A iv 13) So, since my father was kindhearted, he granted the woman's wish and set about choosing the son he would send. (end of tablet in A)

(Colophon of A) Seventh tablet, (text) not complete. Not yet made into a bronze tablet.

[Gap of 6 to 12 lines. Šuppiluliuma speaks to ... Hani]

... [" ...] (E₃ iv 1) I [myself] was [...] friendly, but you, you suddenly did me evil. You [came(?)] and attacked the man of Kinza whom I had [taken away(?)] from the king of Hurri-land. (5) When I heard (this), I became angry and sent my own troops and chariots and the lords. They attacked your territory, the land of ^cAmqa. And when they attacked ^cAmqa, which is your territory, you were afraid. (10) (Therefore) you keep asking me for one of my sons (as if it were my) obligation. But [h]e will probably become a hostage, and you will not make him [king]." (13) Then Hani (replied) to my

¹ "The king's wife" is a literal translation of an Eg. expression *daḥamunzu* which is used here. See: Federn 1960:33. Cf. the personal name Tahpenes in 1 Kgs 11:19-20. See: Krauss 1978. For the personal name Takuhli (above, A ii 18) see Laroche 1966:170-171, no. 1215; Owen 1981.

father: "O my lord, this [is ...] our land's humiliation. If we had any [a son of the king] at all, would we have come to a foreign land and kept asking for a lord for ourselves? Nibhururiya, who was our lord, has died. He had no son. Our lord's wife is childless. We are seeking a son of (you,) our lord, for the kingship of Egypt. And for the woman, our lady, we seek him as her husband. Furthermore, we went to no other land. We only came here. Now, O lord, (25) give us one of your sons." — So my father busied himself on their behalf with the matter of a son. Then my father asked for the tablet of the treaty again, (in which there was told) how formerly the Storm God took the people of Kuruštama, sons of Hatti, carried them to Egyptian territory, and made them Egyptian subjects, how the Storm God (30) concluded a treaty between the lands of Egypt and Hatti, and how they remained on friendly terms with each other.² And when they had read aloud the tablet before them, my father addressed them: (35) "Hatti and Egypt have been friends a long time. Now this too on our behalf has taken place between them. Thus Hatti and Egypt will keep on being friends." [End of tablet in E₃]

(Colophon of E₃) [... the table]t of the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma]

Fragments Following "Seventh Tablet"

(Fragment 31, KUB 19.4) [beginning broken] (5) [When] they brought this tablet, they spoke thus: ["The people of Egypt(?) killed (Šuppiluliuma's son) [Zannanza and brought word: 'Zannanza [died.]' And when] my father heard] of the slaying of Zannanza, (8) he began to lament ⁸ for [Zanna]nza, [and] to the god[s ...] he spoke [th]us: "O gods, I did [them no harm, [yet] the people of Egypt did [this to me], and they have (also) [attacked] the frontier of my land." [broken]

(Fragment 34, A. KUB 19.13 + KUB 19.14 i) [beginning broken]

(1) [...] before [... And the gods helped my father]: the Sun Goddess of Ari[nna, the Storm God of Hatti, the Storm God of the Army, and Ištar of the Battlefield, (so that)] he defeated the enemy. [...] he burned down (the towns of) [...] and [Pa]lhušša [...]. And [ag]ain [he went] to (the town of) Kamm[ama and] burned] down the town of [Kamm]ama.

(7) [When my father] had burned down [these] lands, he went [from there into] the land of Ištaḫara. [From Ištaḫara] he went into (the town of) Hattena, (10) [and] ascended [Mount ...]-šu. And he proceeded to burn down [the land of ... and the land of] Teššita. [From there] he went into (the

g 2 Sam 19:1

town of) Tuḫpiliša [and re]fortified [it]. Furthermore, while my father was there, [the people of Zida]parḫa brought (him) word: "If you, O my Lord, (15) were to go [to ...] but not [to come] into the land of Zida[parḫa, [then] we would not hold out in front of the enemy." (17) [But my father] spoke [th]us: "If I from here I were [to march] along at the foot of [Mount ...]-mitta, [then I would] (have to) turn very much out [of my way." And he] (20) [marched on] from there and went into the land of T[i]kukuwa. And he] spent the night [in T[i]kukuwa. [From there he (went on and)] spent the night in Ḫurna [and] burned down [the land of Ḫurna. From there he ascended Mount Tiḫšina and burned [down] the land of Ḫauri[- ... and came t]o the river Marass[anta]. (25) [Then he went] in[to the land of D]arittara. [And becau]se it [was at pe]ac[e(?), he did not destroy(?)] the land of Daritta[ra]. But [Pitak]katalli mobilized [... in] (the town of) Š[ap]idduwa(?) [...], and he [came(?)] against my father(?). But when my father [saw(?)] h[im(?)], he did [no]t wait but [...

(31) My father [marched] away from there, as- [cended] Mount Iluriya and spent the night in (the town of) Wašḫaya. He burned down the land of Zina[- ...]. From there he (went on and) spent the night in (the town of) Kaškilišša (35) and burned down the lands of Kaškilišša and Tarukka. From there he (went on and) spent the night in (the town of) Ḫinariwanda and burned down the land of Ḫinariwanda and Iwatallišša. From there he (went on and) spent the night (in the town of) Šapidduwa and burned down the land of Šapidduwa.

(40) When he had burned down these lands, my father went into the land of Tumanna. And from [Tuma]nna he ascended Mount Kaššû and burned down [the land of ...]-naggara. And (the land of) the river Daḫara, [which] he had [con]quered, opened hostilities once again. (45) [So he] went into (the land of) the river Daḫara and burned down Daḫara and [the land of Ta]papiuwa. Then he came back [into (the town of) T]imuḫala. The town of Timuḫala was a place of pride [of the] Kaška men. He [would have] destroyed it, but they were afraid (50) [and] came to meet [him] and fell [down] to his feet; consequently, he did not destroy it, [but] made [it again part of the Hittite] land. [From there he marched away] and [went] into (the town of) [...], and from there he marched] into [the town of ...] [broken]

(Colophon) [... the tablet] of the Deeds [of Šuppiluliuma]. (Text) not complete.

² The text of the mentioned treaty has never been recovered. But it fits what we know about Hittite treaties, which always contained a historical prologue.

REFERENCES

Bryce 1989; Federn 1960; Forrer 1922; 1926; Goetze 1933; Güterbock 1956; 1960; 1983; Hoffner 1979; 1980:283-332; Houwink ten Cate 1966; Kempinski 1992; Kitchen 1962; Krauss 1978; Malamat 1955; Moran 1992; Otten 1988; Owen 1981.

THE HITTITE CONQUEST OF CYPRUS:
TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF SUPPILULIUMA II (1.75)

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

The present text derives from a single tablet found in the 1961 season of excavations at Boğazköy in the area of the House on the Slope. It was published in cuneiform copy by Heinrich Otten in 1963 in *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, Heft XII, No. 38, and was partially transliterated and translated in the same year by Otten (1963a). The definitive edition was by Hans Güterbock in 1967 (see also Carruba 1968), who cites all anterior literature.

The tablet has four columns and contains two distinct compositions of related subject matter separated by a double horizontal rule near the bottom of column II, between lines 21 and 22. Both compositions describe Hittite military victories over the people of Cyprus, the first during the reign of the Hittite emperor Tudḫaliya IV (ca. 1239-1209) and the second under his direct successor Šuppiluliyama (=Šuppiluliuma II, ca. 1205-1175?), who was the last Hittite ruler reigning from Hattuša. Šuppiluliyama's own military operation included the first known Hittite sea battle, followed by disembarkation on Alašiya and a land battle.

Both compositions are by Šuppiluliyama, paralleling Muršili II's authoring of both the Deeds of his father Šuppiluliuma I and two sets of his own annals.¹ Šuppiluliyama tells us at the close of the first text (ii 4-21) that he made an image of his father Tudḫaliya, inscribed upon it his father's "true manly deeds," and installed it in a permanent royal mausoleum, called in Hittite ^{NA}hegur SAG.UŠ. Güterbock translated this expression as "Everlasting Peak." The determinative ^{NA} shows the structure was at least partly of stone, the verb "I built" (Hittite *wedahḫun*) shows it was man-made, and other texts inform us that it was reached by going "up," that it contained a shrine-like structure called the *kuntarra*, and that there was an inscription in it. But it is still unclear whether it was actually an entire hilltop or mountain top, or if it was a building or complex on an elevated part of the city. The most recently published Hittite textual reference to a ^{NA}hegur SAG.UŠ is found in the bronze tablet treaty between this same Tudḫaliya (IV) and King Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša.² The passage is difficult, and various translations and interpretations of the incident have been proposed.³ But in it the above-mentioned characteristics of a ^{NA}hegur SAG.UŠ are confirmed.

The second text in KBo XII 38 tells of a Hittite victory over Alašian ships, followed by further operations on Alašian soil. Güterbock has suggested that the originals of both texts were display inscriptions in Hieroglyphic Luwian: the first inscribed on a lost statue of Tudḫaliya, and the second on a relief of Šuppiluliyama, perhaps the famous Nišantaš relief. The latter, which is so badly worn as to be virtually illegible, is being studied by J. David Hawkins with a view to editing it. Since Güterbock's edition of the present text, a monumental hieroglyphic text of this same Šuppiluliyama has been unearthed in the Upper City in the area known as the "Southern Citadel" (German *Südburg*) and published by Hawkins.⁴ It is not only not the source of the present text, but Alašiya is not mentioned among the many geographical areas it lists where the king campaigned. This fact does not necessarily call into question the historicity of the Alašiya campaign, but it is somewhat disappointing that the newly discovered inscription does not confirm and elucidate our text. Although it is true that the opening words "I am (king so-and-so)" can be found on royal hieroglyphic display inscriptions, these inscriptions are sometimes accompanied by a relief or statue which actually depicts the king in battle dress. It is this which gives meaning to the words "I (the royal figure whom you see here) am PN." It is likely, therefore, that accompanying the second text which begins with these words was a relief or statue of Šuppiluliyama.

Since in ancient Israel it was forbidden to make an image representing God or a human ruler (see Exod 20), the mighty acts of Israelite kings were never inscribed on statues, as was the custom elsewhere in the ancient Near East. Instead the king's acts were commemorated in song (see the song about Saul and David in 1 Sam 18:6-7) and eventually in written records (2 Chr 32:32; 35:26). The mighty acts of Yahweh, Israel's true king, were similarly celebrated and remembered in song and story. But in addition certain artifacts associated with Yahweh's miraculous deeds

¹ For the former see: above, text 1.74; for the latter: Goetze 1933; Otten 1955.

² Otten 1988, col. I, lines 91ff.; see Otten's discussion on pages 42-46.

³ Among recent interpretations of the Bronze Tablet are del Monte 1991-92; Heinhöhl-Krahmer 1991-92; Houwink ten Cate 1992; Stefanini 1992; Sørensen 1992; Beal 1993.

⁴ Hawkins 1990.

were kept in the sacred ark: the manna, the stone tablets of the law, and Aaron's staff that budded (Exod 16:34; 25:16, 21; Deut 10:5; Num 17:25). In principle this corresponds to the commemoration of Tudḫaliya's mighty acts on an inscribed statue.

The First Text: About Tudḫaliya

[As an example of the nature of tribute imposed by an overlord on a vassal this text sheds light on many incidental references to paying tribute to overlords. In Num 31 the Mosaic laws governing the division of plunder and the share to be given to Yahweh's temple are regulated.]

(i 3-9) [...] I seized [...] with his wives, his children, [and ...]. I [re]moved all the goods, [including silver, gold, copper and all the captured people and [bro]ught them home to Ḫattuša. I [subjugated] the land of Alašiya and subjected it to tribute payment^a on the spot. I imposed [the following as tribute upon it:

(i 10-12) Let this tribute from the king of Alašiya and the *pidduri*-commissioner⁵ be (owed) to the Sungoddess of Arinna and to the Tabarna, the Great King, priest^b of the Sungoddess of Arinna:

(i 13-14) [...] of gold, one talent of copper, twenty-five liters of *gayatum*-grain for the Sungoddess of Arinna;

(i 15-16) [...] of gold, one talent of copper, twenty-five liters of *gayatum*-grain for the Stormgod of Zippalanda;

(i 17-18) [...] of gold, one talent of copper, three [*sātu*-measures] of *gayatum*-grain [for the Stormgod] of Ḫatti;

(i 19-20) [...] of gold, one talent of copper, three *sātu*-measures of *gayatum*-grain [for the Stormgod] of Nerik;

(i 21-23) [...] mi]ll(?), utensils [...] in [Ḫattu]ša they shall present.

(i 24-25) [...] all [...] they shall [...].

(ii 1-3) [...] arises [...] reverent [...]

(ii 4-10) [My father,] Tudḫaliya, [did] not [make] this statue;^c I, Šuppiluliyama, [Great King,] King of Ḫatti, son of Tudḫaliya, Great King, grandson of Ḫattušili, Great King, great-grandson of Muršili, Great King, made it.

(ii 11-16) And just as my father Tudḫaliya, Great King, was a true^d king, so I have engraved upon it

a Num 31;
Judg 3;
2 Sam 8:2, 6;
1 Kgs 5:1;
17:3-4;
Hos 10:6;
Ps 72:10;
Esth 10:1

b Ps 110:4

c Exod 20:4;
Deut 5:8

d 2 Sam
18:18;
2 Kgs 13:13;
14:16;
2 Chr 21:20;
24:16, 25;
28:27

true exploits in the same way. What I have not accidentally omitted, I have also not deliberately suppressed.

(ii 17-21) I built a permanent mausoleum. I made the statue^e and had it carried into the permanent mausoleum. I installed and appeased(?) [the statue representing the deceased king].

The Second Text: About Šuppiluliyama

(ii 22-26) I am Your Majesty, the Tabarna, Šuppiluliyama, Great King, King of Ḫatti, Hero, son of Tudḫaliya, Great King, King of Ḫatti, Hero, [grandson of Ḫattušili, Great King, H[ero].

(ii 27-28) [My father,] Tudḫaliya, [...]

[The bottom of column II and the top of column III are broken away.]

(iii 1-4) And my father [...] I mobilized and I, Šuppiluliyama, Great King, immediately [crossed(?) the sea.

(iii 5-9) Ships of the land of Alašiya met me in battle three times on the high seas. I defeated them. I captured the ships and set fire to them in the sea.

(iii 10-16) When I disembarked on the shore, a large number of enemy troops came against me for battle. [I defeated] them [in] battle [...] and to me [...] sent [...]

[The following badly broken paragraph mentions troops and the land of Ḫatti. The rest of column III and the beginning of IV are lost.]

(iv 1-4) [My father, Tudḫaliya, Great King,] did [not] make [this statue.] Nothing belonging to any [...] did I [...] I, Šuppiluliyama, Great King, built for him this permanent mausoleum.^d

(iv 5-8) I installed and app[ea]sed(?) the statue [...]. I gave ... (As for) villages (to support the mausoleum) they will designate seventy.

(iv 9-14) Whoever takes (the mausoleum) away from him or subjects it to feudal duty, [the gods] who recognized Tudḫaliya (as king) will [(punish) him (in some way)].

⁵ Perhaps equivalent to the ^{LU}MAŠKIM = Akk. *rābišu* "royal commissioner" of Cyprus mentioned in the Amarna correspondence.

⁶ Although the term used here, *ašant-*, is not the technical term for "legitimate," there is probably an intended contrast of Tudḫaliya IV with Kurunta of Tarhuntašša who usurped the Hittite throne for a time in the middle of Tudḫaliya's reign. See Hoffner 1992.

REFERENCES

- Beal 1993; Carruba 1968; Del Monte 1991-92; Goetze 1933; Güterbock 1956; 1967; Hawkins 1990; Heinhold-Krahmer 1991-92; Hoffner 1992; Houwink ten Cate 1966; 1992; Otten 1955; 1963a; 1988; Stefanini 1992:143; Sørenhagen 1992.

3. BIOGRAPHY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

THE PROCLAMATION OF TELIPINU (1.76)

Th. P. J. van den Hout

The Proclamation or Decree of King Telipinu (ca. 1500 BCE) is an attempt to put an end to the inner-dynastic strife and bloodshed which seems to have held the Hittite Empire in its grip since Hattušili I (ca. 1600 BCE). In order to do so, Telipinu refrained from killing his own opponents, sending them away unharmed, and firmly established rules of succession (§28) and of how to deal with such offenders in the future (§§29-34). As is characteristic of Hittite literature and political thinking, the need is felt to justify this ruling by giving an historical account of the reasons that led up to this decision (§§1-27). This first part of the Decree of Telipinu, thereby, is the major source for our knowledge of the Old Hittite Empire; for an historical overview of the Old Hittite Kingdom see Gurney, *CAH* 2:1235-1255. The second part of the text (§§35-50) seems to deal "with an agricultural-administrative reform" (Singer 1984:103) but is much less well preserved. Being a "comparatively unreligious" document (Hoffner 1975b:53) as opposed to, for instance, the Apology of Hattušili (text 1.77 below) there are not as many possible links to the Old Testament as in the latter.

This originally Old Hittite composition has come down to us only in thirteenth century copies of which there may have been as many as at least seven exemplars (Starke 1985a:101). There also existed an Akkadian version of which we have fragments of two different manuscripts. Usually this Akkadian version is taken to be a translation of the Hittite original (cf. Beckman 1985:571; Starke 1985a:109-111 vs. Hoffmann 1984:8-9).

The translation basically follows the Hittite text as given by Hoffmann 1984; for criticism see the reviews by Beckman 1985 and Starke 1985a. Where relevant the Akkadian text is used and referred to in the footnotes.

Introduction

§1 (Column 1:1-4) [Thus] the Labarna, Telipinu, Great King¹:

Historical outline: Labarna

[Fo]rmerly, Labarna was Great King² and his [son]s, [brother]s, as well as his in-laws, his (further) family members and his troops were united.

§2 (1:5-6) The land was small but wherever he went³ on campaign, he held the enemy country subdued by (his) might.

§3 (1:7-9) He destroyed the lands, one after another, stripped(?) the lands of their power and made them the borders of the sea.⁴ When he came back from campaign, however, each (of) his sons went somewhere to a country:

§4 (1:10-12) The cities of Hupišna, Tuwanuwa, Nenašša, Landa, Zallara, Paršuḫanta (and) Lušna,⁵ the(se) countries they each governed

and the great cities made progress.⁶

Historical outline: Hattušili I

§5 (1:13-16) Afterwards Hattušili⁷ was King and his sons, too, his brothers, his in-laws as well as his (further) family members and his troops were united. Wherever he went on campaign, however, he, too, held the enemy country subdued by (his) might.

§6 (1:17-20) He destroyed the lands one after the other, stripped(?) the lands of their power and made them the borders of the sea. When he came back from campaign, however, each (of) his sons went somewhere to a country, and in his hand the great cities⁸ made progress.

§7 (1:21-23) When later on, however, the princes' servants became corrupt, they took to devouring their properties, they took to conspiring continually against their lords and they began to shed their⁹ blood.¹⁰

¹ That Telipinu offers no genealogy may be due to the fact that he was not of royal descent himself or at any rate not directly a king's son (see below §22 and Hoffner 1975b:51, 53). For his name as a reference to the Hattian god Telipinu, who stands for nature's prosperity, see Hoffner 1975b:53.

² The existence of a separate Great King Labarna (first half 17th century BCE) prior to and different from Hattušili I (see below §5) is now confirmed by the so-called cruciform seal; see Dinçol et al. 1993:104.

³ Lit., "goes." The historical present will be regularly translated as a past tense.

⁴ I.e., he made the sea the border of his empire; the same phrase occurs in §§6 and 8.

⁵ All to be located in southern Anatolia, just north of classical Cilicia.

⁶ Similarly Beal 1988:277; differently Hoffmann 1984:15 with n. 1 ("were well looked after"). The same phrase occurs in §6.

⁷ Hattušili I who reigned ca. 1650 BCE, and is known through several texts, among which his own annals describing his campaigns to eastern Anatolia and northern Syria.

⁸ Var. "countries."

⁹ Text: "our."

¹⁰ Kümmel (*TUAT* 1/5:465) took only the last sentence as the main sentence with all preceding ones as still dependent on "when."

Historical outline: Muršili I

- §8 (1:24-27) When Muršili¹¹ was King in Hattuša, his sons, too, his brothers, his in-laws, his (further) family members and his troops were united. The enemy country he held subdued by (his) might, he stripped(?) the lands of their power and made them the borders of the s[e]a.
- §9 (1:28-34) He went to the city of Halpa,¹² destroyed Halpa and brought Halpa's deportees (and) its goods to Hattuša. Now, later he went to Babylon, he destroyed Babylon¹³ and fought the Hurrian [troops]. Babylon's deportees (and) its goods he kept in Hat[tuša]¹⁴.
- §10¹⁵ And Hantili¹⁶ was cupbearer and he had Muršili's sister Har[apšili] for his wife.
- §11¹⁷ Zidanta,¹⁸ <[the ...,¹⁹ had ...] ..., the daughter of Hantili, for a wife, and he >²⁰ stole up to Hantili and they [committed] an evil deed: they killed Muršili and shed (his) blood.

Historical outline: Hantili I

- §12 (1:35-38) Hantili got afraid (saying): "Will I be protected? The gods protect him. [...] ... wherever (he) went, the population [...] ... the cities of Aštata, Šukziya, Hurpana, Carchemi[sh]²¹ [...] ... [troops] they began to [give] and troops [...]."
- §13 (1:39-42) And [when H]antili reac[hed] the city of Tegarama²² he began to say: "What (is) [t]his (that) I have done? [Why] did I listen to [the words of] Zidan[ta, m]y(?) [son-in-law]? [As soon as] he (however) [reigned] [as King],²³ the gods sought [t] (revenge for) the blood [of Muršili]²⁴."

a Gen 10:3

- §14 (1:43-46) [... the H]urrian [tr]oops, chased (like) foxes²⁵ in the b[ushes,] they [c]alled. [When the Hurrian enemy(?)²⁶ came [t]o Hatti-L[an]d, he [...]-[ed] [and ...] in(?) [the] land he roamed(?). [...] ... they called and the[m ...].
- §15 (1:47-52) (almost completed lost).
- §16 (1:53-57) [... a]nd the Queen of the city of [Šukziy]a²⁷ [... The Queen was dy[ing]. [...] Ilal[iuma] secretly s[e]n[t] out palace [attendant]s and [...] -[ed]: "May the Queen of Šukziya die!", so [they seized²⁸] her [and killed (her) [together with her children²⁹]].
- §17 (1:58-62) When Hantili inquired into (the case of) the Queen of Šukziya and her children (saying:) "Who [has] killed them?", the Chief of the palace attendants brought word. They rounded up²⁹ h[er fam]ily and [drove] them to Tega[rama].⁴ They chased them in the bushes and [they] d[ied](?).
- §18 (1:63-65) And when Hantili [gre]w ol[d] and began to become a god, Zidanta killed Hantili's son, [Pišeni]³⁰ together with his sons, [and] his [chief] servants he killed.

Historical outline: Zidanta I

- §19 (1:66-68) And Zidanta bec[ame] King. The gods sought (revenge for) the blood of Pišeni, so the gods made him Ammuna,³¹ his begotten (son), his enemy³² and he killed his father Zidanta.

Historical outline: Ammuna

- §20 (1:69-71) And Ammuna became King. The gods sought (revenge for) the blood of his father Zidanta and [they did] no[t make] him,

¹¹ Grandson and adopted son of his predecessor Hattušili I, reigned ca. 1600 BCE.

¹² Aleppo.

¹³ In 1594 BCE according to the middle chronology.

¹⁴ Thus restored by Hoffmann 1984:18; in the handcopy there does not seem to be sufficient room for this restoration, however, so that a reading [KUR] ^{UR} *Ha-ar[ti]* "in Hat[ti]-Land" must be considered.

¹⁵ Separate paragraph in manuscript B.

¹⁶ Later successor to Muršili I.

¹⁷ Separate paragraph in manuscript B.

¹⁸ Later successor to Hantili I.

¹⁹ Probably some title has to be restored here.

²⁰ Interpolation in B.

²¹ All located in northern Syria.

²² To the south-east of Hatti-Land proper, bordering on the Hurrian territory.

²³ Restoration after Kümmel *TUAT* 1/5:466.

²⁴ Preserved in the Akkadian version KBo III 89 i 3 (*ša "Muršili"*).

²⁵ The "donkeys" (ANSE.HI.A KBo III 89 i 4) of the Akkadian version may be due to a confusion of the cuneiform signs for "donkeys" and "fox" (KA₅.A).

²⁶ Restoration after Hoffmann 1984:20 n. i.

²⁷ For a provocative but highly speculative reconstruction of this affair of a Queen and the city of Šukziya, involving the Akkadian version, see Helck 1984; see also Soysal 1990.

²⁸ Preserved in the Akkadian version KBo I 27 ii 4.

²⁹ The verb "to unite" is used here but the context and the Akkadian version KBo I 27 ii 8 (*iššabbatušun[uti]* "they took them prisoner") suggest the above translation, cf. Starke 1985a:111.

³⁰ Also read Kaššeni (*Kaš-še-ni*).

³¹ Later successor to Zidanta I.

³² Var. "enemies."

the grain, wine, oxen (and) sheep [prosper(?) in his hand [but it all ...] in (his) hand.

- §21 (Column 2:1-7) Now, the land became his enemy: the cities of ...agga, [Mat]ila, Galmiya, Adaniy[a], Arzawiya,³³ Šallapa, Parduwata and Abhula. But wherever (his) troops went³⁴ on campaign, they did not come back successfully. When Ammuna, too, became god, Zuru, the Chief of the Royal Bodyguard, in those same days secretly sent, of his own offspring, his son Taḥurwaili,³⁵ Man of the Gold Spear, and he killed Titti(ya)'s family together with his sons.

Historical outline: Ḫuzziya I

- §22 (2:8-12) He sent Taruḫšu, a courier, as well and he killed Ḫantili together with [his] sons. Now, Ḫuzziya became King and Telipinu had Ištapariya, his³⁶ sister of first rank, <as his wife>. When Ḫuzziya wanted to kill them, the matter came to light and Telipinu chased them away.

Historical outline: Telipinu

- §23 (2:13-15) Five (were) his³⁷ br[ot]hers and he assigned houses to them (saying): "Let them go (and) live! Let them each eat (and) drink!" May nob[ody] do harm to them! And I declare: "They did evil to me, but I [will not do] evil to them."³⁸
- §24 (2:16-19) When I, Telipinu, had sat down on my father's throne,³⁸ I went on campaign to the city of Ḫaššuwa³⁹ and I destroyed Ḫaššuwa. My troops were in the city of Zizzilippa as well and in Zizzilippa a battle ensued.

b1 Sam 24:5-15; 26:9

- §25 (2:20-25) When I, the King, came to the city of Lawazantiya,⁴⁰ Laḫḫa⁴¹ was [hostile to me] and made Lawazantiya rebellious. The gods put him at my mercy.⁴² Of the Chiefs (there were) many: the Commander of Thousand, [...], Karuwa, the Commander of the Chamberlains, Inara, the Commander of the Cupbearers, Kill[a], the Commander of the [...], Tarḫumimma, the Commander of the Staffbearers, Zinwašeli and Lelli, and they secretly sent (a message) to Tanuwa, the Staffbearer.

- §26 (2:26-30) I, [the Ki]ng, did not k[no]w [and he killed Ḫ]u[zzi]y[a] and his brothers as well. [W]hen I, the King, heard (of it), they brought Tanuwa, Taḥurwaili [and] Taruḫš[u] and the Council⁴³ sentenced them to death. And I, the King, said: "[W]hy do they die? They will hide (their) eyes concerning them!"⁴⁴ I, the King, made them into tru[e⁴⁵] farmers: I have taken their weapons from the shoulder and have given them a yok[e(?)⁴⁶].

- §27 (2:31-35) The blood of the whole royal family spread: Ištapariy[a], the Queen, died, later it happened that Ammuna, the prince, died. The "Men of the Gods," too, each said: "Behold, blood(shed) is widespread in Ḫattuša." So I, Telipinu, summoned an assembly in Ḫattuša. From now on in Ḫattuša, let nobody do evil to a son⁴⁷ of the family and draw a dagger on him.

Succession rules

- §28 (2:36-39)⁴⁸ King shall become a son (who is a) prince of first rank⁴⁹ only.⁵⁰ If there is no first

³³ Country located in south-western Anatolia. Reading according to B with Hoffmann 1984:26, Kümmel *TUAT* 1/5:467; A has *Ar-za-mi-ya*, cf. Beckman 1985:571.

³⁴ Lit., "goes" (present singular). In spite of the formal accusative plural of ÉRIN.MEŠ-uš, which could either be emended into a nominative (-iš, cf. Starke 1985a:112) or taken as a modernization by a late thirteenth century scribe, this translation is preferred over the (formally possible) one offered by Hoffmann 1984:27 ("But wherever he went to the troops on campaign"); cf. *CHD* L-N 4 and Kümmel *TUAT* 1/5:467.

³⁵ For this Taḥurwaili see Carruba 1974. ("Became God" = died, said of kings and queens.)

³⁶ I.e., Ḫuzziya's; Telipinu's only explicit link to the royal family may thus have been his marriage to Ištapariya; see also §1 with note.

³⁷ I.e., Ḫuzziya's.

³⁸ In the case of Telipinu — not being a king's son himself — this clearly is a stock phrase, unless he was Ammuna's son; cf. Gurney *CAH* 2/1:663.

³⁹ In northern Syria.

⁴⁰ Near Ḫaššuwa in the Anti-Taurus.

⁴¹ This same Laḫḫa occurs otherwise only in connection with Ḫuzziya in an historical fragment by Telipinu; see Carruba 1974:77-78 and Hoffmann 1984:63-67.

⁴² Lit., "put him in my hand."

⁴³ Council to the Hittite king in mainly legal matters normally consisting of the highest authorities in the empire; most of these probably were members of the extended royal family.

⁴⁴ I.e., they will further ignore them completely; for this expression see Hoffmann 1984:120-122. For taking the two sentences as questions see the discussion in *CHD* L-N 331 with literature.

⁴⁵ Or "simp[le]"? The translation by Haase 1984:53 "I castrated them (and) made them into farmers" is a misinterpretation of the adj. *karš[auš]*.

⁴⁶ Reading suggested after the context by Forrer 1926:42 n. 8 and followed by most scholars, although noting that the traces rather favor ^{46a}BA[LAG] (a musical instrument); differently Carruba 1974:75 ("And I gave them the hand(?) ..."), Hoffmann 1984:31 ("And I gave them shackles").

⁴⁷ Or "child."

⁴⁸ This paragraph states the actual rules for succession.

⁴⁹ I.e., a son of the main or first wife of the king.

⁵⁰ Translation with Hoffmann 1984:33 according to manuscript A; following the slightly differing manuscript G a translation "of the sons only the prince of first rank" is also feasible, cf. Starke 1985a:112.

rank prince, he who is a son of second rank shall become King. If there is no prince, (no) male, she who is a first rank princess, for her they shall take an in-marrying (son-in-law) and he shall become King.

§29 (2:40-45) Who will become king after me in future, let his brothers, his sons, his in-laws, his (further) family members and his troops be united! You will come (and) hold the country subdued with (your) might. And do not speak as follows: "I will clean (it) out," for you will not clean anything. On the contrary, you will get involved yourself.⁵¹ Do not kill anybody of your!⁵² family. It (is) not right.

§30 (2:46-49) Furthermore, whoever becomes King and seeks evil for (his) brother (or) sister, you too are his Council and tell him straight: "This (is) a matter of blood." Look at the tablet (that says):⁵³ "Formerly, blood(shed) became excessive in Ḫattuša, and the gods took it out on the royal family."

§31 (2:50-58) If anyone does evil amongst both (his) brothers and sisters and lays eyes on the king's head,⁵⁴ summon the assembly and, if h[is] testimony is dismissed,⁵⁵ he shall pay with his head. They shall not kill secretly, however, like Zuruwa, Tanuwa, Taḫurwaili and Taruḫšu. They shall not commit evil against his house, his wife (and) his children. So,⁵⁶ if a prince sins, he shall pay with (his) own head, while they shall not commit evil against his house and his children. For⁵⁷ the reason for which princes usually die (does) not (affect) their houses, their fields, their vineyards, their male (and) female servants,

their oxen (and) their sheep.

§32 (2:59-65) So now, if some prince sins, he shall pay with (his) own head while you shall not commit evil against his house and his son. Giving (away) even a prince's blade of straw (or) a chip of wood⁵⁸ is not right. Those who commit these evil deeds, the [Chiefs of Staff(?)], (that is,) the Major-Domos, the Chief of the Palace Attendants, the Chief of the Royal Bodyguard and the Chief-of-the-Wine,⁵⁹ [if?] they want to take a prince's houses and [s]ay thus: "I wish that city to be mine," then he commits evil against the city lord.

§33 (2:66-73) But now, from this day onwards in Ḫattuša you, palace attendants, royal bodyguards, golden-chariot fighters, cupbearers, w[aite]rs, cooks, staff bearers, grooms, commanders of a [field] ba[tallion], remember this word. Let Tanuwa, Taḫurwaili and Taruḫšu be a warning to you! [If] someone commits evil again, either the Major Domo, the Chief of the [pala]ce attendants or the Chief of the Royal Bodyguard or the Chief of commanders of a field battallion — whether a lo[w]er (or) higher ranking one — you too, Council, seize (him) and devour him with your teeth!

§34 (Column 3:1-3) Now, in Ḫattuša they must take⁶⁰ the Chiefs of Staff, (that is,) the Major-Domos, the Chief of the Palace Attendants, the Chief-of-the-Wine, the Chief of the Royal Bodygu[ard], the Chief of the Chariot Fighters, the Commander of the Bailiffs, the troop[s], those who are grea[t(?) in [the King's(?) h]ouse, [as well as furthe]rmore

⁵¹ Lit., "you will close yourself in," that is, by killing someone else yourself you will not break the chain of murders in the royal family and you will end up dead yourself, whereas by sparing an opponent's life you will break the chain of murders. Normally, the verb *ḫatkišnuši* is taken in its literal sense as transitive with the object not expressed (cf. Sturtevant-Bechtel 1935:191 "you pardon nothing) and actually order (his) arrest", Bryce n.d.:137 ("You must press him [i.e., the offender] all the more"), Kümmel *TUAT* 1/5:469 and Hoffmann 1984:33 "you will really oppress"), but the reflexive particle *-za* ("yourself"), not normally present with this verb, strongly suggests the above, more metaphorical interpretation.

⁵² Lit., "his."

⁵³ Or "See this matter of bloodshed in the light of the tablet (which says): '...'"

⁵⁴ For the correct reading (*ḫar-aš-ša-na-a* "to the head") and interpretation (an offender, not identical to the king, plots against the king's life) see Melchert 1977:222-223 (cf. Bryce n.d.:157-158); for other interpretations based on the reading *ḫaraškanā* see Hoffner 1982 ("look to the person of the king" = have recourse to) and Kümmel *TUAT* 1/5:469 (the offender either claims immunity because of his close relationship with the king or — if the offender is king himself — points to his responsibilities as king). Some scholars (e.g., Sturtevant-Bechtel 1935:191; Hoffner 1982; Haase 1984:53) have assumed that the king is the implied subject of the first sentence and his victim the subject of the second. This then results in the unique stipulation that the king could be called to account and could be put to death. The unexpressed change of subject between the first two sentences resulting from such an interpretation, however, seems a major, although not unsurmountable, objection to it.

⁵⁵ Lit., "goes." This sentence has been interpreted variously, either referring to the verdict of the assembly ("when its word goes" i.e., when sentence is passed, cf. Haase 1984:53; Hoffmann 1984:35; Kümmel *TUAT* 1/5:469), to the plan of the offender ("If at that time he goes ahead with his plan?"), cf. Sturtevant-Bechtel 1935:191 and Bryce n.d.:137), to the offender's case ("If his case goes against him," cf. Carruba 1964:421; Hoffner 1982:508) or to the offender's testimony ("If his speech fails him(?)" i.e., the accused stands silent, cf. Melchert 1977:223-224). The translation suggested here elaborates on the last one.

⁵⁶ The enclitic conjunction *-ma* is here taken as resumptive instead of adversative ("however"), thus avoiding a contrast which does not seem to be there.

⁵⁷ The enclitic conjunction *-ma* is here taken as marking an explanation.

⁵⁸ For the same phrase, see p. 204 §13 below. For the same phrase in Akk., see *CAD* s.v. *ḫuṣābu*.

⁵⁹ This title indicates one of the highest military officials.

⁶⁰ The exact meaning of "to take" here is unclear; Hoffmann 1984:39 n. 2 suggests "to respect."

their subordinates.

Administrative and other reforms

- §35 (3:4-6) Now, [in (the territory of) *Ḫat*]tuša the fortified cities [must be] protected. Do not leave them! The fortified cities [... w]ater, but divert it 10 (to) 20 times to the grain.
- §36 (3:7-16) (hardly anything is preserved here; line 7 mentions "T[e]lipinu, Great King"⁶¹)
- §37 (3:17-33) (fragmentarily preserved; contains a list of at least "60 [+ x?] cities (and their) storehouses"⁶²)^c
- §38 (3:34-42) (fragmentarily preserved; contains a list of "34 cities (and their) storehouses for (fodder) mix"⁶³)
- §39 (3:43-48) I made the grain abundant again [...] the farmers those very fields ... [...] they must [s]eal. All those the population ... [..., but(?) let] them [not(?) commit fraud! Beyond (their) ration(?) they kept binding either one or two cubits(?),⁶⁴ so they drank out the country's blood. But do not let them do (it) now! Whoever does it, may they give⁶⁵ him an evil death!
- §40 (3:49-54) (You) who in future will bec[om]e king after me, always seal the gra[i]n with your⁶⁶ name. Behold, the administrators of the seal house will leave you and speak to you thus: "[... there (is) n]ot(?).⁶⁷ Do not seal it, however, for yourself(?), always [s]eal [it ...]" And, behold, the[y will] lift you up⁶⁸ ...
- §41-43 (3:55-68) [except for a few traces not preserved]
- §44 (3:69-75) [Who from n]ow on [will become king after] m[e and ...] ... humili[ates and] says thus [to yo]u: "[...]" Do not listen! [...]

c 1 Kgs 9:19;
2 Chr 8:6

d Exod 22:17;
Deut 18:10-14

If you [have] harnesse[d] a deportee, you shall always compensate the equipment. The troops [...], and [...] him to either your wife o[r ...].

§45-47 (Column 4:1-20) [partly lost, partly too fragmentarily preserved to be translated]

§48 (4:21-26) [Wh]en [lat]er on the *karpinattiš*(?)⁶⁹ of mortals took to div[id]ing ..., and [they were], oh so⁷⁰ disr[espectful] and therefore they⁷¹ were struck by the god(s). But now, from no[w on, ...] if he somehow calls on them, (his) living parents because of (his) share, and whatever he calls on them with (his) mouth to share, they must throw him out of the house, and he must forfeit his own share.

§49 (4:27-29) And the procedure in case of bloodshed (is) as follows: whoever commits bloodshed, only (that) which the "lord of the blood" says (will happen): if he says "He shall die," let him die, but if he says "He shall pay" let him pay. For the king (there will be) nothing, however.

§50 (4:30-34) (The procedure in case) of witchcraft in *Ḫattuša* (is) as follows: You must clear all matters of (it). Whoever within the family knows witchcraft, you must seize him from the family and bring him to the palace gate. But [wh]oever does not bring him, for that man⁷² a bad end will come.^d

Colophon (4:35-36) First tablet of Telipinu. Finished.

⁶¹ Singer 1984:103-104 suspects this paragraph might have contained a list of storehouse towns similar to the two following paragraphs, located in the central Hittite area.

⁶² As far as attested in other texts, the geographical names "point to the northern ranges of the Antitaurus (... and) the region south of the Tuz Gölü," cf. Singer 1984:103. Singer (p. 104) also reminds of the "store cities, chariot cities and cities of the horsemen" in 1 Kgs 9:19; 2 Chr 8:6.

⁶³ None of the geographical names preserved in this list can be located with certainty.

⁶⁴ The meaning of this sentence remains problematic and unclear; cf. Singer 1984:104-105.

⁶⁵ The third person plural imperative was almost completely preserved according to Forrer 1926:45 ("bi[-a]n-du"), although not given in the hand copy by Figulla in KBo III p. 5.

⁶⁶ Although the verb is in the singular, the possessive pronoun is plural, possibly referring to the future kings. Hoffmann 1984:47 takes the possessive as a third person ("their").

⁶⁷ So Singer 1984:105 (NU.G)AL; differently Hoffmann 1984:47 (zi-i]k').

⁶⁸ Singer 1984:105: "They will further lead you (astray)."

⁶⁹ Although a hapax of unknown meaning, may be better so than taken (with Hoffmann 1984:52) as two words (*karpina attiš*), cf. Starke 1985a:112.

⁷⁰ Cf. Beckman 1985:572.

⁷¹ Text has singular verb form.

⁷² C adds: "in his very own house."

REFERENCES

Text: CTH 19. Translation: TUAT 1/5:464-470; CAH 2/1:235-255; Discussion: Beal 1988; Beckman 1985; Bryce n.d.; Carruba 1964; 1974; Dinçol, Dinçol, Hawkins, and Wilhelm 1993; Forrer 1926; Haase 1984; Helck 1984; Hoffmann 1984; Hoffner 1975b; 1982:507-509; Melchert 1977; Singer 1984; Starke 1985a; Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935:182-200.

APOLOGY OF ḪATTUŠILI III (1.77)

Th. P. J. van den Hout

The so-called "Apology" of Ḫattušili III (1267-ca. 1240 BCE) is one of the major Hittite historical texts that have come down to us. At least eight different manuscripts must have existed among which were one-tablet and two-tablet versions, thus illustrating the relative importance the Hittites must have attached to it. All fragments have been found in the eastern storerooms of the Great Temple (Temple 1) in the Lower City of Ḫattuša/Boğazköy; this corresponds to the repeated mention of the deposition of historical texts "before the deity" (e.g. cf. below Apology §5 end). Since Götze (1925:113 n. 2), scholars have taken the peace treaty with Ramesses II in 1259 BCE as a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the text, because of §12b ("(Those) who had been enemies in the days of my fathers (and) grandfat[her]s, concluded peace with me"); for a late date towards the end of Ḫattušili's reign see Tadmor (1983:37-38, 54-57), and Houwink ten Cate (1992:265-267 n. 47).

The composition is notoriously difficult to categorize as to its genre, cf. the discussion in Wolf (1967:12-22); see further Archi (1971:186), Hoffner (1975b:49), Cancik (1976:41-44), Otten (1981:3 with n. 8 and 23 with n. *ad* IV 1f) Güterbock (1983:30). The designation "Apology" was first used by Sturtevant in 1935 in the heading of the relevant chapter, although he spoke of a "Justification" in the introduction (1935:84). The text may be described as a decree instituting the cult of the goddess Ištar, appointing Ḫattušili's son Tuḫaliya and future descendants as her priests, and granting tax freedom to her temple, all this more than amply justified by Ištar's divine providence which Ḫattušili claims to have experienced in his rise to power, so that the composition takes on the character of a eulogy to Ištar, but above all an apology as well as a religious legitimization of his usurpation. The text as a whole has often been compared with the story of David and Samuel in 1 Sam 15 - 2 Sam 8; for details see Wolf 1967. For an historical overview of Ḫattušili's life and times see Ünal 1974 and van den Hout 1995.⁴

The following translation is based on the edition by Otten 1981. The main manuscript is KUB I 1+ (A), restored where necessary by its duplicates. Only twice a reading from KBo III 6+ (B) is preferred: in ii 32 and 40 as indicated in the footnotes. Variants other than merely orthographic have been noted in the footnotes as well. The division into paragraphs also follows A except for the subdivisions in §§10(a-d) and 12(a-b) according to the manuscripts B and F.

Introduction: Genealogy

§1 (Column 1:1-4) Thus Tabarna Ḫattušili, Great King, King of Ḫatti, son of Muršili, Great King, King of Ḫatti, grandson of Šuppiluliuma, Great King, King of Ḫatti, descendant of Ḫattušili, King of Kuššar.¹

a 1 Sam 15 -
2 Sam 8

(Now,) Ištar, My Lady, sent Muwatalli, my brother to Muršili, my father, through a dream (saying): "For Ḫattušili the years (are) short, he is not to live (long). Hand him over to me, and let him be my priest, so he (will) live." My father took me up, (while still) a boy, and handed me (over) to the service of the goddess, and as a priest I brought offerings to the goddess. At the hand of Ištar, My Lady, I experienced prosperity, and Ištar, My Lady, took me by the hand⁵ and provided for me.

Prooemium

§2 (1:5-8) Ištar's divine providence I will proclaim. Let man² hear it! And may in future His Majesty's son, his grandson (and further) offspring of His Majesty be respectful among the gods towards Ištar!

*Ḫattušili under Muwatalli; Armatarhunta's first lawsuit**Ḫattušili's early youth; Ištar's first intervention*

§3 (1:9-21) My father Muršili begot us four children: Ḫalpašulupi, Muwatalli, Ḫattušili and Maššanauzzi, a daughter. Of all these I was the youngest child.³ As long as I was still a boy, I was a 'one-of-the reins'.⁴

§4 (1:22-60) When my father Muršili became god,⁶ my brother Muwatalli seated himself on the throne of his father, while I became army commander in front of my brother. My brother installed me as Chief of the Royal

¹ I.e., Ḫattušili I, ca. 1650 BCE.

² Var. "everybody."

³ This sentence is omitted in B.

⁴ Literal translation of the logograms Š4 KUŠ.KA.TAB ANŠE, possibly designating a "chariot driver."

⁵ The king being taken by the hand of his personal deity is illustrated on many reliefs and seal impressions. Such representations are known for Muwatalli II, Muršili III/Urḫitešub and Tuḫaliya IV; for Ḫattušili III we only have the description of such a scene on the seal on the silver tablet containing the peace treaty with Ramesses II, cf. Edel *TUAT* 1/2:152.

⁶ I.e., "died" in 1295 BCE.

Bodyguard⁷ and gave me the Upper Country⁸ to govern. So I was in command of the Upper Country. Prior to me, however, Armatarhunta,⁹ son of Zida, used to govern it. (Now,) since Ištar, My Lady, had shown me her recognition, and my brother Muwatalli had been benevolent towards me — when people saw the recognition of Ištar, My Lady, and my brother's benevolence towards me, they envied me. Armatarhunta, son of Zida, and other people as well began to cause me harm, they were evil to me, and defeat hung over me. My brother, Muw[at]alli summoned me 'to the wheel'.¹⁰ But Ištar, My Lady, appeared to me in a dream, and through the dream she said this to me: "To the deity (of the process)" I will leave you, so do not fear!" and through the deity I was acquitted.¹² Since the goddess, My Lady, held me by the hand, she never exposed me to an evil deity (nor) to an evil lawsuit, never did she let an enemy weapon sway over me: Ištar, My Lady, took me to her in every respect. Whenever illness befell¹³ me, sick as I was, I looked on (it) as the goddess' providence. The goddess, My Lady, held me by the hand in every respect. But, since I was a man divinely provided for, since I walked before the gods in divine providence, I never did an evil thing against man.¹⁴ You goddess, My Lady, always take me to you in every respect, wasn't it? The goddess, My Lady, never passed me over in time of fear, she never let me down before the enemy, nor did she ever let me down before my opponent in court (or) before (my) enviers: whether it (concerned) an enemy's word, or <the word> of an opponent or some word from the palace, it was Ištar, My Lady, who held (her) mantle over me in every respect, took

b 2 Sam 8:6,
14

me to her in every respect. Ištar, My Lady, put my enemies and enviers at my mercy¹⁵ and I finished them off.⁶

Hattušili's early military successes

§5 (1:61-74) Now, when my brother Muwatalli looked into the matter, not one evil thing was left against me. So he took me back and put me in charge of all¹⁶ the troops (and) chariots of Hatti Land, and all the troops (and) chariots of Hatti Land I commanded. My brother Muwatalli kept sending me out, and now that Ištar, My Lady, had shown me (her) recognition, wherever I cast my glance towards enemy country, no enemy cast a glance back at me and each of the enemy countries I conquered: the recognition of Ištar, My Lady, was mine. And whoever was an enemy within the Lands of Hatti, I expelled him right out of the Lands of Hatti. Which enemy countries I conquered one after the other, while still young, these I will describe separately on a tablet and I will lay it down before the goddess.¹⁷

Muwatalli moves the capital to Tarhuntašša; Hattušili suppresses the Kaškaeans

§6 (1:75-76) Now, when my brother Muwatalli at the behest of his own deity went down to the Lower Land,¹⁸ he left (the city of) Hattuša behind.

(Column 2:1-30) He took up [the gods] of Hatti and the Manes¹⁹ and [c]arried them to the land of [Tarhuntašša]. Thereupon, however, (of) all the Kaška Lands Pišhuru (and) Da-ištapašša revolted. The land of Išhup[ita], Marišta and the fortresses they destr[oye]d. The enemy crossed the Maraššanda²⁰ river and began to raid the land of Kaneš,²¹ began to ra[i]d the city of [...]. The cities of Ha[...], Kuruštama and Gazziura turned hostile on the spot. They began to raid the cities²² of Hatti,

⁷ This title, certainly exceeding its literal meaning, designates one of the highest ranking and most influential (military) officials at the Hittite court.

⁸ I.e., the territory (north)-east of the capital Hattuša, bordering the northern Pontic area, home of the Kaška tribes.

⁹ He was a cousin of Hattušili's father Muṣili II.

¹⁰ Whereas the sumerogram for "wheel" is written with the determinative for wooden objects in manuscript A (^{GB}UMBIN), it is written with the divine determinative in B (^{GB}UMBIN). Usually, this is taken to refer to some judicial procedure.

¹¹ It is not exactly clear to what deity is referred to here. Kümmel (*TUAT* 1/5:483 n.) assumes the deity is a personal, protective deity, although that should be Ištar herself. Some scholars (see Neumann 1985:290) have suggested taking this sentence as a rhetorical question: "Would I leave you to (some other) deity?" The interpretation here follows Götze (1925:69) who thought of a deity handling Hattušili's case in court. The variant writing of the "wheel" with the divine determinative may support this view.

¹² Lit., "I became clean."

¹³ Lit., "befalls."

¹⁴ Or "I never did the evil thing of man," thus Otten 1981:7.

¹⁵ Lit., "in the hand."

¹⁶ This word omitted in B.

¹⁷ For the "laying down" of tablets in the temple see the introductory remarks to this text.

¹⁸ I.e., the area south of the capital Hattuša, in the Konya plain.

¹⁹ Lit., "Dead ones." These are the statues and bones of deceased royal ancestors.

²⁰ Formerly thought to be the classical Halys, nowadays Kızıl Irmak, but this equation has now become problematic, cf. *CHD* L-N 201.

²¹ Nowadays Kültepe.

²² Lit., "ruin mounds."

while the enemy of the land of Durmitta began to raid [T]uhuppiya. [...] the land of Ipaššana, however, was uninhabited, [so the enemy troops] penetrated as far as the land of Šuwadara. Both the cities of [Hakpiš] and Ištaḫara,²³ however, escaped [but since the land] was cut off, they did not till their fields for ten years. Further, during the years that my brother Muwatalli was in Hatti, all Kaška Lands became hostile and they destroyed the lands of Šaddupa and Dankuwa. So he laid siege to the city of Pittiyariga. And my brother Muwatalli sent me, but gave me troops (and) chariots in small numbers. I took along auxiliary troops in small numbers from the country and went: I oppressed the enemy at the city of Haḫḫa and fought him. The Lady,²⁴ My Lady, marched ahead of me, I defeated him and erected a monument(?).²⁵ What (population of the city of) Hattuša he held, that I took away and resettled it all. The (enemy) commanders, however, I seized and handed them to my brother. This, now, was my first manly deed²⁶ (and) Istar, My Lady, for the first time proclaimed my name^c on this campaign.

Hattušili's further successes against the Kaškaeans

§7 (2:31-47) It so happened, however, that the Pišḫurean enemy invaded (the country), and Karaḫna (and) Marišta [were] within the enemy country. On one side the country of Takkašta was its border,²⁷ on the other the city of Talmaliya was its border. Eight hundred teams of horses were (there) whereas the troops were innumerable. My brother Muwatalli sent me and he gave me one hundred and twenty teams of horses, but not even a single military man was with me. There too Istar, My Lady, marched ahead of me, and there too, I personally conquered the enemy. When I killed the man who was in

c 2 Sam 7:9

command,²⁸ the enemy fled. The cities of Hatti Land which had been cut off, they each fought and began to defeat the enemy. A monument(?) in the city of Wištawanda I erected. There, too, the recognition of Istar, My Lady, was mine. The weapon that I held there, I had it inlaid and I deposited²⁹ it in front of the goddess, My Lady.

Hattušili becomes King of Hakpiš

§8 (2:48-68) My brother Muwatalli followed me and fortified the cities Anziliya and Tapiqqa,³⁰ (then) he went right off, did not come near me at all and he let³¹ the troops (and) chariots of Hatti-Land march ahead and led them home. Then he gathered the gods of Hatti and the Manes on the spot, carried them down to the city of Tarḫuntašša and took (up residence in)³² Tarḫuntašša. To Durmitta (and) Kuruštama, however, he did not go. In these countries he left me (behind), and these desolate countries he gave me to govern. The lands³³ of Išḫupitta, Marišta, Hiššašḫapa, Katapa, Hanḫana, Daraḫna, Hattena, Durmitta, Pala, Tumanna, Gaššiya, Šappa, the Hūlana River (and their) chariots and 'golden' chariot fighters I commanded all. The lands of Hakpiš and Ištaḫara he gave me in vassalship and in Hakpiš he made me king. Concerning these desolate countries, which my brother had put me in charge of³⁴ — because Istar, My Lady, held me by the hand, some enemies I defeated,³⁵ while others concluded peace with me.³⁶ Istar, My Lady, sided with me and these desolate lands I resettled on my own and made them Hittite again.

The battle at Kadesh; Armatarḫunta's second attempt to bar Hattušili; Hattušili's marriage to Puduḫepa

§9 (2:69-82) Now, when it happened, that my brother went to Egypt,³⁷ I led for my brother

²³ All lands mentioned here were probably located in or near the "Upper Country," i.e., immediately east of Hattuša.

²⁴ Mistake for Istar?

²⁵ Translation suggested by the context; the sumerogram + phonetic complement, if correctly identified as such, could be interpreted as the word for "hand," although in a special usage restricted to this text, thus matching one of the usages of the Hebrew word, cf. Wolf 1967:52-53.

²⁶ The Hittite word *pešnatar* (LÚ-natar) translated here by "manly deed" literally means "masculinity, manliness." Thus it matches the Heb. word *g'buratō* (cf. 1 Kgs 15:23; 16:5 et passim) derived from *geber* "male, man."

²⁷ Manuscript A (KUB I 1 + ii 32) being corrupt here, the translation follows manuscript B (KBo III 6 + ii 16-17) at this point.

²⁸ Although manuscript A ii 40 is broken at this point, it seems to have had an extra sentence, possibly concerning the enemy commander, which was left out in B ii 23. Manuscript B is followed here. For the parallel with 1 Sam 17, see Hoffner 1968c.

²⁹ Present tense in B: "I (will) deposit;" cf. also the remark in the introduction to this text.

³⁰ B adds "for me."

³¹ B adds "all."

³² Var. "built/fortified." The site of Tarḫuntašša has not yet been located with certainty. The land of Tarḫuntašša must have comprised classical Cilicia Aspera and territory directly north of it.

³³ All the lands mentioned here are located in the northern half of Anatolia encircling Hattuša to its west, north and east.

³⁴ Lit., "had put in (my) hand."

³⁵ B adds "with the weapon."

³⁶ This sentence has mostly been interpreted to refer to the peace treaty between Ramesses II and Hattušili (1259 BCE), thus providing us with an important *terminus post quem* for the composition of the "Apology"; see the remarks above in the introduction to this text.

³⁷ This refers to the battle of Kadesh in 1275 BCE.

on campaign down to Egypt the troops (and) chariots of those lands which I had resettled, and I commanded the troops (and) chariots of Ḫatti-Land of which I was in charge in front of my brother. But when Armatarḫunta, son of Zida, saw the benevolence of Ištar, My Lady, and of my brother towards me, they (i.e. Armatarḫunta) with his wife (and) his son then began to cast spells over me, because they were not successful in any (other) way. Even Šamuḫa,³⁸ the city of the goddess, he filled with spells. When, however, I returned from Egypt, I marched to the city of Lawazantiya³⁹ to bring offerings to the goddess and worshipped the goddess.

(Column 3:1-13) [A]t the behest of the goddess I took Puduḫepa, the daughter of Pentipšarri, the priest, for my wife: we joined (in matrimony) [and] the goddess gave [u]s the love of husband (and) w[if]e. We made ourselves sons (and) daughters.⁴⁰ Then the goddess, My Lady, appeared to me in a dream (saying): "Become my servant [with] (your) household!" so the goddess' [serv]ant with my household I became.⁴¹ In the house which we made ourselves, the goddess was there with us and our house thrived: that was the recognition of Ištar, My Lady. [Then] I [w]ent and [fo]rtified the cities of Ḫawarkina and Dilmuna. Ḫakpiš, however, turned hostile. I sent Kaškaeans and on my own I set it straight again. I became King of Ḫakpiš while my wife became [Queen of] Ḫakpiš.⁴¹

Armatarḫunta's downfall; Muwatalli succeeded by Urḫitešub; Ḫattušili declares war on Urḫitešub

§10a (3:14-30) Now, when it happened, that the lawsuit⁴² was somehow reopened by the palace, Ištar, My Lady, at that moment too showed (her) divine providence. The process resulted again in the verdict: They found witchcraft on Armatarḫunta, with his wife (and) his sons, and they charged him with it. He had filled Šamuḫa, the city of my goddess, with witch[craf]t, so the goddess, My

d Josh 24:15

e 1 Sam
24:5-15;
26:9

Lady, made him succumb to me. And with his property, his wife (and) his son⁴³ my brother turned him over to me and my brother said to me: "Šippaziti (is) not involved)." So, because my brother had made me triumph over [Arma]tarḫunta through the process, I did not fall back into further evil against him, and [be]cause Armatarḫunta was a blood relative of mine, (and because) moreover, he was an old man,⁴⁴ he provoked (feelings of) pity in me [a]nd I let him go. Šippaziti, to[o], his [son], I let go.⁴⁵ I did not harm them in any way.⁴⁵ Armatarḫunta's [wif]e and his (other) son, however, I sent [t]o Alašiya⁴⁶ (in exile). I took half [(his) estate] and gave it back to Armatarḫunta. §10b (3:31-54) Because my [broth]er Muwatalli had [gi]ven [me the cities of ... -]ta, Durmitta, Zip[lanta, Ḫat]tena, Ḫakpiš (and) Ištar[ahar]ja [in vassalship], I resettled [... the(se) deso]late (territories). [When] my [bro]ther became [go]d — because I [co]mmanded [Ḫatt]uša and (because) he had [...] me in lordship, I di[d] not [do] anything (evil) out of regard for [the love] for [m]y br[other]. T]herefore, sin[ce] my brother did not have a [l]egitimate son, I took up Urḫitešub, son of a concubine. [I put] him into lordship over [Ḫa]tti Land and laid all of [Ḫattuša] in (his) hand,⁴⁷ so that he was Great King over the Ḫatti Lands, while I was king of Ḫakpiš. With the troops (and) chariots [...]. Because the city of Nerik had been destroyed since the days of (king) Ḫantili,⁴⁸ I rebu[il]t it and (of) the countries that surrounded Nerik, [I ma]de the cities of Nera (and) Ḫaštira the border. I [s]ubdued them completely and [made them m]y tributaries. [The mountain of] Ḫaḫarwa and the Maraššanda River [...], whatever they held in oppression towards Nerik (and) Ḫakpiš, I subdued them completely. §10c (3:54-79) However, when Urḫitešub thus saw the benevolence [o]f the goddess towards me, he became envious of me, he [beg]an to harm me:

³⁸ Ca. 200 km east of Ḫattuša.

³⁹ To the south-east of Ḫattuša in the vicinity of the Antitaurus.

⁴⁰ For these children, see van den Hout 1995.

⁴¹ Both Otten 1981:17 and Kümmel *TUAT* 1/5:487 translate differently: "I became King of Ḫakpiš, you, the woman, however, became [Queen of] Ḫakpiš." For the above translation see Neumann 1985:292.

⁴² I.e., the lawsuit of Armatarḫunta.

⁴³ Var. "sons."

⁴⁴ Armatarḫunta was of the generation of Ḫattušili's father.

⁴⁵ Var. "(And) I left them alone."

⁴⁶ Cyprus.

⁴⁷ Ḫattušili almost certainly gives himself too much credit here. According to the succession rules laid down by Telipinu, Urḫitešub was the sole legitimate heir, whom his father Muwatalli had kept to himself to raise him as his successor. Urḫitešub's brother Kurunta, however, was according to the Bronze Tablet (cf. Otten 1988:11) already as a boy entrusted by Muwatalli to Ḫattušili. A recently found bulla with the double sealing of both Muwatalli and Urḫitešub may point in the same direction.

⁴⁸ I.e., either Ḫantili I, the Old Hittite king and successor to Muršili I, shortly after 1600 BCE or Ḫantili II, the 15th century king.

he took away from me all those in my service,⁴⁹ and (all) the desolate countries which I had resettled, those too he took away from me. He humiliated me, but at the behest of the goddess he did not take away Ḫakpiš from me. Be[cau]se I was priest to the Stormgod of Nerik, he therefore did not take that (city) away from me (either). Out of regard for the love for my brother I did not react at all and during seven years I complied. He, however, sought my destruction at divine and human behest and he took away from me Ḫakpiš and Nerik. Now I no longer complied and I became hostile to him. But when I became hostile to him, I did not commit a moral offence⁵⁰ by revolting against him on the chariot or by revolting against him within (his) house. (No,) in a manly way I declared to him: "You opposed me. You (are) Great King, whereas I (am) king of the single fortress that you left me. So come! Istar of Šamuḫa and the Stormgod of Nerik will judge us."⁵¹ When I wrote thus to Urḫitešub — if someone speaks thus: "Why did you at first install him in kingship, but why do you now declare war on him in writing?" (I will answer:) "If he had in no way opposed me, would they (i.e. the gods) really have made a Great King succumb to a petty king?" Because he has now opposed me, the gods have made him succumb to me by (their) judgement.

§10d (Column 4:1-6) When I declared him these words: "Come!", he, however, hastened away from the city of Maraššantiya and went to the Upper Country, and Šippaziti, son of Armatarḫunta, was with him. He summoned him to the troops of the Upper Country. Since Šippaziti, however, was evil towards me, he did not ... towards me.

Downfall of Urḫitešub

§11 (4:7-40) Because Istar, My Lady, had already early (fore)told kingship for me, Istar, My Lady, appeared at that moment to my wife in a dream (saying): "I will march ahead of your husband and all of Ḫattuša will turn to

f1 Sam 24:15;

g 2 Sam 7:8-9

h 1 Sam 26:10

(the side) of your husband. Since I elevated him, I never ever exposed him to an evil trial (or) an evil deity. Now, too, I will lift him and install him in priesthood for the Sungoddess of Arinna, and you must worship me as Istar *parašši!*"⁵² Istar, My Lady, backed me, and as she promised me, it happened too.⁵³ Istar, My Lady, provided for me there as well in abundance. To the generals whom Urḫitešub had dismissed to some place, Istar⁵⁴ appeared in a dream, *while she strengthened them, the exhausted ones*⁵⁴ (saying): "All Ḫatti Lands I have turned over to⁵⁵ Ḫattušili." There, too, I experienced the divine providence of Istar in abundance. When she had left Urḫitešub no other way whatsoever, she locked him up in Šamuḫa like a pig in a sty. The Kaškaeans, meanwhile, who had been hostile to me, backed me and all Ḫattuša backed me. Out of regard for the love of my brother I did not do anything (evil). I went back down to Urḫitešub⁵⁶ and brought him down like a prisoner. I gave him fortified cities in the country of Nuḫašše and there he lived. When he plotted another plot against me, and wanted to ride to Babylon — when I heard the matter, I seized him and sent him alongside the sea. They made Šippaziti cross the border as well, while I took away his property and gave it to Istar, My Lady. That to Istar, My Lady, I gave, while Istar, My Lady, promoted me step by step.

Ḫattušili's career in retrospect; Kurunta King in Tarḫuntašša; transfer of properties to Istar; Tuthaliya priest of Istar

§12a (4:41-48) I was a prince and became Chief of the Royal Bodyguard. As Chief of the Royal Bodyguard I became King of Ḫakpiš. As King of Ḫakpiš I then⁵⁷ became Great King. Finally, Istar, My Lady, had put (my) enemies, enemies (and) my opponents in court at my mercy.⁵⁸ Some died by the sword, others died on (their appointed) day:⁵⁸ all these I finished off. Istar, My Lady, had given me kingship over Ḫatti Land.

⁴⁹ Manuscripts B and E both add: "and he took Šamuḫa away from me."

⁵⁰ The Hittite word used here refers to religious impurity which normally has to be removed by magic ritual.

⁵¹ Epithet of Istar of uncertain provenance and meaning.

⁵² B adds: "likewise exactly."

⁵³ B adds: "My Lady."

⁵⁴ The translation of this *crux* follows the solution offered by Nowicki (1985:26-35), although not all difficulties seem to be solved (*innarawaš* as 3rd sing. preterite of a verb **innarawae-*; the function of the sentence connective *-ma* in KUR.KUR^{ME} ^{ES} URU^{URU} Ḫatti-ma-wa-k[an] introducing the direct speech of the goddess). Alternatively, one might suggest the possible analysis *innara-uwa-šmaš dariyanteš* "You (are) strongly urged (to come), (for I have turned over all Ḫatti Lands to Ḫattušili)" with *-šmaš* replacing the more usual reflexive *-za* in nominal sentences of this kind, and *innara* as the well known adverb.

⁵⁵ Var. "behind."

⁵⁶ B adds: "in Šamuḫa."

⁵⁷ This word is omitted in B.

⁵⁸ Lit., "in (my) hand."

§12b (4:48-80) I had become Great King: She took me as a prince and let me (rise)⁵⁹ to kingship. The kings (who were) my elders (and) who had been on good terms with me, they remained on just those good terms with me, and they began to send envoys to me. They began to send gifts to me, and the gifts they ke[ep] sending me, they never sent to any (of my) fathers and grandfathers.⁶⁰ The king supposed to respect me,⁶¹ respected me, and the (countries) that had been my enemies, I conquered them. For the Hatti Lands I [a]nnexed territory upon territory. (Those) who had been enemies in the days of my fathers (and) grandfat[her]s concluded peace with me. Because the goddess, My Lady, had thus shown me (her) recognition, I did not do anything (evil) out of regard for the love for my brother. I took up my [nephew] Kurunta and installed him into kingship there on the spot⁶² which my brother Muwatalli had built into the city of Tarhuntašša. How often had Ištar, the Lady, taken me! She had installed me on 'the high place,' into kingship over Hatti Land! I, then, gave Ištar, My Lady, the property of Armatarhunta: I withdrew it⁶³ and handed it over. What had been (there) formerly, that I handed over to her, and what I had had, that too I handed over. I withdrew it (all) and handed it over to the goddess.⁶⁴

i 2 Sam 8:10-12

The property of Armatarhunta which I gave to her and whatever settlements were Armatarhunta's, behind every single cult monument they will erect her (statue) and they will pour a vessel. (For) Ištar (is) my goddess and they will worship her as Ištar the High. The mausoleum which I made myself, I handed it over to the goddess, (and) I handed over to you in subservience my son Tuthaliya⁶⁴ as well. Let Tuthaliya, my son, administer the house of Ištar! I (am) the servant of the goddess, let him be servant of the goddess as well! The property which I gave the goddess, let everyone strive and strain(?)⁶⁵ for the goddess.

Vindication clause

§13 (4:81-85) Whoever will take away in future the offspring of Hattušili (and) Puduhepa from the service of Ištar (or) desires (so much as) a blade of straw from the storehouse (or) a chip of wood from the threshing floor of Ištar of Šamuha,⁶⁶ let him be Ištar of Šamuha's court opponent! Let no one take them for levy (and) corvée!⁶⁷

Curse

§14 (4:86-89) Whoever in future stands up against the son, grandson (or) offspring of Hattušili (and) Puduhepa, may he among the gods be fearful of Ištar of Šamuha!

⁵⁹ Var. "recognized me in."

⁶⁰ In a letter to an Assyrian king Hattušili complains that until now he has not yet received any gift from him on the occasion of his enthronement, although this is customary; cf. Goetze 1940:28-29.

⁶¹ Or "The king whom I was supposed to respect, (now) respected me" (see Neumann 1985:293-294).

⁶² Var. "on that spot."

⁶³ The property which Hattušili once had assigned to Armatarhunta, is now withdrawn and passed on to Ištar.

⁶⁴ Hattušili's son and successor, ca. 1240-1210 BCE.

⁶⁵ The Hittite uses two rhyme words *karnan marnan*, for which see Wegner 1989.

⁶⁶ On this expression here see von Schuler 1983:161-163 and above, p. 197 n. 58.

⁶⁷ This sentence is omitted in B and F.

REFERENCES

Text: CTH 81. Translation: TUAT 1/5:481-492. Discussion: Archi 1971; Cancik 1976; Götz 1925; 1940; Hoffner 1968c; 1975b; van den Hout 1995; Houwink ten Cate 1992; Neumann 1985; Nowicki 1985; Otten 1981a; 1988; von Schuler 1982; Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935; Tadmor 1983; Ünal 1974; Wegner 1989; Wolf 1967.

4. ORACLES

EXCERPT FROM AN ORACLE REPORT (1.78)

Gary Beckman

Since the Hittites believed that divine displeasure was the ultimate source of most evils, they developed a science of divination in order to communicate with their gods, ascertain the reasons for their anger, and bargain about required restitution. The Hittite diviners carefully researched the problems referred to them, making sure both to determine the exact aspect of a situation which had caused a deity's anger and to assure that no additional factors lay behind his or her rancor. Although the responses given by the gods to the questions put to them are characterized as "favora-

ble" or "unfavorable," and indeed were probably originally held to portend in themselves good or ill fortune, they have become arbitrary signs in the later binary system documented in texts available to us. That is, in each particular instance the practitioner stipulates whether a "favorable" or an "unfavorable" response will constitute a "yes" answer to the query posed.⁴ For essential bibliography concerning the Hittite practice of divination see REFERENCES below.

The inquiry documented in the text excerpted here was occasioned by the sickness of the Great King. Since the members of the royal family are referred to only by their titles, and most of the other individuals mentioned are not found elsewhere, the precise period to which this text should be assigned is uncertain. However, various linguistic and historical considerations suggest that it was composed early in the reign of Tudhaliya IV (second half of the thirteenth century BCE).

The technical details of the extispicies and bird oracles have been omitted in this translation.

(obv. 1-3) In regard to the fact that His Majesty (Tudhaliya IV?) became ill, [...] have not you, [O deity] of (the town of) Aruṣna, somehow been provoked [in connection with the illness of His Majesty? If you, O deity, are angry about this, let the first extispicy be favorable and the latter] unfavorable. First extispicy: favorable ... unfavorable. Latter [extispicy: ...] Unfavorable.

(obv. 4-5) In regard to the fact that in connection with the illness you, O deity of Aruṣna, were ascertained to be angry — are you, O god, angry in some way in your temple? (If so), let the extispicy be unfavorable ... Unfavorable.

(obv. 6) If you, O god, are angry only (about something) in your temple, but are not in any way angry with His Majesty, let the extispicy be favorable ... Unfavorable.

(obv. 7-10) In regard to the fact that you, O deity of Aruṣna, were ascertained to be angry with His Majesty, is this because the queen (Puduḫepa?) cursed Ammattalla before the deity of Aruṣna? Because Ammattalla began to concern herself with the deity, yet did not go back and forth (in service to the deity)? Because the son of Ammattalla has dressed himself in garments entrusted to his mother and was summoned to the palace? If you, O god, are angry about this, let the extispicy be unfavorable ... Unfavorable.

(obv. 11) If you, O god, are angry only about this, let the duck oracle be favorable. Unfavorable.

(obv. 12-27) In regard to the fact that it was once more unfavorable, is this because Mala spoke as follows: "The queen made for herself a crown of gold in the mausoleum of the Tutelary Deity. In a dream the deity of Aruṣna demanded it from the queen, but the queen did not give it. She set it aside in the storehouse of the treasurer, and in its place the queen made two other crowns of silver for the deity of Aruṣna. And as long as she had not sent it (the crown of gold) to the deity of Aruṣna, the matter brought trouble for the queen, and she was expelled from the palace. Then it happened that the queen wrote back to His Majesty from (the town of) Utruli: 'The crown of gold which the

^a Exod 28:30, etc.

deity of Aruṣna demanded from me in a dream is now lying in the storehouse of the treasurer. The inlay pieces(?) and the precious stones which were left over (from its manufacture) are now lying in the container for *adupli*-garments. Send them off to the deity!" They found that crown of gold, and with it lay a falcon of gold, a grape cluster (made up of) precious stones, eight rosettes, ten knobs(?), and eyebrow(s) and eyelid(s) of precious stones. Then they took them to the mausoleum of the Tutelary Deity, to the statue of the queen. But they did not find the inlay pieces(?) which (supposedly) lay in the container for *adupli*-garments. (Of) the two crowns of silver(!) which the queen made for the deity (in fulfillment) of (her) vow, they found (only) one crown of silver(!), and they sent it off to the deity. But they did not find the (other) crown of silver(!). Is it because they spoke as follows: "Whatever is found among the furnishings of the deity will certainly be given to the deity. It will not be exchanged (for something inferior)." Is it because we did not know about the single falcon of gold, the grape cluster (made up of) precious stones, the eight rosettes, the knobs(?), the eyebrow(s) and the eyelid(s), and because they were taken to the mausoleum of the Tutelary Deity, to the statue of the queen? (And because) they did not find the inlay pieces? If you, O god, are angry about this, let the extispicy be unfavorable ... Unfavorable.

(obv. 28) If you, O god, are angry only about this, but not in regard to anything else, let the extispicy be favorable ... Unfavorable.

(obv. 29-30) In regard to the fact that it was once more unfavorable, (is this) because the great princess (daughter of the king of Babylon and wife of Tudhaliya IV?) secretly [brought] Ammattalla up into the palace? If you, O god, are angry about this, let the extispicy be unfavorable ... Unfavorable.

(obv. 31-32) We have not yet investigated what Ammattalla said — whether the testimony is true, or how (it is to be taken). It has not been included in an oracular inquiry. Now if the omen has occurred because of this, let the extispicy be unfavorable ...

Unfavorable.

(obv. 33) If only this (is the cause of the divine anger), and (there is) nothing else in addition, let the first duck oracle be favorable and the latter unfavorable. The first duck oracle was unfavorable and the latter favorable.

(obv. 34-40) In regard to the fact that it was once more unfavorable, (is this) because the affair of Naru was postponed? Because Naru was brought and spoke of (the affair of the woman) Pattiya? Pattiya was expelled from the palace and will be given to the deity. Concerning the affair of Palla she said: "The queen said: 'May you, O deity, take cognizance of that which I gave to Palla, so that you will keep after Palla (about it).'" We interrogated the associates of Palla, and they said: "We do not know about that affair." And that affair will (therefore) be postponed, (but) we will make inquiries about it. If there is not anything in addition (as the cause of the divine anger), let the first extispicy be favorable and the latter unfavorable. The first extispicy: ... Unfavorable. The latter extispicy: ... Favorable.

(obv. 41-48) In regard to the fact that an omen of the deity of Aruṣna occurred once more, (is this) because the queen saw a dream? In the dream someone repeats: "Why will you give the furnishings which are in the mausoleum of the Tutelary Deity to the deity of Aruṣna? Leave something!" If this omen has occurred because of this, let the extispicy be unfavorable. The extispicy was favorable. ... In regard to the fact that it was once more unfavorable, (is this) because Naru [...] said: "Because Pattiya has stayed too long up in the palace, two women shall be included as reparation when she is given to the deity. They shall be clothed in palace garments. And although the queen might die because of that deity, they (still) have not put away (that is, satisfied?) the deity on her account." Because of [that, the reparation was determined upon]. Some [furnishings] will be left behind in the mausoleum of the Tutelary Deity. Those of the royal household will be kept separate. If [...] In regard to the fact that] Pattiya has not (yet) been given [to the deity] of Aruṣna — if you, O deity, have given the omen in respect to this, ditto. Let it be kept separate from the [affair of the palace]. Let the extispicy be favorable ...

(obv. 49-50) In regard to the fact that it was once more unfavorable, (is it) because an offense remains in the mausoleum of the Tutelary Deity? We will make an oracular inquiry about it. Whatever is ascertained will be given to the deity. If you, O deity, have likewise approved, let the extispicy be favorable ... Favorable.

(obv. 51-52) In regard to the fact that that offense in the mausoleum of the Tutelary Deity was determined to remain, should they proceed to give it (that is, a present) with precious stones to the deity? Ditto (= If you, O deity, have approved), let the duck oracle be favorable. Unfavorable.

(obv. 53) Should they give it with gold to the deity? Ditto. Let the duck oracle be favorable. Unfavorable.

(obv. 54) Should they give it with gold and precious stones to the deity? Ditto. Let the duck oracle be favorable. Unfavorable.

(obv. 55) Have you, O deity, sought something with a sumptuous garment for yourself? (If so), let the duck oracle be favorable. Favorable.

(obv. 56) Should they proceed to give (a gift) with gold, precious stones, and a sumptuous garment to the deity? Ditto. Let the duck oracle be favorable. Unfavorable.

(obv. 57) Should they proceed to give (a gift) with a sumptuous garment and a person to the deity? Ditto. Let the duck oracle be favorable. Unfavorable.

(obv. 58) In regard to the fact that a (gift) with a sumptuous garment was ascertained — should they proceed to give one garment to the deity? Ditto. Let the duck oracle be favorable. Unfavorable.

(obv. 59) Should they give one garment and one cowl? Ditto. Let the duck oracle be favorable. Unfavorable.

(obv. 60) Should they give one garment, one cowl, and a woman's *kinanta*-garment? Ditto. Let the duck oracle be favorable. Favorable.

Thus after 60 lines of text, a preliminary conclusion has been reached about some causes of the deity's anger and the necessary compensatory gifts. The report continues, however, for a further 94 lines in which other matters displeasing to the deity and the means by which they might be put right are discussed.

REFERENCES

Text: *CTH* 566; KUB 22.70 obv. 1-60. Bibliography: Archi 1974; 1975; 1982; Hoffner 1987; Kammenhuber 1976; Laroche 1952; 1958; 1970; Ünal 1978; Ünal and Kammenhuber 1975; Schuol 1994:73-124.

ASSURING THE SAFETY OF THE KING DURING THE WINTER (1.79)
(KUB 5.4 + KUB 18.53 and KUB 5.3 + KUB 18.52)¹

Richard H. Beal

The purpose of the texts comprising this selection is to assure the safety of the king while he is cooped up through the cold central Anatolian winter, by discovering ahead of time any problems that the gods foresee arising, and by ascertaining the correct method of correcting these. The selection is made up of two texts containing parallel sets of questions. The translation follows the better preserved tablet until the second tablet goes off on a tangent. Each section of the tablet not being translated at any one time can be followed in the footnotes. The texts date from the later part of the Hittite Empire period.

The texts, like other Hittite oracle texts, asks the gods a series of questions each phrased so that the gods can give a yes or no answer. If the validity of a good or optimistic statement is being ascertained, the deity is asked to give a "favorable" result. Conversely, if the validity of a bad or pessimistic statement is being ascertained, the deity is asked to give an "unfavorable" answer. A favorable answer to a request for a favorable response or an unfavorable answer to a request for an unfavorable confirms the statement. That is the answer is "yes." An unfavorable answer to a favorable request or vice versa indicates that the question is not true, that is, the answer is "no."

The primary method chosen by the questioner in these texts for the deity to indicate the answer is the "symbol"² oracles.³ In this type of oracle the questions are presented to the deity by the female diviner/exorcist.⁴ In this method, native to Anatolia, some symbolically named thing "takes" other symbolically named things and "gives" them to another symbolically named thing. There is no indication how this was performed in practice, but Archi's⁵ idea of an animal running over or past certain marked spots on a large gameboard will fit the known evidence. This is particularly true since a rarer related type of oracle, the snake oracle, is clearly performed by having a symbolically named watersnake swim around past symbolically named places in a basin.⁶

The questioner in the second text also employs on occasion another type of oracle known as "flesh," "exta" or in earlier periods "liver" oracles. These questions are presented and interpreted by the male diviner/exorcist.⁷ In this method, borrowed from the Mesopotamians via the Hurrians, he asks the god to reply via telltale marks to be found in the exta of sheep.⁸

(KUB 5.4 + KUB 18.53 i 1 - ii 42)

(i 1-10) [Thi]s y[ear His Majesty proposes to wi]nter [in Ḫattuša.] [He will celebrate the customa]ry [festivals,] the festival of the ye[ar], the thunder festival in Ḫattuša. [The birds of the neighbor-ho]d(?)⁹ will congregate in Ḫattuša for him. [If] we have nothing to fear¹⁰ for the head of His Majesty up in Ḫattuša and you [O gods] have approved wintering in Ḫattuša for His Majesty, left the

symbol oracle be favorabl[e]. 'The deity' took for himself 'the whole soul' and 'blood' and gave them to 'the king.' On the second 'day': 'The gods' arose and took 'well-being,' and gave it to 'the assembly.' One the third 'day': 'The dais' arose and took 'the ye[ar?].' Into 'good.' Favorable.

(11-15) We placed symbols of confirmation as a countercheck. Let the symbol oracle be favorable. 'Ḫannahanna'¹¹ arose and took 'the kindnesses of

¹ The questions asked in KUB 5.3 + KUB 18.52 i 1-44 are transliterated and translated by Archi 1982:283-286.

² This is an attempt to fit a translation of the Sumerogram KIN, which is used to describe this method, to what happens in the course of the method. The Hittite for KIN may be *aniyatt-* which is known to have a translation "ritual gear." Alternatively, perhaps one should understand KIN as *aniur* "ritual" and call these "performance oracles." Both words use the Sumerogram KIN. The old translation "lot" is clearly wrong. The casting of lots (Hittite *pu*) was known, but there are no tablets of questions and answers using lots. For translations of passages involving the throwing of lots see the forthcoming articles in the *CHD* *pu* n. and *pulai-* v.

³ See Archi 1974.

⁴ Usually known by the literal translation of the Sumerogram MUNUS.ŠU.GI as "the old woman." However, the Hittite word for this profession, *ḫašawa-*, does not consist of "old" + "woman." The *ḫašawa-* performed symbol oracles and various healing/purificatory rituals. This profession is the female equivalent of the ¹⁰HAL/10AZU, who performed exta oracles, *HURRI*-bird oracles and various healing/purificatory rituals.

⁵ 1974:130f. Cf. Hallo 1996:115 n. 269, 116 n. 278.

⁶ See Laroche 1958.

⁷ ¹⁰HAL/10AZU. Those of this profession performed exta oracles, *HURRI*-bird oracles and various healing/purificatory rituals. It is the male equivalent of the female *ḫašawa*/MUNUS.ŠU.GI.

⁸ "flesh" = SU and "exta" = TE. (for Akk. *terētū*), liver = ¹⁰U/NG.GIG (see KBo 8.55:17). The first two signs are only one wedge apart and practically graphic variants. On this type see in general Laroche 1970, Schulz 1994; and footnotes below to specific words.

⁹ MUŠEN.ḪLA *mešanaš*. F. Starke, *BiOr* 46 (1989) 662 "die Vögel des Umkreises bzw. der Umgebung." *CHD* s.v. *meša(n)ni*, preferred "birds of the season," "birds of the cycle of the year," that is migratory birds being present only at a particular time of the year. Archi 1975:144 took the word from *miyatar* and translated "ucelli della prosperità." Archi's reasoning is dismissed by *CHD* L-N 233a.

¹⁰ The reading ḪUŠ "fear" not LUL "lie" for this sign was established by H. G. Güterbock, *FsKraus* 83-89. See *CHD* s.v. *naḫ(h)-*.

¹¹ The grandmother goddess (*ḫanna-* "grandmother"), i.e., the Stormgod's mother. She is one of the wisest of the gods, and very important in childbirth and the giving of fates. For a discussion see Beckman 1983:238-248.

the gods.' Into 'long life.'¹² On the second 'day,' 'the deity' took for himself 'hidden(?) anger.'¹³ Into 'emptiness.'¹⁴ On the third 'day': 'The assembly' to[ok] for itself 'rightness' and 'good of the house' and gave them to 'Tarhunt.'¹⁵ Favorable.

(16-25) This year His Majesty proposes to winter in Hattuša. He will celebrate the customary festivals, the festival of the year, the thunder festival in Hattuša. [The bird]s of the neighborhood(?) will congregate in Hattuša for him. If high fever will not find His Majesty while he is up in Hattuša, let the symbol oracle be favorable. 'The Sungod of Heaven'¹⁶ arose and took 'thick-bread' and gave it to 'the assembly.' On the second 'day': 'The anger of the gods' was taken. To 'the lesser sickness.' On the third 'day': 'Good' took 'the kindlinesses of the Fates.'¹⁷ 'To the Fates' whole soul.' Fourth track: 'The gods' arose and took 'the le[sser sickness(?)]' and gave it to 'the assembly.' Favorable.

(26-32) This year His Majesty proposes to winter in Hattuša. He will celebrate the customary festivals, the festival of the year, the thunder festival in Hattuša. The birds of the neighborhood(?) will congregate in Hattuša for him. If we have nothing to fear from revolt while His Majesty is up in Hattuša, let the symbol oracle be favorable. 'The king' took for himself 'rightness' and 'the word.' 'The revolt which they make' he placed in 'misbehavior' for them.¹⁸ Unfavorable.

(33-34) Since the oracle was unfavorable, will someone inside revolt? Let the symbol-oracle be unfavorable. 'Evil' was taken and given to 'the assembly.' Unfavorable.

(35-36) Will someone outside revolt? Let the symbol-oracle be unfavorable. 'The deity' took for himself 'the whole soul' and 'fire.' They are placed to the right of the 'king.' Unfavorable.

(a blank paragraph follows)

(37-43) This year His Majesty proposes to winter in Hattuša. He will celebrate the customary festivals, the festival of the year, the thunder festival in Hattuša. The birds of the neighborhood(?) will congregate [in Hattuša] [for him.] If we have nothing to fear from birds while [His Majesty] is up in Hattuša, let the symbol oracle be favorable.

'Tarhunt' arose and took [...], 'vigor,' and 'the great misdeed' and [gave] them [to ... Favorable.]

(44-50) This year His Majesty proposes to w[inter] in Hattuša. He will celebrate the customary festivals, the festival of the year, the th[under] festival in Hattuša. The birds of the neighborho[od(?)] will congregate in Hattuša [for him]. If we have nothing to fear [from impurity while] His Majesty is up in Hattuša, let the symbol oracle be favorable.[...] took [...] and 'the hand.' To 'the gods.' Unfavorable.

(51-ii 1) They will go and give sworn instructions to the kitchen personnel¹⁹ [...] and they will have them swear. If this will make the e[vil] disappear,²⁰ let the symbol oracle be favorable. 'The dais' arose and took 'the king's [...]' To 'the gods.' On the second 'day': 'Hannahanna' arose and took 'the year' and 'the good of the land.' To 'the great sickness.' On the third 'day': 'The assembly' took for itself 'hidden(?) misdeed.'²¹ Into 'emptiness.' Favorable.

(ii 2-7) This year [His Majesty] proposes to winter in Hattuša. He will celebrate the customary festivals, the festival of the year, the thunder festival in Hattuša. The birds of the neighborhood(?) will co[n]gregate in Hattuša for him. If we have nothing to fear from a downpour while His Majesty is up in Hattuša, let the symbol oracle be favorable. 'Evil' was taken. To 'the gods.' Unfavorable.

(8-13) This year His Majesty proposes to winter in Hattuša. He will celebrate the customary festivals, the festival of the year, the thunder festival in Hattuša. The birds of the neighborhood(?) will congregate in Hattuša for him. If we have nothing to fear from fire while His Majesty is up in Hattuša, let the symbol oracle be favorable. 'The assembly' took 'sinisterness' and 'fire.' Unfavorable.

(14-19) They will go and give sworn instructions concerning fire. If this will make the evil disappear, let the symbol oracle be favorable. 'The gods' arose and took 'life' and gave it to 'the assembly.' On the second 'day': The 'angers of the gods' were taken. To 'the lesser sickness.' On the third 'day': 'Hannahanna' arose and took 'life' and 'well-[being].' To 'the big sickness.' Favorable.

(20-26)²² This year His Majesty proposes to winter

¹² Lit., "long years."

¹³ *appan arḫa karpin*. Cf. *appan arḫa wašdul* below n. 21.

¹⁴ *SUD-li₁₂* = *šannapili*; see Archi 1974:140f., n. 102.

¹⁵ The Stormgod, the chief male deity of the Hittite pantheon.

¹⁶ God of justice, closely associated with the king.

¹⁷ *Gušeš*, on these deities see H. Otten and J. Siegelová, *Afo* 23 1970:32-38; Otten *RLA* 3:698; Beckman 1983:242-247.

¹⁸ Or: in "their misdeed."

¹⁹ *EN.MEŠ TU*, = *paršuraš išheš*. For the translation see *CHD* s.v. *paršur* 2 a.

²⁰ Lit., "If the evil will disappear on that account."

²¹ *appan arḫa wašdul*. Cf. *appan arḫa karpin* above n. 13.

²² This question is parallel to the first question in KUB 5.3 i 1-4.

in Ḫattuša. He will celebrate the customary festivals, the festival of the year, the thunder festival in Ḫattuša. The birds of the neighborhood(?) will congregate in Ḫattuša for him. If we have nothing to fear from accident²³ while His Majesty is up in Ḫattuša, let the symbol oracle be favorable. 'The assembly' took for itself 'rightness.' Into 'evil.' Unfavorable.²⁴

(27-29)²⁵ They will go and give sworn instructions²⁶ concerning accidents. If this will make the evil disappear, let the symbol oracle be favorable.

(No answer is recorded in the blank lines provided.)²⁷

(30-36b)²⁸ This year His Majesty proposes to wi[n-ter] in Ḫattuša. He will celebrate the customary festivals, the festival of the year, the thunder festival in Ḫattuša. The birds of the neighborhood(?) will congregate in Ḫattuša for him. If we have nothing to fear from road accident²⁹ while His Majesty is up in Ḫattuša, let the symbol oracle be favorable. 'The king' took for himself 'hidden(?) misdeed.' [...] Unfavorable.³⁰

(37-42) [They will go and give sworn instructions] to the chariot-drivers concerning road accidents. [If] this will [make] the evil [disappear, let the sym-

bol oracle be favorable. ...] took [...] 'life.' To 'the gods.' [...] Intjo 'emptiness.' [...] were tak[en]. To the 'lesser sickness.' [...].³¹

(Another text as far as preserved gives the same series of questions.³² In this second text, after discovering that road accidents will be a problem, it asks:)

(KUB 5.3 + KUB 18.54 i 23-iii)

(i 23-25) Since a road accident was ascertained for His Majesty, is this road accident due to the anger of some deity? Let the flesh oracle be unfavorable. The *nipašuri*,³³ *šintaḫi*,³⁴ and *keldi*.³⁵ The thing(?) took them inside itself.³⁶ The *zizaḫi*,³⁷ is placed. Twelve turns of the intestines. Favorable.

(26-29) The question by the female diviner/exorcist is the same. Let the symbol (oracle) be unfavorable. 'The deity' took for himself 'the whole soul,' 'the good of the house' and 'the good of the land.' Behind the 'dais.' On the second 'day': 'Theangers of the gods' were taken from 'long life.' To 'the lesser sickness.' On the third 'day': 'The Sungod of Heaven' arose and took 'an evocation ritual' 'fire' and 'the great misdeed.' Into 'emptiness.' F[avorable].

²³ *šu-aš wašdul*, lit., "misbehavior of the hand." Differently Archi 1982:284f. "Beleidigung" ("insult"). For "the misbehavior of a hand" = "accidental" see Hittite Laws III, where three levels of homicide are mentioned: first degree is in the course of a robbery, second degree is "in a quarrel" and third degree is "(only) his hand misbehaved" (*keššar waštai*). See similarly in Laws 3, V, VI.

²⁴ In KUB 5.3 an answer is requested from a flesh oracle (i 4), but no answer is inscribed in the space provided. It is followed by the same question to a symbol oracle. The answer: "The assembly' took for itself 'sinisterness' and 'evil.' To 'the whole soul' for 'the deity.' Unfavorable" (i 5-7).

²⁵ This question is paralleled by KUB 5.3 i 8-10.

²⁶ The parallel (i 9) text adds: "to the eunuchs and chariot-drivers."

²⁷ KUB 5.3 i 11-14 gives an answer to this question: "The assembly' took for itself 'sinisterness' and 'evil.' Into 'emptiness.' On the second 'day': 'Hannaḫanna' arose and took 'well-being.' Behind 'the dais.' On the third 'day': 'The deity' took 'hidden(?) anger.' To 'small sickness.' Favorable."

²⁸ This question is paralleled by KUB 5.3 i 15-18.

²⁹ *ḫittum anše.kur.ra*, lit., "misbehavior of a horse." Differently Otten, *HTR* 119 "Verlust an Pferden" ("damage to horses"), followed by Archi 1982:284f. Unlikely is Th. van den Hout's (*BiOr* 51 1994:125) "lack of horses," probably after Friedrich, *HW* 2. *Erg.* 33 "Mangel," (presumably thinking of Akk. *ḫittu* for which CAD does give a meaning "deficit" rather than Akk. *ḫtu*, for which such a meaning is not given (CAD: *ḫtu* A: "1. fault, harm, 2. act of negligence, 3. damage (OB only), 4. sin, offense, 5. crime, misdeed, 6. punishment"). Hittite *wašdul* is clearly synonymous with Akk. *ḫtu* and is probably the Hittite word underlying the Akkadogram. It seems silly to give such different interpretations to "misbehavior of a horse" and "misbehavior of the hand" (for which see above n. 21). If it were to be "damage to/lack of horses," why not then "damage to/lack of hands" in the latter?

³⁰ In KUB 5.3 a flesh oracle is first asked: "Let the first flesh oracle be favorable and the second unfavorable. The first flesh oracle: The *hiriḫi* reached the right/the border. Unfavorable. The second flesh oracle: The *nipašuri*, *šintaḫi*, the path, ten turns of the intestine. Favorable." Then the same question to the symbol oracles yields: "'the assembly' took for itself 'sinisterness.' To 'the whole soul' for 'the deity.' Unfavorable."

³¹ The next paragraph in this text is parallel to KUB 5.3 + KUB 18.52 i 42-49, quoted below.

³² KUB 5.3 + KUB 18.52 i 1-22 (see footnotes). A similar series of questions is found in KUB 18.12 i 1-58: "Have we nothing to fear for the head of His Majesty from death or difficult sickness; from [...]; from [...]; from revolt; from [...]; from road accident; from fire; from downpour; from [...]." In KUB 18.12 i the questions are all asked of and answers received from bird oracles.

³³ Laroche 1970:131 equated this with the oracle liver (Akk. *amitu*), but this is surely incorrect. See CHD s.v. *nipašuri*.

³⁴ A part of the liver, probably equivalent to the Sum. *KI.GUB* = Akk. *manzazu* "emplacement" and/or *naplastum* "hatch"; see Goetze 1962:28.

³⁵ This Hurrian word seems to mean "well being" and is a translation of Akk. *šulmu*. Schuol 1994:253-255 takes it to be the pancreas. *AHW* 1269a s.v. *šulmu* C 2 takes no stand: "an der Leber unkl."

³⁶ *niG-aš-za andan me-aš*. The subject could also be read *NINDA* "bread" or *GAR* "to be situated." The preverb *andan* occurs with *da-* only in this phrase. The *-aš* could, of course, be the nominative complement (see KBo 16.97 rev. 45 below) of the *niG*, but then the transitive verb *da-* would be left without an object. Laroche 1970:130 understands "un/le GAR s'est resserré/enveloppé," with *-aš* as the nominative complement and *-za* as reflexive object, but *-za da-* is a common combination meaning "to take for oneself" not "to take oneself." Outside of this phrase the *niG* is attested twice in two different phrases: *niG-tukul š4 niG-gub-aš* "The 'weapon' of the 'thing(?)' is of the left" KUB 22.69:11 and *niG-aš-šan ana niG šer* "A 'thing(?)' is over (another/the other) 'thing(?)'" KBo 16.97 rev. 45. This last example appears to rule out *niG* being an abbreviation for *niG.GIG* "liver," unless an apparently healthy animal could have two livers. The "thing" appears to be an organ or large section thereof and of which there is more than one. Our whole sentence is entirely unclear.

³⁷ This word is translated "Bandwurmfenne" ("undeveloped tapeworm") by Schuol 1994:103, 108 obv 39, 281-284.

(30-31) Will the road accident happen to His Majesty due to the negligence of a person? Let the flesh oracle be unfavorable. The gallbladder was *hilipšiman*. Unfavorable.

(32-33) The question by the female diviner/exorcist is the same. Let the symbol (oracle) be unfavorable. 'The gods' arose and took 'an evocation ritual' and gave it to 'the assembly.' Unfavorable.

(34-37b) They will go and give sworn instructions to the c[hariot-drivers] concerning road accidents. If this will make the evil disappear, let the f[lesh] oracle be favorable and the latter unfavorable. The first flesh: *nipašuri-s* [...] on the right and left. A 'bolt' is above them. The *šintaḫi*, *tanani*³⁸ (and) *keldi*. The *enti* of the left. [...] Favorable. The latter flesh: The SAG.ME. Unfavorable.

(38-41) The question by the female diviner/exorcist is the same. Let the symbol (oracle) be favorable. 'Tarḫunt' [arose and took ...] and gave them to 'the king.' On the second 'day': 'The Sungod of Heaven' arose and took 'the king's [...]'. Behind 'the dais.' 'Ḫannaḫanna' arose (and) [took] 'life' [...] To 'the lesser sickness.' Favorable.

(42-49)³⁹ This year His Majesty proposes to winter in Ḫattuša. If, while His Majesty is up in Ḫattuša there will not be an epidemic among the standing army troops (i.e., the *šarikuwa* and UKU.UŠ)⁴⁰ — we are not concerned here if the day of death arrives this year for 10 or 20 soldiers — if there will not be an epidemic up in Ḫattuša and if a general sudden death does not make us flee down from Ḫattuša, let the symbol oracle be favorable. 'The deity' [took] 'the whole soul' and gave it to 'the assembly.' Unfavorable.

(50-53) The question by the male diviner/exorcist is the same. Let the first flesh oracle be favorable and let the second be unfavorable. The first flesh oracle: The *nipašuri*, *šintaḫi*, *keldi* and the path. The thing(?) took them inside itself. Ten turns of the intestines. Favorable. The second flesh oracle: It is favorable, but behind it is *šuri*. Unfavorable.

(54-57) Concerning an epidemic that was ascertained to occur up in Ḫattuša among the standing army troops, is some deity going to cause the plague up in Ḫattuša? Let the symbol oracle be unfavorable. 'The gods' arose and took 'good.' They(!) placed it in 'anger' for 'the deity.' [Unfavorable.]

(58-63) [I]f the plague up in Ḫattuša within the year [...], let [the symbol oracle be u]nfavorable. 'The gods' arose and to[ok] 'life' and 'well-being.' [...] to 'the whole soul' for 'the deity.' [On the second 'day': ...] took 'evil of [...]' into 'emptiness.' On

the third 'day': 'The Sungod] of Heaven' arose and took 'a long life' and p[la]ced [it] [...]. Favorable.

(ii 1-4) Since the anger of a god was ascertained to be the cause of the plague, will some new deity be causing the plague up in Ḫattuša? Let the symbol oracle be unfavorable. 'The gods' arose and took 'life' and 'the great misdeed.' They gave them to 'the assembly.' Unfavorable.

(5-8) If only a new deity and not also some other deity will be causing the plague up in Ḫattuša, let the symbol oracle be favorable. 'Ḫannaḫanna' arose and took 'the kindnesses of the gods' and gave them to 'the deity.' Unfavorable.

(9-12) Will it be some Hittite god also causing the plague up in Ḫattuša? Let the symbol oracle be unfavorable. 'The deity' took for himself 'the whole soul' and placed it in 'anger.' Unfavorable.

(13-18) If it will be only a new deity and the Hittite gods who will be causing the plague up in Ḫattuša, and further ditto (= not also some other deity causing it), let the symbol oracle be favorable. 'The deity' took 'the whole soul.' Into 'good.' On the second 'day': 'Evil' was taken. Into 'emptiness.' On the third 'day': 'The Sungod of Heaven' arose and took the 'angers of the gods.' Into 'the lesser sickness.' Favorable.

(19-22) Is the new deity who was determined to be causing the plague a new god of kingship? Let the symbol oracle be unfavorable. 'The deity' took for himself 'the whole soul.' Into 'good.' Unfavorable.

(23-26) If it will be only a new deity of kingship who will be causing the plague in Ḫattuša and not some further deity, let the symbol oracle be favorable. 'Ḫannaḫanna' arose and took 'good' and placed it 'in anger' for 'the deity.' Unfavorable.

(27-29) Is it a new deity (resident) in Ḫattuša who will be causing the plague in Ḫattuša? Let the symbol oracle be unfavorable. 'The assembly' took for itself 'sinisterness.' To the 'great sickness.' Unfavorable.

(30-34) Is the new deity of kingship who was ascertained a new deity of kingship wh[o lives] in a temple? Is that one somehow angry? Let the symbol oracle be unfavorable. 'Ḫannaḫanna' arose and took 'good' and placed it 'in anger' for 'the deity.' Unfavorable.

(35-39) If it is the new deity of kingship who lives in a temple [...] and another new deity is in no way angry, let the [symbol oracle be favorable]. 'The deity' took for himself 'the whole soul' (and) 'good.' To 'the lesser sickness.' Unfavorable.

³⁸ = Akk. *danānu* "strength."

³⁹ This paragraph is parallel to KUB 5.4 + KUB 18.53 ii 43-48. Apparently no reply was recorded in the space provided on the latter tablet.

⁴⁰ For ERIN.MES UKU.UŠ and ERIN.MES *šarikuwa*- comprising the standing army see Beal 1992:37-55.

(40-44) Is it a new deity of kingship who [...] among the gods [...] and that one also is somehow angry? Let the symbol oracle be unfavorable. 'The assembly' took for itself 'sinisterness' and 'the great sickness.' To the 'whole soul' for 'the deity.' Unfavorable.

(45-49b) Since concerning the plague, you, O new [de]ity of kingship, have been determined to be in anger, is it because you have not yet been put on the road (i.e., satisfied)? Let the symbol oracle be favorable. 'The angers of the gods' were taken from 'long life.' To 'Hannaḥanna.' Unfavorable.

(50-56) (The next section is too broken to translate, but seems to be asking if this is the only problem.) (Column iii preserves little more than traces. Presumably it contained questions on how to soothe the divine anger.)

(The top two-thirds of column iv are uninscribed. We return to the KUB 5.4 for its next question. KUB 5.3 resumes with a question parallel to the second question of KUB 5.4.)

(KUB 5.4 + KUB 18.53 iii)

(iii 1-2) His Majesty proposes to winter beside the Temple of Tarḫunt of Aleppo. Let the symbol oracle be favorable. (No answer is recorded in the space provided.)

(3-12)⁴¹ This year His Majesty proposes to winter in Kātapa.⁴² He will celebrate the customary festivals,⁴³ the festival of the year, the thunder festival in Kātapa. The birds of the neighborhood(?) will congregate in Kātapa for him. If we have nothing to fear for the head of His Majesty up in Kātapa⁴⁴ and if you O gods approved wintering in Kātapa for His Majesty, let the symbol oracle be favorable. 'The king' took for himself 'rightness' and 'the city.' To 'the whole soul' for 'the deity.' On the second 'day.' 'The dais' arose and took 'the year' and gave it to 'Hannaḥanna.' On the third 'day': 'Good' took 'the kindlinesses of the gods.' To 'long life.' Favorable.⁴⁵

(uninscribed paragraph)

(13-14)⁴⁶ His Majesty proposes to winter⁴⁷ in Ānku-wa.⁴⁸ Let the symbol oracle be favorable. 'The gods' arose and took 'the city.' To 'the Sungod of Heaven.' Unfavorable.⁴⁹ (KUB 5.4 + KUB 18.53 ends here; KUB 5.3 + KUB 18.52 iv continues:)

(iv 13-15) This year His Majesty proposes to winter in Zithara.⁵⁰ Ditto. Let the symbol oracle be favorable. 'Tarḫunt' arose and took 'protection' and 'the great misdeed.' They are given to 'the assembly.' Unfavorable. (End of text).

⁴¹ This question is paralleled by KUB 5.3 + KUB 18.54 iv 1-5, where it is somewhat abbreviated.

⁴² For literature and guesses as to location see *RGTC* 6:197-201, *RGTC* 6/2:75f.

⁴³ The parallel question fails to mention the customary festivals.

⁴⁴ The first part of this sentence was omitted in KUB 5.3 + KUB 18.52.

⁴⁵ In the parallel text (iv 6-9) the answer is: "'Good' took 'the future.' To 'the gods.' On the second 'day': 'Hannaḥanna' arose and took 'fire.' Into 'emptiness.' On the third 'day': 'The Sungod of Heaven' arose and took 'well-being' and 'the year.' To 'the whole soul' for 'the deity.' [Favorable].

⁴⁶ This question is paralleled in the second text by iv 10-11.

⁴⁷ The parallel text adds "this year."

⁴⁸ Perhaps modern Alişar, see *RGTC* 6:19-23, *RGTC* 6/2:6f.

⁴⁹ The answer in the parallel text (iv 11-12) is: "'The gods' arose and took 'the city.' Into 'evil.' Unfavorable."

⁵⁰ For literature and guesses concerning the location see *RGTC* 6:513f.

REFERENCES

Archi 1974; 1975; 1982; Beal 1994; Berman 1982; Goetze 1962; Gurney 1981; Hoffner 1993; van den Hout 1991; Kammenhuber 1976; Laroche 1952; 1958; 1970; Lebrun 1994; Schuol 1994:73-124; 247-304; Ünal 1973; 1974; 1978; Ünal and Kammenhuber 1975.

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C. INDIVIDUAL FOCUS

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1. PROVERBS

HITTITE PROVERBS (1.80)

Gary Beckman

The sayings and generalizing anecdotes by which the Hittites expressed the received wisdom of their civilization were not collected for use in scribal instruction as was the practice in earlier Mesopotamia, but are rather to be found scattered throughout texts of various types. The following is a selection of proverbs and proverbial allusions:

1. [*In a prayer, a queen addresses the chief goddess of Hatti, asking her to cure her husband's illness, in return for service which she herself has rendered to the deity's child:*] Among humans one often speaks the proverb as follows: "A god is well-disposed to a midwife." I, Puduḥepa, am a midwife, (and since) I have devoted myself to your son (the Storm-god of Nerik), be well-disposed to me, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady! Give to me [what I ask of you]; grant life to [Ḫattušili (III)], your servant.

2. [*It is probably the same queen who writes in irritation to a young man who had married into the royal family:*] Why does one speak thus: "The son-in-law whose wife has died remains in every sense a son-in-law?" You were my son-in-law, but you do not recognize my relationship(?).

3. [*A high Hittite authority in Syria addresses King Ammurapi of Ugarit concerning his impending divorce from the daughter of the Hittite Great King:*] A proverb of the Hittites: "A man was held in prison for five years. When they said to him, 'You will be released in the morning,' he was annoyed."

a Jer 31:29;
Ezek 18:2

Now you have acted in this manner. Did the daughter of His Majesty perhaps remove herself from her estate? (Or) [did] you somehow [do (it)]? You removed her!

4. [*A Hittite law reads:*] If someone elopes with a woman, and a rescuer goes after them — if two or three men die, there is no legal compensation. "You have become a wolf!"

5. The sin of the father devolves upon his son.^a

6. Since humanity is depraved, rumors constantly circulate.

7. The will of the gods is severe! It does not hasten to seize, but when it does seize, it does not let go again!

8. (When) a bird takes refuge in its nest, the nest preserves its life.

9. The tongue is a bridge.

10. This one disappears, but that one's still here!

11. [Something] is on hand, (but) something (else) is not on hand.

REFERENCES

Texts: 1. KUB 21.27 ii 15-21; 2. KUB 23.85:7-9; 3. RS 20.216:5-19; 4. KBo 6.2 + ii 10-12; 5. KUB 14.8 rev. 13; 6. KBo 5.13 iv 8-9; 7. KUB 13.4 ii 22-24; 8. KUB 14.8 rev. 22; 9. KBo 11 iii 17; 10. KUB 13.35 iv 45-46; 11. KUB 40.88 iii 9; Bibliography: Beckman 1986; Nougayrol 1960.

2. OTHER WISDOM LITERATURE

FRAGMENT OF A WISDOM TEXT(?) (1.81)

Gary Beckman

The type of composition to which this small piece of a tablet belongs is uncertain.

[If a city is in ruins(?)], then [the builders] will build [it a second time]. If a rhyton [is cracked(?), then] the artisans [will cast] it a second time, [and]

they will renew it a second time.

[If someone damages] a plated horse chariot, then its owner [will repair] it [a second time].

[If] a flood carries off an orchard(!), [then] its [owner will establish] the orchard a second time.

[You] are not a town, nor are you [the wall] of a structure, [so that] the builders will build you a second time.

You are not a rhyton, so that the artisans will cast you a second time. You are not a plated [horse chariot, so that] they will repair you a second time.

You are not an orchard, so that [they will establish] you a second time.

REFERENCES

Text: KUB 57.30: 1'-15'; Bibliography: van den Hout 1990:425-26.

EXCERPT FROM THE HURRO-HITTITE BILINGUAL WISDOM TEXT (1.82)

Gary Beckman

The recent discovery at Bogazköy/Hattuša of a multi-tablet composition in Hurrian with Hittite translation is very important for the study of the former language, which is still poorly understood. This text is also of significance because the genre of wisdom literature was previously only scantily represented at the Hittite capital. This translation is based primarily on the Hittite text.

(ii 1-15) A mountain expelled a deer from its expanse (lit., 'body'), and the deer went to another mountain. He became fat and he sought a confrontation. He began to curse the mountain: "If only fire would burn up the mountain on which I graze! If only the Storm-god would smite it (with lightning) and fire burn it up!" When the mountain heard, it became sick at heart, and in response the mountain cursed the deer: "The deer whom I fattened up now curses me in return. Let the hunters bring down the deer! Let the fowlers capture him! Let the hunters take his meat, and the fowlers take his skin!"

(ii 17-21) It is not a deer, but a human. A certain man who fled from his own town arrived in another land. When he sought confrontation, he began to undertake evil in return for the town (of his refuge), but the gods of the town have cursed him.

(ii 23-25) Leave that story. I will tell you another story. Listen to the message. I will speak wisdom to you.

(ii 26-30) There is a deer. He grazes the pastures which lie beside the streams. He always casts (his) [eyes] upon the pastures which are on the other side, but he does not reach the pastures of (the) other side. He does not catch sight of them.

(ii 31-38) It is not a deer, but a human. A certain man whom his lord made a district governor — although he was made governor of one district, he always cast (his) eyes upon a second district. Then the gods taught him a lesson, and he did not arrive at that (first) district, nor did he (even) catch sight of the second district.

(ii 39-41) Leave that story. I will tell you another

story. Listen to the message. I will speak wisdom to you.

(ii 42-51) A smith cast a cup in a praiseworthy fashion. He cast and moulded it. He inlaid it with ornaments and engraved it. He put a shine on it with a woolen cloth. But the foolish piece of copper began to curse the one who had cast it: "If only the hand of the one who cast me were broken! If only his right forearm were palsied!" When the smith heard, he became sick at heart.

(ii 52-60) He began to say to himself: "Why has this piece of copper which I cast cursed me in return?" The smith uttered a curse against the cup: "Let the Storm-god smash the cup and rip off its ornaments! Let the cup fall into an irrigation ditch and the ornaments fall into a river!"

(iii 1-5) It is not a cup, but a human. A certain son who was hostile to his father became an adult and he moved to (a better) circle. He no longer looks after his father. The gods of his father have cursed him.

(iii 6-8) Leave that story. I will tell you another story. Listen to the message. I will speak wisdom to you.

(iii 9-12) A dog absconded with a loaf of bread from an oven. He pulled it out of the oven and dipped it in grease. He dipped it in grease, sat down, and set about eating it.

(iii 13-19) It is not a dog, but a human. <A certain man> whom his lord had made a district administrator later increased the tax payments in that town. He was very confrontational and no longer looked after the town. They managed to denounce him before his lord, and he began to dis-

gorge before his lord the taxes which he had swallowed up.

(iii 20-22) Leave that story. I will tell you another story. Listen to the message. I will speak wisdom to you.

(iii 28-32) A rodent(?) dragged a loaf of bread from an oven. He pulled it out of the oven and dipped [it] in grease. He dipped it in grease, sat down, and set about eating it.

[It is not] a rodent(?), but a human. <A certain man> whom his lord had made a provincial governor later increased the tax payments in that [town]. He was very confrontational and no longer [looked] after the town. They managed to denounce him before his lord, and he began to disgorge before his lord the taxes which he had swallowed up.

(iii 34) Leave that story. I will tell you another story. Listen to the message. I will speak wisdom to you.

(iii 41-47) [A builder] built a tower in a praiseworthy fashion. He [sank] the foundation trenches down to the Sun-goddess of the Earth. He made the battlements(?) reach up nearly to heaven. Then the foolish [tower] began to curse the one who had built it: "If only the hand of the one who built me were broken! If only his [right] forearm were palsied!" The builder heard and he [became sick] at heart. [The builder] said to himself: "Why has the wall which I built cursed me?" Then the builder uttered a curse [against the tower]: "Let the Storm-god smash the tower and pull up the foundation blocks! Let its [...] fall down into an irrigation ditch and the brickwork fall down into a river!"

(iii 52) It is [not] a tower, but a human. A certain son who was an enemy of his father became an adult, and he attained [an honorable position(?)]. He no longer looks after his father. The gods of his father have cursed him.

REFERENCES

Text: KBo 32.14 ii 1-iii 52; Bibliography: Oettinger 1992; Otten 1984:54-60.

3. INSTRUCTIONS

INSTRUCTIONS TO PRIESTS AND TEMPLE OFFICIALS (1.83)

Gregory McMahon

This text is preserved in at least eight copies, several of which have been reconstructed through multiple joins of tablet fragments. The tablets are to be found in both the Istanbul and Ankara tablet collections. The copies date to the Empire period, but the text itself seems to go back to the pre-New Hittite period, before the reign of Šuppiluliuma I. The main text is KUB 13.4, a large well preserved four column tablet with the tops of columns i and ii broken away. Unless otherwise noted, line numbers given are for that tablet.

§1 (1'-13') The first paragraph is too broken to translate meaningfully. An estimated twelve lines are missing completely, and lines x+1 through 12' are only partially preserved. The preserved remnant includes allusions to measures (probably of grain), the palace, and a few prohibitions. Line 13', although mostly preserved, is not intelligible without the context of previous lines.

§2 (i 14'-33') Further: Let those who make the daily bread^a be clean. Let them be washed and trimmed. Let (their) hair(?) and finger[nails] be trimmed.¹ Let them be clothed in clean garments If[f] (they are) [not], let them not prepare (them). Let those who normally [propit]iate the spirit and body of the gods prepare them. The baker's house in which they bake them must be swept and sprinkled down.

^a Num 4:7;
1 Chr 9:31-32

Further, neither pig nor dog may come through the doors into the place where the bread is broken. (Are) the mind of man and god somehow different? No! In this which (is concerned)? No! The mind (is) one and the same. When the servant stands before his master, he (is) washed. He has clothed (himself) in clean (clothes). He gives him (his master) either to eat or to drink. Since the master eats and drinks, (in) his spirit he (is) relaxed. He is favorably inclined toward him (the servant). When he (is) solicitous(?), his master) does not find fault (with him). Is the mind of the god somehow different?² If the servant at some point angers his master, either

¹ Lit., "taken (off)."

² Sturtevant and Bechtel (1935:149), reading the text slightly differently, translate "If, however, he (the slave) is ever dilatory(?), and is not observant(?), he has a different disposition toward him." Goetze (ANET 207) translates with a sense similar to Sturtevant and Bechtel's. The passage is unclear because the word for solicitous(?)/dilatory(?) occurs (twice) only here.

they kill him, or they injure his nose, eyes, (and) ears. Or he (the master) [will seize him, (and) his wife, his children, his brother, his sister, his in-laws, (and) his family, whether his (master's) male or female slave. They (may) only call (him) over. They (may) do nothing to him. If ever he dies, he does not die alone. His family (is) also included with him.	b Lev 20:5	no one omit the thick bread or thin bread of the god.⁴ And let no one pour out beer (or) wine off the top of the cup. Render it all to the god. Then speak (this) word for yourselves before the god: "Whoever took from your divine bread (or) libation vessel, may the god my lord pursue him. May he seize his house from bottom to top." If [you are able] to eat (and) drink [everything] on that day, eat and drink it. If, however, you are unable to do so, eat and drink [it within] three days. The <i>piyantalla</i>⁵ bread, however, [you may not give] to your wives, children, (or) female or male servants.⁶ The beer and wine is not to [cross] the threshold of the gods. If a guest comes to anyone, if he (the host) in order to go up to the temple normally crosses the threshold of the god [or the king, that] one (the host) may [take] him up. He may eat and drink. If, however, he (is) a [foreigner], (if) he (is) not a native of Hattuša (and) he approaches the gods, [he will die]. And it (is) a capital offence for whoever takes him (in).
§3 (i 34'-38') If, however, someone angers the mind of a god, does the god seek it (revenge) only from him alone? Does he not seek it from his wife, [his children,] his descendants, his family,^b his male and female servants, his cattle, his sheep and his grain? He utterly destroys him with everything. Be very afraid of a god's word for your own sake.	c Exod 23:14-17; 34:18-24; Lev 23; Deut 16:1-17	§7^d (KUB 13.5 ii 17-33) [If] some [ox or] sheep (is) driven in for the gods to eat, but you take away either the fattened ox or fattened sheep; and you substitute a thin one which you have slaughtered; (and) either you eat up that ox, or you put it into a pen, or you put it under a yoke; or you put the sheep into the fold, or you kill it for yourselves, (or) [you do] as you wish, or [you give] it in exchange to another man and you accept a payment: You are withholding [a morsel] from the mouth of the god. (If) [you give] it [for your own desire],⁷ or you give it to another and you think thus: "Because he (is) a god, he will say nothing. He will do nothing to us:" Look at the man who grabs the morsel you desire from (before your) eyes! Afterwards, when it acts, the will of the gods (is) strong. It is not quick to seize. But once it seizes, it does not let go. Be very fearful of the will of the gods.
§4^c (i 39'-49') Further: The festival of the month, the festival of the year, the festival of the stag, the festival of autumn, the festival of spring, the festival of thunder, the festival of <i>hiyara</i>-, the festival of <i>pudaḥa</i>-, the <i>iṣuwa</i>-festival, the festival of <i>šallašša</i>-, the festival of the rhyton, the festivals of the holy priest, the festivals of the old men, the festivals of the <i>šiwanzanni</i>- priestesses, the festival of <i>dahiya</i>-, the festivals of the <i>upati</i>- men, the festivals of <i>pula</i>-, the festivals of <i>ḥahratar</i>, or whatever festival (there is) up in Hattuša: If you do not perform them with all the cattle, sheep, bread, beer and wine set up, (or if) you officials of the temple make a deal with those who provide them (the offering materials), you will cause them (the offerings) to fall short of the will of the gods.^c	d 1 Sam 2:12-17; Mal 1:6-13 e Lev 2:4 f Num 7; Josh 6:19, 24; 1 Chr 9:28-30; 26:20-22	§8 (ii 25'-51') Further: Whatever silver, gold, clothing, (and) bronze implements of the gods you hold, (you are) their guards (only).^f (You have) no (right) to the silver, gold, clothing (or) bronze implements of the gods. What (is) in the house of the gods (is) not (for you).^g It is for the god. Be very careful. There is to be no silver or gold for the temple official. Let
§5 (i 50'-59') Or if you take them (the offerings) when set up, and do not bring them forth for the pleasure of the gods, (but rather) carry them away to your own houses, and your wives, children, and servants eat them up, or a relative or some important(?) guest comes to you and you give them to him: You are taking them from the pleasure of the god. (If) you do not bring them straight in to him, (or if) you present them (divided) into several portions, that matter of dividing will be upon your head. Do not divide them. And he who does divide them shall die. Let there be no turning back for him.^d		
§6 (i 60'-66', KUB 13.5+ ii 6-16) Keep all of the bread, beer, (and) wine up in the temple.³ Let		

³ Or with Sturtevant and Bechtel (1935:151): "carry everything up into the temple."

⁴ The sense of this is rendered freely by Goetze (ANET 208): "Let no one appropriate for himself a sacrificial loaf of the god (or) a thin loaf."

⁵ Süel (1985:35) translates "bağış ekmeği," "gift bread", deriving *piyantalla* from *pai*-, "to give."

⁶ Sturtevant and Bechtel (1935:152-153) did not have the duplicate KUB 40.63 and therefore restored the text differently from Süel, whose restoration (p. 34) uses the new duplicate and is therefore more likely.

⁷ Following Süel's restoration, p. 38.

⁸ These two sentences in the original are difficult to translate exactly, although their sense seems clear. I have followed Goetze's sense (ANET 208).

him not carry it on his own body. Let him not make it into an adornment for his wife (or) child. If, however, they give him silver, gold, clothing, (or) implements of bronze as gifts from the palace, let them be listed: "The king gave it to him." As much as its weight (is), let it also be set down. Further, let it be set down as follows: "At this festival they gave it to him." And at the end let the witnesses be set down: "When they gave it to him, this one and this one were standing there." Further, let him not leave it in his house. Let him offer it for sale. When he sells it, he must not sell it in secret. Let the lords of Hatti be present and watch. Let them set down on a wooden tablet whatever he buys, and let them seal it. When the king comes up to Hattuša, let him take it (the tablet) into the palace. Let them seal it for him. If he sells it as he wishes, it (is) a capital offence for him. But whoever is not selling the gift of the king, on which the king's name (is) stamped, but is nevertheless selling silver, gold, clothing, (or) implements of bronze; whoever gets hold of him, and hides him, and does not bring him to the gate of the kings, it (is) a capital crime for both of them. Let them both die. There is no [...] from the god. There is to be no pardon for them.

- §9 (ii 52'-72') Further, you who (are) temple officials: If you do not perform the festivals at the time of the festivals; (if) you do the spring festival in fall, (or) the fall festival in spring, (or) if the right time for doing the festival (has) arrived, and he who is to do it comes to you, the priests, the "anointing priests," the *šiwanzanni*-priestesses, to you the temple officials, and he seizes your knees, (saying) "The harvests (are) before me," or a marriage or a journey or some other matter. "Let me off."⁹ Let that matter finish for me, and when that matter is finished for me, I will do the festival thus": Do not do according to the wish of (that) man. He must not *persuade*¹⁰ you. Do not conduct business concerning the will of the gods. (If) a man *persuades* you, and you take payment for yourselves, the gods will demand it of you at a later time. They will stand in evil against your spirit, wives, children, (and) servants. Work only for the

g 1 Chr 9:17-27; 26

h Num 3:6-7, 32, 38; 16:9, 18:2-4, 26-28; 2 Kgs 10:24

will of the gods. You may eat bread, you may drink water, you may make a house. But do not do the will of a man. Do not sell death, neither buy it.

- §10 (ii 73'-iii 20) Further: You who are temple officials, be very careful in the matter of the watch.⁸ At nightfall go quickly down and eat and drink. And if anyone has thoughts of a woman, he may sleep with a woman. As soon as the s[un] (is) up], let him [immediately bathe]. Let him come up pr[omp]tly into the temple to sleep. Whoever is a temple official — all [high] priests, lesser priests, anointing priests — whoever regularly crosses the threshold of the gods: let each not neglect to sleep up in the temple. Further, let sentries be posted¹¹ at night, and let them continue to make the rounds all night. Outside, let the guards keep their watch. But inside the temples let the temple officials make the rounds all night. Let there be no sleep for them. Each night one high priest is to be in charge of the sentries. And further, of those who are priests, someone shall be (assigned) to the temple gate and shall guard the temple.¹² No one (with this duty) is to sleep with his wife in his own house. It (is) a capital offence for whoever they find down in his own house. Guard the temples very carefully, and let there be no sleep for you. Further, let the watch be divided among you. In whose watch a sin¹² occurs, he shall die. Let him not be pardoned.
- §11 (iii 21-34) Whatever rite (there is) for someone up in Hattuša: If someone normally admits a priest, an anointing priest, or guards, let him admit them only. If there is a guard for anyone, he also must go into the precinct enclosure.¹³ Let him not speak as follows: "I am protecting the temple of my god, but I will not go in there." If there is some enemy idea that someone will attempt to cause damage, and those on the outer wall do not see him, (but) the temple officials inside see him,¹⁴ the guard must go after him. Let that (guard) not neglect to sleep next to his god. If, however, he does neglect (to do so), and they do not kill him, let them subject him to public humiliation. Naked — let there be no clothing on his body at all — let him carry water three times from the Labarna's spring into the temple of his

⁹ Following the CHD, sub *memiya*-, p. 273. Lit., the Hittite phrase is "Step back for me." Goetze (ANET 209) translates "Do me a favor." Süel (1985:49) translates "Bana destek olunuz," "be a support to me."

¹⁰ The verb is apparently a medio-passive form of the verb "to see." Thus perhaps lit., "He must not appear/show himself to you." Sturtevant and Bechtel (1935:157) translate "let him not be pitied by you." Goetze (ANET 209) translates "let him not take precedence (of the gods)." Süel (1985:51) translates "Size kötülük etmesin," "let him not do evil to you."

¹¹ Lit., "taken."

¹² That is, an oversight or mishap. For the parallel with Num 18:7, see Speiser 1963; Milgrom 1970:50-59.

¹³ Or "he definitely must go on watch."

¹⁴ Text: "them."

- god. Let that be his humiliation.
- §12 (iii 35-43) Furthermore you priests, anointing priests, *šiwanzanni*- priestesses (or) temple officials: [If some x[]-*tuḫmeyanza* person becomes drunk in the temple or another sacred building, and if he causes a disturbance or a quarrel in the temple and disrupts¹⁵ a festival, let them beat him. [Furth]er, he must celebrate that festival as established with cattle, sheep, bread, (and) beer. He may not omit (even) the thin loaf. Whoever neglects it and does not celebrate the festival (as) established, let it be a great sin to that one. Let him make up the festival. Be very careful about quarrels.
- §13 (iii 49-54) Further: In the matter of fire be very careful. If (there is) a festival (going on) in the temple, guard the fire well. When night falls, however, extinguish well with water any fire that remains on the hearth. If, however, (there is) in the matter of fire some (burning?)¹⁶ dry wood here and there: Whoever is to extinguish it, even if only the temple in which (this) sin occurs is destroyed, while *Ḫattuša* and the king's goods are not destroyed, he who commits this sin will perish along with his descendants. Of those in the temple none will be left living. They will perish together with their descendants. Be extremely careful concerning the matter of fire.
- §14 (iii 55-83) Furthermore: You who (are) kitchen attendants of all the gods: Cupbearers, tablemen, cooks, bakers, (or) vintners, be very respectful regarding the will of the gods for you. Maintain great respect for the sacrificial loaves (and) libation vessel(s) of the gods. The place for breaking bread must be swept and sprinkled by you. Neither pig nor dog is ever to cross the threshold. You yourselves are to be bathed. Wear clean clothes. In addition, your hair and fingernails are to be trimmed.¹⁷ Let the will of the gods not find fault with you. If a pig or dog does somehow force its way to the utensils of wood or clay that you have, and the kitchen worker does not throw it out, but gives to the gods to eat from an unclean (vessel), to that one will the gods give excrement and urine to eat and drink. Whoever sleeps with a woman, as he performs a

i Num 19:13

J Exod 23:16,
19; 34:19-20,
22; Lev 2:14;
Deut 15:19-
21

rite for the gods (and) gives them to eat and drink, let him go to the woman thus (clean). Furthermore, [break of 2-3 words].¹⁸ As soon as the sun (is) up, he must immediately bathe, and arrive promptly at the time of the gods' eating in the morning. If, however, he neglects (this), it is a sin for him. Whoever sleeps with a woman and his superior (or) his supervisor presses (him), let him say so.¹⁹ However, if he does not dare tell (his superior), let him tell a fellow servant. He still must bathe. However, if he intentionally delays, and without bathing he forces his way near the gods' sacrificial loaves (and) libation vessel (while) unclean,¹ and his fellow servant knows about him, and he appears to him(!)²⁰: If he conceals (it), but afterward it becomes known, it (is) a capital offence for them and both must die.

- §15 (iv 1-11) [Further: All you who (are) far]rm[ers of the god,] i[f ...] there is anything... Or a sacrific[ial] loaf of[r...].²¹ The first fruits/ of animals which you, the farmers, present for the pleasure of the gods, present them promptly at the right time. Before anyone has eaten of them, bring them promptly for the pleasure of the gods. Let the gods not be kept waiting for them. If you delay them, it (is) a sin for you. They will consult an oracle about you, and as the gods your lords command, thus will they do to you. And they will fine you an ox and ten sheep and will (thus) calm the mind of the gods.
- §16 (iv 12-24) Further: If you plant grain, and if the priest does not send you someone to sow the seed, (and if) he entrusts²² it to you for sowing, and you sow much, but you declare before the priest that it (was) little, or (if) the god's field (is) productive, but the farmer's field (is) ruined, and you call the god's field yours and your field the god's field, or (if) while you are storing the grain, you declare half (of it), while half (of it) you hide, and you later come and divide it amongst yourselves, (if) it afterward becomes known: You may steal it from a man, but you cannot steal it from a god. It (is) a sin for you. They will take away all your grain and pour it onto the

¹⁵ Lit., "beats."

¹⁶ Süel (1985:65) suggests that the dry wood is wood which has not been completely extinguished.

¹⁷ Lit., "taken."

¹⁸ Süel (1985:71) translates based on her restoration "Sonra kadının yanında yatsın," "Then let him lie next to a woman." This fits the context but does not fit the traces on the tablet very well.

¹⁹ The following lines indicate that the sense of this is that the superior is hurrying the kitchen worker along to his duties unaware that he is unclean.

²⁰ Text: "you."

²¹ Following Süel's restoration (p. 74), which is possible based on my collation of the tablet.

²² Saurtevant and Bechtel (1935:162) and Süel (1985:76) read a second person pl. verb, but see the *CHD* collation in volume L-N:164 *maniyaḫh*- 2.

threshing floor of the gods.

§17 (iv 25-33) Further: You who have the plow oxen of the threshing floor²³ (of the temple): If you sell a plow ox, or you kill and eat it, and you (thus) steal it for yourselves from the gods (saying) "It died of emaciation," or "It kept breaking (things)," or "It ran off," or "A steer gored it," but you yourselves eat it up, and it later becomes known, you will replace that ox. If, however, it does not become known, you will go (before) the god. If you are shown to be innocent, it (is due to) your protective deity. If, however, you are impure (guilty), it is a capital sin for you.

§18 (iv 34-55) Further: You who (are) cowherds (and) shepherds of the god. If (there is) a rite for any god at the time of bearing young, and you are to have either a calf, a lamb, a kid, or *ŠALLITE HĀGARATE*,²⁴ do not delay it. Present it at the appropriate time. Let the gods not be kept waiting for it. Before anyone eats from the first fruits, bring them promptly to the gods. Or if there is a festival of milk²⁵ for a god, while they are scraping (the cream off?) the milk, do not put it (the festival) off. Perform it for him. If you do not bring the first fruits of the gods promptly, but first eat of them yourselves, or you send them to your superiors, and it afterwards becomes known, it (is) a capital sin for you. If, however, it does not become known, whenever you bring them, you will bring them before the god (speaking) as follows: "If we have given these first fruits for our own desire first, or given them to our superiors, or to our wives (and) children, or

to some other person, (then) we have offended the will of the gods." Then you will drain the rhyton of the god of life.²⁶ If you (are) innocent, (it is) your protective deity. If, however, you (are) guilty, you will perish together with your wives (and) children.

§19 (iv 56-77) Further: If you ever cut out a selection (of animals) and they drive them to the gods your lords, the cowherd and shepherd must go with the selected group. As it (was) selected from the enclosure (and) the fold, thus let them bring it in to the gods. They may not change it later on the road. If some cowherd or shepherd creates a deception while on the road, and turns aside either a fattened ox or fattened sheep, and receives a price (for it), or they kill it and consume it, and they put an emaciated one in its place: If it becomes known, it is a capital sin for them. They have taken the god's most desired portion. If, however, it does not become known, whenever they arrive, they must take the rhyton of the god of life from the offering stand and declare as follows: "If we have withheld the best portion from the mouth of the gods for ourselves and given it to ourselves for our own desire or (if) we have sold it or exchanged it, or accepted a payment for ourselves, (or) put an emaciated one in its place, you, O god, pursue us together with our wives (and) children for the sake of your special portion.

Colophon (iv 78-81) First tablet of the rules of all the temple officials, of the kitchen attendants of the gods, the farmers of the gods, and of the cowherds of the god and shepherds of the god. Completed.

²³ Süel (1985:78) restores DIN[GIR.MEŠ] instead of KIS[LAH] and translates "tanrı[ların] çift öküzlerini," "plow oxen of the gods."

²⁴ Read by Sturtevant and Bechtel (1935:164) as *UZUŠA-LI-Ú(?)EŠ HA-AG-G[AJ]-RA-TE-(m)EŠ*. Süel (1985:80) reads *UZUŠA-LI-T[E]MEŠ HA-AG-[GUR]-RA-TEMEŠ*. Both readings are possible; neither provides a recognizable phrase.

²⁵ Sturtevant and Bechtel (1935:164) read EZEN D[U]G, and both Sturtevant and Goetze translate "festival of the cup." Süel (1985:82, 150-151) follows Güterbock (*RHA* XXV/81:141f.) reading EZEN [G]A. She translates "süt bayramı," "festival of milk," which makes sense given that this passage concerns a festival at the time of bearing young. If the reading GA "milk" is correct, the verb probably means "to churn" (*CHD šap-*). It may refer to scraping the cream off the milk. Süel translates "sütü ne zaman yayıkta çalkalarsanız," "when you churn the milk in the churn."

²⁶ Apparently an ordeal or sealing of the oath.

REFERENCES

Text: *CTH* 264. Studies: Gurney 1967:94; Hoffner 1973a:220; Hulin 1970; Kühne 1978:179-184; Moyer 1983:35-37; Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935; Süel 1985.

INSTRUCTIONS TO COMMANDERS OF BORDER GARRISONS (*BEL MADGALTI*) (1.84)

Gregory McMahon

An essential element in Hittite administration of provinces was the *auriyaš išhaš*, literally "lord of the watch tower/guard post,"¹ often written with the Akkadogram *BEL MADGALTI*. This was the officer in charge of garrisons and administration in sensitive frontier provinces of the empire. The Hittite term is often translated "border governor";

¹ Hebrew *misphāh*, "watchtower," is the name recorded in the Hebrew scriptures for a number of different cities in Palestine.

Hoffner has proposed "margrave," which implies the idea of governors assigned to frontier provinces. The very detailed instructions for these officials make it clear that they were responsible not only for military command and reconnaissance, but also for administering the city in which they were stationed. This text is perhaps the most important source we have for understanding the nature of the Hittite treatment of conquered territories.

The text is extant in many copies and fragments; the importance of the margraves and their proper understanding of their duties may be inferred from the great number of copies of their instructions. The critical edition of the text is found in von Schuler (1957), which must be supplemented by Goetze's edition of the first fifteen paragraphs in *JCS*.² The text is number 261 in Laroche's *CTH*. The main text is KUB 13.2. The first fifteen paragraphs are best preserved in KUB 13.1. Line numbers, unless otherwise noted, are for KUB 13.2.

§1 (KUB 13.1 i 1-3) Thus speaks His Maje[sty] Arnuwanda the great king [...] Thus let the margra[ves] be [instructed].	a 1 Sam 14:11-12	the workers, cattle, sheep, horse(s) and donkey(s) down out of the city.
§2 (KUB 13.1 i 4-5) Let [tho]se forward [cities] be [well guarded]. Let the enclosure [be] well guarded.	b Jer 49:31	§11 (KUB 13.1 i 33-34) Let the scouts hold (their) posts on the main road and let them keep [...] at a distance. Let the city be guarded.
§3 (KUB 13.1 i 6-8) While the guards have not yet come down from (their) watch, let the scouts [com]e down from the city.		§12 (KUB 13.1 i 35-36) The garrison which holds the posts [must] also [be] protected. The scouts must cover the roads carefully and watch for signs of the enemy.
§4 (KUB 13.1 i 9-11) Let them thoroughly inspect the <i>kuranna</i> - ³ and bring back a report. The watchmen are to come down from (their) watch in the same way.		§13 (KUB 13.1 i 37-38) Furthermore, let the margrave [keep] the garrison [together] at (their) posts. [The garrison] of the post [is to be] gone from the city for two days (maximum). ⁵
§5 (KUB 13.1 i 12-14) The main road scouts must take (their) posts. ⁴ The sc[outs] must drive down from the city to in[spe]ct the <i>kuranna</i> -, and (then) inspect the <i>kuranna</i> -.		§14 (i 5'-6') Since the roads (are) covered, when the scouts see any sign of the enemy, they will send a message immediately.
§6 (KUB 13.1 i 15-16) The scouts who [hold] the p[osts] on the main road, [whatever] they are to find, if [...]		§15 (i 7'-12') Let them (then) close up the cities; they are not to let out the fieldworkers, cattle, sheep, horses (or) donkeys. Let them guard (them). The margrave must have kept account and written record of the posts which are most forward and of the enemy's routes. Further: Three scouts shall hold each road. Over the (whole system) three officers are to be in charge.
§7 (KUB 13.1 i 17) (Then) they may let out the cattle, sheep, and workers from the city.		§16 (i 13'-19') He (the margrave) must keep an account of the troops of the post and put it in writing. He will know the officers of second, third, and fourth rank in (each) place. And wherever the enemy attacks, the troops are to follow the enemy's track for three days. They are to hold the roads for two days. The margrave must arrest and send before His Majesty anyone who does not kill the enemy, (whether) officer of the second, third, (or) fourth rank.
§8 (KUB 13.1 i 18-22) But when night falls let the scouts make [...] and take (their) posts. [...] the roads(?) which the scouts wa[tched] by day, they will [in the same way] watch [by night]. They must get the workers, cattle, sheep, horses, (and) donkeys moving and move [them] up [into the city].		§17 (i 20'-21') If, however, His Majesty (is) nearby, the margrave must appear before His Majesty and bring the offenders (with him).
§9 (KUB 13.1 i 23-28) Then let the scouts who [hold] po[sts] go up into the city. Let them bar the gates (and) posterns and shoot the bolts. ⁶ [Further] they must post troops behind the postern gates; they are to sleep behind the gate. Further, let them relieve the guards from (their) watch. They will keep (their) watch carefully.		§18 (i 22'-29') Let them keep an account of the supplies(?) ⁶ of the fortified cities which (are)
§10 (KUB 13.1 i 29-32) But in the morning, the scouts [come out(?)] from the city. They must inspect the <i>kuranna</i> -s thoroughly [...] and take (their) posts. They may [the]n let		

² Goetze 1960:69-73.

³ A duplicate has "*kuranna*-s." Goetze (1960:73) suggests that the meaning of *kuranna*- can only be guessed at, as it only appears here. However, it also appears in the Instructions for the Royal Bodyguard (below, text 1.85). Goetze suggests "foreground." Güterbock and van den Hout 1991 do not translate, but on page 45 discuss the attestations of *kuranna*- and its general semantic range as a "closing device" on the city gates.

⁴ Or "The scouts must take (their) posts on the main road."

⁵ Duplicate has for the entire paragraph: "Further: the margrave, the troops, (and) the scouts are to be gone (from) the post for two days (maximum)."

⁶ See Goetze 1959b:69.

in the province. Those posts (and) cities which (are) forward, into which the enemy can (most) quickly penetrate: When the [mar]grave [...] those cities, as long as [...], let him guard. Within, he [...] [Two lines of cuneiform missing.]	c 2 Sam 5:9	should be twelve¹² fingers in diameter¹³ and $\frac{3}{4}$ meter in length. The diameter of the [x] wood is to be three fingers, with a length of $\frac{1}{2}$ meter. The wood for the ... should also be (stored) in great quantity. [...] (and) <i>hardup-pi-</i>, all are to be (stored) in great quantity.
§19 (i 30'-?) [Too broken to translate: Bottom of column i broken away; uncertain how long §19 was, or how many more paragraphs are lost.]	d Josh 2:15	§26' (ii 11'-15') Let it (the wood(?)) be stored under seal. Every year he (the margrave) is to take account of it and deposit it with the <i>šaramna-</i>. Let them (the troops(?)) scrape the buildings of the king, cattle barns, store-houses and baths which are older. They must replaster them with new stucco and renew them.
§20' (KUB 31.84 ii 1-4) ...the tower of ... should be x <i>gipeššar</i>⁷ at the top, but around the bottom it should be six⁸ <i>gipeššar</i>. Further, it must be encircled with a gutter and a wooden <i>mariyawanna-</i>.⁹ The <i>mariyawanna-</i> is to be six <i>gipeššar</i> around the front, but let it (protrude?) five <i>šekan</i>.	e 1 Kgs 7:10; Ps 118:22	§27' (ii 16'-20') Let them regularly remove from the (interior) walls the plaster which is crumbling. Let them uncover the foundation stones⁶ (for inspection).¹⁴ Furthermore, the threshing floor, the straw barn, the temple, the baths, (the buildings associated) with the orchards, the vegetable gardens, and the vineyards must be built properly.
§21' (KUB 31.86 ii 6'-12') [When] you fortify a [city],^c let <i>hutanu-s</i> [of x] m[eters] be taken/removed. Up on top, let there be x [met]ers. Before you complete the fortifying of the city, the moat is to be three meters deep and two meters across. Before he <i>refills</i> [it] with water, let them pave [it] with stones.		§28' (ii 21'-25') The drains of the bath, the cup-bearers' building, and the portico must flow freely; let (the men) regularly inspect them. Any that is stopped up with water they should clear out. And let the bird ponds which are in your district be well looked after.¹⁵
§22' (KUB 31.86 ii 13'-18') Furthermore, let the gates, posterns, heads of stairways (and) windows of city-walls [b]e furnished with doors (and) bolts. Let nothing (of these) be lost.¹⁰ [Do not neglect] to apply plaster to the city-wall. And let it be smoothed. A thatched roof may become leaky. Let it not (happen).		§29' (ii 26'-31') In a city through which the margrave drives, he shall take account of the elders, priests, anointing priests, (and) <i>šiwanzanni-</i> priestesses. He shall speak to them thus: "A temple which (is) in this city, either that of the Stormgod, or of some other god, is now neglected," or ("It (is) ruined.")
§23' (KUB 31.86 ii 19'-25') In the ... which you build, let the coppersmith make a [...] drain. Let the gates of the city-walls [be equipped with drains(?)] of stone inside and outside in the same way. Furthermore: allow no one to dig in the city wall or burn near it. The owners must not let (their) horses, mules, (or) donkeys near the plaster (of the city-wall).		§30' (ii 32'-35') ("It (is) not attended to with regard to priests, <i>šiwanzanni-</i> priestesses, (and) anointing priests. Now attend to it again.") Let them restore it. As it was built before, let them rebuild it in the same way.
§24' (KUB 31.86 ii 26'-32') No one is to put a torch on a wooden(?) [...] inside or outside. No one may take (part of) the city wall for an inn,¹¹ nor may anyone start a fire near the wall. Allow no one to quarter their horses (or) m[ules there]. The city drains must not become clogged; they must be cleared out every year.		§31' (ii 36'-41') Furthermore: Reverence for the gods must be maintained, and special reverence for the Stormgod is to be established. If some temple (roof) leaks, the margrave and the city commander must repair it. Or (if) some rhyton of the Stormgod or any cultic implement of another god (is) ruined, the priests, anointing priests, and <i>šiwanzanni-</i> priestesses will renew it.
§25' (ii 5'-10') The margrave should organize the firewood for the fortified cities as follows: It		

⁷ A linear measurement, probably .5 meter; see Melchert 1980.

⁸ Variant "three."

⁹ This word occurs only in this passage; see CHD L-N 186 for discussion.

¹⁰ Or "destroyed."

¹¹ Cf. Josh 2:15; see Hoffner 1974b.

¹² Variant: "five."

¹³ Lit., "from the front."

¹⁴ Variant adds: "They are not, however, to lift out the foundation stones."

¹⁵ Or: "Let the birds which are on the ponds in your district be well looked after."

- §32' (ii 42'-46') Furthermore: The margrave is to write down the cultic implements of the god and send it (the record) in to His Majesty. Further, they are to worship the gods at the (proper) times. Whatever is the (proper) time for any god, let them worship him at that time. (If) there is no priest, *šiwanzanni*-priestess, or anointing priest for any god, they must immediately assign one.
- §33' (KUB 40.56+31.88 iii 2, KUB 13.2 iii 1-3) Or whatever old cultic stela (there is), (if) it has not been kept track of, do an accounting of it now. Let them set it up, and furthermore whatever sacrifices (there were) for it formerly, let them provide for them.
- §34' (iii 4-8) Whatever springs (are) in the city, sacrifices are established for (those) springs: Let them celebrate them and attend to them. They must definitely attend (also) to those springs for which there is no sacrifice.¹⁶ Let them not omit them. They must consistently sacrifice to the mountains and rivers for which there are rites.
- §35' (iii 9-16) Further: the margrave, the city commander (and) the elders must consistently judge cases properly, and carry out (their decisions), as the rule for serious crimes (has been) done from of old in the (particular) country: In a city in which they are accustomed to execute, let them continue to execute. In a city, however, in which they are accustomed to exile, let them continue to exile. Furthermore, afterward (the people) of the city must bathe, and further let it be announced: Let no one allow (the exile) back. Whoever does allow him back, they will keep him under observation(?).
- §36' (iii 17-21) And when they worship the gods, let no one cause a disturbance in the presence of the gods, and let no one cause a disturbance in the festival house. Furthermore, let reverence be established toward priests, temple workers, anointing priests, (and) *šiwanzanni*-priestesses. Let the priests, anointing priests, and *šiwanzanni*-priestesses be reverent to the gods. If, however, anyone brings a case (in the form of) a sealed wooden (or) clay tablet, the margrave must judge the case properly and make things right. If, however, the case is too great (for him), he is to send it before His Majesty.
- §37' (iii 25-28) Let him not, however, decide for (his) superior (or) for (his) brother, his wife, or his friend. Let no one take a bribe.¹⁷ He is not to make the stronger case the weaker, or the weaker the stronger one. Do what (is) just.¹⁸
- §38' (iii 29-35) In whatever city you enter, call all the people of the city. Judge a case for anyone who has one and make things right. If a man's slave, or a man's female slave or a widow has a case, judge it for them and make things right. People of Kašiya, Himmuwa, Tegara[ma]¹⁹ or Išuwa (may be) there. Supply them with everything.¹⁷
- §39' (iii 36-41) A deportee who (has been) settled on the land you must supply with winter food stores,¹⁸ seed, cattle, (and) sheep. Provide him also with cheese, rennet (and) wool. Sow seed for whoever stays in the place of a deportee who leaves your province, and let him have sufficient fields. Let them promptly assign him a plot.
- [§40' (KUB 13.2 iii 42-44, KUB 31.84 iii 45'-46') and §41' (KUB 31.84 iii 47'-51') are too fragmentary to translate. §40' mentions field, orchard, garden, and the palace. §41' mentions horses and the palace.]
- §42' (KUB 31.84 iii 52'-56') [...] ... [...] Let] him build the walls [of the orchard]s well. In addition, irrigate them with water. Irrigate the meadow also with water. Let the meadow not be grazed.
- §43' (KUB 31.84 iii 57'-59') Furthermore: Let the vine[yards] be well cultivated and constructed and the canals kept clean. Further, the word of the scout(?)¹⁹ must be taken seriously.
- §44' (KUB 31.84 iii 60'-65') When, however, they distribute the seed to the deportees, the margrave must keep an eye on all of them. If someone speaks in this way: "Give me seed. I will plant it in my field, and further I will add (it) to my food supply," then the margrave must keep an eye on (him). When harvest arrives, he (the margrave?) [is to] harvest that field.
- §45' (KUB 31.84 iii 66'-71') All must be written down for you — the abandoned fields of a craftsman who has left, and those which (are) plots. When, however, they give out deportees, let them promptly assign places to them.²⁰ Keep an eye concerning the matter of building on those who (are) assigned(?) to the fields. Let (things) be built well.
- [§§ 46'-51' are too broken for connected translation.]

¹⁶ By establishing sacrifices for them.

¹⁷ Or: "Pay attention to them in all things."

¹⁸ Suggested translation of *išhuesšar* by Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. (personal communication).

¹⁹ Or "inspector." See CHD L-N 369 sub *nakkiyahh*-2.c for discussion and a collated reading of the text different from von Schuler.

²⁰ Text: "him."

§51' (iv 13'-20') Investigate thoroughly the palaces (and) dignitaries' houses which (are) in your province, whether someone has damaged anything or taken anything, or (if) someone has sold something, or (if) someone has broken into a granary or killed any of the king's cattle, or eaten (from) the granaries and then falsified the record tablets. Keep careful account of these (things).		winter (and) of harvest. Let the soup-places ²² be well looked after. Let ice be collected, and let an ice storage house be built. ²³
§52' (iv 21'-26') Or (if) someone has taken something away from the servants, the margrave must arrest him and send him into His Majesty's presence. He must keep an eye on the king's cattle in winter. Support ²¹ the work of		§53' (iv 27'-?) Keep account of the plantings of the vegetable garden(s) and fields. Let them be enclosed (with fences). The portion which (is) for the <i>pirešhanna</i> -cattle, let them eat that portion. [The remainder of the paragraph is partially or completely broken away.] §54' [Only one sign remains of this paragraph. Uncertain how many more paragraphs are lost at the end of the tablet.]

²¹ Lit., "stand behind."²² Variant: "and the soup-houses."²³ See Hoffner 1971 for elucidation of this passage and the recognition that it had to do with collecting ice.

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Text: *CTH* 261. Translation: *ANET* 210-211; Goetze 1959a; 1959b; 1960; Hoffner 1971; 1973b; Melchert 1980; von Schuler 1957.

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE ROYAL GUARD (*MEŠEDI PROTOCOL*) (1.85)

Gregory McMahon

The royal bodyguard of the Hittite court are denoted by the Akkadogram *MEŠEDI*. One extant tablet contains instructions for them, primarily detailing their duties as they assume responsibility for the king's safety from the palace staff and as they escort him while he travels. Areas of responsibility are clearly delineated among the officials who see to guarding the palace and the king, primarily certain members of the palace staff, the *MEŠEDI* guard, the men of the golden spear and the gatekeepers. These last carefully monitor the movements of the guard.

The tablet, which is housed in Istanbul, is an unusual and difficult one, primarily because a number of additions in a smaller script were made to the text after its initial composition. Deciding how to fit these into the text of the instructions is a formidable problem. I have followed Güterbock and van den Hout's transliteration (1991), which included a good deal of reconstruction of the text in placing the additions. The text is full of technical terms for various ranks and offices within the Hittite army and bureaucracy, discussion of which continues among Hittitologists. I have in general followed Güterbock and van den Hout in their translation of these terms. These terms are discussed very thoroughly in Beal 1992. I have also in general followed Güterbock and van den Hout in their understanding of technical terms for various structures within the Hittite palace complex; a section of their work is devoted to commentary on architectural terms.

Column I	a 2 Kgs 11:6	
§1 (i 1-8b, 19b-21b) [The first line is broken away, the second partially broken.] [When] the guards [go] up [to the palace], ^a they [parade] before the gatekeepers ^b and courtyard sweepers. They go in and take their place at the courtyard's gates. Their eyes are turned outward, and they cover one courtyard of the palace. ^{1 c} Then (the courtyard sweepers) sweep. (<i>added</i>): In the morning they raise the gate's	b 1 Chr 9:17-27 c 1 Kgs 7:9-12	bolts ² on the outside, but they [...]. The guards [wa]lk in front; they lift them as well as the <i>kuranna</i> -. The bolt of the gatehouse, however, they do not raise. The [guard]s, the gatekeepers, (and) the courtyard sweepers come out. However, if inside, on one side of a building, a bolt (has) not (been) raised, or they are going to open some storehouse and the key (?) ³ is lacking; if a low-ranking member of the palace staff comes out, the

¹ The architectural term *ḫalentu*- has long been debated as to the structure it denotes. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991:59-60) argue convincingly that the *ḫalentu*- building is the palace.² Or "bars;" see Goetze 1960:73.³ The word here is GI, the Sumerogram for "reed." Güterbock and van den Hout's translation "key" is based on context (1991:46, with discus-

	man of the golden spear does not give it to him. (However), when an upper level member of the palace staff comes out, either a commander of ten or an army bailiff (or) a [gual]rd comes, they give the key (?) to that one. If [...] comes out, (then) either a guard or a man of the go[ld]en spear [...] comes and [...] [end of addition]	d 2 Kgs 11:18b-19	willingly.
§2	(i 9-15) The guards take up (their) position in the courtyard of the guards. ^d At the wall which is on the inside, against the palace, twelve guards stand and hold spears. If twelve guards (can) not stand up — either someone (has been) sent on a journey, or someone (has been) given leave (to go) to his home — and there are too many spears, they take away the spears that remain and leave them with the gatekeepers.	e Judg 7:19	§6 (i 33-38) The guard [does not go] to the gate at his own discretion. If he has only to urinate, he walks behind all the guards and says to the guard who is standing in front of him: "I (need to) go to the toilet." (That) guard will speak to the next guard, that one will speak to a man of third rank, and the man of third rank will speak to a man of second rank.
§3	(i 16-19, B-C 1', D-E 1'-5') At the wall, however, which (is) on the gate side, the men of the golden spear are standing. One guard, however, stands near the gates on one side, against the wall of the guard. And one man of the golden spear stands near the gates on the other side, against the wall of the men of the golden spear. They stand the watch in the daytime. ^e [...] But in the courtyard of the guards only a comander of ten of the men of the golden spear is to command. If someone stands (at attention) poorly o[r ...] ... [...] Only the commander of ten of the men of the golden spear com[man]ds them. [...] ... One member [of the palace staff ...] If, however, (it is) a guard, each says [it] to the other. If [...] turns, once again [...] at the wall says the same to [...].	f Deut 25:5-10; Ruth 4:7-8	§7 (i 39-42) The man of second rank, however, will speak to the commander of ten of the guard. If a chief of the guard is in the formation, (that is) he is in the [court]yard of the guard, the commander of [ten of the guar]d brings it (before) the chief of the guard: "He (needs to) go to the toilet." The chief of the guard will say: "He may go."
§4	(i 22-26) When the chief of the guard and the commander of ten of the guards come up: Because the chief of the guard has a staff, when he bows before the Tutelary Deity of the Spear, a guard who is high ranking takes the staff away from him. He places it on the altar. However, the staff which the commander of ten of the guard is holding he gives to a [...] guard, who holds it for him.		§8 (i 43-47) If, however, a bowel movement presses someone, he will tell it one to another, (until) it reaches the chief of the guard: "He (needs to) go relieve himself." The chief of the guard will say, "He may go." However, (if) His Majesty notices the guard who is going to relieve himself, (then) the matter of relieving oneself has reached the palace. But he may not go at his own discretion.
§5	(i 27-32) All the [guard]s, however, w[ho] hav[e] staffs: Whenever they come [u]p, the g[uard]s surrender [the staffs to the g]atekeeper. If, however, the king [does not designate a man], he [does not send] out a palace attendant, guard, or man of the golden spear. [If,] however, the king does designate [him], he sen[ds] him out. If, [however,] it (is) the last man, ⁴ he does not sen[d] him out		§9 (i 48-52) A guard does not step into the portico ⁵ on his own. If, however, he does step (in) on his own, the gatekeeper will become angry at him (and say) "Either go up, or else go down." If, however, a guard goes out through the portico, he carries (his) spear through the portico, but (when) he arrives at the postern, he leaves the spear with the gatekeeper, and he goes on down.
			§10 (i 53-59) If, however, a guard slips away and takes (his) spear down through the postern, the gatekeeper shall seize him in (his) offence, and shall loosen his shoes. ^f If however, the guard fools the gateman and takes (his) spear down, and the gatekeeper does not see him, the guard will seize the gatekeeper in (his) fault, (and say) "Since you did not see the spear, if some man tried to enter, how would you see him?" They will inform the palace about him, and they will question the gatekeeper. That (much) care regards the spears.
			§11 (i 60-63) The guards (and) the palace staff do not go down through the main gate. They are to go down through the postern. One guard who is escorting a defendant, (or) someone whom the commander of messengers sends

sion).

^d Or with Güterbock and van den Hout (1991:9) "a [lowly(?)]] man."

^e The Hittite is ^h*hīlammār*, which has been thought to be a gatehouse. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991:60) note that the ^h*hīlammār* itself has a gate, and suggest that it is a pillared hall or portico.

- out, he may go down through the main (gate). Lords and commanders of a thousand also may go down through the main (gate).
- §12 (i 64-69) When, however, the king goes out, one palace attendant comes out of the palace and calls out "*Tahaya*" in Hattic. *Tahaya* (is what) they call the barber in Hattic. A guard, a man of the golden spear, and a gatekeeper go to the gatehouse. They lift off the doorbolt from the main gate. They open the doors inward, and the man of the [gold]en spear [...] ... The barber, however, holds a *galama*- and wipes off the doors.
- §12a (i 69-74) The grooms turn the carriage, but the guards step next to the vestibule⁶ on the right. If, however, in some city setting up on the right (is) not possible, they take their place on the left. What (is) constant (is) their setting up next to the vestibule. The guard who holds the stool [...] for the carriage lets no one in or out. They leave from the court of the guards.
- §13 (i 75-77) Two *zinzinuil*- men stand (there). They hold maces [and ...] An officer of the army stands with them; he [holds] a staff.⁸ Further, they are clothed in [go]od [clothes], like *hīlammi*- men. They [...]
- §14 (i 78-89) [After] that (there is) an interval of [one] IKU,⁷ (then) two m[en]... stand]. They hold [...] [Two more illegible lines to the bottom of the column.]
- Column II
- §15 (ii 1-4) After that (there is) again an interval of one IKU [...] Two men of a field army unit are standing. With them stand [a commander of a field unit] and an army bailiff. [They hold ... , and they] (are) walking before [the king].^h
- §16 (ii 5-8) After that again (there is) an interval of one IKU. [...] stand and hold spears. With them stand [a commander of a field unit] and an army bailiff. They hold sticks. They (are) walking before the king.
- §17 (ii 9-14) Two officers of the spear-men, however, sta[nd] on the right opposite the king. They do not hold spears. A man of the golden spear [stands] wi[th] them]. He holds a gold-plated [spe]ar. The palace attendant of the spear, however, holds a [...], a whip, and the *sistrum*⁸ of the carriage. He (is) walking in front of [the king]. He goes and takes his place on the left of the carriage, next to the wheel.
- §18 (ii 15-19) The guard sets up the stool. The king comes forth. The chief of the palace staff
- §19 (ii 20-25) The man of the golden spear who stood with them, however, ... [...]. But the palace attendant of the spear gives the whip to the chief of the palace staff. The chief of the palace staff gives it to the king. The chief groom (is) walking in front of the carriage; he holds a staff. And when the carriage moves out, the chief of the palace staff bows after it, and gives over the king to the chief of the guards.
- §20 (ii 26-31) The guard, however, who holds the stool, marches with the palace attendant of the spear at the wheel of the carriage on the left side. But when it reaches the gatehouse, he steps behind a *widuli*- . When the guards and palace staff are lined up with him, he gives the stool to the ma[n] of the st[ool]. He takes a spear and marches with the guards.
- §21 (ii 32-38) While the guards march, two guards (are) walking in front. They hold spears, and they (are) in formation. [On] (their) left a palace attendant marches, carrying a lituus. He also (is) in formation with the two g[uard]s, so the three of them together (are) in formation. The guards (and) the [palace] attendants march in three groups: two groups of guards and one of palace attendants. They march one IKU behind the carriage.
- §22 (ii 39-43) One palace attendant, however, goes; the supply officer gives him one strung bow, enclosed in a case, (and) one quiver (*added*: of a spear-man) filled with arrows.ⁱ He goes behind, and moves along separated from the guards and palace attendants. He goes and takes his place at the left wheel of the carriage.
- §23 (ii 44-46) After that (there is) an interval of one IKU. (Then) a man of the golden spear holds a plated spear, and the physician holds a *sistrum*(?). They march together, and the physician recites spells.
- §24 (ii 47-50) After that (there is) an interval of one IKU. (Then) two spear-men march. They (are) either high-ranking or low-ranking officers. They are clothed in good ceremonial garments (and) shoes like *hīlammi*- officials. A chief of the spear-men and an army bailiff march with them. They hold staffs.
- §25 (ii 51-55) After that (there is) again an interval of one IKU. Then two men of a field unit

⁶ The Hittite term *arkiu*- denotes some kind of structure near the door. See Güterbock and van den Hout's discussion (1991:61-64).

⁷ See Melchert (1980:50-56) for discussion of this procession and his use of it for determining the length of an IKU as fifteen meters.

⁸ Güterbock and van den Hout (1991:50-51) discuss the evidence that a *as mukar* makes noise and the reasons for positing "*sistrum*."

march. They hold spears and (are) either high-ranking or low-ranking officers. They are clothed in good ceremonial garments (and) shoes like *hīlammi*-officials. A field unit commander and an army bailiff march with them. They hold staffs. / 2 Kgs 11:14

§26 (ii 56-59) After that (there is) again an interval of one IKU. Then two men of a field unit march, holding spears. They are clothed in good ceremonial garments (and) shoes like *hīlammi*-officials. A field unit commander (and) an army bailiff march with them. They hold staffs(?).

§27 (ii 60-63) The soldiers who (are) from a field unit keep the peaceful (crowd) lined up on the side.⁹ The left (group) keep (it) lined up on the left, the right (group) keep (it) lined up on the right. They march three IKU apart. If, however, somewhere ahead of one the road (is) narrow, he moves in tighter.

§28 (ii 64-67) Then if someone of the first (two) allows something in — whether horses or an out of control ox, it (is) the fault of the first one. If, however, some one of the last (two) allows something in, it (is) the fault of the last one.

§29 (ii 68-75) [If], however, they bring in a defendant, ... [...] ... spears. Him ... [...] They set up [...] [Five lines lost at the end of column ii.]

Column III

§30 (iii 1-5) [The guard who [brings in] the defendants [takes his place] behind the man of the golden spear. [But when] the king requests a case, the guard [picks] it [out] and pl[aces] it in the hand of the chief of the guard. He tells the chief of the guard [what] the case (is), but the chief of the guard [tells the king].

§31 (iii 6-11) Then the chief of the guard goes, and two lo[rds stand⁹] behind him; whether chiefs of chariot-fighters or commanders of ten, they stand [behind] the chief of the guard. One (man) holds the outside, whether a gu[ard or] some official. The guard who brings in the defendants runs back. He goes and takes his place (next) to the man of the golden spear. Then they pick out one case.¹⁰

§32 (iii 12-16) The chief of the palace staff, however, stands with the palace staff. Behind him stand two members of the palace staff; they are three. When they release a defendant, however, the chief of the guard stays in

(his) place, but the two lords who stand behind him (*added*: either lords o[r] gu[ards,]) they go back and rejoin the guards.

§33 (iii 17-22) But when the guard who holds the outside brings in another defendant, the two lords who stand behind the chief of the guard march beside the defendant on the inside. The guard who holds the outside, however, goes behind the defendant when they line up the defendant with the guards. He walks on the outside of the defendant, on (his) right.

§34 (iii 23-26) If, however, a palace attendant brings in a message later, he comes in on the left only, behind the palace attendants. But when he comes back, he comes the same way, but he comes across in front of the guards.

§35 (iii 27-30) The guard who goes behind (him) goes on the right behind the guard. He goes back the same way, on the right. However, he does not go in front of the guards. He goes with the palace attendant.

§36 (iii 31-34) If, however, a defendant is standing (there), but (there is) a case for a guard or for a palace attendant, he does not go in front of the defendant. He goes behind him, and takes his place with the guard who holds the outside.

§37 (iii 35-40) But if the king calls out some foreign soldiers,¹¹ either soldiers of the enemy Kaška, or soldiers of Kummaha or whatever soldiers, all the guards go behind (them). If, however, the spears prove to be too few for them, they take spears away from the spear-men and (then) go behind. They call that "encircling."

§38 (iii 41-46) Armed with staffs, however, they do not go behind, it (is) not proper for them. If someone among the guards who remain has no spear, because they (can) take (only) staffs, they are not to be formed up with the pal[ace] attendant of the lituus. Two different palace attendants step forward into for[ma]-tion with him. The guards however who are holding staffs [wal]k [behind(?)] them.

§39 (iii 47-50) If however a *hazannu*¹² or commander of army bailiffs [is part of the for-]mation, they¹³ form up with them. For them it (is) proper. However, [if] they go behind the carriage, [they] may not go behind (it) armed (thus) with staffs; they take spears.

⁹ Or "walk."

¹⁰ That is, the next one.

¹¹ ERIN.MEŠ, "soldiers," can also mean simply "people." Güterbock and van den Hout (1991:55) note that this may refer to foreign peoples being brought to court.

¹² See Güterbock and van den Hout (1991:55) for commentary on *HAZANNU* and the difficulties with the translation "mayor."

¹³ The guards who were forced to walk behind because they only had staffs.

- §40 (iii 51-54) When the defendants have been completed, when the last defendant whom they escort out goes in front, the guard who brings the defendants says to the chief of the guard (*added*: or to ... (or) to the guard who holds the inside): "It (the group of defendants) has been encircled." The chief of the guard, (*added*: or the commander of ten guards or the army bailiff) tells the king. "It is completed."
- §41 (iii 55-59) If the king requests a chariot, a guard brings the stool and places it. The king grasps the chariot.¹⁴ The guard (responsible) for finishing (the process) holds a staff and takes the right horse by the bit in (his) right hand. With (his) left, however, he holds a *kapur*¹⁵ along with the staff. He holds the chariot down in front (so that) it does not tip.¹⁶
- §42 (iii 60-62) The guards give the spears which they are holding to the groom [...]. When the carriage gets back home the groom gives the spears to the gatekeeper. He takes them up to the portico.
- §42a (iii 63-65) If, however, (the king) returns by carriage, one guard waves with a spear to the guards and to the palace attendants and speaks thus in Hittite: "Over to the side."
- §43 (iii 66-70) The guards and palace attendants run around to the rear, and the grooms [reach(?)] over the left mule and turn the carriage around. The spears, however, of the spear-men and field unit men turn around; (thus) the first becomes the last.
- §44 (iii 71-75) He (the king) goes to the palace by carriage. [As] he draws near the gates, the chanters [and] the [reciter fall in] behind the spears of the spear-men. When the chanters [come] within the gates they cry out "Welcome!" The reciter, however, does not [cry out].
- §45 (iii 76-78) When, however, the carriage[']s mules] reach [the gates,] the chanters [and the reciter] cry out.
- Column IV
- §46 (iv 1-7) [Men of] the city *Ḫaḫḫa* (are) walking behind. The spear[s] of the spear-men and [of the men] of the golden spear (are) walking in front, but the men of *Ḫaḫḫa* [ma]rch behind and sing. When however, the chanters come within the [gate]s of the portico, they cry out "Welcome!" although the reciter [sti]ll does not cry out. However,
- when the mules reach the gates, the chanters and the reciter cry out. They they go down through the postern.
- §47 (iv 8-13) When just half [of] the spear-men has gone through the portico, it goes into that (place) where the spear-men (normally) go (after having) put down (their) spears. But a guard takes the stool and detaches himself from the palace attendants on the left. He walks to the wheel on the left side. When they turn the carriage, he sets up the stool.
- §48 (iv 14-17) The men of *Ḫaḫḫa* (during this) are quiet. They do not come up to the gates [of the palace]. If (there are) two por[ticoes, however,] they come up to the lower gate. They do not, however, come up to the upper gate.
- §49 (iv 18-24d) When the king steps down from the carriage, if a chief of the guard is standing (there), the chief of the guard prostrates himself behind (the king). He hands the king back over to the palace chief of staff. If, however, some other dignitary is lined up there in the front line, he (also) prostrates himself. But if no high dignitary is lined up there, the guard who is standing (there) prostrates himself. (*added*): Whenever he (the king) goes somewhere via chariot, however: When the king step[s] down from the chariot, [the chief of the guard along with the guards prostrates himself behind the king. The guard (responsible) for finishing up prostrates himself opposite the right wheel of the chariot. The chariot driver, however, prostrates himself opposite the left wheel.
- §50 (iv 25-27) The king goes [into] the palace. A guard, a man of the golden spear, (and) a gatekeeper g[o] in. They [come] up from the main gatehouse. They throw the doorbolt.
- §51 (iv 29-30) The man of the golden spear leaves the plated spear which he holds in the courtyard where the guards normally step into the inner chamber.
- §52 (iv 31-33) However, the guards who [hold] spears go out to the courtyard of the guards and take up (their) [position]. They stand there, hold[ing] spears. They do not put [them down].
- §53 (iv 34-36) The guard, however, whom they [send(?)] goes out, holding a spear. He [comes down from(?)] the palace. But [when] he arrives at the postern, [he leaves] (his) spear with the gatekeeper [at the portico].

¹⁴ Güterbock and van den Hout (1991:29) suggest "mounts," which is certainly the correct sense.

¹⁵ Probably not the tongue of the chariot, for which the Hittite is *ḫiṣṣa*-. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991:74) suggest "yoke peg(?)."

¹⁶ This paragraph contains a number of unusual or unique words. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991:56) comment on several of these words and give a good overview of evidence for their translation and the overall sense of the passage, much of which is translated on the basis of context.

Ditto (i.e. he goes [out].) §54 (iv 37-39) As soon as [the food] is done¹⁷ the footman [brings] from the ki[tchen ...] (and) one cooked joint. And from the creamery [he brings] one pitcher of [sweet milk]. He gives [it to] the guards, and they eat it. §55 (iv 40-41) They give [...], one cooked joint, (and) one pitcher of sweet milk to the palace attendants also. And [they eat] it. §56 (iv 42-44) But when [...] comes [into the] inn[er chamber]. He calls out as follows to the man [of the golden spear and (?) ... in Hitti]te: "[Let] them bring [it]." §57 (iv 45-46) However, the man of the golden	spear [...] calls out as follows to the spear-men in Luwian: ["..."] §58 (iv 47-49) A spear-man, however, [takes] a spe[ar]. The bronze (blade) [of the spear (is) tu[rned] down. He goes into the kitchen. [The spear-man(?)] speaks as follows: "To the inner chamber [...]." §59 (iv 50-52) Then the spear-man [...]. The bronze (blade) of the spear, however, [is turned] up[ward ...] The [...] man [...] [of(?)] the palace [...] Colophon (iv 53) First tablet of the Rules of the Guard. Not finished.
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¹⁷ Lit., "becomes good."

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Text: *CTH* 262; IBoT 1.36; Jakob-Rost 1965; Güterbock and van den Hout 1991. Discussion: Alp 1940; Beal 1992; Goetze 1960; Melchert 1980; von Schuler 1957.

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WEST SEMITIC CANONICAL COMPOSITIONS

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A. DIVINE FOCUS

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1. UGARITIC MYTHS

THE BA^cLU MYTH (1.86)

Dennis Pardee

The Ba^clu myth constitutes, by its length and relative completeness, the most important literary work preserved from those produced by the West Semitic peoples in the second millennium BCE. Before the discovery of this and related lesser works in the third and fourth decades of this century, virtually all our knowledge of West Semitic religious beliefs came from later descriptions emanating from cultures more or less alien to the one in which these myths were recounted, e.g., the Hebrew Bible or Philo of Byblos as preserved by the fourth-century (CE) Christian writer Eusebius. More recent discoveries show that the Ugaritic form of the Ba^clu myth had a long prehistory among the Amorite peoples (Durand 1993; Bordreuil and Pardee 1993). The presence in the Hebrew Bible of motifs similar to those in the Ugaritic myths indicates the existence of a Canaanite mythology very similar to the Amorite one, though determining the degree of similarity awaits the discovery of texts like the Ugaritic ones at a southern site.

The discovery of the Ugaritic mythological texts, in poetic form, has already demonstrated the high degree of similarity between second millennium poetic conventions in the northern part of the Syro-Palestinian area, surely descended from the old Amorite poetic tradition, and those of the Canaanite areas in the first millennium, visible in the poetic sections of the Hebrew Bible. The organization of a poem by parallel lines forming verses of two or three line-segments ("bicola" and "tricola") appears to be characteristic of poetry throughout the old Northwest Semitic area. Though meter in the strict sense of the term appears absent from all these traditions, the parallel lines are everywhere characterized by terseness and roughly comparable length.¹

In spite of formal differences among them, the six tablets translated here are considered by most scholars to have originally belonged to a single work that would have consisted of some 2350 lines, approximately 1500 poetic verses.² At one evidential extreme is the fact that the text is manifestly continuous from the last line of CTA 5 to the first of CTA 6; at the other is the fragmentary nature of CTA 1 and CTA 2, the latter consisting of two fragments that are not even certainly from the same tablet. The principal formal dissimilarity is in the number of columns in which the text is written on the tablets: CTA 1, 3, 5, and 6 are arranged in three columns per side, while CTA 2 apparently was in two columns (judging from the width of the one well-preserved column), and CTA 4 was in four columns per side. On the other hand, a virtually certain point of similarity is the script: CTA 4 and 6 bear a colophon identifying the scribe as ²Ilmilku, a very high priestly official in the court of one of the kings named Niqmaddu,³ and the script of all six texts appears to be identical, making it highly probable that ²Ilmilku inscribed them all. But did he write them and intend them as a sequence, or do some of these tablets belong to another sequence or to none at all? There is simply no empirical answer to that question,⁴ and the approach to the problem is therefore usually a literary one, which can be rephrased as another question: Can the six tablets be organized into a meaningful narrative sequence? To this question most scholars have responded positively, though the form of the response and

¹ See the bibliography in Pardee 1988c, where one Ug. poem and one Heb. poem are analyzed in detail.

² From the epigraphic perspective, everything militates against the various hypotheses proposing that RS 24.245 be attached to CTA 3 (cf. Pardee 1988a: 129, n. 20; Smith 1994: 3-4). Whether, from a textual/literary perspective, RS 24.245 could be an extract from CTA 3, written by a different scribe in a different format, it is difficult to say.

³ In CTA 4 the scribe's name is restored, but the restoration is likely because the end of the colophon corresponds to that of ²Ilmilku. For a recent defense of the traditional dating of ²Ilmilku, the most famous of Ug. scribes, to the time of Niqmaddu II (middle 14th century), see van Soldt 1991: 27-29. As is clear from van Soldt's arguments on these pages in comparison with his analysis of the stratigraphy of and tablets found in the High Priest's house (pp. 213-20), where most of the tablets signed by ²Ilmilku were found, the dating of the scribe who consigned to writing the Ug. myths is contingent on identifying him with another scribe, whose name appears to have been identical, responsible for three Akk. texts (in these texts his name is written logographically as ²AN.LUGAL). Should one wish, however, to dispute the identity of the two scribes, there is certainly nothing in the stratigraphy of the High Priest's house, which was in use until the destruction of the city in ca. 1186 BCE, to preclude that ²Ilmilku may have served under a later Niqmaddu. Such an hypothesis may even be bolstered by the recent discovery in the house of Urtenu of a fragment of a tablet written by ²Ilmilku, for Urtenu was an official in royal service at the end of the thirteenth century (Bordreuil and Pardee, forthcoming; the text, to be edited by A. Caquot and A.-S. Dalix, is RS 1992.2016). For Urtenu see also below, Text 1.100.

⁴ The only obvious negative point is the matter of differences in number of columns per tablet already mentioned. The ²Aqhatu cycle seems to show that that is not a significant criterion, for one of the three tablets preserved of that cycle is in three columns per side (CTA 17), while the other two (CTA 18, 19) are arranged in two columns per side. Because the name ²Aqhatu appears on all three tablets, and in no other Ug. poem, it must be assumed that the three tablets recount, at the very least, episodes from the hero's life, and it is likely that the three tablets constitute a true narrative sequence (see text 1.103). Consistent use of an archival introduction (it would be *l b^cl* on these tablets, as is shown

the related organization of the six tablets have varied.⁵ The order most commonly accepted in recent years is followed here. It assumes that, for reasons not made clear in the text in its present state, ²Ilu, the head of the Ugaritic pantheon, at one time favors Yammu/Naharu, the god of bodies of water, but he allows Ba^clu to challenge Yammu; Ba^clu defeats his rival, then orders the construction of his own royal palace; Môtu, the god of death, challenges Ba^clu and eventually brings about his death; after a time in the underworld, Ba^clu returns to life. There appears to be a substantial qualitative difference between the kingship for which Ba^clu and Yammu vie and that of the other deities in this text who are ascribed kingship: each of these exercises kingship in his own way and in his own sphere (²Ilu, Ba^clu, ^cAttaru, and Môtu are the four others who are described as kings), whereas Yammu and Ba^clu appear to be in competition for the same kingship. We have information from these texts on the domains over which Ba^clu, ^cAttaru, and Môtu rule (see notes 50, 98, 250), but no specific data on Yammu's sphere of kingship. From the projection that Ba^clu gives of his defeat of Yammu (CTA 2 iv, up to line 5), we may plausibly infer that Yammu's kingdom corresponded to his name, i.e., the sea. If so, how is it that he and Ba^clu are vying for the kingship in a sense that is not true of Ba^clu and ^cAttaru or Ba^clu and Môtu? Two considerations for the formulation of a response: (1) Whatever the nature of ^cAttaru's kingship, that deity is negligible as a world power (CTA 6 i 56-67), while Yammu is a powerful foe to be defeated in battle (CTA 2 iv); (2) Yammu has a palace, location unknown, though it is unlikely that it is on the 'heights of Šapānu' where Ba^clu eventually had his palace built (CTA 4). Plausibly, therefore, Yammu's palace was in the sea, while Ba^clu's dwelling was on the heights of Šapānu, and the question was which of these two features of the earth was the appropriate place from which to exercise executive authority over the entire earth.

Because the myth deals with Ba^clu, the principal weather god of the Levantine peoples, and his vicissitudes, most authorities have interpreted the cycle as somehow reflecting the vegetative cycle, though the approaches have varied considerably.⁶ The symbolism apparent in the divine names appears to demand some form of naturalistic approach, though the precise interpretation of each element, as well as the overall interpretation of the myth, may be in doubt. Particularly problematic is the negative rôle, parallel to that of the god of death, of the watery elements, who are presented as enemies of Ba^clu, for in a naturalistic interpretation, such bodies of water might be seen as in cooperation with the god that produces rain, rather than inimical to him. Some scholars avoid the problem of conceptual origins and satisfy themselves with a description of the antiquity and broad spread of the motif; others consider that it is the superficial phenomenon of the effects of a storm on a body of water that is reflected in the mythological motif of animosity. Perhaps an appeal to the destructive aspect of the dual nature of water, beneficent in reasonable quantities, harmful when overly abundant or in turmoil, is in order. The explanation of the enmity of Ba^clu and Yammu/Naharu as reflecting the rôle of water in a cosmological myth (Smith 1994:84-87) deserves further attention, but Smith does not explain why the enemy is Yammu/Naharu rather than one of the entities designated by the root *thm* (cf. Tiamat in the Mesopotamian version and *ṯhōm* in the Hebrew one; on forms of *thm* in Ugaritic, see below, note 45). It, in any case, only pushes the question back a stage: one must still ask why these watery forces were seen as the enemy of the creator deity (probably ²Ilu at Ugarit, though no cosmological myth is yet attested). An explanation by social/agricultural systems, i.e. dry farming vs. irrigation, does not appear plausible, for the salt sea (*ym*), unsuitable for irrigation, is clearly the principal antagonist of Ba^clu (the opposition of dry farming and irrigation is more appropriately evoked to explain the contrasted rôles of Ba^clu and ^cAttaru [see notes 48, 245, 250]).

by CTA 6 i 1) or of a colophon may be demonstrated by CTA 5 and 6 to be an invalid criterion for deciding whether a tablet belongs to a sequence or not, for CTA 6 has both, while CTA 5 has neither, though it is indubitable that the two tablets bore a single continuous text. The data on the other tablets are: CTA 4, 16, and 17 have a colophon on the left edge that identifies the scribe (none of these colophons is identical to the others); CTA 6 has a scribal colophon at the end of the text; CTA 19 has a sort of colophon at the end of the text, but it is textual in nature ("Here is where to resume the story") rather than scribal; CTA 5, 14, and 18 have no colophon, neither at the end of the text nor on the left edge; no colophon is visible on the extant left edge of CTA 2, 3, tablets from which the end of the tablet has disappeared. The facts that CTA 6 has the longest colophon of this series and that it is placed at the end of the tablet with some space to spare may indicate that this tablet constituted for ²Ilmilku the last one in this cycle. The nature of the notation at the end of CTA 19 seems to indicate that that tablet was not considered to be the last of the ²Aqhatu cycle; the placement of the colophon on the left margin of CTA 16, its brevity, and the content of the text itself indicate that that tablet was not the last in the Kirta cycle. An element often omitted in the discussion of whether these six tablets constitute a literary unity is the indisputable fact that, up to the present, no single instance of a duplicate mythological text is known: there are clear instances of brief "quotations" from known texts (cf. Pardee 1988a:119-164, 257-260, 265) and there are clear instances of formulaic repetition in different texts (e.g., in CTA 7 as compared with CTA 3 ii-iii). But it nonetheless appears beyond the realm of plausibility that the six tablets known today of the Ba^clu cycle would come from "two versions of the Baal Cycle" (Smith 1994:12) and yet show no overlapping text.

⁵ See the chart and detailed discussion in Smith 1994:2-15.

⁶ Smith has provided useful overviews (1986; 1994:58-114). Contrast particularly the approach of de Moor 1971 — very precisely seasonal — as compared with Bordreuil 1991 and Yon 1989, 1990 — more broadly symbolic. See also the critique of the Frazerian approach by Walls 1992.

CTA 1⁷² *Ilu Sends Messengers to ʿAnatu* (ii ?-13)⁸[Now you shall head off
to ʿInbubu,⁹Through a thousand courts,
ten thousand¹⁰At the feet of ʿAnatu bow and fall,
do homage and honor her.⁶a Pss 29:1-2;
86:9; 96:8-9;
1 Chr 16:28-29
b 2 Kgs 19:21;
Jer 18:13;
31:4, 21;
Amos 5:2
Lam 2:13
c Deut 25:7,9
d Deut 32:6;
e Gen 30:14;
Cant 7:14Say to Girl ʿAnatu,¹¹ ^brepeat to the sister-in-law^c of Li²mu:¹²Message of the Bull, your father ʿIlu,^d
word of the Gracious One, your sire:¹³Present bread offerings in the earth,
place love-offerings^e in the dust;Pour well-being out into the earth,
calmness¹⁴ into the fields.¹⁵

⁷ CTA = Herdner 1963. See also KTU 1.1 = Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín 1976 (the other texts in this cycle are in the same order as in CTA). The *editio princeps* was by Virolleaud 1938:91-102. If this tablet belongs to the Baʿlu cycle, one may surmise that only a bit over a quarter of the original number of lines has been even partially preserved (about 120/400). On the problems of the relationship of this tablet to the others, see remarks above and Smith 1994:14-19. Portions of two columns are preserved in this fragment which the editor (Virolleaud 1938:91) described as coming from the center or lower right corner of the tablet; the first placement would imply a text arranged in two columns per side, the second, three columns per side, of which the first would have been totally lost. Herdner (1963:1) claimed that she could confirm that the text was originally in three columns, but left open the question of the recto/verso orientation. Smith (1994:20) followed Herdner. In fact, however, the recto/verso orientation should be easily verifiable by the curvature of the tablet, for the verso is usually more curved than the recto because the corners of the recto sag and the recto thus becomes flat during the time required to inscribe the verso (see, for example, the photograph of CTA 4 in Herdner 1963:pl. X). Unfortunately, I know of no published photograph of the tablet in side view. Given Virolleaud's unequivocal statement, I prefer to assume that he, a practiced epigrapher, had checked the curvature of the tablet (though this does not explain why he missed what should be the almost equally obvious indications provided by the thickness of the fragment at various points for its original number of columns). To make sense of the discussions of this question, the reader must be aware that multi-columned tablets were inscribed from left to right on the recto, the final column on the right side of the recto continued around the lower edge and onto the verso, then the additional columns on the verso proceeded from right to left. Thus, in a text written in three columns per side, cols. i and vi will be opposite each other on the left side of the tablet, recto and verso respectively, with the lower edge left uninscribed between them; cols. ii and v will be arranged in like manner in the center of the tablet; cols. iii and iv will be on the right side of the tablet, usually with the text inscribed continuously around the lower edge of the tablet, making the division between these two columns somewhat arbitrary.

⁸ The first seven-plus verses have disappeared entirely, but may be plausibly reconstructed on the basis of lines 14-22 (and, more distantly, by comparison with CTA 3 iii 6-15 [lines 9-18 in my numbering]).

⁹ The Liturgy against Venomous Reptiles (text 1.94 below) shows clearly that ʿInbubu is ʿAnatu's principal dwelling, for there (l. 20) the messenger is told to go to ʿAnatu in ʿInbubu, and, as we know from most of the addresses in that text, they represent the deities' principal seat of residence. Though ʿInbubu is known to be a mountain, its geographical location has not been identified. Below, in CTA 3 iv 78 (line 81 in my numbering), ʿinbb is in parallel with ʿugr, surely a further indication of where ʿAnatu's dwelling was located, but also presently unidentified.

¹⁰ The attested formula for expressing the distance of a deity's journey is ʿalp 3d rbt kmn (see note 21). In this case, the first elements are ʿalp hgr (line 14), but the parallel phrase has disappeared.

¹¹ ʿAnatu's title *btl* has elicited enormous discussion. The English word "virgin" is inappropriate as a translation because it emphasizes lack of sexual experience, while *btl* refers rather to an age/maturity category and to the social norms and cultural overtones associated with that category. For a compact bibliography, see Pardee 1987:382 and 1989-90:464-466, and for a meaningful discussion, see Walls 1992.

¹² *ybm Pimm* is a much-discussed title of ʿAnatu. As in the title of the deity Mōtu, *bn ʿilm*, "son of ʿIlu" (rather than "son of the gods"), the second element of this divine epithet bears the enclitic *-m* (*ybm Pimm*). This solution appears preferable to the nonsensical translation "sister-in-law of the peoples/thousand (gods)." Li²mu is an old divinity of the Amorite world, poorly attested at Ugarit except in this title. For bibliography, see Pardee 1989-90:459, 464-466.

¹³ The title of "Bull" (*tr*) is used principally of ʿIlu in Ug. texts and is usually linked explicitly with the concept of fatherhood (*tr ʿil ʿab*); the child may be either another deity or a semi-divine being such as Kirta (see note 13 to text 1.102). This is ʿIlu's principal title, with the widest attestations in the mythological texts (for some bibliographical elements, see Pardee 1987:456; 1989-90:434-436). *ltpn htk* is a variant of the formula *ltpn ʿil d pʿid* (see below, note 28). *ltpn* denotes a quality of character, *htk* a familial relationship, usually interpreted as belonging to the realm of fatherhood/sonship or daughtership because *htk* is replaced in similar formulae by *bn* (as in *htk dgn* [CTA 10 iii 35] for the usual *bn dgn*). Another noun from the same root is used in the Kirta text (CTA 15 i 10 [text 1.102]) for the "family" of Kirta. For bibliography on *htk*, see Pardee 1987:398. ʿIlu is consistently depicted in these texts as an old man with grey hair and beard. Though he is consulted for the wisdom of his decisions (e.g. CTA 3 v 38-39 [here 29-30]; 4 iv 41-43, v 65-66), his old age also makes him vulnerable to the threats of ʿAnatu (CTA 3 v 9-11, 32-33 [here 1-3, 24-25]).

¹⁴ The precise meaning of all four terms functioning as objects of the verbs has been debated: *mlhmt* could have to do either with bread (*lhm*) or with the verb "to fight" (now attested in RIH 78/12:9, 21), while *ddym* could be related to the Semitic word for "love" or have another etymology; *šlm* could mean "peace" in the narrow sense of the word (absence of warfare) or have its more common broader meaning of "well-being," while ʿarbdd, here translated "calmness," has been the object of multiple explanations, none of which may be judged certain. The function of antonymic parallelism in such an address would be difficult to explain, for, though the purpose of the plea is to convince ʿAnatu to leave off her war-like ways, the phrases "present war ... place love," can hardly mean "dispense with war and put love in its place." Moreover, in spite of the difficulty of ʿarbdd, most scholars have seen synonymous parallelism in the second verse; if *mlhmt* denotes warfare, therefore, the macroparallelism would be ABBB. For a detailed discussion, see Smith 1994:202-208 (I find the explanation of *ddym* by Egyptian *ddy* dubious because the narrative function of the word is different in the two literatures: in the Egyptian text cited *ddy* is poured out by other deities with the purpose of tricking the goddess into leaving off warfare, whereas here she is asked to pour it out herself — if it is the same word, someone has misunderstood the function of the substance in the other story).

¹⁵ Lit., "liver of the earth // liver of the fields." It is clear from the text below where ʿAnatu searches for Baʿlu at the borderland between the netherworld and the land of the living (CTA 5 vi 26-30) that the reference is to a particular point on the earth's surface, rather than to a descent into the earth. In that text the terms denote such a borderland and constitute perhaps something like a "navel of the earth" notion. Because the reference in CTA 5 vi is relatively specific when understood in conjunction with previous descriptions of the place of ingress to Mōtu's domain (CTA 5 vi 3-9, with reference back to v 6-23 and to CTA 4 viii 1-14), one cannot help but wonder whether this text does not also refer to that particular location, i.e., whether these offerings are not depicted as being appropriately made at the "navel of the earth." It appears, in any case, difficult to deny the presence of at least a literary link between this message, which is repeated several times in CTA 1 and 3 (each time with appropriate

Hurry, press, hasten,
to me let your feet [run,
to me let] your legs [hasten;
To Mount X¹⁶ ...]
...¹⁷

*The Envoys Go to ʿAnatu and Deliver ʿIlu's
Message* (ii 13-?)

Then [they head off
to] ʿInbubu,
Through a thousand courts,
[ten thousand ...
At the feet] of ʿAnatu [they bow and fall,
do] homage and [honor her.
They raise their voices and say] aloud:
Message of [the Bull, your father ʿIlu,
word of the] Gracious One, your sire:
[Present bread] offerings [in the earth,]
place [love-offerings] in the dust;
[Pour well-being out] into the earth,
[calmness into the] fields.
Hurry, [press, hasten,
to me] let your [feet] run,
[to me let] your [legs hasten];
To Mount [X ...].
...¹⁸

ʿIlu Sends for Kôtaru-wa-Ḥasîsu (iii 1-16)
[Then they head off

f Deut 2:23;
Jer 47:4;
Amos 9:7
g Job 28:13

to Memphis, (to) the god of it all,¹⁹
(To) Crete²⁰ (which is) the throne [on which he
sits, (to) Memphis (which is) the land of his own
possession²⁰].

Through a thousand yards,
ten [thousand furlongs.²¹
At the feet of Kôtaru] they bow and fall,
they [do homage and honor him].
They say to Kôtaru-[wa-Ḥasîsu,
repeat to Hayyinu²²] the handicrafter:
[Message of the Bull, your father ʿIlu],
word of the Gracious One [...]:
...²³

Hurry, press, hasten,
[to me let your feet run,]
to me let [your] legs hasten;
[To Mount ?], the mountain of KS.²⁴
For [I have something to tell you],
a matter to recount to you:
[Words regarding wood, whisperings regarding
stone],²⁵
conversings of heaven with [earth,
of the deep with the stars];
A matter (which) men cannot know,
[(which) the hordes of the earth cannot
understand].²⁶
Come and I will explain [it (for you)
in Mount X ...²⁶].

repetitions in the message-transmission structure), and the spot where Baʿlu's body is eventually found. Note that the word *kbd*, "liver," is also used in the metaphor for death expressed as entering into the body of Môtu, god of death, where it expresses the end point after entry (CTA 5 ii 3-6).

¹⁶ The word *ḥr̄n* is actually extant in line 23 and partially so in iii 22, but broken in the other occurrences of the formula (here and iii 11). The immediately following word, on the other hand, has not been preserved in any of the passages. Below in iii 12, *ḡr ks*, "the mountain KS," functions as parallel to this formula. All the passages are, unfortunately, too broken to permit a decision as to the relationship between *ḥr̄n* and *ḡr*, apparently two words for "mountain," and as to the status of the word *ks*, whether a name or a qualifier. Unless one accept that *ḡd* also means "mountain" (see below, note 29), these four texts are the only ones in all of Ug. literature that place ʿIlu's dwelling on a mountain. Other texts, including the liturgy against venomous reptiles, organized specifically according to the principal dwellings of the various deities invoked (RS 24.244:2-3 [text 1.94]), emphasize the watery aspect of ʿIlu's abode. See Pope's attempt to locate ʿIlu's home in a place characterized by mountain springs (1955) and Smith's detailed discussion (1994:225-230).

¹⁷ Lines 3b-13 are too broken to translate and there is no parallel text from which to propose a reconstruction. At the end of line 8 appears the verb "to die" (*yamm*) and at the end of line 9 the expression *k ʿil*, which is only attested in expressions for the process of dying as provoked by ʿAnatu (see CTA 18 iv 25, 36; 19 ii 88, 93 "like spittle" [text 1.103]).

¹⁸ If each column was 60-65 lines long, as is the case with the other tablets in this cycle, approximately 35-40 lines are missing between cols. ii and iii, though the distribution of these lines between the bottom of col. ii and the top of col. iii cannot be determined until the placement of the fragment within the outline of the original tablet is better defined.

¹⁹ The phrase *ʿil kth* has been variously explained. Since interpretations based on analyses other than as *kt*, "all," + pronominal suffix, involve various grammatical, orthographic, or syntactic problems, it appears best to interpret the phrase as alluding to the ideological importance of Memphis during and after its decline from political power and as standing thus in a sense for all Egypt. The sacred name of Memphis, *H(w)ḡr-k-ptḥ*, "the house of the ka of (the deity) Ptah" (whence Ug. *hkpt*), became, through Greek, the modern name for Egypt. Because the Greek usage goes back at least to Homer, it does not appear implausible to posit the existence of a similar view at Ugarit. The reference, as is shown clearly by the continuation of this text and by other passages, is to the craftsman deity Kôtaru-wa-Ḥasîsu. The double divine name Kôtaru-wa-Ḥasîsu can appear in full form or just as Kôtaru; in poetic structure it can either be split up in a bicolon or appear as a single unit, which then has as its parallel yet a third name, Hayyinu (as here below, line 4). The double deity can be treated either as a single deity or as a duality (as in CTA 17 v 18-21 [text 1.103]). The home of Kôtaru-wa-Ḥasîsu is fixed either in Egypt (as in CTA 17 v 21-31 [text 1.103]), or in Crete (see RS 24.244:46 [text 1.94]), or in both places (as here and in CTA 3 vi 14-15).

²⁰ Like Heb., *nhlt* in Ug. denotes real property belonging to an individual, whether received by right of succession from one's father or not.

²¹ The words *ḡd*, "field" (cf. Akk. *ḡddu*), and *kmn*, "(a land measure)," are here translated by terms denoting increasing lengths.

²² This name is explained by Arabic *hayyin*^m, "easy, light," which, coupled with following phrase *d ḥr̄ṣ ydm*, lit., "who makes things by hand," denotes facility in craftsmanship.

²³ The beginning of ʿIlu's message, lines 7-9, does not correspond to known formulae and may not, therefore, be reconstructed.

²⁴ See above, note 16.

²⁵ Wood and stone here appear to be Kôtaru-wa-Ḥasîsu's stock in trade as a craftsman deity. When the formulae are repeated by Baʿlu below (CTA 3 iii 20-26), features characteristic of the weather deity are added, in particular, the thunder.

²⁶ Where the passage like this one occurs in CTA 3 iii 26-28, the last invitation is followed by the descriptions of Baʿlu's mountain. One would expect this text to have contained corresponding information for ʿIlu.

Kôtaru-wa-Hasîsu Obeys the Summons (iii 17-end)
Kôtaru-wa-Hasîsu replies:
 [Come, come, attendants of the gods,
 you, you may tarry, but I'm [off
 (From) Crete] for the most distant of gods,
 (from) Memphis [for the most distant of deities]:
 By double stretches below [the springs of the earth,
 triple lengths] (in) the low places.²⁷
 So off he [heads,
 towards the Gracious One], the kindly god,²⁸
 to Mount [?, the mountain of KS].
 He penetrates Ilu's abode,
 [enters the dwelling²⁹ of the King], father of

h Ps 93:3-4

Šunama;³⁰

At [Ilu's feet he bows and falls],
 does homage [and honors him.

...]

the Bull Ilu [...]

...³¹Ilu's Feast (iv)³²Unknown (v)³³CTA 2³⁴Yammu's Message (i 11-19)³⁵

Yammu sends messengers,

[Ruler Naharu³⁶ sends an embassy].^h

²⁷ The meaning and interpretation of these formulae expressing great distances are uncertain. They are used for distances both across land and, as here, across water, and they are descriptive of the travel of various deities. The terms "below/under the springs (or: furrows) of the earth" (*h̄t nt ʾars*) and "(in) the low places" (*gyrm*) seem to indicate that the deities were thought capable of traveling the underground aquifers. One must either adopt this interpretation or else assume that formulae appropriate for travel across land (hence "down amongst the springs/furrows of the earth") were used conventionally for travel between two places separated by water (cf. Pardee 1980:278; Smith 1994:183-184).

²⁸ *l̄pn ʾil d pʾid* is one of the titles of Ilu. The 1st element is etymologically related to Arabic *laṭīf*, a title of Allah, while the 2nd has also an Arabic cognate, the root *fʿd* denoting aspects of the heart as an organ and seat of various abstract concepts (mind, spirit, courage...). Without usages closer to Ug. it is impossible to know whether it there denoted primarily courage or generosity (cf. "big-hearted"), or some other notion.

²⁹ The terms here for Ilu's dwellings are the standard ones, *dd* and *qrš* (to which may be added *ahl*, "tent"). These terms have an archaic flavor about them (not *bt*, "house," *hkl*, "palace," *h̄zr*, "court" — such terms are used elsewhere only rarely of Ilu's dwelling) and apparently designate tent-like structures (see Clifford 1972:51-53, 124-125; bibliography in Pardee 1987:424). Though many believe that *dd* is simply a form of the word for "mountain" (by-forms *td*, *qd*, *sd* are posited), its general semantic field seems to be indicated by the fact that the same word in the Aqhatu text denotes YTPN's encampment (CTA 19 iv 213, 220 [text 1.103]). Many have pointed out, as well, that *qrš* is the term used in the Torah for the moveable planks of which the desert sanctuary is constructed. The ideology of Ilu's home appears, therefore, to be related to the semi-nomadic existence: though his home is comfortable, even palatial (see CTA 3 v 27-29 [my lines 19-21]), it may also have been portable.

³⁰ The title *ab šnm* has been variously interpreted (for bibliography see Pardee 1987:367; 1988b:57-60; 1989-90:458). Because, according to RS 24.258:18-19 (text 1.97), the double deity Tukamuna-wa-Šunama do the duty of the good son by bearing Ilu home when he is drunk (cf. note 9 to the Aqhatu text 1.103), *šnm* may be taken as the divine name Šunama. Cf. also Text 1.95, *passim*.

³¹ It is usually assumed that Kôtaru-wa-Hasîsu is next asked to build a palace for Yammu. Unfortunately the entire reconstruction rests on the letter {b}, taken to be the first letter of the second word in the formula *h̄š bhm tbnm* ..., "hurriedly build a palace" (the text reads {h̄š.b[...]}).

³² Though over thirty lines of this column are partially preserved, not a single line is fully preserved and precious few are even restorable. There are motifs of a feast (*sh*, "to call, invite"; *yib*, "to sit"), of blessing (lines 9-10: "he takes [a cup in hand], a goblet in both hands"; cf. in the Kirta text CTA 15 ii 16-18 [text 1.102] and in the Aqhatu text CTA 17 i 35ff. [text 1.103]), and of proclaiming the name (*pʿr + šm*) of someone, perhaps Yammu (line 15: *w pʿr šm ym*...; line 20: [... *šmk mdd ʾil*...]). The first twenty lines may, therefore, have to do with an installation and empowerment of Yammu, though the circumstances are unclear. For scholars who order the tablets as here translated, this section recounts an initial empowerment of Yammu by Ilu, which would constitute the narrative origin of the conflict between Yammu and Baʿlu. After these events, there is mention in lines 22-25 of an intervention by Baʿlu and of someone being driven from a throne, but the object of the verb, the motivation, and the circumstances are all obscure. Ilu's motivations in fostering the rivalry between Yammu and Baʿlu are unknown, the tablet being too poorly preserved to provide such information, if indeed it was ever made explicit in the poem (cf. below, note 98). If Yammu was a son of Ilu, according to the form of address Yammu uses in the next text ("the Bull, his father Ilu"), then one can see a typical rivalry between sons, with the younger son eventually winning out over an arrogant and oppressive older brother. Moreover, Baʿlu's title "Son of Dagan" may indicate that he, Baʿlu, is not Ilu's own son. Data on this problem are not available from Ug. sources, but various explanations based on comparative considerations have been given (see below, notes 163 and 190 and bibliography in Pardee 1989-90:442-445, 446-448).

³³ Col. v is even more fragmentary than col. iv, and no certain theme can be identified among the few sparse words.

³⁴ This tablet currently consists of two fragments that do not join — and the presumption that they belong to a single tablet is, therefore, based on physical and graphic similarities. Because of the width of the lines, it is assumed that the tablet originally bore only two columns per side, of which parts of cols. i and iv have been preserved on the larger fragment, as well as the beginnings of a few lines of col. ii. The smaller fragment was assigned by the editor (Virolleaud 1944-45:1) to col. iii of the original tablet, i.e., the right-hand column on the verso. Only one surface of this fragment has been preserved (not "inscribed," as Herdner claims 1963:5; cf. Virolleaud 1944-45:1). For arguments against considering this fragment as belonging to the same tablet as col. i, ii, iv, see Meier 1986; note that the argument from line length (i.e., the lines of col. iii are longer than those of cols. i and iv) is not convincing because this fragment is from the right side of the tablet and the lines wrap around the edge of the tablet (see the photograph in Smith 1994:pl. 26). Meier also argues that CTA 2 does not belong to the same cycle as CTA 3-6; physical characteristics of the tablets may not, however, play a role in such an argument, and the literary/formulaic arguments are inconclusive — Meier, and others who have had doubts on this score, may be correct, but data are presently insufficient for a clear decision. In any case, this tablet was part of a Baʿlu cycle, almost certainly inscribed by ʾIlmilkū; the real question, for a clear answer to which the data are also insufficient, is the relationship of this portion of the Baʿlu story to the better-preserved portions, i.e., the tablet's relationship to the others in a single cycle, or the cycle's relationship to the other principal cycle known. The *editio princeps* of this tablet was more piecemeal than is usually the case: Virolleaud published cols. iv and iii in separate articles (1935 and 1944-45, respectively). Col. i appeared for the first time, in transcription only, in Gordon 1947:167-68 (text no. 137). Col. ii appeared for the first time in Herdner 1963, where hand copies of cols. i and ii also were first published.

³⁵ Lines 1-10 are poorly preserved and unrestorable. In line 6 one finds *ʾaymr*, apparently a reference to the mace named ʾAyyamurru with which Baʿlu defeats Yammu according to col. iv, and in lines 7-8 a curse that makes appeal to the deity Hôrānu, one that is better preserved in CTA 16 vi 54-57, Kirta's curse on his upstart son (text 1.102) — unfortunately, here the crucial part is missing wherein the object of the curse is named, and we thus have no way of knowing who the protagonists are nor of fixing the curse into the narrative structure.

³⁶ One of Yammu's standard titles in these texts is *lpt nhr*, where the first word is the old West Semitic term *lapiu*, denoting a tribal/clan ruler,

They rejoice... Go, lads, [don't dally], head for the Great Assembly,³⁷ for [Mount Lalu]. At the feet of ʾIlū do not fall, do not prostrate yourself (to) the Great [Assembly]. Standing, say (your) speech], repeat your information. Say to the Bull, [my] father [ʾIlū, repeat to the Great] Assembly: Message of Yammu, your master, of your lord Ruler [Naharu]: Give (up), O gods, the one whom you obey, the one whom the hordes (of the earth) fear.³⁸ Give (up) Baʿlu [and his attendants], (give up) the Son of Dagan,³⁹ that I might take possession of his gold. <i>At the Sight of the Approaching Messengers, the Gods Panic</i> (i 19-29) The lads head off, don't hesitate; they head for Mount Lalu, for the Great Assembly. The gods have sat down to eat, the sons of the Holy One to dine, Baʿlu attending on ʾIlū. The gods see them, see Yammu's messengers, the embassy of Ruler [Naharu]. The gods lower their heads onto their knees, onto their princely thrones. Baʿlu rebukes them: Why, gods, have your lowered (your) heads even to your knees, even to your princely thrones? As one must the gods answer, the tablet of Yammu's messengers, the embassy of Ruler Naharu! Lift, O gods, your heads! off your knees, off your princely thrones.	i Ps 24:7, 9 j Pss 57:5; 64:4	And let me answer Yammu's messengers, the embassy of Ruler Naharu. The gods then raise their heads off their knees, off their princely thrones. <i>The Messengers Arrive, Deliver Their Lines</i> (i 30-35) Thereafter the messengers of Yammu arrive, the embassy of Ruler Naharu. At the feet of ʾIlū they [do not] fall, they do not prostrate themselves (to) the Great Assembly. Standing, they [say] (their) speech, [repeat] their information. They look like a fire, two fires, their [tongue] like a sharpened sword. They say to the Bull, his father ʾIlū: Message of Yammu, your master, of your [lord], Ruler Naharu: Give (up), O gods, the one whom you obey, the one whom the [hordes (of the earth)] fear. Give (up) Baʿlu and his attendants, (give up) the Son of Dagan, that I might take possession of his gold. <i>ʾIlū Declares That He Accedes to the Demand</i> (i 36-38) The Bull, his father ʾIlū, [replies]: Baʿlu (is) your servant, O Yammu, Baʿlu (is) your servant, [O Naharu], the Son of Dagan (is) your prisoner. He will indeed bring you tribute, like (one) of the gods he will bring [you a gift], like one of the sons of the Holy One (he will bring you) presents. <i>Baʿlu Defends Himself</i> (i 38-end) Then Prince Baʿlu is sick (with rage), [moreover he takes] in his hand a striking weapon, in his right hand a smiting weapon, the lads he [strikes]. [ʿAnatu] grasps [his right hand], ʿAttartu grasps his left hand: How could [you smite Yammu's messengers, the] embassy of Ruler Naharu?
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the second the standard Northwest Semitic word for "river." The conjunction of the names "Sea" and "River" seem to indicate that the deity in question does not personify the Mediterranean Sea alone, but all bodies of water — in opposition to Baʿlu, the deity in charge of the rain (see above, introduction).

³⁷ "Great Assembly" is offered as a translation of the double formula *phr mʿd*, each word of which means "assembly, council." The first word is the standard word for "assembly" in Akk. (*puḫru*), the second is cognate to Heb. *mōʿēd*. In this text, the double formula refers to all the gods united, including Baʿlu, whom we know to have had his own assembly (in the ritual texts we meet a composite deity *dr ʾil w phr bʿl*, "Circle of ʾIlū and Assembly of Baʿlu").

³⁸ Though the forms *tqh* and *tqyn* are often derived from the same root, the presence of /h/ in the first seems to indicate different roots, in consonance with the different subjects: the gods "obey" (allow themselves to be directed by) Baʿlu (cf. Arabic *waqaha*, "obey," Heb. **yiqqāh*, "obedience"), while the human hordes (*hmlt*, taken here as an abbreviation of *hmlt ʾarš*, attested above p. 244 [CTA 1 iii 15] and elsewhere [e.g., p. 251, CTA 3 iii 25]) "fear" and "reverence" Baʿlu (cf. Arabic *waqā*, "protect," but also "fear"). Alternatively, one could take the {h} on *tqh* as suffixal and derive both forms from the same root, interpreting, perhaps, *hmlt* as referring to the gods, rather than to humans.

³⁹ On this title of Baʿlu, see notes 32 and 190.

...⁴⁰ Then Prince Ba^clu is (again) sick (with rage), (to) the-field-of-a-man⁴¹ Yammu's messengers the embassy of Ruler Naharu. ... I, for my part, hereby say to Yammu your master, (to) [your] lord [Ruler Naharu]: [...] the word of Haddu⁴² the Avenger ... <i>Hostilities Continue</i> (ii)⁴³ <i>Someone Sends Kôtaru-wa-Hasîsu to ʾIlu</i> (iii 2-3)⁴⁴ ... [(From) Crete] to the most distant [of gods, (from) Memphis to the most distant of deities: By double stretches below the springs of the earth, triple lengths (in) the low places]. <i>Off He Goes</i> (iii 4-6) [So] off he heads to ʾIlu at the source of [the double river, midst the upspringings of the deeps.⁴⁵ ^k He enters] ʾIlu's dwelling, goes into the home of the King, [father of Sunama; At ʾIlu's feet he bows] and falls,	k Ezek 47; Joel 4:18; Zech 14:8	does homage and honors [him]. ʾIlu Enjoins the Building of Yammu's Palace (iii 6-11) [Thereafter, the Bull, his father ʾIlu, responds]; Kôtaru-wa-Hasîsu be off: (go) build a house⁴⁶ (for) Yammu, raise a palace (for) Ruler Naharu, ... Be off, Kôtaru-wa[-Hasîsu: you] are to (go) build a house (for) Prince Yammu [you are to raise] a palace (for) [Ruler] Naharu, ... [Hurry!] build the house, Hurry! raise [the palace]: A house [covering a thousand acres, a palace (covering) ten thousand] hectares.⁴⁷ ...⁴⁸ <i>The Solar Deity Addresses ʿAttaru</i> (iii 15-18) Šapšu, luminary of the gods, responds, she raises her voice and [cries aloud]: [Hear now, ʿAttaru]: The Bull, your father ʾIlu, [will take blood] ven- geance⁴⁹
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⁴⁰ Beginning with line 41, the text is progressively less well preserved. The goddesses' reproof apparently continues for about two lines, perhaps dealing with the diplomatic inviolability of messengers.

⁴¹ *šdm* as in CTA 23:10 (see note 17 to text 1.87).

⁴² Haddu (Hadad in the "absolute" form) was the name of the old Amorite weather deity; Ba^clu ("master") was a title of this deity, particularly in the coastal area, that came to function as a divine name.

⁴³ Only the first sign or signs of sixteen lines of col. ii have been preserved to the right of col. i. In line 8, one finds *ʾimhs*, "I will smite."

⁴⁴ On the placement of the fragment classified as col. iii of CTA 2, see above, note 34. Smith 1994, following various authors, places col. iii before cols. i and iv (see his discussion pp. 21-25, where he does not deal explicitly with the implications of this decision). Such a placement implies, of course, that col. iii comes from a tablet other than that represented by cols. i and iv (which would add some 250 lines to the cycle), for the latter two columns are from the left side of the tablet, hence from the beginning and end of the text, while col. iii is from the right side of the tablet, hence from somewhere in the middle of the text. (Caquot, Sznycer, Herdner 1974:108 do not discuss all the aspects of the problem, referring only to the discrepancy in line length between col. iii and cols. i/iv as an argument against placing the fragment labeled col. iii at the beginning of col. i.) According to the editor (Vroilleaud 1944-45:1) this fragment should be placed near the end of col. iii, i.e., near the end of the right-hand column on the verso of the tablet. Including in the count the few heads of lines of col. ii, there would have been, assuming that col. iii belongs to the same tablet, approximately one hundred lines between the extant end of col. i and the beginning of col. iii as preserved.

⁴⁵ Though the parallel form *nhrm* is in all likelihood dual, expressing the cosmic river that encircles the earth in its two arms (cf. Caquot, Sznycer, Herdner 1974:109), one may question the common assumption that *thmt* is also dual. Morphologically it could be either the dual (*tahmatâma*) or the plural + "enclitic" *-m* (*tahmâtuma*). Because we know now that *thmt* in Ug. denotes the multiple waters of the underlying fresh-water ocean (see note 2 to text 1.94 [RS 24.244]), one might think that ʾIlu dwells at the confluence of this plurality, rather than at the meeting place of two streams of the *thmt*, which are, in any case, as yet unidentified (an argument quite different from the one in Pardee 1980:270, where the form of *thmtm* was used as a basis for so interpreting *nhrm*). On attempts to locate ʾIlu's dwelling place, see above note 16.

⁴⁶ The standard parallel pair in this text used to describe the dwellings of Yammu and Ba^clu is *bhtm* // *hkl*, of which the first term is the standard Ug. plural of the word for "house," the second the technical term for the dwelling of a deity, corresponding to Heb. *hēkal*, Akk. *ekallu*, Sum. É.GAL. I will everywhere translate *bhtm* by "house," though it is clear that the plural denotes the multiple constructions that make up a palace. In texts where *bhtm* is not in parallel with *hkl*, for example in the divine name *b^clt bhtm* that appears frequently in the ritual texts, *bhtm* may simply be translated by "palace" or "mansion."

⁴⁷ The terms designating the surface covered by the palace are *šd* and *kmm*, translated as length measures when used in the idiom for great distances (see above, note 21), are here translated as surface measures ("acre," "hectare").

⁴⁸ Lines 11b-15a are too damaged to translate. The deity ʿAttaru, to whom Šapšu's message in lines 15-18 is addressed, first appears in line 12. Judging from what follows, his opposition to Yammu's hegemony may already have been mentioned there. Below, in CTA 6 i 53-67, we find an account of an unsuccessful attempt by ʿAttaru to fill Ba^clu's rôle when the latter is in the underworld; this is taken by those who interpret the name as signifying "irrigation" as meaning that irrigation cannot in the Levant fill the rôle of rain (cf. Caquot, Sznycer, Herdner 1974:233, who do not accept the hypothesis). There are also reasons to see ʿAttaru as an astral deity: in Ug. religion, the morning and evening star may have been designated by masculine and feminine versions of the same name, ʿAttaru functioning as the evening star, ʿAttartu as the morning star (see note 58 to text 1.87). In terms of number of appearances and of dramatic rôles in the mythological texts, ʿAttaru is a relatively unimportant deity. This is equally true of the ritual texts where he appears in the so-called "pantheon" texts and in the sacrificial text dependent directly thereupon (RS 24.643) but otherwise very rarely. For bibliography, see Pardee 1989-90:466-70; for a recent overview, see Smith 1994:240-49.

⁴⁹ If the verb is correctly restored on the basis of line 21 as {*yj*}²*ir*, it denotes some form of reprisal based on consanguinity (*ʿar* in Ug.).

for Prince Yammu,
for Ruler Naharu.
[Surely] he would not listen to you,
— the Bull, your father ²Ilu —
Surely he would pull up [the foundations of your]
seat,
overturn [the throne of] your kingship,¹
break the staff of your rulership.^{50 m}

^cAttaru's Reply (iii 18-23)⁵¹
[^cAttaru] responds [...]:
[...] in me,
the Bull, my father ²Ilu.
As for me, I [have] no house [as (do)] the (other)
gods,
[nor] court [as (do) the sons of the Holy One].
X will go down my throat,
they will be washed ...⁵²
In the house of [Prince] Yammu,
in the palace of Ruler Naharu.
The Bull, his father ²Ilu, may take blood ven-
geance
for Prince Yammu,
[for] Ruler [Naharu].
But I am king [...] am indeed king,⁵³
whereas you [have] no wife as (do) [the (other)
gods,
nor young bride as (do) the sons of the Holy
One].

Yammu Responds (iii 23-24)
Prince Yammu [speaks up],
Ruler Naharu [replies]:
[...] will send.

^cAttaru's Reply (iii 24-?)
^cAttaru responds [...]

1/2 Sam 7:13;
Hag 2:22

m Ps 45:7

n Ps 68:5

o Ps 92:10

p Ps 145:13

*Ba^clu Swears the Destruction of His Enemies,
Particularly Yammu (iv 7-5)*

[...] I will indeed force them to leave,
moreover I will drive out [...].
And in Yammu I will indeed destroy the resting
place,
in Yammu, at (his) very heart, (I will destroy)
the [...],
[(as for) Ruler] Naharu, (I will destroy) (his)
neck.

There with the sword I will lay waste,
I will assault (his) house:
The powerful one will fall to the earth,
the mighty one to the dust.

Yammu's Response (iv 6-7)

Hardly has the word left his mouth,
the utterance his lips,
When his voice is heard, there is a cry
(from) under the throne of Prince Yammu.⁵⁴

*Kôtaru-wa-Ḥasīsu Prepares the Weapons Needed to
Defeat Yammu (iv 7-27)⁵⁵*

Kôtaru-wa-Ḥasīsu speaks up:

I hereby announce to you, Prince Ba^clu,
and I repeat, Cloud-Rider:^{56 n}

As for your enemy, O Ba^clu,
as for your enemy, you'll smite (him),
you'll destroy your adversary.^o

You'll take your eternal kingship,
your sovereignty (that endures) from generation
to generation.^p

The First Mace (iv 11-18)

Kôtaru prepares two maces⁵⁷

see note 7 to the Kirta text [1.102] and the biblical references cited in note *e* to that text).

⁵⁰ The parallelism of *mlk* and *tpi* here is the standard one in Ug. to denote royal status. Because the very same threat is proffered against Môtu when he is on the verge of defeating Ba^clu (CTA 6 vi 27-29), we may assume that this passage dealt with a similar attack by ^cAttaru on Yammu. In the case of Môtu, it is clear that he has his own kingdom, separate from that of Ba^clu (see Bordreuil and Pardee 1993:66-67), with the loss of which Šapšu threatens him if he continues his attack on Ba^clu. As will become clear below (CTA 6 i 56-67; see note 250), ^cAttaru also has his own legitimate kingdom. Though this passage is too damaged to allow a solid decision as to whether the situations are similar, it is certainly plausible to see here a threat: if he continues to attack Yammu, ^cAttaru himself will suffer removal from his legitimate sphere of authority.

⁵¹ ^cAttaru's reply seems first addressed to Šapšu, then directly to Yammu; it is the latter who in turn responds to ^cAttaru (lines 23-24). ^cAttaru's argument may be that he has already been named king (of his own domain — see preceding note) and has a wife, hence that he has a right to a palace.

⁵² A most obscure verse. The "X" is a four-letter word {l¹b-m¹}, where the third sign is {²u,d,b}, giving the words meaning, respectively, "lions," "alone," and "hearts," none of which seems to make much sense. The verb is sometimes read {trd}, and taken as a third-person form, sometimes {²ard}, a first-person form. After the verb "to wash" comes a phrase {ktrm}, which has been variously interpreted. If it is a reference to bulls (k *trm*), the washing in the second part of the verse makes one think that the reference is to sacrificial acts and "down my throat" to an act of devouring, but the formulae are without parallels in Ug. literature. Others have seen in {ktrm} a reference to Kôtaru or, as in the Kirta text, a reference to good health (CTA 14 i 16 [text 1.102]) or to skillfulness. See Smith's discussion (1994:217, 253-256).

⁵³ The reading in the middle of line 22 is unsure and it is difficult to know whether the formula *mlkt* ... *l mlkt* refers only to one or the other of the two deities, i.e., ^cAttaru and Yammu, or whether their status is being contrasted.

⁵⁴ Because the subject of the verb *ygr* can hardly be Ba^clu, and because no other subject is stated explicitly, one must surmise that the actor is Yammu, who is either diving under his throne (hollow root *gr*) or crying out there (root *ygr*) — see del Olmo Lete 1981:608. Why else would he be under his throne than for fear of Ba^clu? Note that, contrary to Môtu when he does battle with Ba^clu (CTA 6 vi 16-22), Yammu's rôle in the following "battle" is apparently entirely passive, i.e., there is no reference to his actions when Ba^clu attacks.

⁵⁵ In this episode, Kôtaru-wa-Ḥasīsu has become the ally of Ba^clu against Yammu. What the connection between this episode and the previous one involving Kôtaru-wa-Ḥasīsu, in which the latter was assigned the task of building Yammu's house (col. iii), cannot be determined because of the state of the text(s).

⁵⁶ *rkb* ^c*rpt*, lit., "he who mounts upon the clouds," is a direct reference to Ba^clu's function as bringer of rain.

⁵⁷ Dual forms are used in each of the two preparation episodes (*šmdm*, "two maces," *šmhm*, "the names of the two of them"), but each weapon

and proclaims⁵⁸ their names:
 You, your name is Yagrušu;
 Yagrušu, drive out⁵⁹ Yammu,
 drive Yammu from his throne,
 Naharu from his seat of sovereignty.
 You'll whirl in Ba^clu's hand,
 like a hawk⁶⁰ in his fingers,
 Strike Prince Yammu on the shoulder,
 Ruler Naharu on the chest.
 (So) the mace whirls in Ba^clu's hand,
 like a hawk in his fingers,
 Strikes Prince Yammu on the shoulder,
 Ruler Naharu on the chest.
 (But) Yammu is strong,⁶¹ he does not collapse,
 his joints do not go slack,
 his body does not slump.

The Second Mace (iv 18-27)

Kôtaru prepares two maces
 and proclaims their names:
 You, your name is ²Ayyamurru;
²Ayyamurru, expel⁶¹ Yammu,
 expel Yammu from his throne,
 Naharu from his seat of sovereignty.
 You'll whirl in Ba^clu's hand,
 like a hawk in his fingers,
 Strike Prince Yammu on the head,
 Ruler Naharu on the forehead.⁶²
 Yammu will go groggy
 and will fall to the ground.
 So the mace whirls in Ba^clu's hand,

q Ps 74:13

r Exod 13:9;
 Dan 8:5

[like] a hawk in his fingers,
 Strikes Prince [Yammu] on the head,
 Ruler Naharu on the forehead.
 Yammu goes groggy,
 falls to the ground;
 His joints go slack,
 his body slumps.
 Ba^clu grabs Yammu and sets about dismembering
 (him),
 sets about finishing Ruler Naharu off.

Attartu Intervenes (iv 28-30)⁶²

By name ^cAttartu reprimands (him):⁶³
 Scatter (him), O Mighty [Ba^clu],⁶⁴
 scatter (him), O Cloud-Rider,
 For Prince [Yammu] is our captive,
 [for] Ruler Naharu is our captive.

Ba^clu Carries Out the Order (iv 30-31)

...
 Mighty Ba^clu disperses him
 ...

Someone Announces Yammu's Death (iv 32)

Yammu is certainly dead, Ba^clu,
 Yammu is certainly [...]
 ...⁶⁵

CTA 3⁶⁶

Ba^clu's Feast (i)⁶⁷

...⁶⁸
 He serves Mighty Ba^clu,

is addressed in each episode as a singular (*šmk ʔat*, "your name, you"). For a recent discussion of the weapons used in the various battle scenes in the Ba^clu cycle, see Bordreuil and Pardee 1993; for the antiquity of the motif, see Durand 1993.

⁵⁸ The same verb, *p^cr*, is used here as in the proclamation of Yammu's (?) name in CTA 1 iv (see above, note 32).

⁵⁹ Nomen omen: the name *ygrš* means "it will drive out" and Yagrušu is ordered to "drive out, expel" (*grš*) Yammu.

⁶⁰ From the ²Aqhanu story, *nšr* clearly denotes a raptor, rather than a bird whose diet consists primarily of carrion ("vulture") — see note 70 to text 1.103.

⁶¹ As in the case of Yagrušu, the name and the command correspond. Here the name includes an exclamatory element, ²*ayya*, before the verbal element, *murr*-, apparently from a geminate root *mrr* II (*mrr* I = "be bitter" or, perhaps, from a root *mry*, "expel").

⁶² After line 30, the break at the end of each line becomes progressively larger, and the text can no longer be completely restored because there is no parallel text. It is, therefore, uncertain where the speeches begin and end and where the narration takes over.

⁶³ The verb *g^cr* clearly denotes a reprimand in both Ug. and Heb. Unfortunately, just what Ba^clu is being reprimanded for doing is unclear. Because the verb incorporated in ^cAttartu's speech (*bt*) differs from the ones used to describe Ba^clu's preceding actions, one may surmise that he should have been doing *bt*, rather than *qt*, *šr*, and *kly*. It has been pointed out (Caquot, Sznycer, Herdner 1974:139, n. b) that, if *bt* denotes "scatter, disperse," the net effect is the same as the scattering of Môtu's remains according to CTA 6 ii 30-37 (p. 270). One could surmise that the vocabulary differs in the two episodes because the nature of the deities is different: Yammu/Naharu is a watery entity, whatever Môtu may consist of. Judging from the Arabic verb *batṭa*, Ba^clu is being commanded to disperse Yammu/Naharu by making the droplets of water fly in all directions. For those who see the origins of the myth in natural phenomena (see the introduction), the actions of a storm (Ba^clu) on bodies of water (Yammu/ Naharu) would appear an apt parallel.

⁶⁴ The second of Ba^clu's principal titles, ²*alif^cyn*, is derived from the root *ʔy*, "to be strong, powerful" (on *rkb^c rpt*, "Cloud-Rider," see above, note 56). It is an ²*alif*-preformative noun, plausibly elative in character, used in apposition with *b^cl*, lit., "the most mighty one, Ba^clu."

⁶⁵ The beginnings of eight more lines are extant, too fragmentary to be translated. Because of the presence of ²*ibh*, "his enemy" in line 39 and of *[b]n^c nh*, "his forehead" (lit., "between his eyes") in line 40, one must assume either that this story is recounted again, perhaps as part of a proclamation or of a message to another deity, or that Ba^clu takes on another enemy in battle.

⁶⁶ This is the first of the tablets in this cycle that are relatively complete. Approximately the lower two thirds of this tablet are preserved, with the lower left corner missing. A very small fragment of the upper edge is preserved, from the upper right corner, containing remnants of the beginning of col. iii and the end of cols. iv and v. Because the beginning and end of the text have disappeared, there is no way of knowing whether it included the classification formula (*l b^cl*) and/or a colophon. When ²Išmīlku ruled the columns on the recto, he made his first column considerably narrower than the other two (the three columns measure approximately 36/58/50 mm); this pattern is repeated on the verso, where the middle column is the widest and the one on the left, i.e., col. vi, the narrowest. The *editio princeps* was by Virolleaud (1938:1-90).

⁶⁷ In addition to the missing upper third of the tablet, which would have contained some twenty lines, the lower corner has disappeared here, removing some fifteen complete lines and the beginnings of three others. Thus traces of only twenty-eight lines are preserved, of a probable total of sixty to sixty-five. For a detailed study of the poetic structure of the text preserved in this column, see Pardee 1988c.

⁶⁸ It is generally assumed that the first five signs of line 2, {pdmn}, provide the name of Ba^clu's head waiter, Pardamenni or Radmānu (if the

regales the Prince, master of the earth.

The Food (i 4-8)

He arises, prepares,
and gives him food:
He cuts the breast(-cut) before him,
with a salted knife (does he cut) a slice of
fatting.

The Drink (i 8-17)

He arises, serves,
and gives him drink:
He puts a cup in his hand,
a goblet in his two hands,
A large vessel, mighty to look upon,
belonging to the furnishings of the heavens,
A holy cup (which) women may not see,
a goblet (which) ²Aṭiratu (herself) may not eye;
One thousand *kd*-measures he takes from the new
wine,
ten thousand he mixes into his mixture.⁵

The Entertainment (i 18-22)

He arises, chants, and sings,
cymbals (being) in the hands of the goodly one;
The good-voiced youth sings
for Ba^clu in the heights of Ṣapānu.

Ba^clu's Offspring (i 22-?)

Ba^clu sees his daughters,
eyes Pidray, daughter of ²Aru,
even Ṭallay, daughter of Rabbu.⁶⁹
Pidar he recognizes [...]

^cAnatu Does Battle with Men (ii)⁷⁰

... (with) henna (sufficient for) seven girls,
(with) scent of coriander and ²ANHBM.⁷¹
The gate of ^cAnatu's house is closed
and she meets the lads at the base of the
mountain.⁷²

s Ps 75:9

r Isa 22:18;
cf. 2 Kgs
10:7

n Rev 14:20

v Hab 3:9,
14

w Ps 16:9

The First Battle (ii 5-16)

Thereupon ^cAnatu's begins to smite (her adver-
saries) in the valley,
to attack (them) between the two cities.⁷³
She smites the peoples (dwelling) on the seashore,
wreaks destruction on the humans (dwelling) to
the east.⁷⁴
Under her are heads like balls,¹
above her are hands like locusts,
heaps of fighters' hands are like (heaps of)
grasshoppers.⁷⁵
She attaches heads around her neck,
ties hands at her waist.⁷⁶
Up to her knees she wades in the blood of soldiers,
to her neck^u in the gore of fighters.⁷⁷
With (her) staff^v she drives out the (potential)
captors,
with her bowstring the opponents.

^cAnatu Goes Home, but is not Satisfied (ii 17-22)

Then ^cAnatu goes to her house,
the goddess arrives at her palace.
But she is not sated with smiting (her adversaries)
in the valley,
with attacking (them) between the two cities.
She prepares chairs for the fighter(s),
prepares tables for the armies,
footstools for the warriors.⁷⁸

The Second Battle (ii 23-30)

Much she smites, then looks,
attacks and then gazes (on her handiwork), does
^cAnatu.
Her liver swells with laughter,
her heart is filled with joy,^u
^cAnatu's liver with success,
As to her knees she wades in the blood of
soldier(s),

p be the conjunction).

⁶⁹ Ba^clu's daughters and their mothers all have names associated with fertility: Pidray = "Fatty"; ²Aru = a type of dew; Ṭallay = the regular Northwest Semitic word for "dew"; Rabbu = "showers" (cf. Heb. *r'bbim*). One other daughter/mother pair is known from this text (iii 4-5), ²arṣy bt y^cbdr ("Earthy," daughter of Y^cBDR, of which the meaning is disputed — see below, note 84), and another pair may be attested, ²uz^crt bt ²lh (for a possible interpretation, see Pardee 1988a:141-143). There seems to be a male counterpart to Pidray, the Pidar named in the next line (Ribichini, Xella 1984), but the relationship between the two divinities is unknown.

⁷⁰ This is one of the most controversial passages of Ug. literature, in no small part because the motivation for ^cAnatu's slaughter is unclear owing to the state of the text. For a general discussion of ^cAnatu's character, including its violent side, see Walls 1992.

⁷¹ Below, iii 1-2, ²anhb[m], fills the same slot as *gtp y[m]* in CTA 19 iv 204, of which the meaning is equally uncertain (see note 130 to 1.103).

⁷² ^cAnatu's home is on Mount ²Inbubu (see above, note 9), and one would expect the *gr* here to refer to that mountain. The identification of the "lads" (*gltm*), however, is lost in the preceding lacuna: were they messengers or more militarily oriented? It is to be noted that ^cAnatu's adversaries in the following battle scenes are not termed *gltm*.

⁷³ Without an identification of Mount ²Inbubu, it is impossible to know to what cities reference is made here. The verbal forms in this verse are both infixed-*t* forms, without expressed objects; their function is plausibly a sort of middle: "she smites for her own benefit."

⁷⁴ The perspective is clearly that of the Levantine coast, with the totality of the region's inhabitants expressed by the merismus of "seashore" (*bp ym*) and "rising of the sun" (*s^cat špš*). Strong emphasis is placed on the human nature of her adversaries, who are described as "peoples, tribes, clans" (*Pim*, probably plural construct in form) and "humankind" (^c*adm*, either singular collective or plural construct).

⁷⁵ This verse contains three distinct images of destruction: (1) severed heads rolling like balls at the goddess' feet, (2) severed hands flying through the air like locusts, then (3) being gathered together in heaps like grasshoppers after a plague.

⁷⁶ Lit., "to her upper back (*bmr*) at her belt (*hbš*)"; the image is that of heads being strung together as a necklace and hung around the shoulders (see Pope 1977b:pl. IX, for a modern image of a goddess with heads around her neck and hands at her waist).

⁷⁷ The military terms in this passage (*mhr*, "fighter, serviceman," *qmr*, "soldier," lit., "guard"; *šb^cu*, "army," appears below, as does *gzm*, "warriors") overlap only partially with the military terminology used in the Kirta text (see notes 22 and 78 to text 1.102).

⁷⁸ Though an invitation is not mentioned, the preparations are appropriate for a feast. Apparently (unidentified) soldiers enter expecting a feast, only to be attacked.

to her neck in the gore of fighters.
Until she is satisfied, she smites (her adversaries)
in the house,
attacks (them) between the tables.

The Peaceful Aftermath (ii 30 - iii 3)

They wipe up the blood of the soldiers in the
house,
they pour out oil of peace in a bowl.
Girl ^cAnatu bathes her hands,
the sister-in-law of Li²mu (bathes) her fingers.
She bathes her hands in the blood of the warriors,
her fingers in the gore of the fighters.
She prepares chairs (in addition) to chairs,
tables (in addition) to tables,
footstools she prepares (in addition) to
footstools.⁷⁹

She gathers water and washes,⁸⁰
dew of heavens, oil of earth,
the showers of Cloud-Rider.

The dew (that) the heavens pour down,
the showers (that) the stars pour down.

She beautifies herself with ²ANHBM,
that range [a thousand furlongs] in the sea.
...⁸¹

Someone Sings (iii 4-8)⁸²

[She? will take lyre in hand],
pull⁸³ the harp to (her?) breast:
A song for the love of Mighty Ba^clu (she? will
sing),
the affection of Pidray, daughter of ²Aru,
the love of Tallay, daughter of Rabbu,
the ardor of ²Arşay, daughter of Ya^cibdaru.⁸⁴

x Cf. Ps 89:13

y Exod 15:17;
Ps 78:54

Ba^clu's Message to ^cAnatu (iii 8-31)

Then, lads, enter,
at ^cAnatu's feet bow and fall,
do homage, honor her.
Say to Girl ^cAnatu,
repeat to the sister-in-law⁸⁵ of Li²mu.
Message of Mighty Ba^clu,
word of the mightiest of heroes:
Present bread offerings in the earth,
place love-offerings in the dust;
Pour well-being out into the earth,
calmness into the fields.
Hurry, press, hasten,
to me let your feet run,
to me let your legs hasten;
For I have something to tell you,
a matter to recount to you:
Words regarding wood, whisperings regarding
stone,
conversings of heaven with earth,
of the deep with the stars;
I understand lightning which not even the heavens
know,⁸⁶
a matter (which) men do not know,
(which) the hordes of the earth do not
understand.
Come and I will explain it (for you)
in my mountain, Divine Şapānu,^x
in the holy place, in the mountain that is my
personal possession,^y
in the goodly place, the hill of my victory.⁸⁷

⁸⁸

⁷⁹ The formulation *ks²at l ks²at*, etc., is clearly in contrast with the previous preparation of chairs, tables, and footstools (lines 20-22). There they were prepared for the soldiers; here no group is mentioned.

⁸⁰ The text here plays on two usages of *rḥṣ* corresponding to "bathe" and "wash": above she bathes her hands in the blood of the slain opponents, here she washes her hands in water to remove the blood of the previous bathing.

⁸¹ Some twenty lines have disappeared between the small fragment containing the beginning of col. iii and the main text. My line numbering of the rest of col. iii differs from that in *CTA* (it is identical to that in *KTU*) because Herdner, following the original editor, ascribed the number "1" to the first line on the principal fragment of the tablet rather than to the first line of the column. On the other hand, I follow Herdner (and Vroilleaud) in numbering the lines of cols. iii-iv continuously.

⁸² On the indications that the message contained in lines 8-31 constitute Ba^clu's entrusting of the message to his pages, see note 88. If that ascription be correct, lines 4-8, after which there is no obvious transition to lines 8-31, must constitute part of Ba^clu's speech to his messengers, plausibly, though not certainly, describing what ^cAnatu will be doing when they arrive.

⁸³ Collation of the tablet has confirmed the reading of {mšr} in the following line, and the word here translated as a verb, "pull," may also be spelled with {m} ({mšt}; see Pardee 1988a:150). The explanation of these forms is uncertain, though it may have something to do with the level of narrative embedding (see preceding note).

⁸⁴ There is general agreement that the first part of this name is related to Arabic *w^cb*, "to be ample," but some analyze the second element as "generation" (*ḍr*) others as "copious flow" (*ḍrr*). Either explanation is possible, though the latter appears more likely because more closely related to the other names having to do with various forms of precipitation (see above, note 69).

⁸⁵ The title is here spelled {ymmt}, apparently an error for *ybm*.

⁸⁶ This line is additional as compared with the first occurrence of these formulae (*CTA* 1 iii) in a message of ²Ilu addressed to Kōtaru-wa-Ḥašīsu, here appropriately in the mouth of Ba^clu the storm god. It appears probable that *šmm* here, ascribed powers of cognition, refers to the deity Šamūma, and not simply the sky. The Ug. pantheon texts contain a double-deity *arṣ w šmm*, "earth and heavens" (see Pardee [forthcoming] on RS 1.017:12). The claim is that, although the lightning and thunder appear in the heavens, their operation is the work of Ba^clu.

⁸⁷ "Victory" here is *l²iyt*, from the same root as Ba^clu's title *a²iyn* (see above, note 64).

⁸⁸ The function of the double horizontal line drawn across the width of the column here has been much debated (see Rummel 1978:185-189). A plausible explanation is that it has to do with the omission of some part of the repetition that takes place when a message is sent from one party to another (for the narrative description of sending a message, see Ginsberg 1941:12-14). Such an explanation might imply that the preceding section relates the sending of the messengers, rather than their arrival, and that the journey and arrival of the messengers has been omitted from the narration. That hypothesis faces two problems, however: (1) Ba^clu's speech to the messengers would include a description of ^cAnatu's behavior (above, lines 4-8), not a common feature of the messenger-sending formulae; (2) there is no specific reference in the text to the omission, a feature sometimes present (see particularly the case in *CTA* 4 v [note 166]). In spite of these difficulties, I have translated as though the narrative

^cAnatu's Response (iii 32 - iv 51)

When ^cAnatu sees the two deities,
 her feet shake,
 behind, her back muscles snap,
 above, her face sweats,
 her vertebrae rattle,
 her spine goes weak.⁸⁹
 She raises her voice and says aloud:
 How is it that Gupanu-wa-²Ugāru have come?⁹⁰
 What enemy has arisen against Ba^clu,
 (what) adversary against Cloud-Rider?
 I have smitten ²Ilu's beloved, Yammu,
 have finished off the great god Naharu.⁹¹
 I have bound the dragon's² jaws, have destroyed
 it,⁹²
 have smitten the twisting serpent,⁹³
 the close-coiled one with seven heads.
 I have smitten ²Ilu's beloved ²Arišu (Demander),⁹⁴
 have wreaked destruction on ²Ilu's calf ^cAtiku
 (Binder).
 I have smitten ²Ilu's bitch ²Išatu (Fire),
 have finished off ²Ilu's daughter Dabibu
 (Flame).
 I have smitten for silver, have (re)possessed the
 gold of
 him who would have driven Ba^clu from the
 heights of Šapānu,
 him who would have caused (him) to flee like a
 bird (from) (the seat of) his power,
 Him who would have banished him from his royal

2 Ps 74:13

aa Isa 27:1

throne,
 from (his) resting-place, from the seat of his
 dominion.

So, what enemy has arisen against Ba^clu,
 (what) adversary against Cloud-Rider?

The Envoys Deliver Their Message (iv 52-67)

The lads answer up:

No enemy has arisen against Ba^clu,
 (no) adversary against Cloud-Rider.
 (Rather we have a) message (from) Mighty Ba^clu,
 a word (from) the mightiest of warriors:⁹⁴

Present bread offerings in the earth,
 place love-offerings in the dust;
 Pour well-being out into the earth,
 calmness into the fields.

Hurry, press, hasten,
 to me let your feet run,
 to me let your legs hasten;

[For I have something] to tell you,
 a matter [to recount to you]:

[Words regarding] wood, whisperings regarding
 [stone,
 a matter (which)] men [do not] know,
 [(which) the hordes of the] earth [do not]
 understand.

[Conversings of heaven with] earth,
 of the deep [with the stars];

[I understand lightning] which not even the heavens
 [know].

[Come and] I will explain [it (for you)]

has jumped from Baal's speech containing the message to ^cAnatu's reaction when she sees the messengers, assuming the omission of the travel formulae (cf. de Moor 1971:4-5; 1987:8-10).

⁸⁹ These lines, which represent a formulaic and stylized reaction to unexpected visitors and bad news, are found in variant forms twice in the Ba^clu epic (here and p. 257 in CTA 4 ii 16-20) and once in the ²Aqhatu text (p. 352, CTA 19 ii 93-96 [text 1.103]). "Back muscles" is a somewhat free translation of *ksl*, which, with the adverbial phrase *b^cdn*, should mean, lit., "the sinews (of the back)"; *ksl* also appears in *pnt kslh*, "vertebrae," lit., "the points of the sinews (of the back)" (for bibliography, see Pardee 1987:406).

⁹⁰ Baal's messenger, another double-deity, is here first identified by name, "Vineyard and Field," the latter term cognate to an Akk. word for field and apparently the root word behind the name of the city of Ugarit, plausibly a feminine form of the same root. As is the case with other double-deities, this one is sometimes referred to in the singular, sometimes in the dual.

⁹¹ Because the cycle as extant does not contain an account of ^cAnatu's defeat of Yammu/Naharu, these references and those that follow are enigmatic. One may surmise that ^cAnatu intervened after Ba^clu's battle with Yammu, and hence that this passage refers to a sequel to the narrative in CTA 2 iv, or that the mention of someone driving someone from a throne in CTA 1 iv (cf. note 32) was related to a defense by ^cAnatu of Ba^clu's rights (as described here below in her speech).

⁹² On the reading behind this translation, see Pardee 1984. The word here translated "dragon" is *tnn* (cf. Heb. *tannin*). The identification of the watery enemy with a reptilian one is well attested in Heb., but it is not so common in other sources (cf. Williams-Forte 1983). In Ug. sources, the *tnn* is once described as being "in the sea" (p. 273, CTA 6 vi 50), but the reptilian foes are not presented anywhere in this cycle as active allies of Yammu. I have, therefore, changed the poetic division (as compared with Pardee 1984:252-53) so as to place the *tnn* more closely in relation to the following reptilian terms. If *tnn* is not a sub-set of the watery deities, one wonders if it is possible to identify him with another known deity. Williams-Forte proposed Mōnu, the god of death, a conclusion disputed by Lambert 1985. Perhaps it is best to see the reptilian terms here (to which must be added *ltn*, from p. 265, CTA 5 i 1) as a set structurally independent of the Yammu/Naharu set and representing a separate but related mythology, of which no lengthy cycle of myths has come down to us. The ubiquity of the snake in iconography (discussed at length by Williams-Forte and Lambert, among many others), the scattered references in Ug. texts, and the importance of the snake in the biblical fall and exodus stories may serve as bases for seeing the reptilian set of enemies as important in its own right and in some sense independent of, even though related to, the watery set.

⁹³ As in the case of Yammu, the following two sets of enemies are described in terms attaching them closely to ²Ilu: two familial terms, *mdl* ("beloved") and *bt* ("daughter"), and two animal terms, *gl* ("calf") and *klt* ("bitch"), these two sets arranged chiasmatically. The identities of the individuals and the import of their names are unknown. ²ars, apparently the "Demander," is found again in this cycle, associated with the dragon *mn* (CTA 6 vi 50), and *gl²il* is attested in one of the "para-mythological" texts, but in a broken passage (cf. Pardee 1988a:106-110). Because these beings are described as offspring of ²Ilu, ^cAnatu's (and Ba^clu's) hostility to them may plausibly be explained by assuming that they have ²Aṭiranu for their mother. Indeed, in this cycle ²Aṭiranu's sons regularly occupy the camp opposed to Ba^clu/^cAnatu (see below, note 190).

⁹⁴ Note the many variants, especially reshuffling of formulae, in this recital of the message as compared with the form entrusted to the messengers in col. iii.

in] my mountain, Divine Šapānu,
in the holy [place, in the mountain that is my
personal] possession.

°Anatu Agrees to Ba°lu's Request (iv 68-83)

Girl °Anatu replies,
yet again [the sister-in-law of] Li°mu:
I will indeed present bread offerings [in the earth],
place love-offerings in the dust;
I will pour [well-being] out into the earth,
calmness into the fields.

May Ba°lu place his watering devices in [the
heavens],

may [Haddu] bring the [rain of] his X.⁹⁵

(Then) I, for my part, will surely present bread
offerings in the earth,
place love-offerings [in] the dust;
I will pour well-being out into the earth,
calmness into the fields.

Moreover, I say this:

Come, come, attendants of the gods,
you, you may tarry, but I'm off
(From) °Ugaru for the most distant of gods,
(from) °Inbubu for the most distant of deities:
By double stretches below the springs of the earth,
triple lengths (in) the low places.

°Anatu Visits Ba°lu (iv 84-?)

So off she heads,
toward Ba°lu in the heights of Šapānu.
(From) a thousand yards off,

ten thousand furlongs,
Ba°lu sees his sister coming,
his father's daughter⁹⁶ striding along.
He shoos the (other) women away,
places beef in front of her,
a fatling before her.
She gathers water and washes,
dew of heavens, oil of earth.
The dew (that) the heavens pour down,
the showers (that) the stars pour down.
She beautifies herself with °ANHBM,
that [range a thousand furlongs in the sea.]

...⁹⁷

Ba°lu's Claim to a Palace (iv 94-99)

[For Ba°lu has no house as (do) the (other) gods,
(no) court] as (do) the sons of [°Aṭiratu,
(No) dwelling (as does) °Ilu, (no) shelter (as do)]
his sons,
(no) dwelling (as does) [the Great Lady, °Aṭira-
tu of the Sea⁹⁸],
(No) dwelling (as does) Pidray, [daughter of °Aru,
(no) shelter] (as does) Ṭallay, daughter of Rab-
bu,
[(no) dwelling (as does) °Aršay], daughter of
Ya°ibdaru,
[(no) dwelling (as do)] the honored [brides].⁹⁹

°Anatu's Reply (iv 99 - v 4)¹⁰⁰

[Girl °Anatu] replies:
The Bull, [my father] °Ilu, will come around to

⁹⁵ Collation has provided the following plausible readings for this verse: {yšt [b š] [mm.] b°l . mdlh . yb°r (line 74) [hd . mš] [r] [-] [mh]}. It is often assumed that *mdlh* means "his lightning," in no small part because of the parallelism with the last word, which is usually restored as {[q]lmh} and interpreted as meaning "lightning-flash." But there is no etymological basis for the interpretation of *mdl* as lightning (Pardee 1980:278) and no comparative basis for that of *qrm* as "lightning-flash." The traces of a sign with two horizontal wedges in the fifth slot in line 74 appears to rule out the usual restoration of °il hd, "the god Haddu" (a formula unattested in this cycle) and prompts the restoration there of *mūr*, "rain," a word elsewhere attested in parallel with *mdl* (in Pardee 1980:278, before collating the tablet, I proposed reading {[m]lmh} in place of {[q]lmh}). In such a context, *mdl* is plausibly explained as from the root *dly*, "draw water" and, therefore, as a different word from *mdl* denoting an element in the harnessing apparatus of an equid. On the various suggestions for interpreting *mdl*, see the bibliography in Pardee 1987:417.

⁹⁶ The meaning of *ybn* °abh is unclear (cf. Pardee 1980:279). Among proposed emendations are: (1) *ybm* °abh, "his father's sister-in-law" (i.e., his father's brother's wife); (2) *bt* °abh, "his father's daughter" (implying perhaps that they had a common father, but not a common mother); (3) *ybm* °ahh, "his brother's sister-in-law."

⁹⁷ Here approximately 15 lines are lost between the principal fragment of col. iv and the remnants of eight or nine lines preserved on the small fragment (see above, notes 66 and 81).

⁹⁸ The explanation of °Aṭiratu's titles *rbt* °aṭrt *ym* has much exercised the minds of Ug. exegetes. Many have taken the name as derived from the title, i.e., "the great lady who treads upon the sea" (partial bibliography in Pardee 1989-90:440-441). None of the evidence for vocalization of the name °Aṭiratu, however, favors the idea that the first vowel was ever long, as would be required of an active participial form. It appears more likely (1) that *rbt* is a title designating the goddess as queen (i.e., principal wife of °Ilu) or queen mother (cf. Brooke 1979:86), (2) that °Aṭiratu is the basic name of the goddess (this is the only form of the name that appears in the ritual texts), and (3) that *ym* is added as a supplemental titular element. Some of the factors to be considered in explaining the element *ym* are: (1) one passage seems to depict °Aṭiratu's sons as waves of the sea (CTA 6 v 1-3); (2) the deity Qudšu(-wa)-°Amruru is called "the fisherman of °Aṭiratu" (*dgy* °aṭrt) and this deity possesses a net that he apparently throws into the sea (CTA 4 ii 31-35); (3) the title must be taken into consideration in explaining °Ilu's initial preference for Yammu (cf. above, note 32). But the mythological background of the title remains obscure.

⁹⁹ We are never told exactly why Ba°lu's daughters have a house while he does not. The general structure of this passage (restored from similar passages below in v 38-44 and in CTA 4 i 10-19 and iv 50-57) and the specific presence of the term *kl*, which denotes in the narrow sense a father's son's bride, may indicate that Ba°lu's daughters have married sons of °Ilu by °Aṭiratu and have become part of the sons' households. This hypothesis is supported by the placement of the reference to the "honored brides" at the head of the list of daughters in CTA 4 i 15-19; iv 54-57, rather than at the end as here. The adjective *knr* by which the *kl* are described, appears to be related to Akk. *kunnū*, an epithet of deities, and *kanūtu*, an adjective used only for goddesses.

¹⁰⁰ Also in col. v (on col. iv, see above, note 81), my line numbering differs from that in CTA (and corresponds to that of KTU), for the same reason, i.e., Herdner, following Virolleaud, numbered the lines continuously beginning with the small fragment of col. iv through col. v. Thus, because the small fragment of col. iv contains eight lines, line 1 in col. v is numbered as the ninth line in CTA. (According to Herdner, the small fragment actually contains nine lines, but she did not include the first in her consecutive numbering, designating it as "1*"; when I collated the tablet, I did not find this line "1*").

me,
he'll come around to me and to him [...].
...¹⁰¹
[I'll] trample him to the ground like a lamb,
[I'll cause] his gray hair [to flow] with blood,^{bb}
the gray hairs of his beard [with gore],^{cc}
That is if he does not give a house to Ba'lu like
(that of) the (other) gods,
[a court] like (that of) the sons of ʔAṭiratu.
ʕAnatu Is Off to Visit ʔIlu (v 4-9)
[She digs in] (her) feet,
[takes off across] the earth;
She [heads] off
[towards ʔIlu] at the source of the [double] river,
midst the [upspringings] of the [deeps].
She penetrates Ilu's abode,
enters the dwelling of the King, father of [Šuna-
ma],
She bends over¹⁰² and enters the abode,
addresses the lord of the gods.¹⁰³
ʔIlu Responds (v 10-18)¹⁰⁴
The Bull, her father ʔIlu, hears her voice,
[responds] (from) within seven rooms,
[(from) within] eight locked [chambers]:¹⁰⁵
You [must cry] aloud to ʔIlu [your lord]
...¹⁰⁶
Šapšu, luminary of the gods, [glows hot],

bb 1 Kgs 2:9

cc Cf. 2 Sam
20:10

the heavens are powerless under the control of
[Môtu, the beloved of ʔIlu].¹⁰⁷

ʕAnatu Gets Tough (v 19-25)

Girl ʕAnatu replies:

[In the grandeur of] your house, O ʔIlu,
in the grandeur of [your] house do not rejoice,
do not rejoice in the height of [your] palace.¹⁰⁸
Will I not seize them in my right hand,
squeeze [them]¹⁰⁹ in my broad grasp?¹¹⁰
I'll [smite the ...] of your head,
I'll make your gray hair flow [with blood],
the gray hairs of your beard with gore.

ʔIlu Reacts Placatingly (v 25-29)

ʔIlu responds (from) within seven rooms,
(from) within eight locked chambers:

[I] know [you], (my) daughter, (I know) that [you]
are a manly sort,
and that among goddesses there is none so
emotional as you.¹¹¹

What do you request, Girl ʕAnatu?

ʕAnatu Tries Flattery (v 29-34)

Girl ʕAnatu replies:

Your decision(s), ʔIlu, (are) wise,
your wisdom is forever,
your decision(s) (provide) a life of good fortune.
(Now,) our king is Mighty Ba'lu,

¹⁰¹ Several signs have disappeared from the end of the last line of col. iv and about four signs from the beginning of the first line of col. v, enough to make up a full line of text. Because of lack of parallels, it is impossible to determine whether the missing line continued the preceding verse or served as the first utterance in the following threats.

¹⁰² The third sign from the end of line 8 appears to be {t}, rather than {m}, as in previous versions; thus {t}ʔʔr, "she bends over" (cf. the hollow root *ʔr* in Arabic). On the words typically used to designate ʔIlu's home, see above, note 29.

¹⁰³ Reading in line 9: {t}nʔyʔ [.] ʔaʔdn [.] ʔʔʔmʔ.

¹⁰⁴ The damaged state of lines 13-16 leaves open the possibility that this section is not all one long speech from ʔIlu.

¹⁰⁵ ʔIlu, apparently afraid of ʕAnatu's irascibility, declines to come out to speak with her.

¹⁰⁶ Only a few words are preserved in lines 13-16. It is at least possible that Šapšu, the sun deity, appears or is mentioned, for the adverb ʕIn, "on high," is present at the beginning of line 13 and this word is used elsewhere to describe Šapšu's position. See next note.

¹⁰⁷ This is the first occurrence of these formulae, repeated below (CTA 6 ii 24-25) to describe the ascendancy of Môtu during Ba'lu's demise. The principal terms in the formulae are *šhrr*, describing the blasting effect of the Šapšu, the sun (cf. Arabic *šhr*, used to express sunstroke; below in text 1.87 the same verb is used for roasting a bird over a fire), and *ʔa*, "to be weak," describing the inability of the heavens to produce precipitation (the form is apparently the infinitive, used absolutely, /laʔaʔ/). The state of the text precludes our knowing why reference is made at this point to Môtu's malefic action, but it is plausible that the formula is generally descriptive of Môtu, as here below in CTA 4 viii 21-24. Depending on whether or not Šapšu was mentioned in the previous passage (see preceding note), the reference here may have applied more or less directly to the sun deity's immediate presence. Below, CTA 6 v 4 and n. 268, an entity presented as *šhr nt*, "Môtu's heat" is attacked right alongside the sons of ʔAṭiratu, enemies of Ba'lu. For a recent naturalistic interpretation of this motif, see Yon 1989. Môtu, "Death," is known both as the "beloved" (*mdd/ydd*) of ʔIlu and as his "son," the last feature attested also by Philo of Byblos (Attridge and Oden 1981:57).

¹⁰⁸ Three principal lines of interpretation have been proposed for this passage and the parallel in the ʔAqhatu text (CTA 18 i 6-10 [text 1.103]): (1) ʔIlu is not to rejoice in the building (*bnt* < *bny*) of his house or (2) in the height (*bnt* < *nty/w*) of his house; (3) ʔIlu's sons (read *bnt* as *bnm*) are not to rejoice (cf. Dijkstra and de Moor 1975:192-93; Margalit 1983:91-92). The first interpretation does not fit this context, the second is based on a rather shaky Arabic etymology (*ntw*, "to swell up [said of a limb of the body]"), while the third is based on emendation of an already damaged and uncertain text. More plausible variants of the third would be to restore *bnt* // *bnt*, "sons" // "daughters" (the first word is entirely absent in both passages) or *bnt* // *bnt*; "daughters" // "daughters." The last possibility is particularly appealing because it would constitute an example of the so-called "staircase" tricolon (Greenstein 1977): "May the daughters of your house, O ʔIlu, /May the daughters of your house not rejoice, /May they not rejoice in the height of your palace." In this analysis, the masculine plural pronoun in the following verse ("seize them") would refer back to these references to the dwelling (*bnt*, plural in form, "your house, mansion," and *hkl*, "palace"). Psychologically, however, it appears preferable to see here a direct threat to ʔIlu himself and I tentatively adopt Margalit's proposal, though remaining dubious about the etymology.

¹⁰⁹ Traces of {šš} are visible near the end of line 22, suggesting the restoration {ʔaʔʔššʔ[ghm]}, "I will squeeze them."

¹¹⁰ Lit., "in the greatness of my length," apparently a reference to the length of the goddess' arms (cf. *gdl* + "arm" in Exod 15:16).

¹¹¹ Multiple interpretations of ʔnš//qlš in this verse have been proposed, for it is difficult to establish the meaning of the terms by Ug. usage and various etymological explanations are possible (for bibliography see Pardee 1987:373, 445). The translation offered here assumes (1) that ʔIlu is not speaking ironically (hence ʔnš does not mean "gentle"), (2) that "sick" (another possible meaning of ʔnš) is not used idiomatically in Ug. for immorality (viz. ʕAnatu's violent behavior), and (3) that the /š/ in *qlš* is genuine and hence that the root is not identical to Heb. *qls*

(he is) our ruler and there is none above him.^{dd}
All of us (other gods) bear his vessel,
all of us bear his cup.¹¹²

Again, Ba^clu's Claim to a Palace (v 35-44)
(But) groaning he does cry out to¹¹³ the Bull, his
father ²Ilu,
to the king who established him,^{114 ee}
He cries out to ²Aṭiratu and to her sons,
to the goddess and the host of her kin:
Ba^clu has no house as (do) the (other) gods,
(no) court as (do) the sons of ²Aṭiratu,
(No) dwelling (as does) ²Ilu, (no) shelter (as do)
[his sons],
(no) dwelling (as does) the Great Lady, ²Aṭiratu
of the Sea,
(No) dwelling (as does) Pidray, daughter of ²Aru,
[(no) shelter] (as does) Ṭallay, [daughter of]
Rabbu,
(no) dwelling [(as does) ²Arṣay, daughter of
Ya^cibdaru],
(no) dwelling [(as do) the honored brides].
...¹¹⁵

The Summons to Kōtaru-wa-Ḥasīsu (vi)¹¹⁶
Cross the mountain, cross the height,
cross the shores of heavenly Nupu.¹¹⁷
Have (your nets) drawn in,¹¹⁸ O fisherman of
²Aṭiratu,
come, O Qudšu-²Amruru.

dd Isa 33:22;
Ps 95:3

ee Deut 32:6

You must head off
to Memphis, (to) the god of it all,
(To) Crete (which is) the throne (on which) he sits,
(to) Memphis (which is) the land of his own
possession,
Through a thousand yards,
ten thousand furlongs.
At the feet of Kōtaru bow and fall,
do homage and honor him.
Say to Kōtaru-wa-Ḥasīsu,
repeat to Hayyinu the handicrafter:
Message of Mighty [Ba^clu],
word [of the mightiest of warriors:]
...¹¹⁹

CTA 4¹²⁰

...
Yet Again, Ba^clu's Claim to a Palace (i 4-19)
[(But) groaning he does cry] out to the Bull, [his
father ²Ilu],
to ²Ilu, the king [who established him],
[He cries] out to ²Aṭiratu [and to her sons],
to the goddess [and the host of] her [kin]:
[Ba^clu has no house as (do) the (other) gods,
(no) court as (do) the sons of] ²Aṭiratu,
(No) dwelling (as does) ²Ilu, (no) shelter (as do)
his sons,
(no) dwelling (as does) the Great Lady, ²Aṭiratu
of the Sea.

"scorn" but cognate to Arabic *qlṣ*, "shrivel," and is used to express emotional turmoil. According to this interpretation, the verse describes two characteristics of ^cAnatu: (1) that she fights like a man (cf. col. ii), (2) that she gives free vent to her emotions.

¹¹² The phrase "all of us" is in Ug. *klnyy*, which may be analyzed either as *kl + n + y + y*, where the *-n-* is the first person plural suffix and the twice-repeated *-y* is a so-called "emphatic" particle, or *kl + ny + y*, where *-ny* is analyzed as the 1st person dual suffix ("both of us") and the second *-y* the "emphatic" particle. In the parallel passage, CTA 4 iv 45, 46 (p. 259), where ²Aṭiratu is the speaker, the form is *klnyy*, with the particle *-n* at the end instead of *-y*. The two analyses represent forms that are well attested elsewhere in Ug. According to the first analysis, ^cAnatu (and ²Aṭiratu) would be saying that all the gods serve Ba^clu as cupbearers; in the second that she and ²Ilu should be doing so, i.e., that ²Ilu should join the procession. One might doubt that ²Ilu, who occupies a higher position in the divine hierarchy than Ba^clu (see below, note 114), would join the other gods in servitude to Ba^clu. Because these formulae originate with ^cAnatu, even if they are repeated below by ²Aṭiratu, one may doubt to what extent they constitute a true "shift" of allegiance from Yammu to Ba^clu (cf. Smith 1994:102 on *tpf*); they seem rather to reflect ^cAnatu's position in the conflict (see below, note 190), adopted only half-heartedly by ²Aṭiratu (see notes 190 and 244).

¹¹³ The expression is taken to be *ṣḥ + accusative (l yṣḥ tr ṣil ṣabh)*. Because the verb *ṣḥ* is sometimes followed by a *l*-complement, some interpret the formula here and in the parallel passages below with ²Ilu, etc., as subject. Such an interpretation requires reinterpreting the sequence of speakers and requests — i.e., ²Ilu, ²Aṭiratu, and her sons would all be already in favor of Ba^clu receiving a palace. A factor in favor of the interpretation adopted here is the following phrase, *yṣḥ ṣḥtr w bnh*: by comparison with CTA 6 i 39-40 (p. 269) *ṣḥmḥ ḥt ṣḥtr w bnh*, one would expect *ṣḥ* in this text and it appears likely, therefore, that the subject of the verb *yṣḥ* is *b^cl*. Unfortunately, the morphological criterion is not absolutely decisive, because *yṣḥ* could theoretically be 3m.pl. because of the compound subject of which one element is masculine plural.

¹¹⁴ The relationship between ²Ilu and Ba^clu is well expressed in this verse and in this entire passage: ²Ilu is chief executive king, Ba^clu was appointed king over the earth by ²Ilu. But even to acquire so apparently obvious a perquisite as a palace, Ba^clu must have ²Ilu's approval.

¹¹⁵ Over twenty lines of text have disappeared at the bottom of col. v, of which just the ends of a few lines are visible on the small fragment (numbered as v 44-51, in KTU). The first ten lines of col. vi have also been entirely lost and the slanting break has taken the beginnings of seven more lines.

¹¹⁶ ^cAnatu's pleading has been successful, for ²Aṭiratu's personal attendants, Qudšu(-wa)-²Amruru (written without the *w* here but with it elsewhere), are sent as messengers to the craftsman deity Kōtaru-wa-Ḥasīsu, and the message is indicated as originating with Ba^clu.

¹¹⁷ Some have seen in *np ṣmm* "the heights of the heavens" (≈ Heb. *nōp* in Ps 48:3), others another name for Memphis (Heb. *nōp* and *mōp*). The presence of the word "shores" (²ihṣ) and the fact that Kōtaru-wa-Ḥasīsu has an alternate dwelling in Egypt seem to favor the second interpretation (unless ²ihṣ be given the specific sense of "islands," in which case the phrase *ṣihṣ np ṣmm* could refer to the mountainous islands of the Mediterranean).

¹¹⁸ Various explanations of the form *ṣmṣr* have been given, but as it appears to be the *ṣ*-stem from the root *mṣr* which, by comparative considerations, should mean "to draw, drag," a plausible interpretation would be to see the fisherman having his nets drawn in because he must leave on a trip.

¹¹⁹ Approximately twenty lines have disappeared from the end of col. vi.

¹²⁰ Though made up of several fragments, this tablet as reconstituted contains the longest text of this cycle, inscribed in eight columns of sixty-five or more lines each, and it is the best-preserved of the tablets, cols. iv-v being almost completely extant for a continuous stretch of text of over 125 lines. The beginning and end of the text are lost, and we cannot know, therefore, whether this tablet bore the archival notation *l b^cl*

(No) dwelling (as do) the honored brides: (no) dwelling (as does) Pidray, daughter of ² Aru, (no) shelter (as does) Tallyay, daughter of Rabbu, (no) dwelling (as does) ² Arşay, daughter of Ya ^c - ibdaru.	ff Gen 4:1	He casts HYM and TBTH: ¹²⁴ A (throne-)stand for ² Ilu ¹²⁵ of twenty thousand (shekels' weight), a (throne-)stand for ² Ilu with silver decorations, interspersed with ¹²⁶ (decorations of) ruddy gold; A chair for ² Ilu, a seat of finest (gold), a footstool for ² Ilu (!) ¹²⁷ covered with the brightest (metal); A bed for ² Ilu of the finest sort, above, he places an engraving; ¹²⁸ A table for ² Ilu filled with creatures, creepy-crawlers ¹²⁹ from the foundations of the earth; ¹³⁰ A bowl for ² Ilu, hammered thin as (they do in) ² Amurru, formed as (they do in) the land of YM ² AN, which has on it bulls by the ten thousands. ¹³¹
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Gifts Suggested and Prepared (i 20-44)¹²¹

I must also say this to you:

You really should prepare a gift for the Great
Lady, ²Aṭiratu of the Sea,
a present for the Progenitress^{ff} of the Gods.¹²²

Hayyinu steps up to the bellows,
in the hands of Ḥasīsu are the tongs.

He casts silver, causes gold to flow,¹²³
he casts silver by the thousands (of shekels),
he casts gold by the ten thousands (of shekels).

at the beginning. The partially preserved colophon on the left edge of the tablet, apparently in a very brief form, may be taken as an indication that there was not a colophon at the end of the text. Approximately twenty lines are missing from the beginning of col. i; the several badly damaged lines after this lacuna may be restored quite plausibly on the basis of parallel texts. As in the case of CTA 3 (see above, note 66), the first and last columns of this text are narrower than the intervening columns. Vroilleaud did the *editio princeps* of this text in a single article (1932).

¹²¹ In spite of the fact that ²Ilu has agreed to have Kōtaru-wa-Ḥasīsu summoned, it would appear that ²Aṭiratu and ²Ilu must still be placated (baksheesh) to give their final permission for the palace to be built and for Kōtaru-wa-Ḥasīsu to be signed on as contractor. The depth of ²Aṭiratu's real hostility to Ba^clu and ^cAnatu's recognition of that hostility are both evident in the form of ^cAnatu's announcement of Ba^clu's death to ²Ilu: "So now let ²Aṭiratu and her sons rejoice, (let) the goddess (rejoice) and the host of her kin; for Mighty Ba^clu is dead, perished the Prince, master of the earth" (CTA 6 i 39-43). The reasons for this hostility appear to reside in power struggles within ²Ilu's family (see nn. 32, 163, 190).

¹²² ²Aṭiratu's title as mother goddess is *qnyl ʾilm*, "she who produces gods," parallel to ²Ilu's title as father god, *bnw bwt*, "he who builds offspring" (cf. *bn*, "son").

¹²³ The verb *yšq* is used in Ug. and Heb. for working with metals, apparently for the artisan's casting work (< "to pour") rather than for the refiner's job. It belongs to the same semantic field as *nsk*, the standard word for "metal-worker," also related to a root meaning basically "to pour." The verb here translated "cause to flow" is *šlh*, lit., "to send"; it is not a standard term of metal working and hence has received various interpretations, among them "to beat flat," i.e. "extend."

¹²⁴ This line functions either as introduction to the list that follows or as the first items on the list. Unfortunately both terms are obscure. They are most commonly identified as meaning "tent" (= *hmr* in CTA 14 ii 65 and parallels [text 1.102]) and "resting place, bed" (= Akk. *tapšāhu*/*tapšūtu*; cf., e.g., Dietrich and Loretz 1978b:59-60). The image, however, of "casting" a tent appears strange and the Ug. word *tblh*, though it could be cognate to the Akk. term, cannot be a loan word (Akk. */b/* would be written {ḡ}) and, in any case, the production of a bed is part of the list below. The other principal explanation is to take both terms as denoting metals and hence as belonging to the previous verse. For lack of other attestations in Ug. and reliable points of comparison, it appears best for the present to leave the words untranslated.

¹²⁵ This and the following occurrences of *ʾil* are often taken as superlatives (*kr ʾil* = "a divine stand," etc.). But given that ²Aṭiratu is ²Ilu's consort and that it is ²Ilu who finally grants the sought-for permission, it appears more likely that the items in question are in fact intended in the end for ²Aṭiratu's lord and master. The syntax is precisely the same as above in the statement regarding gifts for ²Aṭiratu, i.e., the construct chain (*škn mgn ʾatrt*, "prepare the gift of ²Aṭiratu" = "prepare a gift for" = *yšq kr ʾil*, "cast the stand of ²Ilu" = "cast a stand for"). This section may be taken, therefore, as prefiguring the section below where gifts are promised for ²Ilu (iii 27-36).

¹²⁶ *šmrgt* appears to be a nominal or adjectival form based on the *š*-stem of *mrg*. In Arabic that root can express notions of "mixing." One may surmise that the idea here is that the decorations (*nbt*, of which the precise meaning is uncertain) of the throne stand were in patterns produced by alternations of gold and silver.

¹²⁷ Written {ʾid}.

¹²⁸ *ʾin yblhm ḥrṣ* is, in this list of difficult phrases, one of the most difficult. I have chosen, because of the general context, to interpret the verse as a whole to refer to an article of furniture (*nʿl* = "bed"), rather than to an item of clothing (cf. Heb. *naʿalayim*, "sandals"). This appears to be supported by the singular form at the end of the first line, *qblbl*, itself of uncertain meaning, perhaps lit., "very acceptable." *yblhm*, on the other hand, might be taken as bearing a dual/plural suffix — though no one has found a good explanation of the term as related to sandals. The key to the understanding of the verse may be to see in *ḥrṣ* not the standard word for "gold," but a form of *ḥrṣ* II, "cut, engrave," attested in the other West Semitic languages and in Akk. The reference would be, of course, to pictorial representations such as the ivory carvings from bed panels discovered in the palace at Ugarit, which were double-sided and hence intended for viewing from both sides and placed above (*ʿln*, "above") the bed itself (Schaeffer 1954:51-59, pls. IX-X; Caubet and Poplin 1987:283-289, figs. 16, 17; Gachet 1992:72). *yblhm* is perhaps to be analyzed, therefore, as a verbal noun of *ybl*, with pronominal suffix indicating the subject, either singular with enclitic *-m* (*iyabāluhuma*) or dual, reflecting the two names Hayyinu and Ḥasīsu (*iyabāluhumā*).

¹²⁹ The word *dbbm* is attested in incantation texts with the sense of those who constitute the adversaries of the person for whom the incantation is devised (see note 6 to text 1.100). In those texts it can be explained as cognate to Akk. *dabābu*, basically "to speak" but with the derived notion of attacking verbally. In this context, the word is more plausibly compared with Arabic *dbb*, "walk slowly" (of certain animals), "to slither" (of reptiles) (Caquot, Szymer and Herdner 1974:196, note q). I posit two separate words in Ug., with very different etymologies, though it is not impossible that the word in the incantation texts is etymologically identical to this one.

¹³⁰ The carved ivories discovered in the palace at Ras Shamra included elements of a table top, where sphinxes, among other things, were represented (Schaeffer 1954:59-61; Caubet and Poplin 1987:283-289, fig. 20; Gachet 1992:72-73). "Filled" (*mlʾa*) in this description may refer to the fact that the representational friezes were set inside a plain raised border.

¹³¹ The interpretation of *sknt*, here translated "formed," is much debated. Because the gender of *šʿ*, "bowl," in Ug. is unknown, the words *dqt*

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²*Atiratu at Home* (ii 3-?)

She has taken her spindle [in hand],
a spindle befitting her high station in her right
hand.

As her flesh has become soiled,
she puts her garments into the sea,
her twice-soiled (body) into the rivers.¹³³

She places a pot on the fire,
a pan on top of the coals,
So as to prepare a (warm) drink for the Bull, the
kindly god,¹³⁴
so as to make a present¹³⁵ to the Creator of
creatures.¹³⁶

Ba^clu and ^cAnatu Arrive with ²Atiratu's Gifts (ii 12-29)

When she looks up and sees Ba^clu coming,
when ²Atiratu (!)¹³⁷ sees Girl ^cAnatu arriving,
the sister-in-law of [Li²mu] striding along,
Her feet [shake],
behind, her back muscles [snap,
above], her face sweats,

her [vertebrae] rattle,
[her] spine goes weak.

She raises her voice and says aloud:

How is it that Mighty Ba^clu has come?

How is it that Girl ^cAnatu has come?

Have those who would smite me smitten my sons,
or (have) [those who would finish me off]
(smitten) the host of my kin?

(But) when ²Atiratu spies the [works] of silver,
the works of silver and [the objects] of gold,¹³⁸
they bring joy to the Great Lady, ²Atiratu of the
Sea.

²*Atiratu Enjoins her Attendant to Complete an Unknown Task* (ii 29-?)

Aloud [she cries] to her lad:

Look at the skillfully wrought thing(s) and
[behold!]

O fisherman of the Great Lady, ²Atiratu [of the
Sea],

take the net in your hand,
the great [X] upon your two hands.

[...] in Yammu, the beloved of ²Ilu,

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("hammered thin" in my translation) and *sknt* may be either adjectives (if *sc* is feminine) or nouns used adverbially (if *sc* is masculine). The discoveries at Ras Shamra have provided two magnificent examples of such bowls, both with charging bulls as part of the representations (Schaeffer 1949:1-48, pls. I-V, VII-VIII). One might expect that, if indeed the basic notion of *dqr* here is "thinness," *sknt* denotes the other principal technique, that of producing the figures in *repoussé*. Data are lacking to explain why the skill to make metal bowls with representations in relief is attributed to the polities of ²Amurru and YM²AN (the first is well known; the second appears for reasons as yet unknown in the Ug. ritual text RS 1.002:27' — see Pardee forthcoming).

¹³² About fifteen lines are missing from the beginning of col. ii and the first two extant lines are badly damaged. At the end of col. i a double line was drawn about a third of the way across the column width. As such lines are usually not used simply to mark the end of a column, one may surmise that this one again marks an omission of repetitive material (see above, note 88). Because, in the following text, ^cAnatu and Ba^clu arrive together at ²Atiratu's house, they may arrive and have joined forces at some point for this visit to ²Atiratu. Though Kôtaru-wa-Hasisu made the gift for ²Atiratu (and for ²Ilu — see note 125), he is apparently not here in the company of ^cAnatu and Ba^clu, for he is never mentioned and he must apparently be resummoned when the final permission is given to build the palace (p. 260, v 103).

¹³³ Because of the rare vocabulary in this verse, it has been interpreted in a multitude of ways. It appears difficult to explain *npynh* otherwise than as a derivative from *npy*, "sieve, winnow, expel," attested with various nuances from Akk. to Arabic (but not elsewhere in Ug., certainly not in RS 1.002 [n. 131]!). Particularly in Arabic, one finds derivatives denoting that which is sieved/winnowed out, i.e., "rubbish." Perhaps the noun here refers to the dusty state of someone who has been working with the spindle all day, lit., "her rubbish covering her flesh, she puts her garments into the sea, her double rubbish into the rivers."

¹³⁴ *lr² il d p²id* is the title that ²Atiratu uses for ²Ilu (as opposed to *lr² il² ab* — cf. notes 13 and 28) because their relationship is not that of father and daughter.

¹³⁵ Here also the precise sense of the verse is uncertain because of the rarity of the two verbs, *scpp* and *tgyy*. Most take the second verb as related to the noun *mgz*, "present," in i 23 (p. 256), of which the meaning is determined largely by the parallel with *mgn*, "gift"; this root is used again as a verb below, iii 24 and 31 (p. 258), in parallel with a verbal form of *mgn*. Because ²Atiratu has just put a pot on the fire, one may think that she was preparing something comestible for ²Ilu; hence I explain *scpp* by the Arabic geminate root, which in the D-stem means "feed someone the type of milk called *uffatun*." The picture is that of ²Atiratu expecting a visit from ²Ilu, whose domicile, as is clear from the continuation of the story, is at a distance from ²Atiratu's; after spinning, she cleanses herself, then prepares something warm to eat/drink. I have considered the option of seeing the entire passage as describing the preparation of cloth (spinning, immersing [the thread or the cloth?] in cold salt water, immersing in hot water, presenting as a gift to ²Ilu), but the few relatively clear terms do not seem to lead in that direction.

¹³⁶ On the title *bny bnwt* ascribed to ²Ilu, see above, note 122.

¹³⁷ Written {*atrt*}.

¹³⁸ The words used to describe the gifts are uncertain: the term for the objects of gold has almost entirely disappeared, while the one for the objects made of silver is apparently written {*zl*}, which normally denotes "shadow, shade," and for that reason is often read instead as {*p^cl*}, "work" (the difference between the two readings is primarily a matter of spacing of sign elements — the {*c*} in this text is made somewhat differently from the third wedge of {*z*}, however, and one should be able to determine at least what the scribe intended; unfortunately none of the published photographs is readable at this point). The general meaning of the verse appears clear, however: ²Atiratu, at first frightened at the appearance of Ba^clu and ^cAnatu and expecting them to bring bad news about her sons (or expecting them to attack her sons), is reassured at the sight of the gifts they are bearing.

¹³⁹ Remnants of fourteen more lines are preserved, insufficient to allow an understanding of what is going on. This is unfortunate, for the presence of the various terms for fishing in the sea indicates that a fully preserved text might have helped us understand better ²Atiratu's title "of the Sea" and her relationship to the deity Yammu. For example, the phrase *b mdd² il y[m]* in line 34, after the order for the fisherman to take up his net, could indicate that a very naturalistic depiction of the deity Yammu is underway.

Ba^clu Complains of His Treatment By the Other Gods (iii 10-22)¹⁴⁰

Again Mighty Ba^clu (speaks),

Cloud-Rider tells his story:

[...] they stood up and cast scorn upon me,¹⁴¹
they arose and spat upon me
in the assembly of the sons of the gods;⁸⁸

[X] was set upon my table,
mockery in the cup from which I drink.

Now there are two (kinds of) feasts¹⁴² (that) Ba^clu
hates,

three (that) Cloud-Rider (hates):

An improper feast,

a low-quality feast,¹⁴³

and a feast where the female servants
misbehave.¹⁴⁴

There, impropriety was certainly seen,
there, misbehavior of the female servants (was
certainly seen).

*Ba^clu and ^cAnatu Arrive chez ²Aṭiratu, Present
their Gifts, and Feast (iii 23-?)*

Thereupon Mighty Ba^clu arrives,

Girl ^cAnatu arrives.¹⁴⁵

They offer the gifts⁸⁸ to the Great Lady, ²Aṭiratu
of the Sea,

the presents to the Progenitress of the Gods.

The Great Lady, ²Aṭiratu of the Sea, responds:

How is it that you offer gifts to the Great Lady,
²Aṭiratu of the Sea,

presents to the Progenitress of the Gods?

Have you offered gifts to the Bull, the kindly god,

gg Pss 29:1
82:1; Job
1:6; 2:1;
38:7

hh Gen 14:20;
Hos 11:8;
Prov 4:9

ii Gen 49:11;
Deut 32:14

presents to the Creator of creatures?

Girl ^cAnatu replies:

We would (now) offer gifts to the Great Lady,

²Aṭiratu of the Sea,

presents to the Progenitress of the Gods.

[Afterwards] we will also present him with gifts.

[...] Mighty Ba^clu

[...] the Great Lady, ²Aṭiratu of the Sea,

[...] Girl ^cAnatu.

[Thereupon the gods] eat and drink,

[they take] sucklings,¹⁴⁶

[with] a salted [knife] cutlets from [a fatling].

[They drink] wine from goblets

[red] wine¹⁴⁷ [from golden cups].

...

²Aṭiratu Prepares to Visit ²Ilu (iv 1-19)

[The Great Lady], ²Aṭiratu of [the Sea, responds:

Listen, O Qudšu-wa-²Amruru,

[O fisherman of the Great Lady], ²Aṭiratu of the
Sea:

[Saddle the donkey], harness the ass,

[put (on it) trappings of] silver,

[decorations] of yellow (gold),

prepare the trappings of [my] jennet.¹⁴⁸

Qudšu-wa-²Amruru listens:

He saddles the donkey, harnesses the ass,

puts (on it) trappings of silver,

decorations of yellow (gold),

prepares the trappings of her jennet.

Qudšu-wa-²Amruru grasps (her),

puts ²Aṭiratu on the donkey's back,

¹⁴⁰ At least twelve lines have disappeared at the beginning of col. iii, then another ten lines are too damaged to permit translation. Because of this long break, it is uncertain where Ba^clu's monologue takes place and to whom it is addressed. If the two arrivals mentioned in lines 23-24, Ba^clu's and ^cAnatu's, are coterminous (see note 145), then Ba^clu would seem to be speaking to ^cAnatu en route. If not, then Ba^clu would be addressing his complaint to ²Aṭiratu while waiting for ^cAnatu to come.

¹⁴¹ Lit., "shriveled me, treated me as a shriveled thing" (D-stem of *qlṣ* — see above, note 111). For the morpho-semantics, compare Heb. *qillēl*, "treat as a light thing, mock, curse" (*qlt*, "mockery," below in line 15, is from this root).

¹⁴² The Akk. equivalent of Ug. *dabhu* in one of the polyglot vocabularies is *isinnu*, "feast, festival (religious or secular)" (Nougayrol 1968 text 137 iii 6). The noun is derived from the verb *dbḥ* (< *qdbḥ*), "to slit the throat (of the sacrificial beast)." The divine banquet is depicted in the same terms as are used for sacrificial feasts practiced by humans, though divinities would not, of course, "sacrifice" the beasts in the same sense as humans would (cf. Pardee 1988a:24-26).

¹⁴³ The phrase {w dbḥ} was erroneously written twice here.

¹⁴⁴ The three terms by which *dbḥ* is qualified in this list are *bīt*, "shame, impropriety," *dnt*, "low quality," and *tdmm(r)*, "misbehavior" (there is disagreement about the precise meaning of the last two terms, depending on whether Arabic or Heb. etymologies are preferred). In the last case, if the meaning corresponds to the Arabic etymology ("misbehave"), it is uncertain whether the misbehavior consists of impertinence or debauchery. The three terms appear to cover three criteria for judging the quality of a feast: the appropriateness of the sacrificial victim, its quality, and the service.

¹⁴⁵ Because ²ahr can function either as an adverb ("thereafter, thereupon") or as a subordinating conjunction ("after Ba^clu arrives, ^cAnatu arrives"), and because the text preceding Ba^clu's monologue is lost, we cannot tell whether the two deities arrived together or one after the other.

¹⁴⁶ The phrase *mrḡim ṭd*, "those who suck upon the breast," is often taken as a parallel to ²ilm, "the gods," and hence as a metaphor for the children of a goddess, in particular of ²Aṭiratu. Because, however, the expression only occurs in dining scenes and because the syntax is difficult with that interpretation, de Moor's interpretation (1971:146) of the phrase as referring to the source of the meat, i.e., "suckling (beasts)," appears preferable.

¹⁴⁷ Seven lines are partially or completely destroyed at the end of col. iii, another dozen at the beginning of col. iv.

¹⁴⁸ Several of the words in this verse are uncertain of meaning. *mdl* is the standard verb for preparing a mount for travel, whether it refer to the harness or the (rudimentary) saddle (bibliography in Pardee 1987:417). *phl*, if we assume that the goddess followed the practices of women and because of the parallel terms (^cr, "donkey," and ²atn, "jennet"), designates an *Equus asinus*, rather than a horse, though the origin of the term seems to relate to the reproductive qualities of the male (bibliography and discussion in Pardee 1988a:205). *gpnm*, here translated "trappings," looks like the standard Northwest Semitic word for "vine(s)," but it is uncertain whether we have here that word used metaphorically or another word. Finally *nqbnm*, here translated "decorations," is of uncertain origin.

on the ass's beautiful back.¹⁴⁹
 Qudšu sets off, bright as fire,¹⁵⁰
 ²Amruru like a star in front,
 behind (came) Girl ²Anatu.
 As for Ba²lu, he went off to the heights of
 Šapānu.¹⁵¹

The Visit (iv 20 - v 81)

So off she goes
 to ²Ilu at the source of the double river,
 midst the upspringings of the deeps.
 She penetrates ²Ilu's abode,
 enters the dwelling of the King, father of Šuna-
 ma;
 At ²Ilu's feet she bows and falls,
 does homage and honors him.

*²Ilu Expresses His Happiness at the Sight of
 ²Aṭiratu* (iv 27-39)

When ²Ilu sees her,
 his brow unfurrows¹⁵² and he laughs;
 He taps his feet on the footstool
 and snaps his fingers.
 He raises his voice and says aloud:
 How is it that the Great Lady, ²Aṭiratu of the Sea,
 has come?

How is it that she has entered (here), the Pro-
 genitress of the Gods?

Are you really hungry (because) you've been
 wandering?

Are you really thirsty (because) [you've been]
 traveling all night?¹⁵³

Eat or drink,
 eat some bread at the table,
 drink some wine from a goblet,
 some red wine from golden cups.

Or is it the 'hand'¹⁵⁴ of ²Ilu the king that has
 excited thoughts in you,
 the love of the Bull that has aroused you?

*²Aṭiratu Recites her Message, Including Ba²lu's
 Claim to a Palace* (iv 40-57)

The Great Lady, ²Aṭiratu of the Sea, replies:
 Your decision(s), ²Ilu, (are) wise,

// Gen 11:3;
 Exod 5:7

(they are) eternal wisdom,
 your decision(s) (provide) a life of good fortune.
 (Now,) our king is Mighty Ba²lu,
 (he is) our ruler and there is none above him.
 All of us (other gods) [bear] his vessel,
 all of us bear his cup.
 (But) groaning he does cry out to the Bull, his
 father ²Ilu,
 to ²Ilu the king who established him,
 He cries out to ²Aṭiratu and to her sons,
 to the goddess and the host of her kin:
 Ba²lu has no house as (do) the (other) gods,
 (no) court as (do) the sons of ²Aṭiratu,
 (No) dwelling (as does) ²Ilu, (no) shelter (as do)
 his sons,
 (no) dwelling (as does) the Great Lady, ²Aṭiratu
 of the Sea,
 (No) dwelling (as do) the honored brides:
 (no) dwelling (as does) Pidray, daughter of
 ²Aru,
 (no) shelter (as does) Ṭallay, daughter of Rabbu,
 (no) dwelling (as does) ²Aršay, daughter of Ya²-
 ibdarru.

²Ilu Gives the Go-Ahead (iv 58 - v 63)

The Gracious One, the kindly god replies:
 So I am a servant, an attendant on ²Aṭiratu!
 So I am a servant, accustomed to tools!
 And ²Aṭiratu is a servant-girl (who) will make
 the bricks!¹⁵⁵ //
 Let a house be built for Ba²lu like the (other) gods'
 (houses),
 a court like (the courts of) the sons of ²Aṭiratu.

*²Aṭiratu Congratulates ²Ilu on the Positive Results
 of his Decision* (v 64-73)

The Great Lady, ²Aṭiratu of the Sea, replies:
 Great indeed, ²Ilu, is (your) wisdom,
 your gray beard surely instructs you,¹⁵⁶
 the respite that is yours alone (surely instructs

¹⁴⁹ The word for "back" (*bmt*) is the same as was used above for the part of her body around which ²Anatu hung the human necklace (see above, note 76). It is debatable whether the donkey was beautiful in its own right, but it certainly was when its trappings were of gold and silver. The Ug. expression consists of a substantivized adjective preceding the nouns in question: *ysmsmt bmt pḥl*, lit., "the most beautiful (part[s] of) the thorax of the male equid."

¹⁵⁰ It is uncertain whether *šb²r* is related to the verb for "burning" or the verb for "leading, taking, bringing" (as in Kirta, CTA 14 ii 101 [text 1.102 (p. 334)]), there translated "entrusting"), i.e., whether the double-deity is being depicted simply as leading the donkey or whether he is also providing light. I choose the latter solution because of the explicit comparison with a star in the next line (*k kbkb*). Unfortunately, we do not know what it is about Qudšu-wa-²Amruru that links him/them particularly with light.

¹⁵¹ This line illustrates the problems of deducing a narrative line in a badly damaged text: by means of this single line of text, Ba²lu is removed from the next scene and transported to his home. Had the text been damaged at this point, we could only have conjectured his whereabouts.

¹⁵² For the meaning of *ṭšb*, "forehead" rather than "rows of teeth," see discussion and bibliography in Pardee 1988a:69. For the interpretation of *prq*, see del Olmo Lete 1981:612.

¹⁵³ The last word in each line is partially damaged and of uncertain interpretation (cf. Gibson 1978:59, 154, 159).

¹⁵⁴ *yd* is either a euphemism for the male member (see note 48 to text 1.87) or a noun derived from a root *ydd* (<*wdd*), "to love."

¹⁵⁵ ²Ilu's reply appears ironic, accusing ²Aṭiratu in jest of proposing that he and she should themselves do the building.

¹⁵⁶ The motif is that of wisdom coming with old age (on ²Ilu as an old man, see above, note 13).

you).¹⁵⁷
 For now¹⁵⁸ Ba^clu (can) send his rain in due season,
 send the season of driving showers;¹⁵⁹
 (can) Ba^clu shout aloud in the clouds,¹⁶⁰ *kk*
 shoot (his) lightning-bolts to the earth;¹⁶¹
 A house of cedar^{mm} he may complete,
 Even a house of bricks he may raise.

ʔAṭiratu Announces That He May Undertake Preparations (v 74-81) ⁿⁿ

Let them announce to Mighty Ba^clu:
 Summon an (entire) caravan to your house,
 wares to your palace;
 Let the mountains bring you massive amounts of
 silver,
 (let) the hills (bring you) the choicest gold,
 let them bring you magnificent gems.¹⁶¹
 Then build a house of silver and gold,
 a mansion of purest lapis-lazuli.

The Message is Borne by ʔAnatu (v 82-97)¹⁶²

(This) brings joy to Girl ʔAnatu.
 She digs in her feet,
 takes off across the earth;
 She heads off
 toward Ba^clu in the heights of ʔapānu.
 (While still) a thousand yards off,
 ten thousand furlongs,
 Girl ʔAnatu laughs,
 raises her voice and shouts aloud:
 You have good news, Ba^clu!
 I bring you good news!¹⁶⁰
 They may build for you a house like (those of)
 your brothers,
 a court like (those of) your kin.¹⁶³

kk Jer 10:13;
 Joel 2:11;
 Pss 18:14;
 46:7

ll Job 37:3

mm 2Sam7:2,
 7

nn 1Kgs5:15-
 32

oo Isa 40:9;
 41:27; 52:7

Summon an (entire) caravan to your house,
 wares to your palace;
 Let the mountains bring you massive amounts of
 silver,
 (let) the hills (bring you) the choicest gold,
 Then build a house of silver and gold,
 a mansion of purest lapis-lazuli.

Ba^clu Makes the Preparations (v 97-102)¹⁶⁴

(This) brings joy to Mighty Ba^clu:
 He summons an (entire) caravan to his house,
 wares to his palace;
 The mountains bring him massive amounts of
 silver,
 the hills (bring him) the choicest gold,
 they bring him magnificent gems.

Then He Sends for Kōṭaru-wa-Ḥasīsu (v 103-105)

He sends a message¹⁶⁵ to Kōṭaru-wa-Ḥasīsu:

Go back to the recitation: "When the two lads take
 the message..."
 166

Kōṭaru-wa-Ḥasīsu Arrives, Is Feted, and Urged to Work (v 106-119)

Thereafter Kōṭaru-wa-Ḥasīsu arrives.
 They place beef in front of him,
 a fatling before him.
 A chair is prepared and they seat (him)
 at the right hand of Mighty Ba^clu,
 while [the gods] eat and drink.
 Mighty [Ba^clu] speaks up:
 ...¹⁶⁷
 Hurry! (raise) a house, O Kōṭaru,

¹⁵⁷ The text reads {rḥn[.].l.d[.].l.ṭirk} and has been interpreted in various ways. My translation implies that the first word is cognate with Arabic *rḥw*, which denotes softness and relaxation, that the second is the relative pronoun, and that *ṭirk* means "(belonging) to your chest, bosom." The "respite" would refer to ʔIlu's old age.

¹⁵⁸ The cause-and-effect relationship between ʔIlu's permission to allow Ba^clu to have his own palace and Ba^clu's exercise of his function as weather god is strongly marked in the Ug. text: the line begins with two particles, the first of which bears an extending morpheme (*wn ʔap = /wa-na ʔapa/*).

¹⁵⁹ The precise meaning of *tk b glt* remains uncertain. If the second sign of the first word could be read as {r} rather than {k}, the word could be explained as from *trr*, "be abundant (of water)" (Driver 1956:97, 151), a root that some believe to be already attested in Ug. (e.g., in text 1.94, line 64 (p. 298), on which see Pardee 1988a:215). The editor's copy (Vroilleaud 1932:pl. xxvii) shows, however, the rather clear outline of {k} (subsequent editors have all indicated a damaged {k}).

¹⁶⁰ A common idiom for "to thunder" in Northwest Semitic is "to give the voice (in the clouds/in the heavens, etc.)." There is a striking parallel in one of the Amarna texts (*ša id-din ri-ig-ma-šu i-na sa-me ki-ma* "IM, "who gives his voice in the heavens like the weather god" [EA 147:13-14]). The central part of Ps 29 (vss. 3-9), with the seven-fold repetition of *qōl*, "voice," is, of course, the depiction of YHWH as filling the rôle of the weather god.

¹⁶¹ The word translated "gems," *ʔilqsm*, is of uncertain meaning. Other words for precious stones are attested in Ug. and in the Akk. of Ugarit which have /ʔ/ as the first phoneme: *ʔalgbi/alkabašu* and *algamišu*, to which may be compared Heb. *ʔelgabīš* (Nougayrol 1968:101, n. 1).

¹⁶² Either ʔAnatu has accompanied ʔAṭiratu to ʔIlu's home or else the formulae for carrying ʔAṭiratu's message to her have been omitted.

¹⁶³ Up to this point the houses to which comparison has been made have always been referred to as being those of "the gods" // "the sons of ʔAṭiratu." The word for "kin" here, *ʔary*, is the same as that used for ʔAṭiratu's kin in several passages (*šbrt ʔaryh*, "the host of her kin"), where the parallel phrase is *bnh*, "her sons." Below p. 262, vi 44-46, "his brothers // his kin" seem to be equated with "the seventy sons of ʔAṭiratu." Has Ba^clu been promoted to equality with the sons of ʔAṭiratu, i.e., the terms are honorific, or has his rightful place simply been recognized? Perhaps a little of both if his parentage is complicated (see above, note 32, and below, note 190).

¹⁶⁴ In this section Ba^clu gathers the materials, but the final verse of the preceding parallel passages is omitted, that concerning the actual construction. For this, he sends for Kōṭaru-wa-Ḥasīsu.

¹⁶⁵ The commonly adopted correction of {yʔak} to {y<1>ʔak} appears necessary.

¹⁶⁶ The disposal of the horizontal lines and the sense of the passage all indicate that the announcement of the message by Ba^clu is omitted, as are its repetition by the messengers and all travel formulae.

¹⁶⁷ One line is almost totally destroyed.

hurry! raise a palace,
hurry! you must build a house.
Hurry! you must raise a palace
on the heights of Šapānu,
A house covering a thousand acres,
a palace (covering) ten thousand hectares.

Owner and Contractor Argue About a Window
(v 120 - vi 15)¹⁶⁸

Kôtaru-wa-Ḥasīsu replies:
Listen, O Mighty Ba^clu,
understand, O Cloud-Rider:
Must I not put a latticed window in the house,
a window-opening in the palace?
Mighty Ba^clu replies:
You must not put a latticed window in [the house],
[no window-opening] in the palace!¹⁶⁹
Kôtaru[-wa]-Ḥasīsu replies:
You'll come around, Ba^clu, to [my view].¹⁷⁰
Kôtaru[-wa]-Ḥasīsu repeats (his) speech:
Listen, please,¹⁷¹ O Mighty Ba^clu:
Must I not put a latticed window in the house,
a window-opening in the palace?
Mighty Ba^clu replies:
You must not put a latticed window in the house,
no window-opening in the palace!
Lest¹⁷² Pidray, daughter of ʔAru, do [X],
[lest] Ṭallay, daughter of Rabbu, [do Y].
[...] ʔIlu's beloved, Yammu,
[...] cast scorn upon me,
and spit upon me [...].¹⁷³
Kôtaru[-wa]-Ḥasīsu replies:
You'll come around, Ba^clu, to my view.

pp Deut 3:9;
Ps 29:6

The Palace is Built (vi 16-40)

[Hurriedly] they build his house,
[hurriedly] they raise his palace.
(Some workers) [go] to Lebanon and its trees,
to Siryon^{pp} (and) its choicest cedars;
[They X] Lebanon and its trees,
Siryon (and) its choicest cedars.
Fire is placed in the house,
flames in the palace.
For a day, two (days),
the fire consumes (fuel)¹⁷⁴ in the house,
the flames (consume fuel) in the palace;
For a third, a fourth day,
the fire consumes (fuel) in the house,
the flames (consume fuel) in the palace;
For a fifth, a sixth day,
the fire consumes (fuel) in the house,
the flames (consume fuel) in the palace;
Then on the seventh day,¹⁷⁵
the fire is removed from the house,
the flames from the palace.
(Voilà!) the silver has turned into plaques,
the gold is turned into bricks.
(This) brings joy to Mighty Ba^clu:
You have built my house of silver,
my palace of gold.
(Then) Ba^clu completes the furnishing of [his]
house,
Haddu completes the furnishing¹⁷⁶ of his palace.

The Inaugural Banquet (vi 40-?)

He slaughters bovids [and] caprovids,¹⁷⁷
he fells bulls [and] fattened goats,

¹⁶⁸ Kôtaru-wa-Ḥasīsu's motivation for wanting to put the disputed window in the palace is not stated: is it the simple fact that palaces had windows or is the contractor somehow in league with Môtu, whose defeat of Ba^clu's follows the eventual opening of the window? Note that there is no parallel, as is often assumed, between the biblical passage according to which death comes in through a window (Jer 9:20) and this myth, according to which the contact between Ba^clu and Môtu takes place at a series of feasts, while Ba^clu's death takes place near Môtu's own domain (CTA 5 v - 6 i). Moreover, when below (vi 8-14) Ba^clu raises specific objections, they are phrased in terms of his daughters and of Yammu (who is no longer a major player, at least in this arrangement of the tablets). The link between the window and Ba^clu's demise appears to lie in the realm of hubris, rather than in means of access: once the window is in place, Ba^clu is so impressed by his own abilities to make thunder and lightning pass through the window to earth that he presumes himself capable of taking on Môtu (vii 25 - CTA 5 ii). This rather clear link between the palace, the window, and Ba^clu's eventual demise — so important to the overall structure of the myth — calls into question, it may appear, the interpretation of the palace motif as primarily cosmological in function (cf. Smith 1994:77, 105).

¹⁶⁹ The very end of col. v is broken away but it is uncertain whether there was any additional text there.

¹⁷⁰ Lit., "to my word," reconstructed on the basis of vi 15.

¹⁷¹ As compared with the previous version of the speech, the particle *m^c* is added here after the verb *šm^c*, "listen." On the other hand, the second colon ("understand, O Cloud-Rider") is omitted here.

¹⁷² The formulation here appears to be negative volitive: "Let Pidray not do [X]."

¹⁷³ The passage containing the reasons for Ba^clu's refusal of a window is damaged and without parallels for reconstruction. If Ba^clu's daughters were not described as having houses of their own, one might think that Ba^clu here is worried about them going out through the windows of his house. In the case of Yammu, Ba^clu is most plausibly worried about his enemy gaining entry by the window and treating him as is recounted above in col. iii, lines 10-22. Might the reference to spitting (cf. col. iii, line 13) be a reference to the foam of the sea? Might Ba^clu be worried about his daughters somehow aiding Yammu, whether purposely or inadvertently? Might he be worried about the his daughters' husbands, who would be expected to be in league with Yammu (cf. notes 32, 98, 99, 190)?

¹⁷⁴ The image is probably not that of the fire burning freely throughout the palace, but of a giant casting process, in which the fire must constantly be fed.

¹⁷⁵ The seven-day sequence is a common literary motif in Ug. for expressing extended processes. Compare the use of the motif in connection with travel in the Kirta text (1.102).

¹⁷⁶ The words translated "complete the furnishing" constitute an etymological figure of speech (**dbt* ... *y^cdb* // **db* [**d*]*br*), using a root that is probably a developed form of the one that gave the word translated "wares" (**dbr*) above, v 76 and 92. Because of this connection and because of the generality of the formulation, it appears likely that the reference is to the general furnishing of the palace rather than to the specific preparations for the up-coming feast.

¹⁷⁷ Apologies for the semi-technical terms, used to express precisely the two Ug. terms: ʔ*alpm*, "(male) bovids" (specifically "male bovids")

yearling calves,
 lambs (and) great numbers of kids.
 He invites his brothers into his house,
 his kin into his palace,
 He invites the seventy sons of ²Atiratu:
 He provides the gods with rams (and) wine,¹⁷⁸
 he provides the goddesses with ewes (and)
 [wine];
 He provides the gods with bulls (and) wine,
 he provides the goddesses with cows (and)
 [wine];
 He provides the gods with chairs (and) wine,
 he provides the goddesses with seats (and)
 [wine];
 He provides the gods with jars of wine,
 he provides the goddesses with barrels of [wine].
 So the gods eat and drink,
 they take sucklings,
 with a salted knife cutlets from [a fatling].
 They drink wine from goblets,
 red [wine from] golden cups.

...¹⁷⁹

Ba^clu Takes Possession of His Cities (vii 7-12)

He goes? from [city] to city,
 goes again from town to town.¹⁸⁰
 He takes possession of¹⁸¹ sixty-six cities,
 of seventy-seven towns;

Eighty does Ba^clu [X],
 ninety does he [Y].

Ba^clu Decides He Wants a Window After All
 (vii 13-25)

(Then) Ba^clu [returns] to (his) house.
 Mighty Ba^clu speaks up:
 I am going to charge Kôtaru, this very day,
 Kôtaru, this very moment,¹⁸²
 With opening up a window in (my) house,
 a latticed window in (my) palace,
 With opening up a rift¹⁸³ in the clouds,
 according to the pronouncement of Kôtaru-
 wa-Ḥasîsu.
 Kôtaru-wa-Ḥasîsu breaks out laughing,
 he raises his voice and says:
 Didn't I tell you, O Mighty Ba^clu,
 (that) you, Ba^clu, would come around to my
 word?

The Window Is Put to Immediate Use (vii 25-37)

(So) he he opens up a window in the house,
 a latticed window in the palace.
 Ba^clu (himself)¹⁸⁴ opens up the rift in the clouds,
 Ba^clu emits his holy voice,
 Ba^clu makes the thunder roll over and over
 again.¹⁸⁵
 His [holy] voice [causes] the earth [to tremble],
 [at his thunder] the mountains shake with fear.¹⁸⁶

below in line 49 and specifically "domesticated bovids" in CTA 6 i 20, in opposition with *r²umm*, "wild bulls", and *š²in* (= Heb. *šōn*), "mixed herd of sheep and goats."

¹⁷⁸ The formulation of lines 47-54 consists of eight verses, in which masculine and feminine entities alternate, i.e., gods + masculine item // goddesses + feminine item. Because of this alternation and because of the ambiguity of the syntax, the formulae have often been understood as denoting simply a list of male and female deities (ram gods // ewe goddesses, etc.; e.g. de Moor 1987:60-61). This is plausible for the animal terms (lines 47-50), for representation of deities as animals is common, but it becomes less plausible in the cases of chairs and wine jars (lines 51-54), for such deified entities are virtually unknown in Ug. Because *špq* is the causative of the verb *pq*, attested here below at the end of the list (*pq*, "they take," in line 56) and in the Kirta text (CTA 14 i 12 [text 1.102, n. 5]) in the meaning "to obtain," hence "cause to obtain, give to, furnish with, provide for," there is no difficulty in interpreting ²*ilm krm*, etc., as "double accusatives" (as in Heb., the Hiphil stem followed by two complements marked by ²*et*, the definite direct object marker). It is somewhat more problematic to see the end of the phrase, *krm yn*, etc., as an asyndetic accusative construction ("rams (and) wine"; e.g., Gibson 1977:63-64), but that solution appears preferable to denying the existence of *yn* at the end of every line but 53-54 (reading the form *yšql* in the other lines: Cassuto 1938:287-89; Caquot, Szymer and Herdner 1974:214; Smith 1994:50), for a glance at the photograph and copy will show that there was no reason to separate the {y} from the rest of the form. Indeed, in line 51 all editors have seen another sign after the {y}, and the traces correspond perfectly to the beginning of {n}.

¹⁷⁹ Of some six or seven lines at the end of col. vi only a few signs are preserved. At the beginning of col. vii, only the ends of the lines are preserved. Mighty Ba^clu is certainly mentioned there and in all probability Yammu as well ({*md* ²*y[m]*), lines 3-4).

¹⁸⁰ What is preserved as {*dr*} is usually interpreted as the first verb in this verse, though it is usually emended to {*br*}, "cross (through), traverse"; the second verb is *šb*, "return," perhaps used to denote the repetition of the first act. The formulation of the complements is lit., "to city/cities of cities // to town(s) of towns."

¹⁸¹ The verb is ²*ahd*, cognate with Heb. ²*ahaz*. Because the preceding context is so broken, it is uncertain what degree of force is involved and to what extent these cites previously constituted holdings of Yammu.

¹⁸² In the absence of vocalization, the phrases *bn ym* // *bnm* ^c*dt* are ambiguous and could also be translated "son of Yammu // son of the confluence (of the deeps)." Such an interpretation might help to explain Kôtaru's willingness to build a house for Yammu (CTA 2 iii), but the difficulties are severe: (1) Kôtaru is nowhere else designated the son of Yammu; (2) ^c*dt* is not used elsewhere alone as the equivalent of ^c*dt thmm* (on which see note 4 to RS 24.244 [text 1.94]).

¹⁸³ Etymologically *bdqt* should denote "a fissure, break, crack." The metaphorical juxtaposition of "window" and "rift," coupled with the description of what Ba^clu does when the rift is opened up, indicates that the house he had built had become a form of confinement, keeping him from the proper exercise of his rain-making function. He, therefore, sees the rift as a liberation, though it will later be instrumental in his death.

¹⁸⁴ Given the structure of this and the preceding verses, it appears that Kôtaru-wa-Ḥasîsu, as he has proposed, opens the window, but that Ba^clu himself takes over when it comes to opening up the rift in the clouds. Thus, in some sense, the window and the opening in the clouds were seen as separate entities. This distinction (a veritable rift!) between the window as an item of construction and the rift in the clouds as particular to Ba^clu's divine status seems to indicate that the Ugaritians were well aware of the metaphors with which they were dealing (cf. Korpel 1990:375).

¹⁸⁵ Lit., "Ba^clu repeats the utterances of his lips."

¹⁸⁶ The translations indicated as restorations are *ad sensum*; various restorations of the Ug. text have been proposed. The precise nuance of *hš*, here translated "shake with fear," is uncertain; my translation assumes the existence of a root *hš* II (which would, by comparison with Arabic, be derived from *h(y)š*) alongside *hš* I, used in ritual texts to describe a characteristic of ²Ilu (on this root, see Pardee forthcoming on RS

... ¹⁸⁷ the high places of the earth totter. Ba ^c lu's enemies grasp hold of (the trees of) the forest, Haddu's adversaries (grasp hold of) the flanks of the mountain(s).	qg Pss 9:8; 29:10 rr Ps 68:17 ss Ps 95:3 n Gen 27:28 uu Pss 103:5; 145:16; Isa 58:11 vv 2Kgs 15:5	(For) Môtu is always proclaiming, The beloved one (of ² Ilu) is always claiming: ¹⁹³ I am the only one who rules over the gods, ^{ss} who fattens ^{ss} gods and men, who satiates ^{uu} the hordes of the earth. <i>Ba^clu Calls his Messengers</i> (vii 52-?) When Ba ^c lu calls to his lads: Look, [Gupanu-]wa- ² Ugāru: The sea [is enveloped] in darkness, in obscurity the [highest] peaks ¹⁹⁴ <i>The Directions</i> (viii 1-32) So head off for Mount Targuziza, for Mount Tarrummagi, to the two ruin-mounds that mark the borders of the earth. ¹⁹⁵ Lift up (one) mountain on (your) hands, (one) wooded hill on (your) palms. Then go down to the place of seclusion ^{vv} (within) the earth,
<i>Ba^clu's Powers Incite Him to Hubris</i> (vii 37 - CTA 5 ii) ¹⁸⁸ Mighty Ba ^c lu speaks up: Enemies of Haddu, ¹⁸⁹ why do you shake with fear? Why do you shake with fear, you who take up arms against Dimārānu? ¹⁹⁰ Ba ^c lu looks ahead of (where) his hand (will strike) when the cedar (shaft) dances in his right hand. ¹⁹¹ Since Ba ^c lu has taken up residence ^{qg} in his house is there or is there not a king (who) can establish himself ^{rr} in the land of (Ba ^c lu's) dominion? Why don't I send a courier to Môtu, son of ² Ilu, a messenger to the beloved warrior of ² Ilu? ¹⁹²		

4.474-9).

¹⁸⁷ The readings at the beginning of lines 33 and 34 are disputed.¹⁸⁸ On the relationship between the window and Ba^clu's eventual demise, see above note 168.¹⁸⁹ The divine name is here spelled {hdt} — a mistake for {hdm}, i.e. *hd* + *-m*?

¹⁹⁰ Or: "Why do you fear the arm(s) of Dimārānu" (*ntq* could be either a concrete noun, "arm(s) of," or the participle of the corresponding verb or a nomen professionalis derived therefrom). Dimārānu is vocalized as a form of the root known elsewhere in Ug. under the form *dmr* (*d* frequently is {d}). The epithet is usually identified with the theonym Demarous, who was the son of Ouranos though born only after the defeat of the latter at the hand of Kronos (= Elos [²Ilu]) when his mistress, mother of Demarous, was given by Kronos to his brother Dagan (tradition according to Philo of Byblos: see, e.g., Attridge and Oden 1981:48-51). If the Ug. divine genealogy was anything like that transmitted by Philo of Byblos, Ba^clu would have been the half-brother of both Dagan and ²Ilu/Kronos, who both were sons of Ouranos, and also the stepson of Dagan. Though deities corresponding to Ouranos and Ge (principal wife of Ouranos), i.e., ²Aršu-wa-Šamūma, "Earth-and-Heaven," are known in Ug. from the pantheon and ritual texts, and though one pantheon text explicitly places ²Aršu-wa-Šamūma before ²Ilu (see Pardee forthcoming on RS 24.643:23-25), Ug. mythology contains no story dealing with the generations preceding Dagan and ²Ilu. Another perspective, for which the data are closer in time to the Ug. texts, is that of the relationship between Kumarbi (= Dagan) and Tešub (= Ba^clu) in Hurrian mythology (Niehr 1994). The problem with that set of comparisons is the absence of a clear correspondent to the larger group of Ug. divinities. Whatever the genealogical and ideological strata may be in these various relationships (and one would not expect the ideology perfectly to match the genealogy!), a broadly coherent picture emerges from this cycle itself: Ba^clu and ^cAnatu are on one side (below in CTA 6 ii 12 [p. 270] they are represented as siblings), perhaps along with Šapšu, while Yammu/Naharu, Môtu, Lôtan, and ²Aṭiratu and her sons are on the other (cf. notes 32, 93, 163, 254, 264). ²Ilu naturally favors his own son, Yammu, but does not intervene when Ba^clu defeats Yammu and, under pressure, accepts Ba^clu's claims — this is understandable if Ba^clu is closely related to ²Ilu but not his own son. When Ba^clu is temporarily defeated by Môtu, ²Ilu is represented as seeing for himself the negative effects of Môtu's reign (CTA 6 iii). ²Ilu's principal wife ²Aṭiratu is closely associated with the sea/Yammu, but is not said to be his mother. Perhaps this somewhat ambiguous relationship explains why she can be seduced by gifts to plead Ba^clu's case (i 20 - v 81).

¹⁹¹ This is one of the more difficult verses in the well-preserved parts of this myth and it has received multiple interpretations. The one offered here assumes that the motifs are (1) careful aim and (2) the weapon as a living tree (for a representation of such a weapon, see the "Baal aux foudres" stele from Ras Shamra, e.g., Yon 1991:no. 5; Bordreuil 1991). If *ktgd* in line 41 is indeed a verbal form (for a plausible interpretation as a noun, see Sanmartín 1978), it should be analyzed as a *r*-preformative form of a III-weak root related to Arabic *gdd/gdw/gdy/gdā/gdā*, all of which have connotations of speed or hurrying, though whether the reference is to the weapon speeding from the deity's hand or dancing in his hand cannot be said.

¹⁹² The standard form of Môtu's title as son of ²Ilu is *bn ²ilm mt*. The *-m* of *²ilm* must, of course, be the so-called "enclitic" particle, not the plural morpheme. The second formulaic title in this verse is *ydd ²il gẓr*, lit., "the beloved one of ²Ilu, the warrior." I am not convinced that the fact that *gẓr* is an epithet is sufficient evidence for taking the word as modifying ²Ilu rather than Môtu (Vaughn 1993). On the surface level, the structure of this phrase is precisely identical to *bn ²ilm mt*, the only difference being that *mt* is a proper name, *gẓr* a nominal attribute. Mythologically, it is unlikely that *gẓr* is an epithet of ²Ilu, for *gẓr* describes relatively young and vigorous men (see note 78 to the Kirta text [1.102]), while ²Ilu is consistently described as an old man (see above, note 13) not at all interested in fighting.

¹⁹³ Lit., "Môtu calls out in his throat, the beloved one keeps saying within himself" (the second verb is *ystrm*, plausibly cognate with Arabic *srr*, "tell" — which would thus be historically distinct from *srr* denoting the umbilicus = Heb. *šdr*).

¹⁹⁴ There are five partially preserved lines and about seven more totally broken away at the end of col. vii.

¹⁹⁵ The mountain names are unidentified and of uncertain vocalization; if the form of the names is Hurrian/Asiatic as most commentators have thought, one may assume that they were considered to be situated at the northern extremes of the earth (for a summary discussion, see Astour 1980). Whether *tlm* denotes "ruin-mounds" (as "tell" is used in modern archaeological parlance) here or designates a particular type of hill (// *gr*, "mountain"), the use of the word, very rare in Ug. (cf. CTA 16 i 52 [text 1.102] "mound"), is surely meant to express a characteristic feature of these "delimiters" (*gẓr*) between the land of the living and the land of the dead, a feature that is plausibly linked with the notion of ruin. In

you must be counted among those who go down into the earth. ¹⁹⁶ <i>ww</i>	<i>ww</i> Pss 88:5; 143:7	Say to Môtu, son of ² Ilu, repeat to the beloved warrior of ² Ilu:
Once (down there) head for his city Hamray, ^{xv} (for) Mukku where his throne is established, ^{yy} (for) Hôhu, the land of his own possession. ¹⁹⁷	<i>xx</i> Ps 140:11	<i>The Message</i> (viii 32-47) Message of Mighty Ba ^c lu word of the mightiest of heroes:
But be careful, couriers of the gods: Don't get near Môtu, son of ² Ilu, Lest he take you as (he would) a lamb in his mouth, lest you be destroyed as (would be) a kid in his crushing jaws. ¹⁹⁸	<i>yy</i> Cf. Eccl 10:18	I have built my house [of silver], my [palace of gold]. ... ²⁰⁰
Šapšu, luminary of the gods, glows hot, the heavens are powerless under the control of Môtu, the beloved of ² Ilu. (From) a thousand yards off, ten thousand furlongs, At the feet of Môtu bow and fall, do homage and honor him. ¹⁹⁹	<i>zz</i> Isa 5:14; Hab 2:5	<i>Môtu's Reply to Ba^clu</i> (viii 48 - CTA 5 i 8) ²⁰¹ [Message of Môtu, son of ² Ilu, word of the beloved warrior of ² Ilu: My throat ^{zz} is the throat of the lion ^{aaa} in the wasteland, ^{bbb} and ²⁰² the gullet ²⁰³ of the 'snorter' ²⁰⁴ in the sea; And it craves the pool (as do) the wild bulls, (craves) springs as (do) the herds of deer; ²⁰⁵ <i>ccc</i> And, indeed, indeed,
	<i>aaa</i> Deut 33:20; Hos 13:8	
	<i>bbb</i> Deut 32:10; Ps 107:40; Job 6:18; 12:24	
	<i>ccc</i> Ps 42:2	

the next verse it is *hīb* that is used parallel to *gr*, a better-attested parallelism in Ug., though the precise meaning of that term is also uncertain (in Akk. *hālbū* means "forest, wood, grove").

¹⁹⁶ The divine messengers' entry into the realm of the dead is described in the same terms as are used for the dying entering that realm.

¹⁹⁷ The three names (the vocalizations of which are hypothetical) denote aspects of the underworld: Hamray, "watery," Mukku, "sinking down, dilapidation," Hôhu, "opening, hole, fault" (cf. Astour 1980:229). The last word is probably a different word from *hām* in CTA 17 vi 35 (see note 45 to text 1.103). It appears plausible to see in the description of Môtu by Philo of Byblos as "slime ... [or] the putrefaction of a watery mixture" at least a vague memory of the name Hamray ("watery") (Baumgarten 1981:97, 111-13), though the link is not as explicit as some have thought (Held 1973:188-190).

¹⁹⁸ The meaning of *qn* in *b ībrn qnh*, sometimes reread as *b ībr nt'nh*, is uncertain (my translation "jaws" is primarily from context). These terms are repeated below, not for the messengers, but in Môtu's version of what happened to Ba^clu (CTA 6 ii 22-23 and note 256 — the narrator's version of this event has been lost in one of the earlier lacunae).

¹⁹⁹ The previous verse contains the standard formulae for travel over a long distance (see above, notes 10, 21). Because in at least some cases the distance formulae are used to designate separation between the traveler and the goal, it appears plausible, in the context of Ba^clu's warning for the messengers to maintain their distance, to interpret the juxtaposition of the distance formulae with the obeisance formulae here as denoting obeisance at a distance (see the similar formulae in Ug. letters [translated in COS 3]).

²⁰⁰ The meat of Ba^clu's message is lost in the break, where only a few letters have been preserved in lines 38-47. Judging from the remnants of the messenger's name preserved in line 47 (*[gpn] w ²ugr*), we may surmise that the message and messenger formulae extended to there; the presence of a double line on the tablet at that point indicates that the complete repetition of Ba^clu's message to Môtu was omitted (see note 88) and that the rest of the column, some seventeen lines, contained Môtu's reply (see next note). The {t} at the end of line 48, the last sign visible, is plausibly the last sign of the introductory phrase *thm bn ²ilm m* (as in CTA 5 i 12-13, p. 265).

²⁰¹ Simply in order to present in a coherent sequence what was at least the gist of Môtu's message as dictated to the messengers — though there are variations in reported messages, the basic content is reported faithfully — I restore here the beginning of the message as preserved below in lines CTA 5 i 12-27. Though quite well preserved in CTA 5, this section constitutes one of the most difficult and disputed passages of the Ba^clu cycle. In the cycle as preserved, the only explicit mention of the defeat of a reptilian adversary up to this point is that to which ^cAnam has laid claim (CTA 3 iii 37-39 [here lines 40-42]). Here Môtu begins by describing his voracious appetite and challenges Ba^clu to invite him and his kinsmen for a meal, apparently in Ba^clu's new palace. At that point is inserted a challenge involving physical prowess, of which an important element is lost ("I can pierce you through..." — see note 208). The logic of the end of the message seems to be that when Ba^clu defeats Lôtan, Môtu dies also as a consequence, dies by being devoured (*sp'//mt*). It is not stated why he dies. But then the message concludes by stating that Ba^clu must also die. The most logical explanation of this cause-and-effect sequence is to see Lôtan and his reptilian allies as the kinsmen of Môtu to which reference has already been made. If Ba^clu attacks them, Môtu must, as their kinsman, take up their cause. On the other hand, at least judging from the biblical materials, Ba^clu has no alternative to taking on the reptilian forces because they are also allies of Yammu (see above note 92). In spite of the damaged state of tablets 4 and 5, it is clear that, in Môtu's mind and hence for the plot line, the nub of the long exchange of messages between Ba^clu and Môtu is the latter's request for an invitation to take tea at the palace ("So invite me..."), for it is by the repetition of those terms that Môtu greets Ba^clu's eventual acquiescence (CTA 5 ii 21-23), which itself was not stated in anything approaching those terms (CTA 5 ii 12, 19-20: "Your servant am I, and forever (will be)!") (p. 266).

²⁰² "And" here and four more times in lines 15-21 reflects the particle *hm* that may mark either mutually exclusive alternatives or a list of open possibilities, the latter being the case here. I often do not translate the less strongly marked conjunction *w*, but do translate *hm* here each time it appears.

²⁰³ As in CTA 5 i 7, *npš* is here the inner passage of the throat, the esophagus. The parallel term, *brh*, is the regular parallel to *npš* in Ug. poetry, though its precise meaning is debated. Elsewhere in Ug., the two terms can denote not the physical apparatus of eating and breathing, but the vital life force.

²⁰⁴ *^aanhr* is plausibly identical to Akk. *nāhiru*, mentioned by Assyrian kings as the object of sea-hunts (CAD N 137). Because one of these texts mentions the "tusks" (*šinnē*) of the creature in question, doubt has been expressed as to the identification of the animal with the whale (some bibliography in Pardee 1987:373).

²⁰⁵ Some have interpreted this verse as meaning that the sources of water attract the animals, rather than vice versa. The interpretation offered above appears preferable, however, because it is the animals that do the swallowing, not the sources. That the form *r²umm* is adverbial is proven

my throat consumes^{ddd} heaps (of things),²⁰⁶
 yes indeed, I eat by double handfuls;
 And my seven portions are in a bowl,
 and they mix (into my) cup a (whole) river.²⁰⁷
 So invite me, Ba^clu, along with my brothers,
 have me over, Haddu, along with my kin,
 And eat bread with my brothers,
 drink wine with my kin!
 Have you forgotten, Ba^clu, that I can pierce you
 through?
 ...²⁰⁸

Colophon (left edge)

[The scribe: ²Ilmilkū, *lā^ci*]yū-official of
 Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit.²⁰⁹

CTA 5²¹⁰

When you smite Lôtan,²¹¹ the fleeing serpent,
 finish off the twisting serpent,²¹²
 the close-coiling one with seven heads,
 The heavens wither and go slack
 like the folds (?) of your tunic.²¹²
 (Then) I, with groans, am devoured,
 (like) a piece of dung I die.²¹³
 (So) you must (for your part) descend²¹⁴ into the
 throat of Môtu, son of ²Ilū,
 into the watery depths²¹⁵ of the beloved warrior
 of ²Ilū.

ddd Ps 49:15

eee Isa 27:1;
 Ps 74:14

fff Ps 140:11

Môtu's Message is Delivered to Ba^clu (i 9-?)

The gods do not hesitate;
 they head off
 for Ba^clu on the heights of Šapānu.
 Gupanu-wa-²Ugāru report:
 Message of Môtu, son of ²Ilū,
 word of the beloved warrior of ²Ilū:²¹⁶
 My throat is the throat of the lion in the wasteland,
 and the gullet of the 'snorter' in the sea;
 And it craves the pool (as do) the wild bulls,
 (craves) springs as (do) the herds of deer;
 And, indeed, indeed,
 my throat consumes heaps (of things),
 yes indeed, I eat by double handfuls;
 And my seven portions are in a bowl,
 and they mix (into my) cup a (whole) river.
 So invite me, Ba^clu, along with my brothers,
 have me over, Haddu, along with my kin,
 And eat bread with my brothers,
 drink wine with my kin!
 Have you forgotten, Ba^clu, that I can pierce you
 through?
 [...]
 When you smite [Lôtan, the] fleeing [serpent],
 finish off [the twisting serpent],
 the close-coiling one [with seven heads],
 [The heavens] wither [and go slack
 like the folds (?) of] your [tunic].

by the quotation of this or a similar text in RS 24.293:7, where the word is preceded by the preposition *k*; that the form is plural seems to be proven by the same text, for marking a noun both prepositionally and with enclitic-*m* is not particularly common. For a comparison of the two texts, with previous bibliography, see Pardee 1988a:158-60.

²⁰⁶ Most scholars have interpreted *hmr* as meaning "clay" and as a metaphor for "humankind" (cf. Job 4:19; 33:6, and the creation story in Genesis, where man is made from "dust from the soil," *āpār min-hā²dāmāh*). It appears somewhat implausible, however, from a rhetorical perspective, that humankind would be introduced here, after a list of animals, under so obscure an image. The interpretation as meaning "heap(s)" finds etymological support in Heb. *hōmer* (used for heaps of frogs in Exod 8:10) and in Aram. and Arabic where forms of the root are used for heaping stones.

²⁰⁷ Or: "And Naharu (himself) mixes (my) cup."

²⁰⁸ The first part of CTA 5 i 27, from which the message up to this point is restored, has almost entirely disappeared; it is certain that only one line of this verse is missing there. Judging from the repetition of the message in CTA 5 i (lines 14 to the end of the column as preserved), this verse was the last on CTA 4 viii and the text continued immediately on CTA 5. Because of the varieties of semantic parallelism, from synonymous to none at all (for a presentation of the types of parallelism and their distributions in a poem, see Pardee 1988c), there is no way of knowing whether the line that has been lost from this verse restated Môtu's powers or provided a motivation or circumstances for their exercise. Because of this uncertainty, it is also uncertain whether the clause introduced by *k* in the following verse (CTA 5 i 1) is causal or temporal, and in the latter case whether the clause is dependent on this verse or on the verse following that containing the *k* clause (as I translate).

²⁰⁹ On the title written *l^cy*, see discussion and bibliography in Freilich 1992 and in Pardee forthcoming on RS 1.001:1. It is clear that the administrative title was also a religious one, for a *l^cy*-priest is known from RS 24.266:8 (text 1.88) and from RIH 78/20:2 (text 1.96). On the possibility that the Niqmaddu of this colophon is Niqmaddu (III), who reigned at the end of the thirteenth century, see above, note 3. On the distribution of colophons in these tablets, see note 4.

²¹⁰ This six-column tablet consists of two primary fragments, found in different years (1930, 1931) but published together by Virolleaud 1934b. It is certain that this tablet bore neither introductory notation (*l b^cl*) nor colophon, for the upper left corner fragment contains the beginning and end of the text and the left edge of the tablet is quite well preserved, with neither of those scribal formulae present. Unfortunately, about a third of the tablet was never found, a large portion of the upper right corner, where a major portion of cols. ii-v has disappeared. Moreover, the right half of cols. iii and iv, situated on the right side of this six-column tablet, has disappeared and the text partially preserved there is without parallels, making continuous translation impossible.

²¹¹ On this divinity, corresponding to Leviathan in the Hebrew Bible, see Caquot 1992.

²¹² {*krs* ²*ipdk*} has received a great many explanations. I have analyzed the first three signs as the preposition *k* + a noun (or verbal noun?) *rs*, but my translation is a simple guess. The word translated "tunic" is *ipd*, cognate with Heb. *ēpōd* designating a garment.

²¹³ This interpretation is based primarily on the form *antm*, analyzed as the first person singular of MT, "to die," plus enclitic-*m* (cf. note 201). Others see the verse as a threat on Môtu's part to devour Ba^clu, "forearms" (*antm*, dual of *ant*, cognate with Heb. *ammāh*) and all.

²¹⁴ *l yrt* (< *yarad* + *ta*) = precativ *l* + perfect, 2m.s., expresses the certitude of the event.

²¹⁵ *b mhmrt*, written across two lines, is here interpreted, as have many scholars before me, as a *m*-preformative noun from the same root as that from which the name of Môtu's city, Hamray, is derived (see above, note 197).

²¹⁶ The title is here written incorrectly: {ydd . bn . ²il (14) g²zr} (*bn* is repeated from the previous formula).

[(Then) I, with groans, am devoured,
(like) a piece of dung I die.
(So) you must (for your part) descend the throat of
Môtu, son of ʔIlu,
into the watery depths of the beloved warrior of
ʔIlu].

...²¹⁷

Baʕlu Reflects on Môtu's Threat (ii 7-7)²¹⁸

[He puts (one) lip to the] earth, (the other) lip to
the heavens,

[he X] (his) tongue to the stars.²¹⁹ ⁸⁸⁸

Baʕlu will enter his insides,²²⁰

(will go down) his mouth like a roasted olive,
(like) the produce of the earth and the fruit of
(its) trees.

Mighty Baʕlu will fear him,

Cloud-Rider will be frightened of him.

*Baʕlu's Message, Very Brief, in Reply to Môtu's
Threats* (ii 8-13)

Go say to Môtu, son of ʔIlu,

Repeat to the beloved warrior of ʔIlu:

Message of Mighty Baʕlu,

word of the mightiest of heroes:

Salutations, Môtu, son of ʔIlu!

Your servant am I, and forever (will be)!²²¹

Be off and do not tarry, O gods.

888 Ps 73:9

huh Ps 116:16

The Message is Delivered (ii 13-20)

So they head off

toward Môtu, son of ʔIlu,

to his city Hamray,

to Mukku where <his> throne is established,

to Hôhu, the land of his own possession.

They raise their voices and say aloud:

Message of Mighty Baʕlu,

word of the mightiest of heroes:

Salutations, Môtu, son of ʔIlu!

Your servant am I, and forever (will be)!

Môtu's Reaction (ii 20-?)

(This) brings joy to Môtu, son of ʔIlu:

[He raises] his voice and cries out:²²¹

[Baʕlu] will indeed invite me [along with my
brothers],

Haddu will have me over [along with my
kinsmen].

...²²²

*Invitation and Preparations for the Feast in Honor
of Môtu* (iii)²²³

A Banquet (iv)²²⁴

Baʕlu Receives the Final Invitation (v 7-17)

...²²⁵

and I will put him/it down amongst the gods of

²¹⁷ The end of the message, here restored in the form in which Môtu dictated it to Baʕlu's messenger, has disappeared in the lacuna at the end of col. i, which the editor estimated to have caused the loss of some thirty lines (Vroilleaud 1934b:306); the beginning of col. ii is also lost, about twelve lines by comparison with col. i.

²¹⁸ The precise context of these words from Baʕlu is unclear because of the preceding lacuna and because there is no transition from the soliloquy to the messenger formulae introducing his return message to Môtu (line 13 "Be off..."). It is clear from this and the following section that Môtu's words have changed Baʕlu's braggadocio into submission, but the missing text leaves us in the dark as to what it was that brought about the transformation. Note that the lacuna of forty-plus lines may have taken away a complete exchange of messages, either brief ones or longer ones with omission of repetition by the messengers (as has occurred above [see notes 88, 132, 200]).

²¹⁹ One finds a similar idiom in the myth Dawn and Dusk (text 1.87, lines 61-62), where the motif of a deity's mouth stretching from heaven to earth also expresses extreme voracity. The reference to the tongue here (partially restored in line 3: {l}šn) is not present in the other text and may or may not express that Môtu possessed powers unknown to Šaharu-wa-Šalimu.

²²⁰ Lit., "his liver" (see above, note 15).

²²¹ The text reads here: {...}gh w ʔašh, "[...] his voice and I will cry out"; Herdner assures us that there is only room in the lacuna for two wide signs or three narrow ones. Now the restoration {yšʔu}, "he raises," would constitute three wide signs (1963:34, n. 4). Most scholars have adopted a similar restoration, nonetheless, and emended {ʔašh} to {y!šh}, and I see no other solution (something like "I have heard his voice and I will cry out" would take even more space and is not, in any case, an attested idiom).

²²² Other than a few words and signs the rest of col. ii has disappeared. One of these words, šmḥ, seems to occur in RS 24.293:16, the text we have already presented as containing elements quoted from this or a similar text (see note 205), and another word is tantalizingly similar (qzb in CTA 5 ii 24 vs. qbz in RS 24.293:13). Unfortunately, the interpretation of these words is not easy (see Pardee 1988a:160-64).

²²³ As stated in note 210, the right half of cols. iii-iv has disappeared and no single line is completely restorable in col. iii. Moreover, there is a complete gap of thirty to forty lines between cols. ii and iii as preserved. The title ascribed to this column is based on some of the few complete words that have been preserved. In lines 9 and 18 is found the verbal form ʔašh, "I will invite" (lit., "I will cry out to (to).") the same verb as was used in the first line of the two verses expressing Môtu's desire to be invited) and Môtu's name and title "beloved" are present both times. Also present are words for sheep and goats: šgr (cf. Heb. šeger), ʔim (which appears again in RS 24.252:14, but again in a badly broken context [Pardee 1988a:111]), and as a divine name in RS 24.643:31 [see Pardee forthcoming *ad loc.*], and ʔin (cf. Heb. šōʔn). These may be taken as constituting at least part of the beasts slaughtered for the feast.

²²⁴ Col. iv being the continuation of col. iii, i.e., situated on the right side of the verso of the tablet, it has undergone damage symmetrical to that of col. iii. Also, because the bottom of the tablet is broken away, there is a gap of some forty or more lines between cols. iii and iv as preserved. Lines 12-18 certainly contain the terms characteristic of a banquet (as in CTA 4 iii 40-44 [see note 146]). Unfortunately, no characteristic term has been preserved by which to identify the feasting gods. The presence of the phrases ʔi ʔap bʕi [...] ʔi hd, "Where, then, is Baʕlu [...] where is Haddu?" (lines 6, 7) seems to indicate, however, that a feast is depicted other than the one put on by Baʕlu for Môtu. Because of these features and because in the next column Baʕlu has not yet gone down to Môtu's domain, we may surmise that Baʕlu's banquet for Môtu has already taken place, that at that banquet Môtu may have insisted again on Baʕlu visiting the underworld, and that the banquet in col. iv represents another banquet of the gods from which Baʕlu is absent, for reasons impossible to ascertain but which may have to do with his preparations for his descent (as in col. v).

²²⁵ More than thirty-five lines have disappeared between cols. iv and v as preserved, and the first four lines of col. v are too broken to permit translation. The first partially translatable line is clearly the second segment of a verse.

the underworld. ²²⁶	iii Ps 135:7	² Ilu Learns of Ba ^c lu's Death (vi 2-25)
As for you, take your clouds, your wind,	iii Ps 82:7	[Off they head
your watering devices, your rain, ⁱⁱⁱ	kkk Gen 37:3	to ² Ilu at the source of the double river,
With you your seven lads,	iii Ps 141:7	midst the upspringings of the deeps.
your eight officers,		They enter ² Ilu's dwelling],
With you Pidray, daughter of ² Aru,		go into [the home of the King, father of]
with you Tallay, ²²⁷ daughter of Rabbu. ²²⁸		Šunama.
Head off		[They raise their voices and say aloud]:
for the mountains of my covert; ²²⁹	mmmm Isa 47:1;	We have done the rounds of [(some part) of the
Lift up (one) mountain on (your) hands,	Ezek 26:16	earth],
(one) wooded hill on (your) palms.		unto (its) well-watered portions. ²³³
Then go down into the place of seclusion (within)	nnnn Josh 7:6;	We arrived at the best part of the earth, the pasture
the earth,	Ezek 27:30;	land,
you must be counted among those who go down	Lam 2:10	at the most beautiful field on the edge of death's
into the earth,		realm. ²³⁴ iii
And the gods will know that you are dead. ²³⁰ iii		We arrived at where Ba ^c lu was fallen to the earth:
Ba ^c lu Assures Himself a Form of Afterlife (v 17-?)		Dead was Mighty Ba ^c lu,
Hearing (this), Ba ^c lu loves a heifer in the pasture		perished the Prince, master of the earth. ²³⁵
land,		Thereupon the Gracious One, the kindly god,
a cow in a field on the edge of death's realm. ²³¹		descends from the throne, sits on the footstool,
Seventy-seven (times) he lies with her,		(descends) from the footstool, sits on the
eighty-eight she bears him up.		earth. ^{mmmm}
She conceives and bears a male,		He pours dirt ²³⁶ of mourning on his head,
Mighty Ba ^c lu clothes him. ^{kkk}		dust of humiliation on his cranium, ⁿⁿⁿ
...		

²²⁶ Lit., "I will put him/it in the hole(s) of the gods, (in) the earth." The word for "hole(s)," *hrt*, is probably from the same root as the Ug. word for nostrils (*hr* in RS 24.247+ :6 [text 1.90]) and as the Heb. word *hōr*, used once to describe the holes in the ground from which the Hebrews hid from the Philistines (1 Sam 14:11) and again for the dwelling-place of outcast people (Job 30:6), probably in both passages representing humans as living like animals. These usages indicate that the notion communicated by *hrt* in the phrase *hrt ʔilm* is probably not so much that of the grave, i.e., a hole dug in the ground, as that of the "caves, caverns, crevices, (geological) faults" that lead down into the earth, hence down to the dwelling-place of the deities of the underworld. The "gods" in the Ug. expression probably include both the underworld deities, of whom Rašap and Milku were the leaders, and the divinized dead. Judging from the Ug. king list (RS 24.257; see Pardee 1988a:165-78; text 1.104 below), where each of the past king's names is preceded by the word *ʔil*, "god," the deceased, at least the royal deceased, were thought to be deified at death. Parallelism in other passages indicates that this phrase can be part of an idiom for burial (see here CTA 6 i 17-18 and the ʔAqhatu text CTA 19 iii 112, 126-27, 141 [text 1.103]). It is uncertain to whom reference is made here, for there is an explicit shift to Ba^clu in the next verse. For this reason and because here the line is missing that in the other texts refers explicitly to a tomb, it is not impossible that this verse was formulated differently from the parallel texts and that the phrase refers to descent into the underworld in a non-funerary context.

²²⁷ Mistakenly written {tly}.

²²⁸ This list of Ba^clu's suite shows that all manifestations of his powers are to go with him to the underworld, that drought must be the result of his descent. (The reason for the omission of ʔArašay, daughter of Ya^cibdaru here, as in CTA 3 i 22-25, is unclear [cf. Smith 1994:72, n. 143].)

²²⁹ The -y affixed to *knkny* indicates that it may well not be a toponym, as some have thought, but a common noun, as others have thought. Because it fills the slot of the two mountain names in CTA 5 viii 2-3, under which Mōtu lives according to both accounts, the word is plausibly explained by Arabic *knm*, "cover, cover up, hide," and in reflexive stems "hide, find seclusion at home." According to the classical dictionaries, Arabic actually had a reduplicated stem like this one, *knkn*, that meant "stick around home, not go out (to battle, etc.), etc."

²³⁰ In the text as it has been preserved the word "die" is here pronounced for the first time in the context of Ba^clu's descent into the underworld. Mōtu has previously used the verb only of himself (i 6, restored in i 33), while Baal's demise has been described as descending into Mōtu's realm. In col. vi, Ba^clu is described as "dying" and in CTA 6 his corpse is described as in need of burial. Whether the intervening text, now lost, contained any narrative device functioning to lessen the dissonance of these two views of dying and of corpse disposal, it is impossible to know. It can be said, however, that the two views existed side-by-side in the case of human death: the dead were said to "descend into the earth" and this was accomplished for the corpse by placing it in a grave, along with the "forefathers" in the earth. At least in the case of kings, a special rite existed to ensure that the dead person joined the Rapa^ʔūma, the shades of the dead (see here RS 34.126 [text 1.105] and Pardee forthcoming on RS 34.126).

²³¹ "Death's realm" here is *mmt*, a *m*-preformative noun from the same root as that from which Mōtu's name is formed.

²³² Another gap of more than forty lines separates cols. v and vi, more than ten lines here and another thirty or so lines in col. vi.

²³³ This passage is similar, though not identical, to a passage in the Kirta text (1.102), CTA 16 iii 3-4. Unfortunately line 4 in the present text has almost entirely disappeared and there is no way to know precisely how it should be restored.

²³⁴ It is to be noted that this passage, by repetition of the expression *šd šhl mmt*, explicitly places the discovery of Ba^clu's body in the same place where he had loved the heifer (see v 18-23, and note 231), which in turn seems to be located near the spot where one descends into Mōtu's realm. Therefore, however close the connections may be with death, the place described is earthly, not netherworldly, and there is no reason to interpret the terms "best" and "most beautiful" as euphemisms for the realm of death. Rather, because this place has mountains (CTA 4 viii 2-6; 5 v 12-14) and because "good" (*n^cmy*) is used to describe Ba^clu's mountain (CTA 3 iii 28 [here line 31]), one may see this use of *n^cm* and *ym* as descriptive of mountainous areas associated with divinities.

²³⁵ The title *zbl b^cl ʔarš* has not been used for Ba^clu, in the text as preserved, since he sat down at his own feast (CTA 3 i 3-4).

²³⁶ It is disputed whether *ʔmr* here is to be explained by Heb. *ʔeper*, "soil, ashes," or by *ʔomer/ʔāmīr*, words used to designate various forms

for clothing, he is covered with a girded garment. ²³⁷	ooo 1 Kgs 18:28; Jer 16:6	plows (her) chest like a garden
With a stone he scratches incisions on (his) skin, ^{ooo}		harrows (her) back like a (garden in a) valley.
with a razor he cuts cheeks and chin. ^{ppp}	ppp Isa 15:2; Jer 48:37	Ba ^c lu is dead, what (is to become of) the people,
He harrows his upper arms,		the Son of Dagan (is dead), what (is to become of) the hordes (of the earth)?
plows (his) chest like a garden	qqq Ps 80:6	After Ba ^c lu, we also shall descend into the earth,
harrows (his) back like a (garden in a) valley. ²³⁸		with him Šapšu, luminary of the gods, shall descend.
He raises his voice and cries aloud:		She drinks (her) weeping until she is sated,
Ba ^c lu is dead, what (is to become of) the people,		(she drinks her) tears like wine. ^{qqq}
the Son of Dagan (is dead), what (is to become of) the hordes (of the earth)?		(Then) she calls aloud to Šapšu, luminary of the gods:
After Ba ^c lu, I also shall descend into the earth.		Bear for me, please, Mighty Ba ^c lu.
^c Anatu Finds and Buries Ba ^c lu (vi 25 - CTA 6 i 32)		Šapšu, luminary of the gods, agrees:
^c Anatu also goes and searches		She lifts Mighty Ba ^c lu up onto ^c Anatu's shoulder.
every mountain to the heart of the earth,		Once (Šapšu) has placed him (on her shoulder), she takes him up
every hill to the heart of the fields. ²³⁹		to the heights of Šapānu.
She arrives at the best part of [the earth], the pasture land,		(There) she weeps for him and buries him,
at the most beautiful field on [the edge of] death's realm.		places him down amongst the gods of the underworld.
She [arrives] at where Ba ^c lu was fallen [to the] earth;		She slaughters seventy wild bulls
[for clothing], she is covered with a girded garment. ²⁴⁰		as a GMN (for) Mighty Ba ^c lu; ²⁴²
CTA 6 ²⁴¹		She slaughters seventy domesticated bovids
(Belonging) to (the) Ba ^c lu (cycle).		[as] a GMN (for) Mighty Ba ^c lu;
With a stone she scratches incisions on (her) skin,		[She] slaughters seventy domesticated caprovids
[with a razor] she cuts cheeks and chin.		[as a] GMN (for) Mighty Ba ^c lu;
[She harrows] her upper arms,		[She] slaughters seventy deer
		[as a GMN] (for) Mighty Ba ^c lu;

of "grain," here taken as "straw." Del Olmo Lete (1981:601) observes that the latter meaning is inappropriate with a verb meaning "pour out."

²³⁷ The precise meaning of *m²izrt*, here interpreted as from the root *zr*, "to gird," is uncertain. It and an apparently related word *u²zr* are key terms in the first of the ²Aqhatu texts (see note 3 to text 1.103). A masculine form of the noun may appear in two economic texts in Akk. from Ras Shamra (Nougayrol 1970:99, 100), though that may be a different word.

²³⁸ For the interpretation of this verse, with some previous bibliography, see Dietrich and Loretz 1986c:109. Note that the word here translated "back" is *bmt*, the same as was used above for the part of the body where ^cAnatu hung the necklace of human heads (see notes 76, 149).

²³⁹ The formulation here, lit., "liver of the earth, liver of the fields," is precisely that of the passages in which ^cAnatu is requested to make peace offerings (see above, note 15). The second of these passages (CTA 3 iii) appears to be in a context of requesting ^cAnatu to abandon her bellicose ways — though the lacuna between cols. ii and iii renders that interpretation uncertain; the first occurrence is in a text too damaged to allow perception of the motivation for this form of address (CTA 1 ii).

²⁴⁰ The bicolon in which ²Ilu was described as pouring dirt and dust on his head (CTA 5 vi 14-16) is here absent; was this by haplography or does it reflect an intentionally different description of ^cAnatu's mourning?

²⁴¹ The left third of this six-column tablet is well preserved, while the upper half of the columns to the right has disappeared. The bottom half of the tablet was discovered during the second campaign at Ras Shamra (1930), the fragment providing the upper part of the left column three years later (*editio princeps* by Virolleaud 1931, 1934a). As is the case with tablets belonging to the Kirta and ²Aqhatu cycles, this tablet bears as its first line the identification of the story cycle to which it belongs, viz. *l b^cl*. The preposition *l* plus the hero's name is so placed on CTA 14, 16, and 19. In the two other cycles the notation is present wherever the upper left corner of the tablet is preserved (the corner of CTA 15, 17, 18 is not preserved). In the Ba^clu cycle, only two tablets have the upper left corner extant, CTA 5 and 6; the archival notation was not inscribed on CTA 5. The use of the preposition *l* in the archival notation is not to be confused with the *lamed auctoris* used in the (secondary) headings of several biblical psalms. CTA 6 also has the longest colophon of any tablet of the three cycles mentioned (see below, vi 53-57). On the use of colophons in these texts, see above note 4.

²⁴² The signs {kgmn}, usually taken as the preposition *k* plus a noun *gm*, are presently unexplained (for a summary, see Watson 1989b). Because equational phrases are frequently not marked prepositionally in Ug., leaving open the possibility that the four signs denote a single word, and because even *gm* is open to several etymological explanations, we must await further evidence before we can hope to identify the meaning of the expression with some assurance. The relationship of this phrase to Ba^clu is not marked lexically, probably indicating a construct chain, lit., "(as) the (k)gm of Ba^clu." The animals in the list constitute a mixture of wild and domesticated beasts (on *r²um* and *alp*, the first two types mentioned here, see above, note 177). The total list is quite different from the repertory of sacrificial beasts characteristic of the prose ritual texts, and the difference is accentuated by the absence of the term (k)gm in those texts. The terms for domesticated beasts here (*alp*, "bovid," *s²in*, "caprovid") are found in the ritual texts whereas the wild animals are absent (*r²um*, "wild bull," *ayl*, "deer," *y^ci*, "wild goat"). If the correct reading in line 28 is {hmrn}, "donkeys" (rather than {y}hmrn, "roebacks," proposed by Ginsberg 1950:158), the word is not the same as that used in the ritual texts for a very particular type of donkey-sacrifice: there the word is *r* (see Pardee 1991 and forthcoming). Finally, the verb used in this passage is *t²bh*, rather than *db²h*, the verb characteristic of the prose ritual texts and which appears in some mythological passages where a divine meal is depicted. (*t²bh* also appears in descriptions of divine feasts, though more rarely, e.g., CTA 4 vi 40.) This passage varies

[She slaughters] seventy wild goats
[as a GMN] (for) Mighty Ba^clu;
[She slaughters seventy] asses
[as a] GMN (for) Mighty Ba^clu.
...²⁴³
^cAnat Informs ²Ilu of Ba^clu's Death (i 32-43)
Then off she goes
to [²Ilu] at the source of the double river,
midst the upspringings of the deeps.
She enters ²Ilu's dwelling,
goes into the home of the King, father of
Sunama;
At ²Ilu's feet she bows and falls,
does homage and honors him.
She raises her voice and says aloud:
So now let ²Aṭiratu and her sons rejoice,
(let) the goddess (rejoice) and the host of her
kin;
For Mighty Ba^clu is dead,
perished the Prince, master of the earth.²⁴⁴
²Ilu and ²Aṭiratu Confer on a Replacement for
Ba^clu (i 43-55)
²Ilu cries aloud
to the Great Lady, ²Aṭiratu of the Sea:
Listen, O Great Lady, ²Aṭiratu of the Sea:
Give one of your sons that I might make him

III Isa 14:13

king.

The Great Lady, ²Aṭiratu of the Sea, replies:
Must we not appoint someone as king (who)
knows (how) sap flows?²⁴⁵

The Gracious One, the kindly god answers:
One of meager strength cannot run (with Ba^clu),
with Ba^clu cannot handle the lance,
(for when he vies) with the son of Dagan, he
falls prostrate.²⁴⁶

The Great Lady, ²Aṭiratu of the Sea, replies:
Must we not, then, appoint terrible ^cAṭtaru as
king?²⁴⁷
Let terrible ^cAṭtaru be king!

'Terrible' ^cAṭtaru Attempts, Unsuccessfully, to Fill
Ba^clu's Role (i 56-?)

Thereupon terrible ^cAṭtaru
climbs the heights of Ṣapānu,²⁴⁸
sits on Mighty Ba^clu's seat.²⁴⁸
(But) his feet do not reach the footstool,
his head does not reach the top (of the seat).²⁴⁹
(To this) terrible ^cAṭtaru responds:
I will not be king on the heights of Ṣapānu.
Terrible ^cAṭtaru (then) descends,
he descends from the seat of Might Ba^clu,
And rules over the earth, god of it all,²⁵⁰
[...] will draw in jars,

considerably, therefore, from the ritual texts, most of which emanate from the royal sacrificial cult as actually practiced at Ugarit in ca. 1200 BCE. Such differences are surely owing to various historical and ideological factors that deserve more extensive treatment than can be given here. Comparing this text with the sacrificial use of game for ²Ilu's table according to RS 24.258 (see n. 4 text 1.97), it appears that the gods were perceived as regularly dining on a combination of wild and domesticated beasts. The use of *ṭḥ* here may be linked with the funerary nature of these sacrifices, though that can only be an hypothesis based on this passage. (*ṭḥ* is used in the only certain funerary ritual presently known from Ugarit, RS 34.126 [Bordreuil and Pardee 1991:151-163 and here text 1.105].) It is very unfortunate that the precise meaning of (*k*)*gm* escapes us.

²⁴³ Between the list of sacrifices and the following travel formulae there are two damaged lines that have no parallels to permit restoration.

²⁴⁴ ²Aṭiratu's hostility to Ba^clu is here assumed by all protagonists (see above, note 121).

²⁴⁵ Opinions are about evenly divided as to whether *ydc* *ylhn* means "he knows, he is intelligent" (*ydc* + *lhn*, the latter explained by Arabic *lhn*, "be intelligent") or "he knows (how) sap flows," or "(how) to make the sap flow, cause moisture" (*ydc* + *lh* [geminate root], the latter perhaps attested in a nominal form in the Ug. hippatric texts, text 1.106). The first interpretation assumes that ²Aṭiratu is proposing that the new king be wise, ²Ilu (next verses) that the new king be strong; the second that the new king must be able to provide fertility as does Ba^clu. A reference to intelligence would here be without resonance in the following text (^cAṭtaru is disqualified for physical reasons [lines 59-65], with no mention of intellectual inability), and the second explanation thus appears preferable. If ^cAṭtaru is indeed linked with irrigation (see above, note 48), one might interpret this passage as meaning that in the hilly Levant irrigation is insufficient to make the sap flow everywhere; for that to happen, Ba^clu's lance (*mrḥ* in ²Ilu's speech that follows) that buds (see note 191) must be properly wielded in order that the rains may fall.

²⁴⁶ There seems to be agreement that the reading at the end line 52 is {ktmsm}, rather than {k . msm}, once proposed by Caquot, Szyner and Herdner 1974:257, note 1. The signs may be divided either as *kt msm*, "smitten, crushed as to beauty" (he who does not have the requisite beauty of form cannot vie with Ba^clu), or as *kms*, a form of *kms*, "fall prostrate" (parallel to *npl* in CTA 12 ii 54-55). The first solution is problematic lexically (*kt* is not attested elsewhere in Ug. and is not attested in such a formula in Heb.), the second is problematic both morphologically (in CTA 12 ii 55 the form is *tkms*, not *ktms*; the form is here perf., whereas the two previous verbs are in the imperf.) and rhetorically (the two previous verbs denote forms of vying with Ba^clu, this one would denote the result of vying with Ba^clu but the prep. is still *ḥm*, "with, along with").

²⁴⁷ The interpretation of ^cAṭtaru's title *ṣṣ* is much debated. Most link the epithet with Heb. *ṣṣ* (no root *ṣṣ* is attested in Arabic), which denotes various aspects of inspiring fear, awe, and terror. If this is correct, ²Aṭiratu is agreeing with ²Ilu that the candidate should be someone who shares Ba^clu's physical prowess and is claiming that ^cAṭtaru qualifies. Also, if this interpretation of *ṣṣ* is correct, it is difficult not to see in the repetition of the epithet in the following section, in which ^cAṭtaru's disqualification is described, an ironic use of the title by the pro-Ba^clu author/scribe.

²⁴⁸ The word used for the throne here is *khṭ*, which normally appears in second position, parallel to *ks'u*, "chair, throne."

²⁴⁹ A proper occupant of a throne, with feet on the footstool and tip of the cap touching the back of the throne, is illustrated by a stone statuette of a deity (perhaps ²Ilu) discovered at Ras Shamra in 1988 (Yon 1991:347-348, 351).

²⁵⁰ The phrase here is *ḥil khṭ*, precisely the same as was used twice above with reference to Kōtaru-wa-Ḥasīsu's hegemony in Memphis (see note 19). Because they assume that Ba^clu is king of the earth, some scholars have felt constrained to take *ṣṣ* here as denoting a particular land (cf. Caquot, Szyner and Herdner 1974:258, n. o). On the other hand, a formal claim to kingship of the earth is not to be found in the various statements regarding Ba^clu's kingship. The closest one comes to the expression of such a concept is in one of his standard titles, *zbl b'ṣṣ arṣ*, "the Prince, master of the earth," and in the phrase *ṣṣ drkt*, "the land of (his) domain" [CTA 4 vii 44]. Because of the very specific terminology used in this passage, viz., that ^cAṭtaru climbs (*ṣṣ*) Mount Ṣapānu to take Ba^clu's throne and descends (*yrd*) from there when he abandons that throne, it does not appear implausible to interpret ^cAṭtaru's rôle as king of the earth as referring to the earth as flatlands. Such a limited kingship may already have been referred to in CTA 2 iii 17-18 (see above, note 50). This hegemony, though ultimately granted by ²Ilu, may have been

[...] will draw in jugs.

...²⁵¹

^cAnatu Punishes Môtu (ii 4-37)

A day, two days pass

and [Maid²⁵² ^cAnatu] interrogates him.²⁵³

Like the heart of a cow for her calf,

like the heart of a ewe for her lamb,

so is the heart of ^cAnatu after Ba^clu.

She seizes Môtu by the hem of his clothes,

grasps [him] by the extremity of his garment.

She raises her voice and shouts aloud:

You, Môtu, give me my brother!²⁵⁴

Môtu, son of ²Ilu, replies:

(You don't know) what you're asking, Girl
^cAnatu.

I went searching

every mountain to the heart of the earth,

every hill to the heart of the fields.

There were no humans for me to swallow,

no hordes of the earth to swallow.²⁵⁵

I arrived at the best part of the earth, the pasture
land,

at the most beautiful field on the edge of death's

realm.

(There) I met up with Mighty Ba^clu,

I took him as (I would) a lamb in my mouth,
he was destroyed as a kid (would be) in my
crushing jaws.²⁵⁶

(Now) Šapšu, luminary of the gods, glows hot,
the heavens are powerless under the control of
Môtu, the son of ²Ilu.

A day, two days pass,

the days become months,

(and) Maid ^cAnatu interrogates him.

Like the heart of a cow for her calf,

like the heart of a ewe for her lamb,

so is the heart of ^cAnatu after Ba^clu.

She seizes Môtu, son of ²Ilu.²⁵⁷

with a knife she splits him,

with a winnowing-fork she winnows him,

with fire she burns him,

with grindstones she pulverizes him,

in the field she sows him;

The birds eat his flesh,

the fowl finish off his body parts,

flesh(-eaters) grow fat on flesh.²⁵⁸

seen as a vice-regency under Ba^clu's control (in normal times, of course, when Ba^clu is in control). The facts that (1) goddesses have claimed Ba^clu as their king (CTA 3 v 40 [here line 32]; 4 iv 43); (2) Ba^clu's kingship is stated in this and other passages to be "on the heights of Šapānu"; (3) the members of one of the so-called "pantheons," the best known, are described as "the gods of Šapānu" (RS 1.017:1 = CTA 29:1), lead to the conclusion that Ba^clu was somehow seen as the king of the earth in the context of divine contact with the earth at Mount Šapānu. Descriptions of his activities also indicate that the link between mountain tops, storm clouds, and his function as provider of rain were inextricably linked (see particularly the link between the window in his palace and the phenomena of thunder and lightning, above CTA 4 vii 25-37). It appears plausible, therefore, to posit a Ug. conception of Ba^clu as king of mountains and storms and ^cAṭtaru as king of the flat earth, under Ba^clu's control. Whether this concept was linked with the understanding of ^cAṭtaru as god of irrigation (see above nn. 48, 245) or simply with the realities of flatland life, i.e., the need to draw water from wells and springs, cannot be determined from the following broken lines, which seem to contain references to drawing water.

²⁵¹ Approximately thirty-five lines are missing from the beginning of col. ii or too damaged to translate.

²⁵² The title *rh*m, "girl, maid" (< "womb"?) is restored here from line 27; it is used of ^cAnatu only in this passage (cf. note 22 to text 1.87).

²⁵³ In line 27, where the same verbal form, *mgth*, appears, the antecedent of the suffixed pronoun is not clear from the preceding text; it is clear, however, that Môtu appears immediately before the phrase there. The pronoun is generally considered to refer to Ba^clu, who is named at the end of the following section. One wonders why ^cAnatu would be seeking him out, when she was the one who buried him (below, once Ba^clu has given signs of life, the verb used for seeking him is *bg*l [iv 44]). In CTA 12 i 40 a perfect form of *ng*l appears, modified by the phrase *b p^cnh*, usually interpreted as "seek on foot" — one wonders, however, why "foot/feet" bears the pronominal suffix. In none of these passages is there a parallel verb to *ng*l, which is often explained by Arabic *ng*l, which can mean "to seek, search, make inquiries." But that verb can also mean "search for information regarding someone," "scrutinize," "accuse," and even "cry out to someone for help." Perhaps we should take the antecedent as Môtu and interpret ^cAnatu's act as somehow related to Môtu's confession in this passage and to her attack on him in the second passage (lines 27-37).

²⁵⁴ For the first time in this text, the relationship between Ba^clu and ^cAnatu is expressed in terms reflecting a sibling relationship (see above, note 190). On the many facets of ^cAnatu's character and on her relationship to Ba^clu, see Pardee 1989-90:464-66 and, more recently, Walls 1992.

²⁵⁵ Lit., "My throat lacked sons of mankind, my throat (lacked) the hordes of the earth."

²⁵⁶ These terms were used by Ba^clu in warning his messengers not to get too close to Môtu (CTA 4 viii 18-20 and note 198). The narrator's version of Ba^clu's death has been lost in one of the lacunae above.

²⁵⁷ See below v 11-19, where Môtu refers to the following treatment by ^cAnat, but with an extended list of acts and significant variations. The problems that have faced the interpreters are: (1) Is the imagery entirely that of grain processing? (2) If so, why is this particular imagery used for Môtu, god of death? Although neither here nor above is a perfectly sequential depiction of how grain is processed, because some of the acts in this list are specifically related to grain processing, it is very likely that the rest of the expressions are so to be interpreted. For a cogent interpretation, esp. of the act of burning, as representing grain processing see Healey 1983b. In that context, "splitting with a knife/sword (*bg^c + hrb*)" refers to the process of cutting up by threshing, even though one might expect terminology closer to a description of threshing by a sledge that has sharp points fixed on its underside (Heb. *hārāṣ*). Because ^cAnatu's acts, even with the exaggerated variants claimed by Môtu below in col. v, did not succeed in eradicating her victim, the explanation of the use of grain imagery is plausibly linked, as many scholars have thought, pointing out the similar idea in John 12:24, with the visible signs of death that accompany the planting of seed, followed by the reappearance of life. Because of several parallels, Moses' destruction of the golden calf (Exod 32:20) is often cited as parallel to these acts. The fact, however, that the objects destroyed and the literary presentations are quite different precludes an identical interpretation of the two passages — until the very end of the second account here (Môtu's version in v 11-19 [see n. 271]) the terms used to describe the destruction of a flesh-and-blood Môtu reflect agricultural realities, while the Exod passage describes the destruction of a metal object in terms more or less applicable to food preparation.

²⁵⁸ Because the form *ysh*, from the hollow root *sh*, "to cry out," is frequent in Ug., the word *ysh* here in line 37 has usually been given the same interpretation. "Flesh crying out to flesh" hardly makes sense in this context, however, where we would expect the "flesh" in question to be Môtu's, and it appears likely, therefore, that we are dealing with a homograph. *nsh* is attested in Syrian Arabic in the meaning "grow fat."

259 <i>In a Dream ʔIlu Understands that Baʕlu has Revived</i> (iii 1-21)²⁶⁰ [... that Mighty Baʕlu is dead,] that the Prince, [master of the earth], has perished. And if Mighty [Baʕlu] is alive, if the Prince, lord of [the earth], exists (again), In a dream of the Gracious One, the kindly god, in a vision of the Creator of creatures, The heavens will rain down oil, the wadis will run with honey.²⁶¹ Then I'll know that Mighty Baʕlu is alive, that the Prince, master of the earth, exists (again). In a dream of the Gracious One, the kindly god, in a vision of the Creator of creatures, The heavens rain down oil, the wadis run with honey. (This) brings joy to the Gracious One, the kindly god, he taps his feet on the footstool his brow unfurrows and he laughs. He raises his voice and cries out: (Now) I can again get some rest, my innermost being can get some rest,²⁶¹ For Mighty Baʕlu is alive, the Prince, master of the earth, exists (again). ʔIlu Seeks Confirmation of the Dream (iii 22 - iv) ʔIlu calls aloud to Girl ʕAnatu:	ss Ezek 32:14; Joel 4:18; Job 20:17 ss Prov 1:9	Listen, Girl ʕAnatu: (Go) say to Šapšu, luminary of the gods: Dried up are the furrows of the fields, O Šapšu, dried up are the furrows of ʔIlu's fields, Baʕlu is neglecting the furrows of the plowland.²⁶² Where is Mighty Baʕlu? Where is the Prince, master of the earth? (So) Girl ʕAnat leaves, she heads off for Šapšu, luminary of the gods.²⁶³ She raises her voice and says aloud: Message of the Bull, your father ʔIlu, word of the Gracious One, your sire.²⁶⁴ Dried up are the furrows of the fields, O Šapšu, dried up are the furrows of ʔIlu's fields, Baʕlu is neglecting the furrows of the plowland. Where is Mighty Baʕlu? Where is the Prince, master of the earth? Šapšu, luminary of the gods, replies: Pour sparkling wine in (your) tent, Put garlands on your kinfolk,²⁶⁵ For I will go looking for Baʕlu.²⁶⁶ Girl ʕAnatu replies: Wherever you go, O Šapšu, wherever you go, ʔIlu will protect [you], [...] will protect you. ...²⁶⁶ <i>Baʕlu Gets Revenge, Resumes His Kingly Estate</i> (v 1-6) Baʕlu seizes the sons of ʔAtiratu,
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Perhaps the repetition of *šʕir*, "flesh," denotes the consumption of flesh and the resultant fattening of the consumers.

²⁵⁹ There is a short double horizontal line at the bottom of col. ii. Because the beginning of col. iii is lost (some forty lines), destroying the data for the sequence of the text from one column to the other, we have no way of determining the function of the double line here.

²⁶⁰ Apparently someone has claimed to ʔIlu (or ʔIlu is soliloquizing) that Baʕlu is alive. He responds that Baʕlu's death has been proven to him and he will only believe that Baʕlu is alive if in a dream he sees the effects of the weather deity's return, which indeed occurs. Though it appears clear that Mōtu's demise has permitted Baʕlu's revival, the precise circumstances are lost in the lacuna at the beginning of col. iii (see preceding note), as are those attendant on the discovery of his whereabouts at the beginning of col. iv.

²⁶¹ Lit., "and my gullet can rest in my chest" (see above, note 203).

²⁶² This verse and the corresponding verse below in Šapšu's reply to this message (lines 42-44) have inspired extremely diverse interpretations. The translation offered here follows somewhat of a consensus; it reflects an interpretation according to which ʔIlu has seen signs of renewed fertility in a dream whereas reality on the ground has not yet changed. Hence his question in the following verse. The passage would be paraphrasable as: I have seen rain in a dream but the fields are still parched; so where is Baʕlu? Another form of interpretation, for which I have not been able to devise a credible philological analysis, is theoretically plausible, one that sees in ʔIlu's message an affirmation of the content of the dream rather than a contrast with the conditions viewed in the dream (paraphrased: I have seen fertility in a dream, something positive is happening in the fields, but Baʕlu hasn't shown up yet. Where is he?). Two negative factors in the consensus interpretation make one seek a better one: (1) The structure of this verse could be tighter — specifically: it starts off in a form appropriate for what has been called "staircase" parallelism (Greenstein 1977) but as here interpreted does not follow that pattern. (2) In Šapšu's reply there are several words that resemble (parts of) words in this verse (*šd*, *ʕn*, *ʕf*) but there is no semantic correspondence — are we missing something or do the correspondences operate solely on the phonetic level?

²⁶³ Note that Šapšu, here and in RS 24.244 (text 1.94), does not have a fixed domicile, like the other gods to whom messages are taken in both texts, not even so broad a one as the heavens (like Šahru-wa-Šalimu in RS 24.244:51-56), plausibly because she constantly circulates in the heavens and through the netherworld. In this context it is also to be noted that the solar deity in Ug. culture does not have a multiplicity of hypostases, each linked with a different place, and is thus unlike other major Ug. deities, such as Baʕlu and Rašap.

²⁶⁴ Previously, ʔIlu has only called himself "your sire" (*hikk*) when addressing ʕAnatu (see above, note 13). Furthermore, it can be said that if Šapšu is considered in this story cycle to take sides (see above, note 190), it is on the side of Baʕlu and ʕAnatu. The use of *hik* appears, therefore, to denote a relationship of these goddesses to ʔIlu that is different from his relationship to the sons of ʔAtiratu, who are Baʕlu's enemies.

²⁶⁵ The first verse of Šapšu's reply, a bicolon, clearly corresponds to the first verse of ʔIlu's message, which was a tricolon, while her reply to ʔIlu's double question takes the form of a single utterance. As interpreted here, the reply offers reassurance in two forms, a command to relax and rejoice, motivated by the promise on Šapšu's part to seek (and hence to find) Baʕlu. The word "kinfolk" (*ʕumuk*), the same as is used for Kirta's family at the beginning of that story (CTA 14 i 6 [text 1.102]), is derived from the basic word *ʕum* ("mother"), hence "family, immediate kin, kin on the mother's side." The term seems to reflect ʔIlu's use above of the familial term *hik* (see previous note). On the phonetic correspondences between ʔIlu's message and this reply, see note 262.

²⁶⁶ There are some forty lines at the end of col. iv that have either completely disappeared or are too broken to translate.

numerous (as they are) he smites them with the sword,
crushers (as they are) he smites them with the mace;²⁶⁷

Môtu's scorching heat he tramples to the ground.²⁶⁸
Ba^clu [takes his place] on his royal throne,
[on (his) resting-place], on the seat of his dominion.

Môtu Seeks His Own Form of Revenge (v 7-?)

The days turn into months,
the months into years.

In the seventh year,
Môtu, son of ²Ilu, [comes]
to Mighty Ba^clu.

He raises his voice and says aloud:

On account of you, Ba^clu, I experienced abase-
ment,
on account of you I experienced winnowing with
<the winnowing-fork,
on account of you I experienced splitting
with >²⁶⁹ the knife,
on account of you I experienced burning in fire,
on account of you [I experienced] pulverization
with grindstones,
on account of [you] I experienced [being
strained] with a sieve,²⁷⁰
on account of you I experienced [scattering] in
the fields,

Deut
33:17

on account of you I experienced sowing in the sea.²⁷¹

(So) give one of your brothers (for) I would devour
(him)
and the anger with which I (now) am sick would
go away.

If one of your brothers [...] then [...].

Now I eat [men],

I finish off the hordes [of the earth].²⁷²

The Final Battle (vi 10-22)²⁷³

Here now Ba^clu has given (me) my own brothers
to devour,
my own siblings to finish off.

He returned to Ba^clu on the heights of Šapānu,
raised his voice and said aloud:

You have given (me), Ba^clu, my own brothers to
devour,

my own siblings to finish off.

They eye each other like finished (warriors),²⁷⁴

Môtu is strong, Ba^clu is strong;

They butt each other like wild bulls,²⁷⁵

Môtu is strong, Ba^clu is strong;

They bite each other like snakes,

Môtu is strong, Ba^clu is strong;

They trample each other like running (animals),²⁷⁵

Môtu falls, Ba^clu falls.

²⁶⁷ If the explanation of *dkym* (*dākiyāma*) by comparison with Heb. *dokyām* in Ps 93:3 is valid, the sons of ²Aṭiratu are here being explicitly described as the innumerable waves of the sea, an important element in the explanation of ²Aṭiratu's title (see above, note 98).

²⁶⁸ A phenomenon similar to *šhr mu*, with the first word taken either as singular, "Môtu's heat," or as plural, "the scorching/scorched ones of Môtu," has occurred previously in this cycle as extant only as a feature of the sun (see above, note 107). The state of the text does not allow us to determine whether this expression is a reference to that set of formulae or whether an expression closer to the form of this one occurred in a passage now lost. Because Šapānu, when active, has heretofore been an ally of Ba^clu and ^cAnatu, rather than of Môtu, it would appear more likely that the sun's scorching heat was viewed as involuntary, produced under coercion from Môtu, and to conclude that it is the scorching heat itself or some agents of heat (masculine in gender, while Šapānu is feminine) whom Ba^clu treats here as allies of the sons of ²Aṭiratu. The verb for Ba^clu's treatment of the *šhr mu* here is *mšh*, the same as that by which ^cAnatu threatens ²Ilu in CTA 3 v 1, and as the one by which the fourth event of Ba^clu's fight with Môtu is described here below in vi 20. The precise meaning of the verb is uncertain and a meaning associated with feet is based only on the simile "like runners" in vi 21.

²⁶⁹ The picture of "winnowing with a knife/sword" does not make sense (one does indeed cut up the grain before winnowing, but that is a different process) and it appears necessary, therefore, to compare this passage with the description above of ^cAnatu's acts (ii 30-37) and, in spite of the differences between the two passages, see here a case of haplography.

²⁷⁰ Some, minimizing the difference between what a "sieve" (*kbrī*) does and what winnowing consists of, restore {[dr]y}, "to winnow," here. Because only the last consonant of the verb is extant ([...y]), another verb denoting the process of putting through a sieve, proper to grading flour by coarseness, should be restored.

²⁷¹ In the description of ^cAnatu's acts (ii 34-35), Môtu was "sown" in the field (*dr^c* + *šd*). Here the same verb is used, but the complement is *b ym*, "in the sea." That the root **dr^c* can be used metaphorically for acts similar to sowing seed in dirt is proven by Judg 9:45, where salt is sown (*zr^c*). There are three particularly interesting aspects to this assertion by Môtu: (1) that his claim is so blatantly different from ^cAnatu's act described above; (2) that the act in the form here described would indeed, under normal circumstances, bring about the true death of the seed, which could not germinate in the sea; (3) that the sea (Yammu) has in this cycle consistently been linked with ²Aṭiratu and her sons as an enemy of Ba^clu. Is Môtu claiming here that even if he were chopped up and scattered in the sea, ²Aṭiratu of the Sea would see that he survived?

²⁷² Lines 21-25 are badly damaged. This verse is plausibly restored on the basis of the word *hml[š]*, consistently used in this cycle to describe the human race. See esp. ii 17-19, where Môtu claims to have killed Ba^clu because there were no humans available. The first word, *nt*, seems best taken as an adverb (cf. Heb. *attāh*). The previous verse cannot be restored, but seems to provide the link between Ba^clu, one of his brothers, and the human race, the line of thought being that if Ba^clu is willing to give up one of his brothers, Môtu will leave him, Ba^clu, alone and return to his normal prey, human beings. After these lines, there are three more poorly preserved lines, then a lacuna of some twenty-five lines.

²⁷³ The first nine lines of this column are too badly damaged to translate. There is a reference to "his/her seven lads" (*šb^ct glnh*) and Môtu is mentioned twice. Môtu is apparently addressing a message to someone regarding Ba^clu's refusal to give up one of his brothers, an affront that is compounded by the proposal that Môtu should devour one of his own brothers. In lines 1-2 the two verbs *trd* and *grš* are often restored in third person forms ([{yt}rdh] and [{yg}rsh]). One should envisage the possibility of this being part of a direct speech from Môtu and of restoring first person forms here: "I will expel... I will drive out," with Ba^clu as the object.

²⁷⁴ For differences between this battle and that between Ba^clu and Yammu, see Bordreuil and Pardee 1993:66-67 (contrast Smith 1994:94, 101).

²⁷⁵ On the meaning of *mšh*, see above, note 268. In Akk. the verb *lasāmu*, "to run," is common and is frequently used for animals. Here the

Šapšu Intervenes (vi 22-29)

On high Šapšu cries out to Mōtu:
 Please listen, O Mōtu, son of ʾIlū:
 How can you fight with Mighty Baʿlu?
 How can the Bull, your father ʾIlū, continue to
 listen to you (if you do)?
 Surely he would pull up the foundations of your
 seat,
 overturn the throne of your kingship,
 break the staff of your rulership.

Mōtu Capitulates (vi 30-?)

Mōtu, son of ʾIlū, is afraid,
 frightened, the beloved warrior of ʾIlū.
 Mōtu arises at (the sound of) her voice,
 he [lifts up his voice and says aloud]:²⁷⁶
 Let them place Baʿlu [on] his royal [throne],
 on [(his) resting-place, on the seat of] his
 dominion.
 ...²⁷⁷

Praise to Šapšu and her Allies (vi 42-52)

Also, please eat the bread of oblation,
 drink the wine that is presented (to you).²⁷⁸
 Šapšu, you rule the Rapaʾūma,
 Šapšu, you rule the divine ones;²⁷⁹
 In your entourage are the gods,
 even the (divinized) dead.
 In your entourage is Kōṭaru your companion,
 and Ḥasīsu whom you know well.
 In the sea are ʾArišu (Demander) and the dragon;
 may Kōṭaru-wa-Ḥasīsu drive (them) out!
 may Kōṭaru-wa-Ḥasīsu drive (them) away!²⁸⁰

Colophon (vi 53-57)²⁸¹

The scribe: ʾIlīmilkū the Šubbanite, disciple of
 ʾAttānu-purulini,²⁸² (who is) chief of the priests
 (and) chief of the cultic herdsmen; *tāʿiyu*-official
 of Niqmaddu, (who is) king of Ugarit, lord (of)
 YRGB, (and) master (of) TRMN.²⁸³

image is apparently that of an animal such as a horse or bull inflicting damage with its feet.

²⁷⁶ Hypothetical restoration, assuming that Mōtu accedes and proclaims Baʿlu's kingship.

²⁷⁷ Some nine lines are badly preserved. In them is a reference to a corner (*pʾit*), to womenfolk (*ʿinš*), and to someone arriving (*l tšql*).

²⁷⁸ Judging from the following verses, this invitation is addressed to Šapšu. The word here translated "oblation" appears to be from the same root as Heb. *ʿrūmā*, though the form is different (*trmnu*), both from that form and from what appears to be the same word in a Ug. ritual text (*trmt* in RS 1.005:3). The phrase "that is presented (to you)" represents a nominal phrase, *tšqyt*, a *t*-preformative noun from the same root as was used above for the gifts offered to ʾAṭiratu (CTA 4 i 23, iii 26, 29, 35) and to ʾIlū (CTA 4 ii 11, iii 31).

²⁷⁹ *thk* is often taken as the prepositional phrase "under you," but the presence here of the oblique form of the word for the shades of the dead (*rpʾim*) indicates that the analysis as a verbal form, i.e. *hṭk*, "exercise (parental) authority over," is preferable. Šapšu is presented here as in constant communication with the denizens of the underworld, into whose realm she enters every night, and with Kōṭaru-wa-Ḥasīsu, the craftsman deity, whose principal dwellings were earthly (Crete and Memphis [see above, note 19]) but whose workings with metals take him into the bowels of the earth. Her contact with the deified dead allows her to preside over ceremonies to which they are invited (RS 34.126 [text 1.105]) and, though no text presently known makes this explicit, may have allowed her to funnel blessings from the deified dead to the reigning king (cf. RS 24.252 [Pardee 1988a:75-118], which deals with such blessings, but without mention of Šapšu in its current, rather poor, state).

²⁸⁰ There is no agreement on the interpretation of the two verbs in this verse, *yd* and *ytr*, some seeing here verbs denoting travel, others verbs of driving out. The latter interpretation provides a coherent interpretation of the passage, i.e., a motivation for the mention of ʾArišu and the dragon between the two mentions of Kōṭaru-wa-Ḥasīsu, but it presents the narratological problem of introducing a new rôle for the craftsman deity, one that no previous text in this cycle led us to suspect, that of actively expelling the enemies of Baʿlu. Both enemies have been mentioned above, in a speech by ʿAnatu apparently referring to her own activities on behalf of Baʿlu (CTA 3 iii 37, 40 [here lines 40, 43]).

²⁸¹ This is the longest of the colophons on the extant tablets from the three major cycles. One of the ʾAqhatu tablets, CTA 17, bore a colophon limited to the beginning of this one, i.e., through "ʾAttānu-purulini" (see note 53 to text 1.103). The only other colophon preserved on the tablets of the Baʿlu cycle (CTA 4) identifies ʾIlīmilkū in terms of the royal affiliation rather than in these terms relating to his scribal training. The colophon to CTA 16, one of the Kirta tablets, identifies ʾIlīmilkū only as a *tāʿiyu*-official.

²⁸² ʾIlīmilkū's hometown of Šubbanu has not been localized with certainty (for bibliography, see Pardee 1989-90:489). On the interpretation of ʾIlīmilkū's master's name, see van Soldt 1989.

²⁸³ Because there are no explicit indicators of which titles belong to ʾIlīmilkū and which to his superiors, the attribution of the titles "chief of the priests (and) chief of the cultic herdsmen" (*rb khnm rb nqdm*) to ʾAttānu-purulini, and "lord of YRGB, (and) master of TRMN" (*ʿadn yrgb bʿl trmn*) to Niqmaddu is deduced from the variant forms of the ʾIlīmilkū colophons. Neither priests nor cultic herdsmen are mentioned in the ritual texts, but the terms are regular components in the lists of occupations, a genre of administrative document well attested at Ugarit. That the basic meaning of *khnm* was "priest" seems certain from comparative considerations, but the precise status and the functions of the priests at Ugarit cannot be determined without additional textual material. The interpretation "cultic herdsmen" for *nqdm* is derived from Heb., where *nōqēd* denotes someone who raises cattle, and from the association with *khnm* in the Ug. lists of occupations. From this association, it may be assumed that they were in charge of the herds necessary for the royal sacrificial cult. Niqmaddu's titles "lord (of) YRGB, (and) master (of) TRMN" have inspired rather fantastic theories. For lack of data, no interpretation is certain. The most likely interpretations are that these terms are either geographical, with no presumption as to the thirteenth-century realities behind the ideological usage of the terms, or verbal/adjectival epithets, "lord (who) is/does RGB, master (who is) TRMN." The root *rgb* appears in two divine hypostases that are a part of a longer list of such hypostases, *yrgbbʿl* and *yrgbbʿim* (RS 24.246:16, 22 [see Pardee forthcoming *ad loc.*]), where the verbal element plausibly means "he inspires awe." No such explanation is immediately obvious for *trmn* (there is a divine name so spelled, but that deity corresponds to the Anatolian deity Šarrumannu).

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DAWN AND DUSK (1.87)
(The Birth of the Gracious and Beautiful Gods)

Dennis Pardee

The text recounting the birth of the double deity Šaḥru-wa-Šalimu, "Dawn and Dusk," constitutes one of the most important of the texts discovered during the early years of excavations at Ras Shamra and which stand outside the principal cycles of texts (Ba^clu, Kirta, and ²Aqhatu). The text is inscribed on a single tablet, discovered during the second campaign in the building located between the two principal temples and which is known as the "High Priest's Library" (*editio princeps* by Virolleaud 1933). The tablet is relatively well preserved and the text on it appears to have been complete, for not only are both the upper and lower edges extant, with neither archival notation on the former nor colophon on the latter, but there is space for at least one more line of writing at the bottom of the *verso* which the scribe has left blank.

The text has two peculiar features: (1) it deals with the origin and characteristics of what must be judged, on the basis of other Ugaritic texts, to be a pair of relatively minor deities; (2) the text itself contains rubric indications which have been interpreted as reflecting a cultic usage of the text.

As regards the first point, there are two indications as to why the birth of Šaḥru-wa-Šalimu may be thought to have occupied a particular position in Ugaritic thought. The first is visible in the mythological narrative of this text, viz., that the mothers of these deities are not described with terms characteristic of divinity, indeed are termed simply ²atm, "two women." We seem to be dealing, therefore, with the motif of divine engenderment well known in classical literature, in this case the impregnation by the god ²Ilu of two human females, who each give birth to one of the deities who make up the pair Šaḥru-wa-Šalimu.¹ Though a text identifiable as a theogony has not appeared yet among the Ugaritic literature, the fact that the goddess ²Atiratu bears the title of *qnyt* ²ilm, "progenitress of the gods," has led most scholars to see her as the divine mother of ²Ilu's central family, known in the ritual texts as *bn* ²il, *dr bn* ²il, and *mphrt bn* ²il, "the sons of ²Ilu," "the circle of the sons of ²Ilu," and "the assembly of the sons of ²Ilu." In one of these texts ²Ilu bears the title of *ab bn* ²il, "the father of the sons of ²Ilu," and in the mythological texts he bears the name of *bny bnwt*, "the producer (lit. builder) of progeny (lit. that which is built)." Into this picture may be introduced the facts that the deity Šalimu is the last deity named in the two "pantheon" texts known at Ugarit up to the present (on RS 1.017 and RS 24.643, see Pardee forthcoming) and that he is the last deity named in a sacrificial sequence repeated in three texts (RS 1.001:8, RS 1.003:17, RS 18.056:18 — see Pardee forthcoming on RS 1.001:8). The identification of this deity with one member of the binomial Šaḥru-wa-Šalimu appears plausible, though not certain, and his place in the pantheon may be interpreted as indicating that he was seen as the deity who most appropriately brought up the rear of the procession of the gods. In the light of the present myth, the rank of the deity is perhaps best interpreted as reflecting his birth, not by ²Atiratu and perhaps, to the extent that time was a factor in divine genealogy, after ²Ilu's children by ²Atiratu. The double deity Šaḥru-wa-Šalimu also appears in a rather enigmatic ritual text of which the central part is a list of divine names (RS 24.271:11, see Virolleaud 1968:583-586). On these matters see the bibliographical data and discussions in Pardee 1989-90:456-458 and forthcoming.

These details concerning Šaḥru-wa-Šalimu may be of use in identifying the "gracious gods" (²ilm n^cmm), mentioned in lines 1, 23, and 67 (in line 60 the text has ²ilmy n^cmm), who are sometimes identified with Šaḥru-wa-Šalimu, sometimes not. The sequence of the presentation requires either that they be seen as born after Šaḥru-wa-Šalimu or that they be identified with Šaḥru-wa-Šalimu whose birth would have been twice reported. The former solution appears narratologically the more plausible, but it requires that the description of the "gracious gods" as having "(one) lip to the earth, (the other) lip to the heavens" (lines 61-62) be applied to an unknown group of divinities, whereas that description and the following lines seem quite graphically to describe the gods of dawn and dusk. If Šaḥru-wa-Šalimu are indeed somehow identifiable with the single deity Šalimu, it is in any case unlikely that the "gracious gods" are to be identified with the rest of the Ugaritic deities or even with the majority of ²Ilu's offspring, as many

¹ This motif appears again in Ugaritic but in a text even more difficult than this one, CTA 12 (Herdner 1963, text 12).

scholars have thought, for there is simply no reason to believe that the circumstances described by this poem correspond to the circumstances of the birth of the children of ʔAṭiratu. It appears preferable, therefore, to see the double birth narrative simply as a narrative device expressing the birth by two women of two deities. This position is defended below in the note to lines 55-64. According to that interpretation, the text has as its central focus from beginning to end the deities Dawn and Dusk, who are, in this text, ascribed significant powers of blessing.

The second peculiarity, in comparison with the other mythological texts, is the organization of this text. The first twenty-nine lines are divided by horizontal lines across the tablet into nine sections, some of which seem to contain snippets of mythological texts, bearing motifs both familiar and unfamiliar, while others contain indications of liturgical activity, though the identity of the participants is not clear. Then the rest of the text, lines 30-76, relates, without a break by horizontal lines, the story of the birth of Šaḥru-wa-Šalimu, the "gracious gods" (lines 30-64), their characteristics and banishment to the desert (lines 64-67), and a final section dealing with the discovery by the "gracious gods" of agricultural products (lines 67-76). Beyond the basic problems of interpretation of the first nine sections, the matter of their relationship to the principal myth has exercised the minds of students of this text, with some seeing the short mythological texts as mere incipits, unrelated to the longer story, while others have attempted to discern an overarching story line. The intermingling of liturgical rubrics and mythological elements seems to favor the latter interpretation, for although one could without difficulty picture a tablet inscribed with a series of incipits, it is more difficult to posit the existence of an aleatory liturgical text from the ancient Near East. The motifs of agricultural plenty of the first sections may provide the pattern for the myth, according to which Šaḥru-wa-Šalimu are born voracious devourers of birds and fish who must be put in a situation where they will desire to live, like the other gods, from the produce of the fields (cf. Caquot, Szymer and Herdner 1974:363-64). To the extent that this myth is reflected in the ritual prescriptions written in prose, one may assume the domestication of Šaḥru-wa-Šalimu to have succeeded, for, as mentioned above, Šalimu appears in those texts, and his diet is no different from that of any of the other deities. These facts regarding the divine diet may be interpreted as reflecting general Ugaritic sacrificial practice, where the deities normally receive the products of agricultural activity rather than of fishing and fowling;² this sacrificial practice would in turn reflect alimentary patterns in the ancient Levant (cf. Houston 1993). One could posit a view of the universe in which the alimentary world reflected by the sacrificial system is viewed as an improvement, because of the organized distribution of agricultural products that it implies, over a more primitive system, more dependent on nature's whims, presented here as one in which the voracity of certain spoiled children of ʔIlu could provoke shortages and famine.

Is it possible to identify the ceremony at which this liturgical series would have been played out? There is one specific feature and one of a more general nature that may serve to fix this ceremony in the cultic cycle. The specific feature is the mention of "dwellings of the gods, eight ..." in line 19 (*mlbt ʔilm tmm*), for that phrase finds its closest parallel in a ritual text (RS 1.003:50-51, see text 1.95 below) where "dwellings (of the gods)" are distributed four by four on a roof, probably that of the temple of ʔIlu, on the first day of an unnamed month that follows the month named Raʔšu Yēni, "the beginning of the wine." Though most scholars have seen the text as referring to only one month and have assumed Raʔšu Yēni to have been the first month of the year, the structure of RS 1.003 and a host of other arguments indicate that Raʔšu Yēni was in all likelihood the last month of the year, the lunar month preceding the fall equinox, during which the grape harvest and vinification would have begun, and that the ceremony indicated in RS 1.003:50-55 is that of the first month of the new year³. As in the Hebrew system, where the feast of "booths" (*sukkot*) began on the fifteenth day of the first month of the year (according to the calendar beginning in fall), the Ugaritic harvest festival would have taken place after the August-September harvest, though RS 1.003 indicates that at Ugarit it began on the first day of the new month/year, rather than the fifteenth. The more general feature of this text to which reference was made above is the mention of "wine" in lines 6 and 75 and the several allusions to viticultural activities, particularly appropriate for a harvest festival.

Because of the liturgical aspects of this text and the conception of Šaḥru-wa-Šalimu recounted in it, this text has been interpreted as reflecting the sacred marriage rite, the *hieros gamos*, at Ugarit (e.g., de Moor 1987:117-118). Though this interpretation appears plausible, to the extent that the first sections are interpreted liturgically and linked to the following myth, it must be stressed that this text provides no details whatever regarding the liturgical aspects of the *hieros gamos* itself, i.e., to what extent the various rôles were acted out and the specifics of the rite. On the *hieros gamos* in Mesopotamia, for which a greater number of details are known, see Cooper (1993).

² On birds as offerings in the Ug. ritual texts, see note 18 to RS 24.266 (text 1.88); fish appear extremely rarely in those texts (see Pardee forthcoming on RS 19.015:12 and RS 24.250+:22). In this text the products of the hunt occupy an intermediary position (the goddess Raḥmay hunts [line 16] and the "gracious gods" hunt during their stay in the steppe-land [line 68]). Game occupies an important place in the feast depicted in one of the "para-mythological" texts (Pardee 1988a:23-35 [text 1.97]), is mentioned in the Kirta text as a sacrificial item (CTA 14 ii 79 [text 1.102]), but appears rarely, if at all, in the prose ritual texts (Pardee forthcoming "Conclusions").

³ See Pardee (forthcoming) for this interpretation of RS 1.003; for the interpretation of the present text as reflecting the New Year's festival, see de Moor 1987:117-118.

Invitation (lines 1-7)

I would call on⁴ *a* the gr[acious]⁵ gods[...] and beautiful,
sons of⁶ [...],Who have provided a city on high,⁷[...] in the steppe-land, on the barren hilltops⁸ *b*
[...][...] on their⁹ heads,
and [...].*a* Deut 32:3*b* Jer 4:11;
12:12*c* Prov 4:17;
9:5; 23:6*d* Ps 75:9;
Prov 9:5*e* Job 8:6Eat the food, yes do,^cDrink the foaming wine,^d yes do.¹⁰Give well-being^e to the king,¹¹

give well-being to the queen,

to those who enter and to those who stand
guard.¹²*Mutu-wa-Šarru Joins the Feast* (lines 8-11)*Mutu-wa-Šarru takes a seat,¹³*

⁴ The use of *qr* here indicates an invitation, as in RS 34.126 (text 1.105; cf. Saracino 1982:196), rather than a purely lyrical invocation (cf. *ʾašr*, "I would sing," first word in CTA 24). The entirety of lines 1-7 thus constitute an invitation to the "gracious gods," who are first described (lines 1-5), then explicitly invited (line 6), then urged to bless the main officials of the city (line 7). The "gracious gods" are invited again in line 23, their birth is mentioned in the main mythological section after that of Šahrū-wa-Šalimu (either as identical to Šahrū-wa-Šalimu or as separate entities — see the introduction), and they are then the principal protagonists until the end of the text.

⁵ In English, this has become somewhat of a conventional translation of the phrase *ʾilm n^cmm*, though in Ug. it means simply "good gods," *n^cmm* being the primary adjective for expressing goodness, *ʾb* the secondary one, that is, the distribution is just the opposite of the one in biblical Heb.

⁶ There is simply no way of knowing whether {bn š^[-][...]} is to be restored as *bn šrm* (cf. *šrm* in line 22), as *bn špm* (cf. *špm* in line 4), or with an entirely different word in second position (cf. Foley 1987 and Hettner 1989-90:82, n. 10).

⁷ Given the state of the tablet, it appears improper to see as the subject of *yym* at the beginning of line 3 anyone but the *ʾilm n^cmm*, though the mythological reference is unknown. The last words of this line as preserved, {l^cly[...]}, may be interpreted either as a compound adverbial phrase, complete ("at the high place"), or as an indirect object phrase, of which the last letters have been lost, e.g., l^cly[nm], "for the exalted ones." Because there is no further reference in this text to a city and because the next line mentions the "steppe-land" (*mḏbr*), itself an important feature in the *dénouement* of the drama, one may perhaps see here an opposition between the steppe-land, treated rather negatively in this text (see lines 64-76), and civilization, referred to in agricultural terms at the very end of the text. In such an interpretation, the "city" mentioned here would be a paragon of cultured civilization, hence, perhaps, Ugarit itself, and "on high" would refer to the imposing height of an earthly city on its mound, rather than to a heavenly city (the latter concept is, in any case, absent from Ug. literature).

⁸ *mḏbr špm* is plausibly a construct phrase, "in the steppe-land (consisting) of barren hill-tops." The translation "dunes" for *špm*, which one encounters too frequently, is entirely inappropriate, for *mḏbr* does not denote a Sahara-like desert, generally absent in Syria-Palestine, but the scrub that lies beyond the arable land, which is usually suitable as pasture for the mixed herds of sheep and goats so typical of the area (Heb. *šōṭn*, Ug. *š²tn*), and which may vary considerably in the amount of moisture received and hence in vegetation. *špm* will denote, therefore, the hilltops in the scrub land, which can themselves be either bare or covered with lower scrub than the valleys. On the other hand, because the damaged state of the tablet means that our division of the text into poetic lines is uncertain, *špm* could be a term further describing the "gracious gods," like *yym* a participle, though of what verb would be uncertain (cf. Gibson 1978:123). The "steppe-land" (*mḏbr*), in any case, reappears below, both as the area to which the women and their offspring are temporarily banished (lines 64-67) and as marking the outer fringe of the arable land (*šdl/p²* at *mḏbr*, "field // edges of the steppe-land," line 68).

⁹ The antecedent of the pronoun is probably the "gracious gods," still being referred to in the third person (cf. note 4).

¹⁰ By etymology the word *hmr* may include a notion of bubbling and foaming, which de Moor (1987:119, n. 11) has interpreted as denoting wine still close to the process of fermentation. If the semantics of the word had not already moved beyond this sense (cf. Aram., where *hmr* is the standard word for "wine"), de Moor's appeal to it as proof that this text reflects a New Year's ceremony would be a valid one, for at the time of the autumn equinox in the third week of September the new wine would still be bubbling.

¹¹ In the phrases *šlm mlk*, etc., *šlm* may be parsed as imperative (D-stem), addressed to the "gracious gods," and thus parallel to *lhm*, "eat," and *šty*, "drink," in the preceding verse. From the standard epistolary formula *ʾilm tgrk tšlmk*, "may the gods guard you and keep you well," it is clear that the effecting of *šlm* was considered to be a standard function of the deities. The syntax here is different from that of RS 34.126:31-34 (*šlm mḥr²i* ...), where *šlm* is a noun in construct with the following word (see Bordreuil and Pardee 1982:123, 128; Bordreuil and Pardee 1991:154-55, 162; Pardee 1993:209-210; Pardee forthcoming), though the active agents in both cases would be the deities invited to the ceremony (see the introduction and note 4). The usual translation of *šlm* here as a simple wish ("peace be with...") or greeting ("hail to ..."), besides the syntactic problem posed by the absence of a preposition in this context, leaves partially unmotivated the invitation tendered to the "gracious gods" in line 1. In this interpretation, the gods are not invited simply to feast but subsequently to bless the rulers of the city (the situation is thus very similar, though it is expressed differently, to that of RS 34.126).

¹² The "enterers" (*ʿrbm*) appear three times here below (lines 12, 18, 26) but not in other texts. The verb *ʿrb* is the standard verb denoting "to enter" in Ug. and is used in a variety of situations. The only common cultic use of the verb is with a deity as subject, entering the palace (*bt mlk*). Because there is no indication here that the *ʿrbm* are anything but human, there seems to be no basis on which to equate the two usages. Because the second category in this line is clearly military (on *tnm*), see note 18 to the Ug. birth omen texts [1.90] and note 22 to the Kirta text [1.102]), one may surmise that this line refers to two principal categories of personnel, those qualified to enter the sanctuary (or palace), comparable to the Akk. *ʾrib bti*, "the one entering the house (of the deity)" (CAD E 290-92; cf. Caquot, Szymer and Herdner 1974:370, n. e), and the guards, whose work would have ended at the gates. Because of our general ignorance regarding the details of societal structure at Ugarit, it must be left open whether the function of both categories concerns the sanctuaries or the palace or both (i.e., the privilege of entering the deity's presence or the king's presence and the exclusion therefrom).

¹³ Because this is the only mention of *mu w šr* in Ug. (or any other literature), a good many explanations have been given of the name, of the nature of the double-deity, and of what he represents (see Pardee 1989-90:461-462; Wyatt 1992b). The presence here of the verb *yṭb*, "to sit," seems best explained as reflecting the context of the feast to which the gods have been invited, and *mu w šr*, as is to be expected from the double name, is to be seen as divine, rather than human, either, therefore, one of the "gracious gods" or a divine intruder in the feast (cf. *haššāṭan* in the prologue to the Book of Job). The name has received two basic types of interpretation, reflecting whether the first element is interpreted as the word for "death" (*mōtu*) or the word meaning "man, warrior" (*mutu*; a similar problem arises in the interpretation of the Ug. lung model inscription: see note 25 to texts 1.92). The second element has been generally seen as the Semitic word *šarr-šarr*, "king, prince, ruler," either with the positive connotation it has in the older languages or in the Arabic sense of "evil." Because this deity is presented formally as a single

in his hand the staff¹⁴ of bereavement,¹⁵
in his hand the staff of widowhood.^f
The pruners of the vine prune it,¹⁶ *g*

f Isa 47:8-9;
Jer 15:7-8
g Lev 25:3, 4;
Isa 5:6; Cant
2:12 (*√zmr*)
h Deut 32:32; 2 Kgs 23:4; Isa 16:8; 37:27; Jer 31:40 (*Qere*); Hab 3:17

the binders of the vine bind it,
they cause (it) to fall to the-field-of-a-man¹⁷ *h* like
a vine.

deity with a double name, as is indicated by the singular suffix on the noun "hand(s)" in the following lines, it appears legitimate to interpret the two names as denoting two aspects of a single character. Thus the deity may be "Death-and-Ruler" (= "Death the Ruler"), "Death-and-Evil" (= "Evil Death"), "Warrior-and-Ruler" (= "The Ruler who is a Warrior," "The Warrior-Prince"), or "Warrior-and-Evil" (= "The Evil Warrior"). Because he holds in his hands the staffs of bereavement and widowhood, most interpreters have chosen to see the deity as malevolent. In this view "Death-and-Ruler" or "Death-and-Evil" (de Moor 1987:120, n. 15) would be the ultimate kill-joy at the feast, who is eliminated by means appropriate for a harvest festival, by being cut into pieces like a vine. Wyatt has recently proposed (1992b), as a new form of the interpretation of the deity as a positive entity, that the pruning image be taken as representing circumcision, necessary for reproduction, though he did not explain the motifs of bereavement and widowhood in that interpretation. This is indeed a problem, for those two motifs are normally associated with the slaying of children and husbands, not with male infertility. If Wyatt is correct, one might think that the two motifs are meant simply to express the absence of male fertility, the result of which is women without children and husbands. One might also doubt that *šdm*, "shoots" in Wyatt's interpretation, i.e., a plural (1992a), would have been used to describe the singular foreskin (on this word, see note 17). I believe, moreover, even if Wyatt's interpretation be accepted, that he is going too far in formally identifying *mu w šr* with ²Ilu; rather the double deity would be one of the "gracious gods" who exemplifies in this text the young male ready to enter the reproductive stage of his life. He would by his presence at the feast constitute, rather than a picture of ²Ilu himself, a picture of what ²Ilu would have been in his youth. Note, if this interpretation be correct, that circumcision is depicted here as taking place at maturity (*mutu wa šarru!*) rather than in infancy, a social situation that must have also existed in pre-Biblical Israel, judging from the words *hōtēn* and *hātān*, "father-in-law," "son-in-law," derived from a root meaning "to cut," i.e., "to circumcise."

Faced with the difficulties and ambiguities of any interpretation, I resort to a common-sense approach: (1) the two elements of double divine names are usually synonymous and such should be the *prima facie* interpretation of this one; (2) the common Northwest-Semitic meaning of *šr* is "king, prince, ruler," with a positive connotation, not "evil"; (3) because it prefigures ²Ilu, who below is called *mu* by the two women, the first element is *mutu* rather than *mōtu*; *ergo* (4) the name is best interpreted as Mutu-wa-Šarru, "Warrior-Prince"; *ergo* (5) the "staff of bereavement/widowhood" is so named because warriors slay sons and husbands in battle (cf. RS 24.277, Side 3, Inscription VIII [text 1.92]); (6) the pruning of the deity's staff represents, in imagery appropriate to a harvest festival, the pacification of the warrior and, very plausibly, his preparation for marriage by circumcision. The identification of this double deity remains, in any case, a problem: if the name is a title for another deity, single or double, which is it? If not, why does this deity enter and take a seat? On the narrative level, one can say that the appearance of Mutu-wa-Šarru here is comparable to that of the goddess Rahmay in line 16 (cf. ²Atiratu and Rahm <ay> in line 13) and one can add that the identification of Mutu-wa-Šarru with a known god is just as difficult as is that of Rahmay with a known goddess. It appears best at the moment to see in this deity a new figure who attends the feast and plays his role, perhaps depicting agricultural fertility through viticultural imagery. His rôle as a "man" prefigures that of ²Ilu in the principal myth and the name/figure may represent a previously unknown hypostasis of ²Ilu, elsewhere the picture of bearded old age, as a youth.

¹⁴ There is certainly a literary connection between this staff (*hr*) and ²Ilu's staff, designated by the same word in lines 43-44, though the literary function of the word need not be the same in each case. (The literary link in the "para-mythological" texts may be provided either by a pun [e.g., *dmr* in RS 24.252] or by a peculiar usage of a word [e.g., Yarihu the dog, *kib*, in RS 24.258 (text 1.97)]; these literary devices are described briefly in Pardee 1988a:265). In Wyatt's interpretation of this text (1992b:426-427), the staff is the "penis," as in the Ug. incantation against male sexual dysfunction (RIH 78/20 [text 1.96]; Pardee 1993:211-213). As intimated in the previous note, however, an explanation of why the uncircumcised penis would have been described as the staff/penis of "bereavement/widowhood" would be in order, for though it may have been considered inept for procreation, it would not have itself directly slain children and husbands.

¹⁵ The Ug. word is *tkl*. Given the viticultural imagery that follows, one must wonder if there is not here a play on words, with *tkl* (perhaps vocalized *tuklu*) recalling *uṭkl*, "bunch of grapes" (probably vocalized *uṭkalu* or *uṭkālū*). If a similar explanation were available for the parallel word, *ulmn*, "widowhood," one would be tempted to revamp the interpretation of this verse entirely, replacing the negative images with positive ones of vine-keeping.

¹⁶ The antecedent of the pronominal suffix in the sentence *yžbrn zbrm gpn* could theoretically be the deity or his staff, or even, proleptically, the vine (*gpn*). If the deity is a negative entity, the pruning might be effected on him, as most scholars have thought. Whatever interpretation is given to the deity and his staff, however, surely the staff, of vegetal origin, is more appropriate for pruning than is the deity himself. The motif of the living wood in a staff or weapon handle is known, for example, from "Aaron's rod that budded" (Num 17) and from the "Baal au foudre" stela from Ugarit (Yon 1991:294-299). In addition to the difficulty presented by the rarity of the syntactic construction, the third analysis of the pronominal suffix mentioned above seems ruled out by the form of the third line of the verse, where *gpn*, preceded by the preposition of comparison, cannot be the direct object of the verb *yšql*, "they cause to fall." The "pruners" and "binders" are unidentified here and the terms are taken as designations of the workers who would normally carry out these tasks in the vineyards, i.e., cutting the vines and binding them into bunches for easier removal. The third act, literally "causing to fall (to the ground)," is not depicted so specifically as typical of vineyard activity, i.e., by means of the participle of the verb denoting the activity (*yžbrn zbrm, yšmdn šmdm*, but only *yšql*). Note finally that the "pruning" in question could be either the winter pruning, which promotes spring growth, or the summer pruning, which opens up the vine for better aeration and more direct access to the solar rays. The latter interpretation might be preferred here, because it would take place closer in time to the fall harvest festival and because the green leaves felled to the ground would provide a form of ground cover, not so necessarily removed as the dry cuttings of winter. On the other hand, the summer green pruning would not so plausibly be linked with circumcision (cf. Wyatt's interpretation cited in notes 13, 14).

¹⁷ The word *šdm* has usually been compared with biblical Heb. *šēmōt*, though interpretations of both terms have varied, in recent years crystalizing around two principal views, one in which *šdm* is explained as parallel to *gpn* in a very narrow sense, denoting a form of growth (see, for discussion and bibliography, Wyatt 1992a), and one according to which the parallelism is broader, i.e., the "terrace(s)" on which the vine may grow, i.e., the agricultural terraces necessary for making hilly country productive (Stager 1982). A third principal interpretation is to see the word in both Heb. and Ug. as a compound noun, made up of the elements "field" and "death" (though the word is spelled with {š} in Heb., while the word for "field" is spelled with {š}). In the interpretation of the present passage according to the first understanding of the word, the suffixed *-h* is explained as pronominal (e.g., "his/its shoots"), in the second (and third) as adverbial ("to the terraces/to the field of Mōtu/death"). Whatever the implications may be for Heb., literary considerations surely indicate that the third interpretation must be given serious consideration

Recitation Rubric (line 12)

Seven times¹⁸ they are to pronounce (these verses)¹⁸
next to the "D-room"¹⁹ and those who enter
respond.²⁰ /

/ Gen 33:3;
Lev 4:6, etc.
/ Deut 27:14
/ Judg 5:30
/ Exod 3:8,
etc.

The Field of the Gods and its Produce (lines 13-15)

The field is the field of the gods,²¹
the field of "Aṭiratu and Raḥm <ay>".^{22 k}
Over the fire,²³ seven times the sweet-voiced
youths (chant):²⁴
Coriander²⁵ in milk,²⁶ /

in the present context, for a word *mt* appears at the beginning of this section (in the divine name) and in the principal myth (lines 40, 46), while the word *šd*, "field," appears at the beginning of the next mythological section (The Field of the Gods, lines 13-15) and again in the last section dealing explicitly with the "gracious gods" (line 68). The reference to a field in line 13 is an entirely new motif if it is not carrying forward a notion introduced in the word *šdmu*. As regards the matters of etymology and meaning, three remarks are necessary: (1) the word is certainly a single word in Ug., whether it be from a single root or a compound, for it is written without a word divider and the suffix *-h* comes at the end ("to the field of Mōtu/death/a warrior," as separate words, would be written *šdh mt*; the translation of *šd mth* as "the field of his death/warrior" does not fit the context). (2) No plausible etymology has been proposed for the interpretation as a simple noun denoting "terraces," i.e., there is no root *šdm* susceptible of furnishing such an etymology. (3) If the Ug. and Heb. words are identical, as the similarity of the contexts in which they are used appears to indicate, and if the Ug. word contains the word for "field," then the Heb. word must be a loanword, not an inner-Heb. development, because of the writing with {š}. One anomaly indicates a foreign origin, i.e., the construct form *šadmōt*, in place of the expected *šidmōt* if the proto-Heb. form were *šadimāt*. The Heb. form favors neither of the two possible etymologies of the element *-mt*, for both /mawt/ and /mut/ could become /mōt/ in Heb., though the invariable ending *-mōt* favors the second derivation because the element /mawt/ when accented should become /māwet/, as in the Heb. common noun meaning "death." (This vocalization may be taken, of course, if one favors the first derivation, simply as another feature indicating the foreign origin of the word). Finally, it must be noted that the absence of an accusative suffix on the verb *yšql* in this line cannot be considered a serious argument against taking *šdmu* as a locative formula, as Wyatt avers (1992a:150), for the accusative suffix is often omitted in Ug., as in Heb., if apparent from context. Its absence here may indeed be explained as reflecting the ambiguity of the antecedent, the staff itself, singular, and the multiple cuttings removed from it.

¹⁸ As no object of the verb *yrgm* is expressed, and as this recitation rubric is set off by horizontal lines, it appears plausible to see the required recitations as being either of the preceding section or of the following section, as set off on the tablet, i.e., either the Mutu-wa-Šarru section or the Field of the Gods section. Because of the apparent lexical link between the two mythological sections (see preceding note), it appears preferable to see the reference in the recitation rubric to be to the preceding section.

¹⁹ From its appearances in both ritual texts and mythological texts, the word "d" appears to denote a sort of inner sanctum, the king's throne room, which would correspond to the principal seat of the divine effigy in a sanctuary (see note 96 to the Kirta text [1.102] and note 10 to RS 24.266 [text 1.88]). Here the recitation is to take place "d," "next to" or even, if the architecture permitted it, "above" the "D-room."

²⁰ The content of the response is no more indicated than was that of the recitation and may be thought to consist of the antiphonal recitation of the same verses.

²¹ The word "ilm" may be analyzed either as dual/plural, as I have done, or as the singular with enclitic *-m*, in which case the field would either be ascribed to Mutu-wa-Šarru, the only deity mentioned in the previous section, or to "Il. Because the "gracious gods" visit a field in the last part of this text (lines 67-68) it appears plausible to see here a reference to that field, which would belong to "the gods" in general (the "gracious gods" come to the field from outside). The literary function of the field(s) mentioned in this section is open to dispute. If the text as a whole is interpreted as related to questions of agricultural and sexual fertility, the reference in this section to field(s) of male and female deities may connote sexual fertility. If such is the case, Wyatt's interpretation of the pruning episode in lines 8-11 as related to circumcision (see above, notes 13, 14) gains in plausibility. If the "field" here is somehow related to the *šdmu* in line 10, as well as to the field which the "gracious gods" visit (lines 67-76), it appears that the term denotes a field used for growing both grapes and grain, for lines 71-74 refer both to *ilm*, "bread," and to wine. The description of a vineyard as part of a field is explicit in one of the Akk. documents describing *marzihu* property (RS 18.001 [PRU iv 230] A.ŠA.MEŠ GIŠ.GEŠTIN), while the sowing of a grain crop between vines was (and still is to a certain extent) common practice.

²² The writing {rhm} has caused no end of trouble: does it designate (1) a masculine deity named "Mercy" (the corresponding Heb. form is the pseudo-plural *rah'mīm*), (2) a feminine deity named "Womb" (expressed in Heb. by *rehem/rahām*), or (3) the same feminine deity as is named *rhm* in line 16? The presence of the phrase *šd aṭrt w rhm* in line 28 indicates the likelihood of a simple graphic error here. If the reading {rhm} be accepted, the masculine deity would plausibly be "Il, first because of the association with "Aṭiratu, second because of the semantic similarity to "Ilu's title of *lpm il d p'id*, "the Gracious One, the god of kindness." The second and third options are usually taken as reflecting a title of one of the well-known goddesses of the Ug. pantheon, though there has been no consensus on the identity of that deity. The simple fact that "Anatu is once ascribed *rhm* (CTA 6 ii 27; reconstructed in line 5) does not necessarily mean that she bore the same title. A brief bibliography on the various interpretations may be found in Pardee (1989-90:473) and in the various commentaries on this text. For a trenchant criticism of all identifications with known deities, see Day 1986:390. These two goddesses are sometimes identified with the two "women," the mothers of Šahrū-wa-Šalimu in the major mythological section of this text. Without denying the possibility, one must ask why the two goddesses are so completely camouflaged as "women" in the myth.

²³ The nature of the preposition "l, translatable as either "above, over" or "beside," according to context, is well illustrated in this verse, where the singers are probably not literally over the fire (smoke would get in their eyes), while the milk and butter would be.

²⁴ The motif of the young singer with a nice voice is also attested in CTA 3 i 20-21 *gṣr ṭb ql*, "the youth (who is) sweet of voice." The present text employs the other Ug. word for "voice" (g) in another syntax (the adjective modifies the word "voice" rather than the youths: *gṣrm g ṭb*, "youth(s) (with) a sweet voice"). No verb of speech is present here but the reference to the "sweet voice" and the comparison with the text just cited from the Ba'lu cycle, where the sweet-voiced youth is said to sing (*yšr*), are taken as indicators of a speech act of some kind, as most commentators have thought since the reading of the text including g, "voice," was first proposed in Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín 1976:67. Because the word for "youth" appears in the singular in line 17, the word here has been interpreted also as the singular, with enclitic *-m* (cf. Watson 1994:5, 7). The state of the text in the next paragraph precludes any decision as to the identity of the *gṣr(m)* in each passage. Here, one may surmise, after comparison with the text from the Ba'lu cycle cited above, that the singing youth(s) would correspond in the divine context to the musicians at an earthly feast.

²⁵ The Ug. word is *gd*, long interpreted as "kid" (see following note) which, however, is attested in Ug. with the spelling *gdy*. As long ago as 1971 Caquot proposed translating here "coriander" or "safran" (cf. Heb. *gad*).

²⁶ The rereading of this line by Herdner (1963:98), with further improvement by Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín (1976:67), has eliminated the interpretation of this passage, long a cornerstone of Ug.-Biblical parallels, by comparison with the biblical prohibition against cooking a kid in

mini ²⁷ in butter. ^m	m 2 Sam 17:29;	scarlet; ^o singers ^p [...]. ³⁴
And over the jar ²⁸ seven times again (they chant):	Isa 7:15, 22;	<i>Second Invitation</i> (lines 23-27)
The dg[t-sacrifices have been sacri]ficed. ²⁹	Job 20:17	I would call on the gracious gods,
<i>The Hunt</i> (lines 16-18)	n Lev 23:34ff	[who delimit ^q the day, sons of] a (single) day, ³⁵
Off goes Rahmay and hunts,	o Exod 25:4ff	who suck the nipples of the breasts of ² Atiratu. ³⁶
[...] she/they gird; ³⁰	p 2Sam 19:36;	[...] Šapšu, who cares for their feebleness ³⁷
The goodly youth [...]	1 Kgs 10:12	[(with) X] and (with) grapes. ³⁸
And those who enter pro[nounce] the name [...]. ³¹	q Cf 1 Kgs 3:25;	Give well-being to those who enter and to those
<i>Huts for the Gods</i> (lines 19-20)	Ps 136:13	who stand guard,
Dwellings ⁿ of the gods: eight [...]. ³²		to those who form a procession with sacrifices of
Seven times [...]. ³³		prosperity. ³⁹
<i>Holy Array</i> (lines 21-22)		<i>The Field of the Gods Repeated</i> (lines 28-29)
Purple, carnelian(-colored) [...]		The field of the gods,
		the field of ² Atiratu and Rahm <ay> ,

its mother's milk (Exod 23:19; 34:26; Deut 14:21). The comparison was always difficult because the verb would here have been *ṭbh*, "to slaughter," while in Heb. the verb is *bṣl*, "boil, cook in a liquid" (cf. Pardee 1976:234; Ratner and Zuckerman 1986). The word for "milk" here is *hīb*, which could in theory be cognate either with Heb. *hālāb*, "milk," or with *hēleb*, "fat" (covering certain internal organs); the first meaning seems clear here from the parallelism with *ḥm²at*, for in Heb. *ḥem²dh*, "curdled milk, curds, butter, ghee," appears in association with *hālāb*.

²⁷ The word *ṭannḥ* seems certainly to be related to words appearing in various Semitic languages, with and without prosthetic *ṭaleph* (e.g., Akk. *ananiḫu*, *naniḫu*, *nanaḫu*), identified as a form of mint or of ammi. Though the precise identification is uncertain, the existence of the cognates designating a plant for this word in parallel with *gd* provide an additional piece of evidence against translating the latter word as "kid."

²⁸ The archaeological and epigraphic data seem to indicate that the *ṭagn*-vessel was of the crater type, i.e., a large, rather squat vessel with a large mouth (Amadasi Guzzo 1990:21-23). Others have seen here a word cognate to the Indo-European word for "fire" or a word for "coals" related to the Arabic root *gwn* that can denote the color "red." The word provides, in any case, one of the many literary links between the opening sections and the principal myth, for it plays an important part in the scene below in which ²Ilu meets the two women who become his wives (lines 31-36).

²⁹ The reading here of *dgṭ*, a type of offering more clearly attested in the ²Aqhatu text (see note 124 to text 1.103), was proposed with the {t} entirely restored by Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner (1974:371, note s), then as an actual reading but with a question mark on the {t}, by Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín (1976:67).

³⁰ Many restore the divine name ²Atiratu after the verb "to hunt" in line 16, in imitation of line 13, where one finds {ṭaṭrt w rḥm} (see above, note 22).

³¹ The damaged state of the text here makes any interpretation dubious. Because the word *šm*, "name," does not reappear in this text as preserved, it appears impossible to identify with any certainty the name to which this line refers.

³² In the ritual text RS 1.003 there is mention of dwellings made of cut branches, set up on the roof (apparently of the temple of ²Ilu), and arranged in two groups of four: *b gg ṭaṭrt [b^c] ṭarb^c mṭbt ṭazmr bh*, "... (the king shall sacrifice) on the roof, four (and) four dwellings of cut (branches) on it" (lines 51-52). In an even more damaged and enigmatic passage in a ritual text (RS 24.248:21-23) there may again be a reference to dwellings set up for deities in groups of eight. The significance of the number eight is uncertain. However that may be, it appears legitimate to posit a connection between the *mṭbt ṭazmr* in RS 1.003 and the *sukkūt* erected for the Israelite "feast of booths" (see above, introduction).

³³ Whereas above the formula for a sevenfold repetition of a speech act was the multiplicative form *šb^c d(m)*, here a separate word for "times" is used (*p²amt šb^c*), a formula common in the prose ritual texts. The term *p²amt* can, in theory, be used with any number (up to thirty repetitions are attested), expressing the repetition of various cultic acts, primarily sacrifices and processions.

³⁴ The word *ṭiqn²u* denotes the color blue and is attested in two primary usages in Ug., viz., lapis lazuli stone, and blue-dyed textile (royal purple of the blue shade, as opposed to *phm*, which designates the redder shade). The word *šm* is usually explained as denoting the stone "carnelian," but may designate a third shade of "purple" (Sanmartín 1992:102-103). Finally, the word *ṭn* could either be the number "two" or another noun denoting a color, corresponding to Heb. *šānī*, and designating a dye made from an insect as opposed to the "royal" purple dye, made from various sea mollusks. Because the damaged state of the text has left us without a context here, it is not possible to know for sure whether we are dealing with two types of stones and "two singers" or with three colors of textiles, hence, probably, of garments.

³⁵ The restoration [{ṭagzrym.bn] ym} is generally accepted, based on the same expression in a similar context in line 61. As is usual in this text, interpretations have varied widely, depending on whether *ym* is taken as meaning "day" or "sea," on whether the fifth and sixth letters constitute this word or are suffixal to {ṭagzr}, and on the meaning of *gzr*. If one accepts that the "gracious gods" are Šahru-wa-Šalimu, then an interpretation reflecting their character appears most plausible, i.e., *gzr*, "to cut," denotes the separation of night from day (Gray 1965:98), i.e., cutting the day into two parts, while *bn ym*, literally "sons of a day," indicates that the two gods exercise their function within a single day.

³⁶ As in the case of Yašsubu, son of Kirta (CTA 15 ii 26-28 [text 1.102]), the suckling of an infant by a goddess here indicates divine adoption rather than biological motherhood. So the Ug. king is represented on the ivory panels from his bed as a youth suckled by the goddess (Schaeffer 1954: pl. 8).

³⁷ On this interpretation, see del Olmo Lete 1981:442, 615; Hettrema 1989-90:83. One might appeal to Arabic *dfr*, "help," for this interpretation of *msprt*. Because of the break at the end of line 24, it is uncertain precisely what Šapšu's role is here, though one would expect it somehow to be in relation with the fact that the dawn and dusk are directly related to the rising and setting of the celestial orb. According to the narrative of the birth of Šahru-wa-Šalimu (line 54), gifts are made to Šapšu and to the astral deities immediately after the birth of the "boys."

³⁸ Here the word is *gnbm*, cognate with Heb. *ḡnābī^c*/*nābīm*, the word used for grapes as a fruit or as berries, rather than the bunch of grapes, which is *ṣēkōl* (Ug. *ṭuṭkl*).

³⁹ "Those who form a procession" are literally the "goers" (*hlkm*). The verb is used in RS 1.005 for a ritual procession in which the king participates (see Pardee forthcoming). "Sacrifices of prosperity" translates *dbḥ n^cmt*. Note particularly that the second word is from the same root, *n^cm*, as that by which the "gracious gods" are described (see above, note 5): the sacrifices are literally those of "goodness" or of "good things." Though the sacrifices would certainly consist of "good things," the phrase would appear to function primarily as an "objective genitive," i.e., the sacrifices, by placating the "goodly gods" will result in "goodness" for the offerer.

[...] s[i]ts/do[es] ag[ain].⁴⁰

The Myth (lines 30-31)

[²Ilu goes]⁴¹ to the seashore,
strides along the shores of the Great Deep.⁴²

²Ilu *Handpicks Two Women* (lines 31-36)

²Ilu [spies]⁴³ two females presenting (him with) an offering,⁴⁴
presenting (him with) an offering from the jar.⁴⁵

One gets down low,⁴⁶

the other up high.⁴⁶

One cries out: "Father, father,"

the other cries out: "Mother, mother."⁴⁷

"May ²Ilu's hand stretch out as long as the sea,"⁴⁸

r Cf. Ezek
17:6, 24

s Num 11:23;
Deut 4:34;
Isa 9:11, 16,
20; 10:4; cf.
Isa 57:8

t Gen 12:15;
20:2; cf.
26:10

u Cf. Exod
19:13ff

(may) ²Ilu's hand (stretch out as long) as the
flowing waters;⁴⁹

Stretch out, (O) hand of ²Ilu, as long as the sea,
(stretch out, O) hand of ²Ilu, (as long) as the
flowing waters."

²Ilu takes the two females presenting an offering,
presenting an offering from the jar;
he takes (them), estab<lish>es⁵⁰ (them) in his
house.¹

²Ilu *Tries His Hand at Shooting Birds* (lines 37-39)

²Ilu (first) lowers his staff,

(then) ²Ilu grasps his rod in his right hand.⁵¹

He raises (it), casts (it)^u into the sky,

⁴⁰ The verb *yīb*, second sign uncertain, could be either from *yīb*, "to sit," or from *īb*, "to return" or "to do again" when used with another verb. Because of the broken context we cannot know if the reference is to the sitting of gods or officials (as might be surmised from the form of the preceding formulae, i.e., not explicitly equational as the corresponding formulae were in line 13) or to the repetition of an act or of speech.

⁴¹ Any restoration here is entirely hypothetical, though it appears quite likely, as several scholars have seen, that the principal protagonist, ²Ilu, would have been introduced here along with a verb parallel to *šgd*, "to stride, walk," in the parallel line (cf. Wyatt 1987:381).

⁴² There are three principal water words in this section. *ym/ihm* in this verse and *ym/mbd* in lines 33-35. *ym* denotes primarily the salt sea, *ihm* the fresh-water sea thought to lie under the earth. Though *mbd* is much more rarely attested, it appears to function as the rough equivalent of *ihm* (see Pardee 1988a:132-134). These water words reflect the concerns of this story and do their part to present ²Ilu as away from home when the encounter occurs, for though ²Ilu's dwelling place is presented in watery terms, only one of the terms overlaps and that one is in a different form (²Ilu dwells at "the headwaters of the two rivers [*nhrm*], at the fountains/confluence of the deeps [*thmtm*]" — see on CTA 2 iii 4 [text 1.86, notes 145, 182], RS 24.244:2-7 [text 1.94, notes 2, 4]; cf. CTA 17 vi 48 [text 1.103]). In this story he is not, therefore, in a mountainous area where rivers begin, but at the seashore where rivers end.

⁴³ Most scholars reconstruct the verb *lqh* here on the basis of line 35, but one might rather expect here a verb describing ²Ilu meeting the women (Hettema 1989-90:83).

⁴⁴ "Two females presenting ... an offering" is an attempt at reflecting each element of the form *mšl'lm*, i.e., Št-participle, feminine, dual (perhaps /mušta'itāma). After years in which various interpretations of this word were proffered (often based on the interpretation of ²agn as meaning "fire" rather than "jar"), a certain consensus seems to have formed in recent years that we are dealing with a form of the verb *šly*, "to ascend, go up, mount." Even within that analysis, however, different interpretations exist. Seeking an interpretation based on Ug. usage, one sees that the simple Š-stem has three primary values: (1) the "literal" meaning, "cause to go up"; (2) a sexual meaning, "to be mounted," said of a cow mating with a bull (Ba¹lu); and (3) "to present (as a gift/offering)," said of stelae and a vase in ritual texts. The infixed-*t* form may be thought to reflect one of these usages (Troppe 1990:51-53, 77-78), but which usage, and whether the function of the -*t* is that of the reflexive or is closer to a middle (i.e., for one's own benefit) is uncertain. Because the form is participial, and ²Ilu does not "mount" these females until later in the story, it appears that the sexual sense is not at the surface level here, though it is plausibly an underlying one. Because these entities are below described as "two women" (²atim) and because *šly* is used in the ritual texts for presenting a gift to a deity (not a burnt offering!), it appears plausible to interpret *mšl'lm* here as designating two women (i.e., human beings) either offering themselves as a gift to the divinity or as offering something else to the divinity for their own benefit. Because the phrase *l r'is' 2agn* is very difficult to interpret with the simple reflexive meaning of the participle (see next note), it does not appear that they are offering themselves to the divinity, and the interpretation as a middle becomes the more likely.

⁴⁵ The "jar" can only be the jar already introduced in line 15. There we saw youths chanting about spiced milk being prepared "over a fire," "over a jar" (*l' 2agn*), apparently as a *dgt*-offering. Here the "two women presenting a gift" are, literally, "at the head of the jar" (*l r'is' 2agn*). It is uncertain what this phrase means, for "jars" do not have heads and elsewhere *l r'is'* does not seem to function as a complex preposition (Pardee 1976:309). Because the attested usages of *šly* in Ug. show it not to be the simple equivalent of Heb. *he'elāh*, "to offer up (esp. as a burnt offering)," one doubts that the reference here is to a burnt offering of any kind, but rather to something presented to the divinity, presumably the spiced dairy products mentioned in line 14. In this interpretation, the phrase *l r'is'* would denote the fact that the offering would have to be ladled out of the jar.

⁴⁶ The verbs *špl* and *trm* apparently describe the women themselves, for the second form can only be intransitive. It is uncertain what the acts imply, perhaps nothing less banal than antics to get the god's attention (see next note).

⁴⁷ I remain dubious that ²Ilu is here being addressed directly and wittingly as a mother (e.g., de Moor 1987:123, n. 37). Indeed below, lines 42-49, the possibility of the two women even addressing ²Ilu as "father" is considered and dropped. Because the encounter ends up with the women being taken to ²Ilu's house in view of marriage (the verb *trh* is actually used in line 64), we may surmise that the women were engaging in the activity with the express purpose of catching a male, indeed a divine one (the preparations seem to be described in line 15 as a type of offering to a deity, a *dgt*). If such be the case, the cries in lines 32-33 are addressed to their own parents, as in "Daddy, mommy, what do we do now?"

⁴⁸ There is a general consensus that *yd*, "hand," here is a euphemism for "penis." There is not agreement, however, on whether (1) both verses are descriptive of ²Ilu's excitement at the sight of the women, (2) the first verse is a volitive formulation, the second descriptive, or (3) both verses are formulated volitively (*r'irkm* = jussive, *ark* = imperative). I choose the last solution for morphological and literary reasons. The form *ark* in line 34 cannot be a perfect verb, for *yd* is a feminine noun and *ark* is not marked for feminine gender. The verb could, of course, always be parsed as an infinitive, used absolutely, as occurs rather frequently in Ug. poetry. But because the rhetoric of this poem seems usually to be allusive rather than direct in sexual matters, one may surmise that the sexual meaning here is at the level of paronomasia, and that the women are requesting, superficially, only that ²Ilu extend his hand to "take" them, as indeed he does in the following verse.

⁴⁹ On *mbd*, see above, note 42.

⁵⁰ There is general agreement to emend {yš} to {yš<t>}, i.e., the hollow verb *šr*, "to put, place, establish."

⁵¹ Lit., "he grasps in his right hand the rod of his hand." *Ymn* is taken, in agreement with many scholars, as the L-stem (the verbal stem

casts (it at) a bird in the sky.
 He plucks (the bird), puts (it) on the coals,
 (then) ²Ilu sets about enticing⁵² the women.
²Ilu Comes Up With a Handy Test of the Women's
 Maturity (lines 39-49)⁵³
 "If," (says he,) "the two women cry out:
 'O man, man,
 you who prepare your staff,
 who grasp your rod in your right hand,
 you roast a bird⁵⁴ on the fire,
 roast (it) on the coals,'
 (then) the two women (will become) the wives of
²Ilu,⁵⁵
²Ilu's wives forever.
 But if the two women cry out:
 'O father, father,
 you who prepare your staff,
 who grasp your rod in your right hand,
 you roast a bird on the fire,
 roast (it) on the coals,'
 (then) the two daughters (will become)⁵⁶ the
 daughters of ²Ilu,
²Ilu's daughters forever."

vExod 22:15;
 Judg 14:15;
 16:5;
 Hos 2:16

wProv 16:21;
 cf. Cant
 4:11; 7:10

x Ps 8:4

The two women do (in fact) cry out:
 "O man, man,
 you who prepare your staff,
 who grasp your rod in your right hand,
 you roast a bird on the fire,
 roast (it) on the coals."
 (Then) the two women (become) the wives [of
²Ilu],
²Ilu's wives forever.
The Birth of Šahru-wa-Šalimu (lines 49-54)
 He bends down, kisses their lips,
 their lips are sweet,
 sweet as pomegranates.
 When he kisses, there is conception,
 when he embraces, there is pregnancy.⁵⁷
 The two (women) squat and give birth
 to Šahru-wa-Šalimu.
 Word is brought to ²Ilu:
 "The two wives of ²Ilu have given birth."
 "What have they born?"
 "The two boys Šahru-wa-Šalimu."⁵⁸
 "Take up, prepare (a gift) for great Šapšu
 and for the immut[able] stars."^x

characterized by a reduplicated final radical and having a factitive connotation similar to the D-stem) of a verb that is denominative from *ymn*, "right hand" (/yāmanana/ [pf.] or /yēmānin-/ [impf.] here, /mēmāninuma/ [participle plus enclitic -m] in lines 40 and 44). Because of the absence in this passage of a term for "bow" or "arrow" it may be doubted that the verbs denote the stringing of the bow (i.e., setting one end on the ground, bending it, and attaching the string with the right hand). Rather the image is that of killing a bird with a thrown stick (the verb *ry* in the following verse, though it can mean "shoot an arrow," means basically only "throw, cast") and the mention of preparing the staff (*hrt*) and taking the rod (*mt*) in the right hand either refers to putting down the walking stick and picking up a throwing stick or, according to common usage in parallelistic poetry, simply to transferring a single stick from the left hand to the right. Though attempts have been made to see the sexual imagery carried forward consistently here (see especially Pope 1979), they appear strained. In particular, the attempt to see in the lowering of the staff (*nh* "descend") an image of impotency is closely linked with the preconception of ²Ilu as a *deus otiosus*, and the "story line" here does not allow us to consider that aspect of the imagery a major one: the bird to which reference is made in the next line (the flesh of which is plausibly taken as a restorative, especially of male potency; cf. Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner 1974:374, note d) is shot down with the rod that has already been raised up. On the other hand, the conjunction of words elsewhere used as euphemisms for the male member with verbs of raising, lowering and shooting, and with the resultant use of bird flesh, roasted on hot coals, seems to indicate the presence of sexual allusions in keeping with the following explicitly indicated sexual activity. If the images were meant to express a consistent line of development, one is constrained to see in the bird flesh as much an aphrodisiac as a restorative, and meant as much to entice the women as to keep ²Ilu's shooting apparatus in working order.

⁵² The use of *pr(y)* here, if correctly analyzed as cognate with Heb. *pth*, denotes the act of a male convincing a woman to engage in sexual activity, whether lawful ("attract, entice") or unlawful ("seduce"), or, more broadly, of enticing anyone into a path of action. The verb not being necessarily polarized negatively, and ²Ilu's relationship being described below as that of marriage (line 64), this passage should be taken as introducing the following passage.

⁵³ The function of this test seems to be to determine whether the women are mature enough to discern the sexual function of the roasting birds (see note 51) or whether they will simply see in ²Ilu a father figure providing them with food.

⁵⁴ On the place of the bird in the sequence of images here, see notes 51 and 53. It is important to point out the presence here, as in several cases already discussed, of a literary link between earlier and later parts of the text, in this case between this bird (*šr*), instrumental in ²Ilu's procurement of the two women as wives, and the recurrence of the word below (line 62) in the description of the voracious behavior of the offspring of this union.

⁵⁵ The Ug. phrase is *attm att il*, lit., "the two women (will become) ²Ilu's two women." The parallel passage indicates that the equational formulation is intended as a social classification: "the two girls (lit., daughters) (will become) ²Ilu's two daughters" (*btm bt il*, line 45).

⁵⁶ The formulation *btm bt il* is strictly parallel to *attm att il* in line 42, though the indication of change of status is less clear here: are the two "girls" to become his daughters (i.e., they will be adopted), or are they classified as belonging among his daughters (i.e., their status is recognized, rather than changed)? In either case, the term used to describe the two women who would have shown themselves by their address to be girls rather than women to be married is *btm*, "girls, daughters."

⁵⁷ Judging from the parallel in the ²Aqhatu story (CTA 17 i 41-42 [text 1.103]), this is the standard poetic idiom for intercourse and conception, with no variation in this formulation reflecting the divine status of the male partner. If there is a variation reflecting divine participation, it is expressed with regard to the women not the deity, i.e., in the description in the preceding verse of the women's lips being sweet, for the kissing motif is absent in the ²Aqhatu version, where both partners are human. Compare Gen 6:2 where the "sons of the gods" are depicted as seeking after human wives because they were "good" (*tōbōt*).

⁵⁸ There is general agreement that the two elements making up this double deity mean "Dawn" and "Dusk" (see bibliographical elements in the various studies of this text and in Pardee 1989-90:456-457). There is no apparent reason, however, for the subsequent identification with the morning and evening star, assumed by various scholars. The name Šahru, at least, is clearly linked with the concept of "dawn," not with a celestial body, and there is every reason to believe that the morning and evening manifestations of Venus were linked in Ug. thought with the deities *Attaru* and *Atartu* (bibliography in Pardee 1989-90:466-470; discussion in Pardee forthcoming on RS 1.009:4 and RS 1.017:18, 25).

The Second Birth Narrative (lines 55-64)⁵⁹

He bends down, kisses their lips,
 their lips are sweet.
 When he kisses, there is conception,
 [when] he embraces, there is pregnancy.
 He sits down, he counts,
 to five for the [bulge to appear],
 [to] then, the completed double.⁶⁰
 The two (women) squat and give birth,
 they give birth to the gracious [gods],
 who delimit the day, sons of a (single) day,
 who suck the nipples of the breasts.
 Word is brought to ³Ilu:
 "The two wives of ³Ilu have given birth."
 "What have they born?"
 "The gracious gods,
 who delimit the day, sons of a (single) day,
 who suck the nipples of the breasts of the lady.⁶¹
 (One) lip to the earth,
 (the other) lip to the heavens,

y Zeph 1:3

z Isa 9:19

aa Ps 29:8

bb Gen 29:18

Into their mouths enter
 the birds of the heavens
 and the fish in the sea.⁷
 When they stand, delimitation to <deli>mita-
 tion,⁶²
 they prepare (food for themselves) on right and
 left,
 into their mouth (it goes) but never are they
 satisfied."^{63 2}
³Ilu Temporarily Banishes Mothers and Sons (lines
 64-67)
 "O women whom I have wedded,
 O sons whom I have begot,⁶⁴
 Take up (your belongings), prepare (yourselves a
 place)
 in the holy steppe-land;^{65 aa}
 There you must dwell as aliens⁶⁶
 among the stones and trees,
 For seven full years,^{bb}
 eight revolutions of time."

⁵⁹ This second narrative can be interpreted either as recounting the birth of additional children to ³Ilu by the two women (so, e.g., Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner 1974:358-360) or as a second account of the birth of Šahru-wa-Šalimu. Two considerations lead me to adopt the latter hypothesis. (1) On the level of macrostructure and overall meaning of the text, one asks oneself why the "gracious gods" would appear early and late but Šahru-wa-Šalimu would occupy a mere five and a half lines, and those at the very center of the myth. Why speak at all of the birth of this double deity if the real concern of the text is with younger brothers? At the very least, one must assume a very close structural relationship between Šahru-wa-Šalimu and the "gracious gods" (e.g., the former "Dawn-and-Dusk," the latter the morning and evening star — rôles we have every reason to believe were already filled at Ugarit, see preceding note). (2) On the metaphorical level, the images of the "gracious gods" delimiting the day and standing with one lip in the heavens and the other on the earth, devouring birds and fish (see below), are perfectly appropriate for dawn and dusk, much less so for the morning and evening star. A possible indication that the two narratives refer to the birth of a single double deity may be found in the terms chosen to describe the offspring, i.e., *ylāy*, "two boys," in line 53 (the explanation of the terminal -y is uncertain), as opposed to [*ilm*] *n^cmm*, "two good gods," in line 58. Given the assured divine status of Šahru-wa-Šalimu, it is striking that in their particular birth narrative they are described merely as "boys," while a following narrative describes the birth of two gods by the very same mothers. Was the second narrative understood as signifying a replacement of the "boys" by "gracious gods" or as a strong image for a process of maturation?

⁶⁰ Ginsberg (1945:4, n. 7; cf. Tsumura (1978; Hentema 1989-90:85, n. 29) was almost certainly right in seeing here a reference to the counting of the months of gestation. Compare the case of Dānī³īlu, who also "sits down," explicitly to count the months of his wife's pregnancy (CTA 17 ii 43 [text 1.103]). Unfortunately the tablet is damaged here and the precise formulation is unclear. One can doubt, in any case, that *kl²at* in line 57 denotes "fullness" or that it is cognate to Akk. *kullatu*, as Tsumura proposed. The root *kl²* in Ug. regularly denotes doubleness, used for two hands and double gates. One would, therefore, expect it here to denote either the conception of two children or the simple fact that ten is five doubled. The presence of *phr* before *kl²at* seems to favor the latter interpretation, for the literal translation of the phrase, "the assembly of two (entities)," in which *phr* explicitly denotes the concept of bringing entities together, seems more fitting for expressing the notion of bringing two fives together than that of twins, who would always have been together. If Tsumura's reading {s¹b¹[²i]} is correct at the beginning of the lacuna, the verb would be *šb²*, which elsewhere in Ug. expresses various notions of "going forth," here the protrusion of the pregnant belly. Such an interpretation appears legitimate, for *šb²* is not a simple semantic equivalent to *yš²*, "exit," i.e., "pass from an enclosed space to the outside," which one would expect to be used to express the birth itself.

⁶¹ *Šr*, a general honorific term, apparently designates ³Aṭirani here, for this goddess was actually named in this formula above, line 24. On the use of the word in the ³Aqhatu text, part of a title of the goddess ^cAnatu's henchman *yphn*, see note 64 to text 1.103. Unfortunately, the word *šr* here is at the juncture between the two verses and the word may represent the verb *šr*, "to put," of which the "lips" in the following verse would be the direct object (rather than standing as subjects in two nominal sentences as I have translated).

⁶² The text reads {*ndd gsr l zr*}, usually emended to {*ndd gsr l <g> zr*}. With or without the emendation, there is certainly a reference here to the title of the "gracious gods" as ³*agzr ym*. The use of *ndd*, "stand (up)" (N-stem of the hollow root *dd*), with the preposition *l* preceding the second word following the verb, seems to favor the interpretation of *gsr* as denoting the delimitation, rather than the "cut up pieces" upon which they would be feeding ("when they stand up piece to piece" is a rather odd formulation for "standing up to produce pieces" or "standing up to feed on pieces"). The image is that of "Dawn" and "Dusk," when they stand, filling the horizon, one in the east, the other in the west.

⁶³ The imagery in lines 61-64 seems particularly appropriate for dawn and dusk, which, on the horizontal axis, fill the horizon and, on the vertical axis, open and close like a mouth. The "fish in the sea" can in the Levantine context refer only to sunset; whether the "birds of the heaven" refers symmetrically to the realm of sunrise is less certain. Though the noisy activity of birds at sunrise would not be concentrated in the east to the same extent that the fish are concentrated in the west, perhaps the link of birdsong with sunrise was sufficient to engender the image.

⁶⁴ Unless the two women and the two sons have for reasons unknown become single, the forms ³*att* and *bn* are in construct with the following finite verbal forms.

⁶⁵ The interpretation of the phrase *mdbr qdš* is no easier here than in Ps 29:8, where the second element is vocalized as the geographical name Qadesh. Is this a generic statement about the divine characteristics of the *mdbr* or a reference to a specific *mdbr* in the vicinity of one of the several towns of which the names are derived from the root *qdš*? See also below, p. 304, n. 18.

⁶⁶ Though the motivation for the apparent reduplicated form (*igrgr*) is not clear (should the signs be divided as *igr gr*, in the familiar "infinitive absolute" construction?), the idea of banishment appears clear, and *gr* seems to have the notion of displacement from one's own ethnic group

The Gracious Gods Learn of Agriculture (lines 67-76) ⁶⁷	cc cf. Isa 27:3; Prov 27:18; Job 27:18	"If [there is X-]bread, then give (it to us) ⁶⁸ that we might eat; If there is [X-wine, then] give (it to us) that we might drink." The guardian of the sown land answers them: ["There is bread that has ...] There is wine that has arrived in/from ⁶⁹ [...]." [...] he approaches, he serves a <i>luggu</i> -measure ⁷⁰ of his wine [...] And his companion fills with wine [...] ⁷⁰
The gracious gods arrive at the field, (while) hunting along the fringes of the steppe- land.	dd Isa 5:5; Pss 80:13; 89:41; Ecc 10:8; cf. Isa 58:12; Amos 9:11	
The guardian of the sown land ^{cc} meets them and they call out to the guardian of the sown land:	ee 1 Sam 21:4	
"O guard, guard, open up!" and he opens up.	ff Cf. Lev 14:10, etc.	
He makes an opening (in the fence) ⁶⁸ dd for them and they enter.		

so familiar in Heb. and present in a Ug. ritual text (cf. Pardee forthcoming on RS 1.002:18').

⁶⁷ Assuming that the gods have obeyed their father's order and have completed the banishment period, it is at the end of that period that, one day while hunting along the desert's edges, they meet the one in charge of protecting the sown land, request entry and become acquainted with the relative bounty of agricultural life. A classic case of the encounter of the Desert and the Sown, with the latter presented as the desirable state.

⁶⁸ The verb is *prj* which, though there is no expressed object, implies making a "breach" in some kind of protective construction, here plausibly a barrier of thornbush or a rough stone wall.

⁶⁹ The text reads {d "rb b [k[...]]. There being no good parallel from which to deduce a restoration, it is uncertain whether the phrase beginning with *b* denotes the origin of the wine, the container in which it arrived, or some quality of the wine.

⁷⁰ The damaged state of the tablet precludes our knowing exactly how the text ended. It does not appear, however, that it indicated explicitly the effects of the bread and wine on the "gracious gods," and it is not impossible, therefore, that the text continued on another tablet, in spite of the arguments to the contrary. On these arguments, none of which is decisive, see the introduction.

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2. PRAYERS

UGARITIC PRAYER FOR A CITY UNDER SIEGE (1.88) (RS 24.266)

Dennis Pardee

The sole clear example of a cultic prayer in the Ugaritic language is embedded in a ritual text, discovered in 1961 among a large quantity of ritually oriented texts (see the omen texts 1.90 and 1.92 below). The complete text is translated here to enable the reader to perceive the cultic context. The principal point of interest as regards the document as a whole is the degree to which the rituals prescribed here are accomplished in honor of various manifestations of Ba^clu, to whom the prayer also is addressed. From a literary perspective, it is to be noted that the text of the ritual itself is in prose, as are most Ugaritic ritual texts, while that of the prayer is in poetic form.

The Ritual of the Month of ²Iba^clatu (lines 1-?)¹
In the month of ²Iba^clatu,² on the seventh day:^a a sheep^b for Ba^clu-R^cKT³ [...] and (in) the temple of

a Gen 2:3 etc.
b Gen 22:7, 8;
Exod 13:13; Lev 5:7; 12:8; Num 15:11; Deut 18:3; Isa 43:23; 66:3; Ezek 45:15

¹ The break at the bottom of the tablet prevents determining the temporal relationship between the texts on the *recto* and *verso* (see note 17).

² ²Iba^clatu corresponds perhaps to the month of December-January, during which, therefore, the winter solstice would have occurred. For this placement in the year, see Pardee (forthcoming) commentary on RS 1.003; for the placement of ²Iba^clatu in January-February, see de Jong and van Soldt 1987-88:69-71. This ritual may deal with events of two months; in this case the second month would have been *ḥiyyāru*. The Ug. word *yrh* designates the celestial orb, the lunar deity, and the concept of month, the latter being determined by the phases of the moon. The "week" as one of a continuous sequence of seven-day weeks almost certainly did not exist at Ugarit, but the importance of the new-moon festival and of the full-moon festival, of which the primary celebration seems to have fallen on the fifteenth day of the month (see below, note 17), leads to the plausible conclusion that the lunar cycle was already divided into seven-day units, though the Ug. view of the last unit is unknown (a seven-day unit plus a variable number of days until the next new moon or a unit which was itself seen as being of variable length?).

³ Ba^clu-r^ckt is apparently a hypostasis of Ba^clu, but the second part of the theonym has not been satisfactorily explained. The principal deity

Ba^clu-²Ugārīta [...].⁴ At sunset^c the king is clear (of further cultic obligations).⁵ ^d On the seventeenth,^c the king washes himself^f clean.⁶ ^g A cow^h (in) the sanctuary of ²Ilu, a cow for the Ba^clu-(deities), a cow for GLM, two ewes and a cow for GLMTM;⁷ at the house of the *td^ciyu*-priest⁸ does one sacrifice (the preceding beasts). Next you⁹ shall illumineⁱ the ^cD-room¹⁰ of the temple of Ba^clu-²Ugārīta: a lamb and a city-dove;^j (these belong) to (the category) of the *td^cu*-sacrifice. On the eighteenth of ²Iba^clatu, a bull^k for the MDGL¹¹ of Ba^clu-²Ugārīta. A flame-sacrifice¹² and a presentation-sacrifice¹³ the king must offer (at) the temple of ²Ilu: a "neck"¹⁴ for ²I[...] a "neck" for Ba^clu[...] and a donkey¹⁵ for [...].¹⁶

c Lev 23:32
d Deut 20:6;
28:30; Jer
31:5
e Gen 7:11;
8:4
f Job 9:30
g Zeph 3:9;
Job 33:3
h Cf. Num
19:2
i Cf. Exod
25:37; 1 Sam
3:3; 1 Kgs
7:49 etc.
j Lev 1:14 etc.
k Cf. Exod
24:5ff
l Exod 29:26
etc.
m Gen 1:19 etc.
n Lev 14:4 et

passim in this chapter o Gen 1:23 etc. p Cf. Exod 29:13 etc. q Gen 28:18; 35:14 r Amos 6:6 s Isa 19:4
t Ps 140:3 u 1 Sam 17:52; Isa 28:6; Ezek 21:20, 27; Mic 1:9, 12 v Amos 1:7, 10, 14 w Ps 123:1; cf.
2 Kgs 19:22; Isa 51:6; Ps 121:1 x Cf. Exod 23:29 etc.

Another Festival, Perhaps of the Month of *Hiyyāru*¹⁷ (lines 18'-25')

[...] On the fourth:^m birds.¹⁸ ⁿ On the fifth:^o birds and a liver^p and a sheep (as) a burnt-offering for Ba^clu-²Ugārīta in the temple. On the seventh: you shall bring the purifiers near. At sundown, the king is clear (of further cultic obligations). Behold the oil^q of well-being of Ba^clu, libation-offering (for the benefit) of the kings, of the first quality.¹⁹ ^r

The prayer (lines 26'-36')

When a strong (foe)^s attacks^t your gate,^u

a warrior your walls,²⁰ ^v

You shall lift your eyes to Ba^clu^w (and say):

O Ba^clu, if you drive the strong one from^x our

in the ritual sections of this text is Ba^clu-²Ugārīta, the hypostasis of the weather god associated principally with the city itself. In the prayer and in the last cultic act leading up to the prayer (the oil libation in lines 24'-25'), the deity is simply Ba^clu.

⁴ In the first lacuna a term designating a further offering may have disappeared while in the second lacuna a specific offering to be made in the temple of Ba^clu-²Ugārīta was probably indicated.

⁵ The term denoting the passage from the state appropriate for cultic activity to that appropriate for secular activity is *hl*, which has received multiple explanations (for bibliography, see Pardee 1987:396 and forthcoming, commentary on RS 1.003:47). The passage was apparently effected by a rite entrusted to *mhlīm*, lit., "purifiers," attested here below in line 23'.

⁶ The royal rite of lustration normally took place on the day before a major festival, sometimes on the first day of the festival. The ritual sequence outlined in this text is abnormal in that it includes neither the day of the new moon nor that of the full moon.

⁷ The identification of the deities corresponding to the names *glm*, "the lad," and *glmtm*, "the two lasses," is unknown. On the use of *glm/glmt* in the Kirta text, see note 10 to that text (text 1.102).

⁸ See note 103 to the Kirta text (1.102). The scribe of that text, ²Iīmīlku, was a *td^ciyu*-priest.

⁹ Ritual commands either are expressed impersonally ("one shall do ...") or are addressed directly to the officiant, as here.

¹⁰ In the Kirta text, the ^cd-room is where the hero's throne is located (see note 96 to that text).

¹¹ This word is usually emended to {mgdl}, "tower" (or *mgdl* is given the same meaning). Because, however, the word *mgdl* is attested in Ug. meaning "tower," and because the reading {mgdl} here is quite clear, it is preferable to await further textual evidence before adopting one or the other of these solutions — Ug. may prove to have a word *mgdl* with a meaning distinct from *mgdl*.

¹² According to RS 1.001:8-9 (CTA 34) the heart of various beasts sacrificed according to one rite is roasted (*rms*) in the flames (²urm).

¹³ The Ug. *šnpt* corresponds etymologically to the Heb. *šnāpāh*, but does not seem to function so narrowly as a subdivision of the *šlm*-sacrifice as does the *šnāpāh* with respect to the *šlāmūm* (for bibliography, see Pardee 1987:411 and forthcoming, commentary on RS 1.001:10).

¹⁴ The word is *npš*, apparently denoting the portion of the body containing the breathing apparatus, i.e., the neck, as opposed to the inner throat/esophagus, the basis for most usages in poetry (see note 95 to the Kirta text [text 1.102] and notes 13 and 127 to the ²Aqhatu text [text 1.103]). It is uncertain, however, exactly which part of the neck was offered, and the origin of the neck, i.e., from what particular animal, is usually not stated in the ritual texts.

¹⁵ The sacrifice of the ^cr, "donkey," is extremely rare in these texts, attested elsewhere only in the very peculiar ritual recorded in RS 1.002 (CTA 32). In the latter text a historical link with the old Amorite sacrifice of a donkey in association with various types of agreements and treaties appears plausible (for bibliography see Pardee forthcoming, commentary on RS 1.002).

¹⁶ The bottom of the tablet is broken away, and approximately eight to twelve lines have been lost.

¹⁷ It is uncertain whether the fourth day mentioned in the first completely preserved line on the *verso* is that of a festival beginning on a day named above (such a festival may have begun either on the eighteenth, named in line 11, or, more likely, another day named in the text lost in the lacuna) or the fourth day of a second month. Both interpretations have precedents in RS 1.003 (CTA 35) ≈ RS 18.056 (CTA Appendix II): the sequence "five" through "seven" in RS 1.003: 38-47 refers to the fifth through seventh days of the festival associated with the full moon, while lines 48-55 refer to events on the first day of the following month. Because festivals tended to begin on a day corresponding to a phase of the moon, particularly the new moon and the full moon, and because the days of the full-moon festival can be computed separately ("day one" = the first day of the festival = the fifteenth day of the month, etc.) one can postulate that the reference here is to the fourth and following days of the full-moon festival of the month of *Hiyyāru* (see above, note 2).

¹⁸ The explanation of the anomalous form ^csrmm here, and probably at the end of the line and into line 21', is uncertain. It appears to be a dual or plural form of ^csr, "bird," with enclitic *mem*. Because the form ^csrmm is usually a dual in these texts, ^csrmm may be an emphatic form of the plural (^cusšurāmama). ^csr seems to function in the ritual texts as a generic word for "bird" (like *spr* in the Punic sacrificial tariff [text 1.98]), while *ymt* (*qrt*), "(city)-dove," is the most common specifically designated species. ²uz, "goose," appears rarely as do some other terms of which the meaning is less clear (see Pardee forthcoming).

¹⁹ The genitival phrase *šmn šlm b^cl* in lines 24'-25' apparently denotes an offering of oil meant to induce well-being from Ba^clu, while the *mtk mlkm*, "libation of the kings," is offered either by living kings (and the plural would be generic, since Ugarit apparently had one living king at a time) or for the benefit of dead kings, i.e., the kings named in RS 24.257 reverse (the Ug. king list; see Pardee 1988a:165-178) and those named in RS 34.126 (a connection with dead kings is favored by most scholars). See texts 1.104-105 below.

²⁰ The words designating the enemy here are ^cz, an adjective used substantively, "the strong (one)," and *qrd*, the old Semitic word for "warrior" (cf. Akk. *qarrādu*, "hero, warrior").

gate,
the warrior from our walls,
A bull,²¹ γ O Ba^clu, we shall sanctify,^z
a vow, (O) Ba^clu,²² we shall fulfill;^{aa}
a firstborn,²³ $\delta\delta$ (O) Ba^clu, we shall sanctify,
a *hup*-offering,²⁴ (O) Ba^clu, we shall fulfill,
a *šrt*-feast, (O) Ba^clu, we shall offer;

γ Isa 10:13
z Exod 28:38
etc.
aa 1 Kgs 2:27;
Jer 44:25;
2 Chr 36:21
Cf. 1 Kgs
8:15, 24;
Ps 20:5, 6; 2 Chr 6:4, 15 $\delta\delta$ Lev 27:26; Num 18:17; Deut 15:19; 33:17 cc Exod 34:24 etc.
dd Prov 3:17ff ee Gen 21:17ff

To the sanctuary, (O) Ba^clu, we shall ascend,^{cc}
th(at) path,²⁵ $\delta\delta$ (O) Ba^clu, we shall take.
And Ba^clu will hear [your] prayer:^{ee}
He will drive the strong (foe) from your gate,
[the warrior] from your walls.²⁶

²¹ A poetic word is used here for "bull," γ *ibr* ("the powerful one"), instead of the usual word for "male bovine" in this and other ritual texts, γ *alp*.

²² Though the vocative marker γ (probably $\gamma\delta$, as in Arabic) appears on the first and second occurrences of the divine name (lines 28', 29'), it is not used again. I have interpreted all the repetitions of $b^c l$ as having a vocative function and the restoration of the end of line 33' without *bt*, "house," makes the analysis of all occurrences of $b^c l$ as vocatives easier (see below, note 25).

²³ The first letter of the second word in line 31' has disappeared and the word has been restored by some as $\{[d]kr\}$, "male," by others as $\{[b]kr\}$, "firstborn." Space considerations actually favor the second restoration, but there is no reason to favor the interpretation of the term as denoting a human sacrifice as some have thought (e.g., Margalit 1986) over that of an animal firstborn.

²⁴ For bibliography on the interpretation of this word, see Pardee 1993:216, n. 33, and Pardee forthcoming, on this passage.

²⁵ Some restore here $\{nbt b^c l b^c l\}$, "the path of Ba^clu's house," which would indicate a shift from the vocative formulation in line 28' to a third-person formulation. The lacuna appears, however, a bit narrow for that restoration and I have restored simply $\{nbt b^c l\}$.

²⁶ This is certainly the last line of the text, but the corner of the tablet is broken away here and there could conceivably have been a very short conclusion of some kind.

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THE PRAYER OF NABONIDUS (4QPrNab) (1.89)

Baruch A. Levine, Anne Robertson

This Aramaic text from Qumran, Cave 4, which speaks of Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, was first published by J. T. Milik (1956), who assembled it from separate fragments of a single manuscript. These fragments were later realigned by F. M. Cross (1984), who dated the inscription paleographically to ca. 75-50 BCE. Many large gaps remain, some of which can be restored on the basis of parallel statements occurring elsewhere in the inscription, itself. Other restorations can only be conjectured, mostly on the basis of thematic links with the Book of Daniel. Interpretations of 4QPrNab have, as a consequence, varied greatly, although its overall thrust is quite clear.

While in Tema, a major oasis in northern Arabia, Nabonidus was stricken for seven years with an ailment inflicted on him by God, so that he became comparable with the beasts. When he prayed to God, his sin was forgiven. By way of recapitulation, the inscription explains in greater detail how Nabonidus was cured. It was a Jewish diviner of the exilic community who revealed to Nabonidus the cause of his ailment. He is quoted as saying that it was because the Babylonian king had continued to worship false gods, of silver and gold, thinking that they were true gods. The diviner instructed Nabonidus to give honor and praise to the true God, at which point his suffering ended.

In the biblical Book of Daniel, experiences similar to those associated with Nabonidus in this inscription are attributed to Nebuchadnezzar II, and in lesser degree to Belshazzar, Nabonidus' son, who ruled as co-regent for three years while his father was in Arabia. Quite possibly, the traditions of the Book of Daniel originated as tales about Nabonidus, whose fame was celebrated in Babylonian sources. His sojourn in Tema is recorded in the so-called Nabonidus Chronicle (ANET 305-307), and the Harran Inscriptions of Nabonidus (ANET 562-563) state that he had recourse to diviners, there identified as spokesmen of Sin, the chief god worshipped at Harran.

Biblical writers understandably focused on Nebuchadnezzar because he was, after all, the one who had destroyed Jerusalem and exiled masses of Judaeans to Babylonia. It is noteworthy, however, that at Qumran, other Jewish authors identified Nabonidus as the subject of legend, and credited him with ultimately acknowledging the God of Israel. See Meyer 1962; Sack 1992; and Garcia Martinez 1992:116-136.

Superscription: The Afflictions of Nabonidus (1-2a)
(Concerning) words of p[ra]yer¹ of Nabonidus²,
king of [Ba]bylon, [the Great] King³, [when he was
stricken] with a pernicious inflammation³ by the de-
cree⁴ of G[o]d⁵, in [the municipality of] Teman.⁶ b

*A First-Person Account of Nabonidus' Affliction and
Healing (2b-4a)*

I was stricken for seven years⁷, and ever since [that
time] I became comparable [with the beasts].⁸ c
Then I prayed before God]^d, and (as for) my
offense - he forgave it⁹.

a Dan 2:10;
Ezra 5:11
b Isa 21:14;
Jer 25:21;
Job 6:19
c Dan 4:21-
22; 5:21
d Dan 6:11;
Ezra 6:10
e Dan 2:27;
4:4; 5:7,11
f Dan 2:25;
5:13; 6:14
g Dan 2:4ff;
5:12ff
h Dan 5:4,23

*Recapitulation: It was a Jewish Diviner who
Revealed to Nabonidus How He Could Be Healed
(4b-8)*

A diviner,¹⁰ e who was himself a Jew fro[m among
the exilic community of Judea],¹¹ f provided an
interpretation,¹² s and wrote (instructions) to render
honor and greatness to the name of G[od]. And so
did he write]: "You were stricken with a pernicious
inflammation [by the decree of God in the
municipality of Teman, but] you continued for
seven years to pray [before] gods of silver and
gold, [bronze and iron], wood and stone (and)
clay,^h because [you were of the opin]ion that [they
were] (true) divinities."¹³

¹ Since the inscription nowhere presents the actual text of Nabonidus' prayer, but only reports that he prayed to God in his affliction, we should understand "words of prayer" (*mly šlt*) as referring more generally to the subject of the inscription.

² The Aram. name, written *nby*, is to be read *Nabônâi*, a shortened form of *Nabônâ'îdâ*, namely, Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon (556-539 BCE).

³ The Aram. passive participle *ketš* "stricken" is restored here from line 3 of the inscription, where it is clearly legible. The literal sense of *ktš* is "to crush, pound." Nabonidus was "stricken" with "a pernicious (=evil) inflammation" (*šhn b'yš*). Aram. *šhn* is a cognate of Heb. *šḥn* "boils, inflammation" (Exod 9:10), and cf. the Akk. verb *šahḫnu* "to become warm; to warm" (CAD Š 1:278). Sokoloff 1990:544.

⁴ Aram. *pīgām* (Old Persian *patgam*) "word, report" has the meaning of "decree, edict." It is attested in Biblical Aram. (Dan 4:14), where it is parallel with *mēmar* "word, command" and enters into late BH (Esth 1:20; Josh 8:11; and cf. Sir 5:11; 8:9). It occurs regularly in most Aram. dialects, including Syriac. KB¹ 1114; Sokoloff 1990:454; Levy 1963 4:154; Brockelmann 1966:616.

⁵ Following Cross we read simply *lh* "God" because of limitations of space, whereas Milik reads *lh* *hy* "the most high God" after Dan 3:26,32; 5:18,21.

⁶ Reading *btymn* [*mdym*] "in the municipality of Teman" with Milik 1956:415, Addendum, who discovered this reading in an additional fragment belonging with the dream inscription. It accords with the conventional way of registering the names of cities and provinces in Aram. documents. Aram. *Tymn*, read *Tēmdn*, is to be identified with the oasis of Tema, in Arabia, where Nabonidus spent a considerable period of time between 553-543 BCE, during his prolonged absence from Babylon (Sack 1992; Collins 1992). This site, and its environs, are referred to in several biblical passages by the correct name, *Tēma* (Isa 21:14; Jer 25:21; Job 6:19), whereas in this inscription that toponym is confused with *Tēmdn*, a more general name for "southern" areas.

⁷ The duration of the ailment for seven years correlates with what is told of the seven seasons of Nebuchadnezzar's withdrawal from human habitation in Dan 4:21-22, and it is there that we read about his madness and habitation with the beasts of the field. Here, the translation follows the restoration suggested by Cross.

⁸ Following Cross, it is best to read *wmn* [*dy*] *šwy* *lh* *hyw* *wšyt* *qdm* *lh*.

⁹ Cross cites the Targum on Job from Qumran, cave 11 (11*QgJob* 38:2-3) which reads: "And God harkened to Job's voice and forgave them their sins on his account" (*wšbq lhw n h'yhm bdyh*), referring to the sins of Job's friends. The sense of the verb *šbq*, frequent in most Aram. dialects, is "to release, abandon"; hence: "to forego punishment, forgive." DNWSI 1104-1105.

¹⁰ Aram. *gṣr* appears in the plural, *gāzerin*, determined form: *gāzerayya* "the diviners" in Dan 2:27; 4:4; 5:7,11 within a standard list of magical practitioners present at the Babylonian court. These included wise men, exorcists, and magicians, none of whom was able to interpret the royal dreams. With a degree of irony, this inscription has a Jewish diviner of the exilic community show concern for Nabonidus' plight and explain its cause to him, thereby allowing him to be cured.

¹¹ Since it is probable that the text goes on to identify the diviner's origin, both Milik and Cross fill in the gap with words to the effect that he was one of the Jewish exiles. Therefore, we read: *m[n bny glw dy yhw]* after Dan 2:25; 5:13; 6:14. One could also read: *dy yhwdy* "of the Judeans," with the text of Daniel from Qumran, 4*Q112*.113.115 to Dan 2:25. Beyer 1994:150.

¹² Following Milik, we take the unclear reading *hwy* as a 3rd masculine perfect form *heḥewē* "he explained, interpreted." This verb is prominent in the biblical Daniel narratives, occurring no less than 10 times in the second chapter of Daniel (Dan 2:4ff) and 4 times in Dan 5. In every case it refers to the interpretation of dreams and signs.

¹³ In line 8 of the inscription, Cross ingeniously restores *mn dy* [*hwy* *šb*], which he takes to mean: "Because I was of the opinion," but which more likely means: "Since you were of the opinion." The Aram. form *hwy* can represent either the 1st person masculine perfect, "I was," or the 2nd person masculine perfect, "You were," and the latter makes better sense here. The verb *sbr* "to think, intend" is attested in Dan 7:25.

REFERENCES

- Beaulieu 1989; Beyer 1994; Brockelmann 1966; Collins 1992; Cross 1984; Garcia Martinez 1992; Levy 1963; R. Meyer 1962; Milik 1956; Sack 1992; Sokoloff 1990.

3. DIVINATION

UGARITIC BIRTH OMENS (1.90)
(RS 24.247 + RS 24.302)

Dennis Pardee

Recorded observations of the natural world in the Levantine and Mesopotamian areas of the ancient Near East had two primary foci, medical and divinatory. The two areas were probably thought to be equally empirical. In the case of a symptom, one applied a given remedy or remedies and the complaint was supposed to go away. Other natural phenomena were thought to be followed by events in man's world. Various forms of divination are well attested in the classical world and a lengthy introduction is therefore not necessary here. Many of these types of divination are known to have already been practiced in Mesopotamia, for which documentation exists from the beginning of the second millennium BCE on. A much less extensive documentation exists for the west, though forms of classical Mesopotamian divinatory texts have been discovered there, particularly at Emar (Tell Meskene on the Euphrates) and, in Hittite versions, at Boğazköy. Ugaritic texts exist for divination by misformed animal births (RS 24.247+), by misformed human births (RS 24.302), by lunar phenomena (RIH 78/14 [text 1.91]), by extispicy (RS 24.312 ... [texts 1.92]), and, perhaps, by dreams (RS 18.041 [text 1.93]). In the medical category, only hippiatric texts are attested to date (text 1.106). Though one suspects that these texts had a Mesopotamian origin, there is remarkably little evidence of direct Mesopotamian influence. For example, there are very few loanwords from Akkadian in the Ugaritic of these texts, and there is no instance of a Ugaritic text having been translated directly from a known Akkadian original. It appears, therefore, that there was a long native tradition of this type of text and that it may be necessary to rethink the role of the "Amorites" in the elaboration and spread of "science" in the Fertile Crescent. Both birth-omen texts were discovered in the same archive, that of "le prêtre aux modèles de poumon et de foies," in the trench dubbed "ville sud," as were the lung and liver models translated in 1.92.

Because the omens are brief, consisting of one or two sentences per observation, the lines inscribed on the tablet by the scribe to set one omen off from another are indicated here and subheadings are omitted in the translation. RS 24.247+ was badly damaged in antiquity and has been incompletely pieced together from many fragments (*editio princeps* by Herdner 1978:44-60).¹ There is no set order of procedure from one anomaly to another and it is therefore usually impossible to reconstruct the beginning of the line when it is damaged. The interpretation of a given anomaly is not uniform in the various traditions, and it is usually difficult to reconstruct a missing prognostication. One can, however, observe one generality: the left side is negatively polarized, the right side positively. So a missing right organ or limb will generally be interpreted negatively, while the same abnormality on the left will have a positive interpretation. This is clearest in lines 35'-38', mirror-image omens involving missing right and left ears. For parallels with the Mesopotamian tradition, termed *šumma izbu* after the first words of a typical entry ("if [there is] a misformed birth ..."), see particularly Xella and Capomacchia 1979, Pardee 1986, and Dietrich and Loretz 1990a.

A Text for Divining by Misformed Births of Sheep and Goats (RS 24.247+)

1) As for the ewes of the flock,² [when³ t]hey give birth,⁴ a (if it is a) stone,⁵ many⁶ will fall^b

a Gen 30:39;
31:8
b 2 Sam 1:4

in the land.⁷

2) (If it is a piece of) wood, behold [...] in place of the offspring/birth, its cattle will [...] ⁸.

¹ Concerning the history of the fragment constituting the upper left corner of the tablet, all-important for the identification of the genre of the text, see Pardee 1986:117; Pardee forthcoming, on RS 24.247+.

² Ug. *š'in* corresponds to Heb. *šōn*, and both designate a mixed herd of sheep and goats (the traditional translation "small cattle" is in opposition to bovines, "large cattle"). The word for "ewes" is *l'at*, which has clear cognates in Aram. and Akk. The second [t] of the form *l'at* either is a mistake or represents the plural morpheme added onto the singular -t (see Pardee 1986:126; 1989:80).

³ The normal structure of a divinatory text is protasis, containing the observation, followed by apodosis, containing the interpretation. In the oldest Mesopotamian tradition, it was normal for protasis to have its complete form, i.e., with expressed hypothetical particle "if" (cf. Pardee 1986:127, n. 59). This seems also to have been the form in the Ug. texts for divining by misformed human births and by lunar observations (RS 24.302 here below and 1.91, respectively). In this text, however, the particle is absent below wherever the beginning of the line is preserved, though it is plausibly restored here in the lacuna, before the verb for birthing, not before the term designating the anomaly. (The hypothetical particle appears to be entirely absent in the text for divining by dreams, though that text is even more badly damaged than is this one).

⁴ The form {td'at}, for which no satisfactory explanation has been found, is corrected to {tdn'}, which, in the Ug. script, is only a matter of spacing between wedges.

⁵ Lit., "[when t]hey bear a stone."

⁶ The final letter of *m'adn*, and frequently below, has been shown to be a particle attached to the first word of an apodosis, if that word is a singular noun in the absolute state (Hoftijzer 1982; Pardee 1986:126). As an apodosis marker, it is not translated. Note that some have translated it, incorrectly, as a first common plural pronominal suffix ("our").

⁷ The use of "fall" (Ug. *qf*) in such a context normally implies warfare. "The land" in this text, unqualified, denotes the homeland, while "that land" designates the enemy's land. The Ug. term for the large political entity "land" (as opposed to the geological entity) is *hwt*, plausibly derived

3) (If the foetus) is smooth, ⁹ (without) h[air?], ^c there will be [...] in the land.	c Gen 27:11 d Jer 9:11 e Gen 12:10 etc.	20) [...] will become strong/strengthen him.
4) And (if) th[ere is no ...], the land will perish. ^d	f Cf. Pss 79:8; 116:6; 142:7(G- stem); Judg 6:6; Isa 17:4 (N-stem) g Lev 21:20 h Gen 47:19, 23; Lev 26:16; 27:16; Num 24:7; Deut 28:38; Isa 5:10; 55:10 i Exod 12:9; Lev 1:9, 13; 8:21; 9:14; 11:21; Amos 3:12 j 1 Sam 17:37; Ps 22:21; cf. Gen 9:5 k Exod 9:1-6, 18-25 l Zeph 1:15; Pss 25:17; 107:6, 13, 19, 28; Job 15:24; cf. Deut 28:53, 55, 57; 1 Sam 22:2; Isa 8:22, 23; 30:6; Jer 19:9; Ps 119:143; Prov 1:27; Job 36:16 37:10; m Pss 89:46; 102:24 n Jer 51:55 etc.	21) [...]
5) [...], there will be famine in the land. ^e		22) [...]
6) [...] and (= nor) nostrils, ¹⁰ the land [...]; ditto. ¹¹		23) [...]
7) [And] (if) there is no [...], the king will seize the lan[d of his enemy and] the weapon of the king ¹² will lay it (the land) low. ^f		24*) [...] [...]
8) [...] [...] cattle [...]		25*) [...] [...]
9) And (if) it has no [left] thigh, the king will [...] his enemy.		26*) And (if) it has no right thigh [...]
10) And (if) there is no lower left leg, ¹³ the king [will ...] his enemy.		27*) And (if) there is no tendon ²⁰ in [its?] K[...]
11) And (if there is) a horn of flesh [in] its left [te]mple, [...].		28*) And (if) it has no middle part of the [right] foreleg [...]
12) (If) it has no spleen ¹⁴ [...] [...]; di[itto];		29*) will not obtain offspring.
13) the king will not obtain ¹⁵ offspring. ¹⁶		30*) And (if) [it has] no nostrils [...]
14) [And] (if) it has no testicles, ⁸ the (seed-)gra[in] ^h [...] [...] ¹⁷		31*) And (if) it has no tongue [...]
15) And (if) the middle part ⁱ of its [left?] foreleg ^j is missing, [...] will destroy the cattle ^k of [...].		32*) (If) its lower lip (is) like [...]
16) [...], the enemy will destroy the cattle of the land.		33*) (If) its face (is) that of a ²¹ IRN, ²¹ [...] will shorten
17) [...], the mighty archers ¹⁸ will seize the enemy of the king.		34*) the days ^m of the (= our) lord; behold, the cat- tle ⁿ [...]
18) [...]perish/destroy; ditto.		35*) And (if) [it] has no right ear, [the enemy will] devastate ⁿ the land
19) [...]famine, hard times ^l will disappear.		36*) [...] and will] consume it.
		37*) And (if) [it] has no left ear, the king [will] devastate the land of [his] enemy
		38*) and will consume it.
		39*) And (if) its (rear?) legs (are) short, the (= our) lord will confront the <i>hurādu</i> -troops ²² and

from *hwy*, "to live," and cognate to Heb. *ḥawwāh*, which designates a much smaller political entity, a "village." A paraphrase of this omen would thus be: the birth of a stone by a ewe or a nanny means that battle will occur in the homeland in the course of which many casualties will occur among the home troops.

⁸ The word *bhm*, translated here conventionally as "cattle," probably designates livestock in general, i.e., is neither so narrow as to designate only bovines nor so wide as to designate, as does *b'hemāh* in some biblical texts, all creatures larger than the "creepers" (*remeš*, *šereš*). The restoration of *br* at the end of this line proposed in Pardee 1986:129 must be abandoned; see Pardee forthcoming.

⁹ The text is [gmš š[...]], hypothetically restored as *gmš š[...]* and explained by Arabic *gmš*, "shave," as meaning "smooth, devoid of hair" (Pardee 1986:129).

¹⁰ The foetus is missing another organ in addition to the nostrils.

¹¹ The word *mtn*, from *tny*, "do twice, repeat," denotes repetition of an element from the preceding entry.

¹² The phrase "weapon of the king" has excellent parallels in the Mesopotamian omen texts (GIŠ.TUKUL LUGAL = *kak šarri*), while the Ug. word here designating the weapon, viz. *mrhy*, appears to be cognate to Arabic *marḥay* and, with metathesis, to Heb. *rōmah*, "spear, lance." For the details of this interpretation, see Pardee 1986:130-131.

¹³ The body part is the *qsr*, denoting perhaps the part of the animal's leg between the hoof and the "ankle" (Pardee 1986:132). This term appears also in the Punic sacrificial tariff text (1.98).

¹⁴ Though not attested in Biblical Heb., *ṭhl*, "spleen," has good cognates in the other Semitic languages.

¹⁵ This passage has helped to explain the form *ypq* in the Kirta text (CTA 14 i 12; see note 5 to text 1.102) as from the hollow root *pq*, used several times in the Hiphil in Biblical Heb. as a parallel term to *māṣā*, "to find" (cf. Pardee 1989:84).

¹⁶ The word for "offspring" in the omen texts is *šph*, "offspring (undifferentiated as to sex)" (see note 11 to the Kirta text [1.102]).

¹⁷ Though the rest of the apodosis is missing, there appears to be a play on *qr*, "seed(-grain)" and "semen," here and in line 55' (see Pardee 1989:87-88).

¹⁸ It is clear from the Kirta text that *tnn* (here) and *hpt* (line 57') denote types of soldiers (see note 22 to text 1.102).

¹⁹ Approximately one fourth to one third of the tablet has disappeared, and as few as fifteen and as many as thirty lines have been lost.

²⁰ The word *hrsp* may denote a tendon or a ligament if the explanation by Heb. *ḥarsubbōt*, "bonds" (Isa 58:6), is correct (for bibliography, see Pardee 1986:134).

²¹ The term seems to denote either some reptile, perhaps a form of lizard, or a dog, particularly a puppy (for discussion with bibliography, see Pardee 1986:135-136).

²² Like *tnn* (line 17) and *hpt* (line 57'), *hrd* denotes a military category (for bibliography, see Pardee 1987:387).

40') Rašap will finish off ²³ the posterity. ²³	o Josh 24:20ff	that land will be consumed. ²⁴
41') And (if) its nose (is) like the "nose" of a bird, the gods will destroy ²⁴ the land	p Jer 4:4; Ezek 21:4; cf. Deut 13:6ff	56') And (if) [...], the gods will destroy that land.
42') [...] and will fly (away?). ²⁵		57') And (if) its eyes are [in] (its) forehead, the king will become more powerful ²⁵ than his <i>huptu</i> -troops.
43') [...] to/on its head, the (seed-)grain of that king	q Josh 8:20ff	
44') [...]	r Ezek 32:2; 34:18; Ps 68:31	58') And (if) it has HR and [-]R, the king will destroy his enemy.
45') [...] its [-]DR protrudes, ²⁶ the Sun will abase ²⁷ that land.	s Cf. Gen 24:25, 32; 42:27; 43:24; Judg 19:19	59') And (if) it has no left (fore?)leg, the land of the enemy will perish.
46') [...], the king will lay low ²⁸ the hand (= power) ²⁹ of the <i>hurādu</i> -troops.	t Est 9:1	<i>A Text for Divining by Misformed Human Births</i> (RS 24.302) ³¹
47') [...] its penis, ²⁹ the weapon of the king will be raised	u Ezek 17:21	1') If [a woman] g[ives birth ...]
48') [...] his hand.	v Josh 11:19; Job 5:23	2') the l[and ...]
49') [...] in place of its eyes and its eyes (are) in its forehead, ³⁰	w Deut 28:38	3') If [a woman] gives birth[...]
50') [the enemy will] tread the land under. ³¹	x Judg 3:10; 6:2; Ps 89:14	4') will become more powerful than[...]
51') [And (if)] its [-]B protrudes from its mouth, the enemy will devour ³² the land.		=====
52') And (if) it has [no] feet, the <i>hurādu</i> -troops will turn ³³ against the king.		5') If a wo[man] gives birth[...]
53') And if its tongue is [...], the land will be scattered. ³⁴		6') the land of the enemy will [be destroyed.]
54') (If) its [...]HR (is/are) in its temples, the king will make peace with ³⁵ his enemy.		7') If a wo[man] gives birth[...]
55') And (if) it has n[o] [-]KB, the (seed-)grain of		8') help ³² will be [...]
		9') If a wo[man] gives birth[...]
		10') the weapon of[...]
		11') will not ob[tain offspring? ...]
		12') BH[...]
		13') will? [...]
		14') If a woman gives birth ...]

²³ "Posterity" is a hypothetical interpretation of *uḫry*, "what comes after." A word with identical spelling is interpreted as an adverb, "thereafter," in the *ḫaḫatu* text (see note 119 [text 1.103]), and a feminine form, *uḫryt*, means "afterlife" in the same text (CTA 17 vi 35). The verb here is *kly*, D-stem, "bring to a state of depletion, bring to an end, finish off" (the same verb is used in the G-stem in the Kirta text [CTA 16 iii 13-15; text 1.102] to describe the disappearance of foodstuffs in time of famine), while the active agent here, the deity Rašap, is responsible for the disappearance of Kirta's fifth wife (CTA 14 i 18-19; the verb there is *ḫsp*, "gather in").

²⁴ On this meaning of *b^cr*, see Dion 1980.

²⁵ The damaged state of the tablet prevents us from perceiving the precise form of the apparent play on "bird" and "fly" in this omen. On the verb *d^cy*, see note 71 to the *ḫaḫatu* text (1.103).

²⁶ By comparison with line 51', this anomaly probably consisted of a body part protruding improperly from a bodily orifice.

²⁷ The form *tpšlt* is anomalous, but seems clearly to derive from a root *pšl*, hitherto unattested in Ug., explained as meaning "to be low, base, vile" by comparison with Arabic and Akk. It is uncertain whether *špš*, "the sun," denotes the celestial orb or one of the great kings of the time. In favor of the latter interpretation is the fact that the kings of both Hatti and Egypt were addressed as "the Sun" by Ug. kings in their correspondence; against it is the absence of mention elsewhere in this text of specific political figures on the international scene.

²⁸ Again, the verbal form is anomalous, written *ydll*, but seems clearly to derive from *dll*, "to be poor, humble, of low standing."

²⁹ The Ug. word is *uḫr*, cognate to Akk. *iṣaru* (*uṣaru*/*muṣaru* in late Babylonian). Because of the missing head of the line, it is impossible to say what the anatomical anomaly was.

³⁰ Though the beginning of the phrase designating the physical anomaly is lost, it appears to have consisted of some organ appearing in the place of (*ḫat*) the eyes, while the eyes are to be found in the forehead. It is this text that clinched the meaning of "forehead" for the word *lṣb* (see note 18 to the *ḫaḫatu* text [1.103]), for there are good parallels in the mantic literature for eyes in the forehead but none for eyes in the teeth (the previously most widely accepted interpretation of *lṣb*).

³¹ This text consists of a small fragment from the lower left corner of the tablet. Though small, the fragment is precious, for it confirms the existence in Ug. of the genre corresponding to the Akk. *ṣumma sinniṣtu* ("If a woman [gives birth] ..."), a subcategory of the texts dealing with divination by misformed births. Though it must be pieced together from the poorly-preserved beginnings of several lines, the all-important introductory phrase is indubitably present in the Ug. text: *k* ("if") *tlḫ* ("gives birth") *ḫat* ("woman"). Note the repetition of the hypothetical particle *k* at the beginning of each entry except the one beginning at line 12', too damaged to permit an explanation of the omission. See note 3 above.

³² The word *drt*, "help," is the only word present in the apodosis of this text that is not attested in the extant portions of RS 24.247+.

REFERENCES

- Dietrich and Loretz 1986a; 1990a; 1990b:89-109; Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín 1975a; Dion 1980; Herdner 1978; Hoftijzer 1982; del Olmo Lete 1992; Pardee 1986; 1987; 1989; forthcoming; Xella 1981; Xella and Capomacchia 1979.

UGARITIC LUNAR OMENS (1.91)

(RIH 78/14)

Dennis Pardee

Like the texts for divination by misformed births, the Ugaritic collection of lunar omens corresponds directly to a Mesopotamian series, in this case *Sin*, the name of the Mesopotamian lunar deity. This text, which was discovered in 1978 at the site of Ras Ibn Hani, only a few kilometers from Ras Shamra, is badly damaged, only the upper portion having been preserved and that incompletely (*editio princeps* by Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:352-353). Like the tiny fragment attesting to the existence of the divinatory genre dealing with misformed human births, this incomplete text is precious, attesting to the transmission in Ugaritic of omens based on lunar phenomena. The text is too poorly preserved to permit a structural analysis, the only certain feature being that it begins with reference to the new moon and ends with a reference to the thirtieth day, that is, a full month as defined by consecutive sightings of the new moon. There seems, however, to be another reference to the new moon towards the end of the text (line 9'), and in line 11' some have seen the Mesopotamian month name Kislimu. It appears unlikely, therefore, that the overall organization of the text consisted of a simple progression through the phases of the lunar month. As with the divination texts in the preceding section, no text from the Mesopotamian tradition can be identified as the original from which this one would have been translated, not even one of those from Emar (in eastern Syria) dating roughly to the same period as this one.

1) If ¹ at the time of the new moon ² ^a [...], there will be poverty. ³ ^b	a Isa 47:13 b Prov 6:11ff c Jer 8:2; Job 31:26	6) [If the moon, when it rises, is red,
2) If the moon, ^c when it rises, ^d is red, ⁵ ^d	d Isa 54:16; Ps 11:6 (?)	7) [] assembly.
3) there will be prosperity ⁶ ^e [during] (that month).	e Ps 90:17 f Ps 68:14	8') [] will] perish.
4) [If] the moon, when it rises, is yellow-green ⁷ ^f	g Exod 9:1-6, 18-25	9') [] newness of the moon, ⁹ the personnel ¹⁰
5) [], the cattle will perish. ⁸		10') [] and will be put down. ¹¹
		11') [] YM YH YRH KSLM, ¹² the kings will keep an eye on each other. ¹³

¹ The hypothetical particle in this text is *hm*, corresponding closely to Heb. *um*, rather than *k* as in the text dealing with misformed human births (and in the hippiatric text 1.106, below).

² This text uses two words for moon: *hdt*, literally "newness," designates the new moon, almost certainly the appearance of the new moon established by sighting, whereas *yrh* designates the celestial orb and the month (the month being determined by the phases of the moon at Ugarit — see on RS 24.266 [text 1.88], note 2). The first phrase here is *b hdt*, lit., "in the newness." It is unfortunately uncertain whether the next word is *yrh*, as in line 11', the word *ym*, "day," or another.

³ The phrase *ršn ykn* shows clearly that the standard expression of "to be" was by the hollow root *kn*, as in Phoenician and Arabic, rather than *h(w)yh*, as in Aram. and Heb. The word *ršn* probably consists of *rš* + *-n* of apodosis (see note 6 to RS 24.247 +, RS 24.302 [texts 1.90]); it may derive either from the hollow root *rš* denoting poverty (so translated here, as the better antonym to *n^cm(n)* in line 3), or from *ršš*, "crush" (the state of Kirta's household at the beginning of that text was described by a form of this root [CTA 14 i 10, 22; text 1.102]).

⁴ The structure is a familiar one in Semitic: the preposition meaning "in" (*b*) + the infinitive of the verb (*ly*, "to ascend"). It is of interest that the term for the rising of the moon is different from that of the sun, which, when it rises, is said "to come forth (i.e., from its chamber and/or the netherworld)" (*yš*) or to "shine forth, become visible" (*zrh* — though translated "to rise," this verb is not used to express the act of ascending for entities other than the sun). As a general parallel for this use of *ly*, one can cite Neh 4:15 *me^clôt haššahar*, "from the rising of the dawn...."

⁵ The word *phm* denotes a shade of red, never black, as its use here and for one of the shades of royal "purple" indicates (see note 130 to the ²Aqhatu text [1.103]). (In Heb. *peham* denotes in all cases the "glowing coal," never the black lump of "coal"; only in later periods did the extension from "glowing coal" to "dead coal" to "black" occur.)

⁶ As this omen is almost completely preserved, its structure is clear and *n^cm* can be said to consist, in all likelihood, of *n^cm*, "goodness" + *-n* of apodosis (see note 3).

⁷ Though the reading is not absolutely clear, the same word (*yrg*) was probably used here as was used in the Kirta text (1.102) to describe the color of gold (CTA 14 i 53 and parallels). The word *yrg* apparently covered a broad spectrum of colors, from leaf-green to golden yellow (see bibliography in Pardee 1987:402). The particularity here would be the relative darkness of the moon, with a greenish-gold cast, instead of its usual bright, clear color, normally perceived as white (*lbn* in Heb.).

⁸ If the shape of this tablet was typical, approximately half again as high as it is wide, as many as twenty-five to thirty lines have disappeared.

⁹ Because the beginning of the line is missing, it is uncertain what the collocation of *hdt* with *yrh* here means (see above, note 2).

¹⁰ *Bnš*, here in the plural (or singular with enclitic *-m*), is the standard Ug. word for free members of Ug. society (corresponding to *awilum* in Akk.), often in one form or another of service to ranking members of the royal administration.

¹¹ The verb is *hbz*, probably the equivalent in other texts of *hbt*. The writing of etymological /*y*/ by means of {*z*} here and in the word for "rain" (line 13') finds its best parallels in CTA 24. The precise meaning of *hbt* is difficult to determine in each of its occurrences, all others in epistolary texts, though it is usually explained by Arabic *hbt*, "to abase, to make low."

¹² The damaged state of the tablet means that we cannot be certain whether we have here a Ug. word (*ksl* normally denotes a tendon or a part of the back, as in the ²Aqhatu text [1.103], CTA 19 ii 95) or the Mesopotamian month name Kislimu.

¹³ See note 73 to the ²Aqhatu text (1.103).

12') [If] three times the moon is seen in the moon/month ¹⁴ (and) thereafter	<i>h</i> Deut 32:2; <i>Ps</i> 72:6; <i>Job</i> 29:23	14') [If] a star falls ¹ on the thirtieth day, ¹⁶ the king [...].
13') [...]LT, there will be rain. ¹⁵ ⁴	<i>i</i> Isa 14:12	

¹⁴ It is uncertain, for lack of clear parallels in the other collections of lunar omens, whether *yrh b yrh* refers to the apparent visibility of a second moon on the surface of the moon or to the reappearance of the moon three times during the month (because of apparent meteorological conditions or because the moon was thought actually to disappear during the month?).

¹⁵ *mzrn ylk* is apparently the entire apodosis, for the first word bears the -n of apodosis. The idiom consisting of the verb "to go" with a noun for "rain" as its subject is, to my knowledge, hitherto attested only in Akk. (*alaku* + a noun derived from *zandnu*). It is uncertain, however, whether the Ug. phrase is a calque on the Akk.

¹⁶ The lunar cycle corresponds to approximately twenty-nine and a half solar days. Because of the difference between the lunar and solar cycles, the number of days between first visibility of the new lunar crescent can be either twenty-nine or thirty.

REFERENCES

Bordreuil and Caquot 1980; Dietrich and Loretz 1986a; 1990a; 1990b; Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín 1976; del Olmo Lete 1992; Pardee 1987; 1993b; forthcoming.

UGARITIC EXTISPICY (1.92)

(RS 24.312, RS 24.323, RS 24.326, RS 24.327, RS 24.654, RS 24.277)

Dennis Pardee

The practice of extispicy (the examination of the organs of a sacrificed animal for purposes of divination) is attested in the ancient Near East by collections of omens of the types encountered above ("if such-and-such a feature is present, such-and-such an event will occur") and by inscribed models of the organs themselves. Only the latter category is presently attested at Ugarit. There are several liver models and one lung model. The inscriptions can be either simple marks on the clay intended to replicate features present on the observed organ, or they can be such marks accompanied by actual texts describing the circumstances of the consultation. The leading authority on these objects, J.-W. Meyer, has deciphered the marks so as to be able to determine whether the response to the inquiry was positive or negative (Meyer 1987, 1990). The Ugaritic texts constitute a peculiarity in that other known inscriptions on organ models deal with the science of examination and interpretation, rather than with the circumstances of a particular consultation.

All the Ugaritic organ models come from a single archive, that found in the so-called "Maison du prêtre aux modèles de poumon et de foies," located to the south of the acropolis at Ras Shamra in the area dubbed "ville sud" by the excavator (Schaeffer 1978). The priest's name is unknown.

The texts on the liver models are set down on the flat surface of the model, arranged either as a single line winding around the curve of the model (RS 24.312) or as a series of lines beginning from one side (all others). The lung model has three large flat sides, each having roughly the shape of a flatiron, and the inscriptions are arranged in sections delimited by lines inscribed in the clay, either curved, forming small rough circles, or straight, running from one end to the other of the model. The delimiting lines sometimes cross each other, permitting a decision regarding the order of writing the inscriptions, but this is not always the case and, moreover, there is no way of determining the order in which the three sides were inscribed. The order in which the inscriptions are presented is, therefore, somewhat arbitrary, decided by what appears to the modern reader to be a logical sequence; I have for the most part followed the order proposed in the *editio princeps* (Dietrich and Loretz 1969).

<i>A Consultation on the Buying of a Servant</i> (RS 24.312) (This liver model is) for ¹ ḡAgaptarri ² when he was	^a Exod 21:2	to buy ³ ^a the boy ⁴ of the Alashian. ⁵
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¹ The text begins simply with *l*, "to, for," with the item ascribed to ḡAgaptarri unstated. It appears legitimate to conclude that the item in question was the liver model itself (see below, RS 24.326 and RS 24.654, which begin with the word *kbd*, "liver") and the consultation recorded on it. According to Meyer 1987:220; 1990:269, the response was positive.

² The name ḡAgaptarri, linguistically Hurrian, is also attested in a brief inscription on a vase in the form of lion's head found in the house adjacent to the one where the organ models were found: "Binu ḡAgaptarri — Lion's head that *Nārānu* offered to *Rašap Guni*." Cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1978.

³ *yqny*, imperfect of the verb *qny*, "buy, obtain, produce" (word used by Eve when recognizing Yahweh's part in the birth of Cain, Gen 4:1).

⁴ The word is *ḡzr*, on which see note 78 to the Kirta text (1.102).

⁵ ḡalyy, a person from ḡalyy, believed by most authorities to be Cyprus.

A Consultation at the Time of Sacrifice (RS 24.323)
Sacrificial (consultation)⁶ of BSY, so[n]/daught[er]⁷
of TRY, for the ^cAttaru who is in ^cAttartu.⁸

A Consultation at the Beginning of a Month
(RS 24.326)
(This is) the liver^b (pertaining to the consultation on
behalf) of YPT, son of YKN^c, when this month
was about to begin.⁹

A Consultation Regarding Military Service (?)
(RS 24.327)
[...] of Yabnimilku with regard to *hpt*.¹⁰

A Consultation in Uncertain Circumstances
(RS 24.654)
(This is) the liver (model)¹¹ for H[...] when [...] (on) a/the day of [...].

A Lung Model Bearing a Series of Inscriptions
(RS 24.277)
(Side 1, Inscription I)
Sacrifices¹² of the entire month.³ (First) a(n object)
vow(ed)^c and a sacrifice.

b Ezek 21:26
c Jer 44:25
d Exod 12:8-10
e Lev 4:10;
9:4, 18;
22:23, 27;
Num 15:11;
Deut 17:1;
18:3;
Judg 6:25;
2 Sam 6:13;
Hos 12:12;
Ps 69:32

(Side 1, Inscription II)
Those (= the sacrifices) of (= offered by)¹⁴ N²AT
and gifts of (= for) Tarrummanni¹⁵ and a sacrifice
of (= offered by) all; all (will eat this) sacrifice
(until) it is gone,^d in accordance with the writings.¹⁶
(Side 1, Inscription III)
Those (= the sacrifices) of (= offered by) N²AT
and Qurwanu; (these will be done) like the
(preceding) sacrifice.
(Side 1, Inscription IV)
[...] personnel.¹⁷
(Side 2, Inscription V)
A ram [...]¹⁸
(Side 2, Inscription VI)
YPY[...]¹⁹
(Side 2, Inscription VII)
A bull²⁰ ^e of (= for) Dagan [...] in the house,²¹
according to the wr[itings], and to/surely²² the
sacrifice [...].
(Side 3, Inscription VIII)²³
If²⁴ the city is about to be seized,

⁶ The first word of this text is *dbht*. Now, the normal word for "sacrifice" is the masculine form *dbh*. Perhaps the feminine form *dbht* was used particularly for the sacrificial act linked with extispicy. Because the end of the word for "son" is damaged leaving open the possibility of reading "daughter" (see next note), it is possible that the person in question is feminine and that *dbht* is a feminine verbal form.

⁷ The last sign of this word is broken and could be either {n} (*bn*, "son") or {t} (*bt*, "daughter").

⁸ ^cAttartu is here a place name (rather than the divine name) of which two are known from the Ug. texts, a *gt* ^ctrt within the kingdom, and ^ctrt, known as the home of the deity *Milku* and located plausibly to the northeast of the Sea of Galilee (^cAštrōt *Qarnayim* in the Hebrew Bible; for discussion and bibliography, see Pardee 1988:94-97). Male and female forms of the deity ^ctr were known at Ugarit, corresponding probably to the evening and morning star, respectively (for bibliography, see Pardee 1989-90:466-470).

⁹ *k yph yrh hnd*, lit., "when this month was about to open" (taking *yph* as N-stem).

¹⁰ We have encountered *hpt* in two texts (Kirta [1.102, see note 22] and the Birth Omen text RS 24.247 + [1.90: see note 18]) where it clearly denotes a category of soldier. The state of this text does not allow a certain interpretation.

¹¹ Although fragmentary, this text is important for it and RS 24.326 are the only ones that bear inscriptions that include the word *kbd*, "liver."

¹² The genitive pronoun beginning "inscription II" is plural, an indication that *dbh* in "inscription I" is in fact a plural, in the construct state.

¹³ Because Ug. does not have a definite article, it is difficult to determine if a phrase with *kl* means "every" or "all of." The phrase *kl yrh* in this text has been interpreted both ways. Given, though, the circumstantial nature of these organ-model inscriptions, the interpretation as sacrifices having to do with a particular month appears preferable to one that sees here a broader description. One can surmise, comparing the liver inscription RS 24.326 (see above), that the inscription reports a series of sacrifices carried out at the beginning of a month, one of which served divinatory purposes. The significance of the fact that the object on which the inscriptions were recorded is a lung model cannot be determined, nor can one know whether all the following inscriptions have to do with the condition indicated here. That all the inscriptions on sides 1 and 2 should be linked appears plausible, but the conditional formulation of inscriptions VIII-X does not lend itself to so circumstantial a consultation.

¹⁴ "Inscription II" begins with the relative/genitive pronoun *dr*, indicating that the sense of this inscription depends directly on that of the previous one. This syntactic indicator is corroborated by the delimiting lines, for the one around "inscription II" seems to have been inscribed after the one around "inscription I."

¹⁵ Tarrummanni is known from other texts as a divine name (for bibliography, see Pardee 1989-90:478) while *n²at* appears to be the name of one of the persons presenting the sacrifices, Qurwanu ("inscription III") being the other.

¹⁶ The verb for participating in the sacrificial meal is *kly*, lit., "devour, consume," apparently implying that the entire sacrifice is to be eaten at the sacrificial meal. Only one other ritual text states explicitly that all may eat of a sacrifice and there the verb is *lhm* (RS 24.260:10 [KTU 1.115]) and the entire ritual context seems to be quite different. We do not know, therefore, what "the writings" were to which this text refers.

¹⁷ The word is *bnš* (on which see note 10 to RS 78/14 [text 1.91]); the same word appears below in the inscriptions on "side 3."

¹⁸ Only one sign is preserved in line 15' after the letter {š}. I hypothesize that the structure of this inscription and that of "inscription VII" were similar and that the *š* denotes the animal sacrificed, while the next word would have qualified *š*, perhaps a divine name as in "inscription VII."

¹⁹ This inscription is too poorly preserved to permit analysis of {yp[...]}, either as to division of the letters or as to meaning.

²⁰ The word for "bull" here is *gr*, not the standard word in the sacrificial texts (usually *alp*).

²¹ Again, the state of the inscription precludes a decision regarding whether *bt* here denotes the temple of Dagan or another house.

²² *t* could be either the preposition or the "emphatic" particle.

²³ The inscriptions on "side 3" seem to form a single text, though the relationship between the three inscriptions is uncertain for three principal reasons: (1) the damage to the left side of this surface of the object has caused the loss of the beginnings of the lines in "inscription IX"; (2) though this surface is divided into four sections by straight lines in the clay, only three of the sections seem to have been inscribed (the traces of writing noted by the editors in one of the sections, their section "i," are in fact absent); (3) the scribe turned the model around and wrote "inscription X" in the opposite direction as compared with the two previous inscribed fields.

²⁴ The hypothetical particle *hm* is used twice in this line, though the state of the text means that we are uncertain as to where the second protasis ends and the apodosis begins. Note that the content of the protases has nothing to do with an observation of exta, and that this conditional formulation seems, therefore, to be dealing, not with the technique of extispicy, but with a hypothetical circumstance in which sacrifice (and extispicy?)

if the man (= warrior) attacks,²⁵ / the (male)
personnel²⁶ (of the city)
(Side 3, Inscription IX)
[...] the women, they will take a goat [...]²⁷

f Num 13:31; Judg 1:1; 1 Sam 7:7; 1 Kgs 14:25; Isa 36:10 etc. g Lev 12:8; 1 Kgs 19:21 h Exod 12:5; Lev 1:10; 3:12; 4:23; Num 7:16; 18:17; Ezek 43:22; 45:23 etc. i Ps 27:4; Job 36:25 j Isa 17:13; Jer 31:10	(Side 3, Inscription X) (in) (or: with regard to) the house, the (male) personnel will take ^a a goat ^b and see ^c afar. ²⁸ j
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should be used.

²⁵ There are two verbs for the hostile act here, ²*hd*, "to seize," and ²*hy*, "to ascend (i.e., to go up against)." The word for "man" here is *mt*, which some have taken as the word for "death." Comparison with the prayer in RS 24.266 (text 1.88) leads rather to the conclusion that the word is *mutu*, "man," as a strong, fighting entity (cf. the same word in Akk.).

²⁶ The term here is *bnš*, denoting the free male citizen (see note 10 to RIH 78/14 [text 1.91]). We know from a letter (RS 1.018 [CTA 55]) that *bnš* could be appointed to transport statues of deities. It appears, therefore, that priests had at their disposal men to carry out the physical tasks involved in the cult and that these tasks extended to touching the holy and effecting divinatory sacrifices.

²⁷ The word ²*atf* seems to set up an opposition between the males (*bnš*) in the city and the females; the same opposition is set up by the same two terms in RS 18.041:30'-31' (text 1.93). The verb "to take" here is not marked for feminine gender, so the status of the women with regard to the actions of the men is unknown. The offering of a goat (²*z*) is not common, but the use of the verb *lqh* + ²*z* here and of *lqh* + *gdy*, "kid" in a sacrificial context in RS 13.006 (PRU II 154; KTU 1.79) may be taken as an indication that we are dealing here with some form of sacrifice, though the precise term has disappeared in the lacuna. It is commonly believed that these lines deal with the offering of a goat in view of divination by extispicy, though it may be a matter of simple sacrifice. Any connection with the rite of atonement in Lev 16 and with the male goat used in that rite is dubious; the vocabulary and circumstances are too dissimilar to permit a close comparison.

²⁸ The expression *yhdy mrhqm* has inspired various interpretations. In this sacrificial context, perhaps one of extispicy, the interpretation of *hdy* as the verb meaning "to see" (which appears repeatedly in the section of the ²*Aqhatu* [text 1.103] where Dānī²ilu is looking for the birds in the heavens [CTA 19 ii 105 - iii 145]) appears plausible. *Mrhqm*, probably an adverbial form of the noun *mrhq*, "what is far off," will then denote either separation in time (the future) or in space (something located afar off). Because a *m*-preformative noun will usually denote a spatial relationship, rather than a temporal one, it appears plausible to see this phrase as denoting the retreat of the enemy. In line with this spatial interpretation of *mrhqm*, others have interpreted the verb here by Arabic *hdw*, which means "to drive camels," and have proposed a comparison with Lev 16, where the scapegoat is driven out into the wilderness (*hammidbārāh*). For bibliography, see Pardee (forthcoming).

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Dietrich and Loretz 1969; 1978a; 1986a; 1990a; Loretz 1985; Meyer 1987; 1990; del Olmo Lete 1992; Pardee 1988a; 1989-90; forthcoming; Schaeffer 1978; Xella 1981.

UGARITIC DREAM OMENS (1.93) (RS 18.041)

Dennis Pardee

This text, discovered in 1954 in the palace, is in a very poor state of preservation and its interpretation is uncertain (*editio princeps* by Virolleaud 1965, text 158). The presence of the word "dreams" in the first line and the variety of terms that have been preserved in the following lines make it at least plausible that we have here a rough catalogue of items that may be seen in dreams along with an interpretation by item or by category. The interpretation of dreams as a category of divination is well known from Mesopotamia (Oppenheim 1956). As with previous divinatory texts translated here, there is no Akkadian text that corresponds directly to this one, nor is there a single text that makes the attempt, as this one seems to do, to furnish a brief catalogue of the world as seen in dreams.

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 1) Document ^a of dreams. ¹ ^b A year-old ^c bull ² ^d
and [...] | a Exod 17:14
etc.
b Gen 31:10-
12; 41:17-24;
Dan 7-8 | 3) The bull ^f the young bull of Ba ^c lu [...]
4) the heifer ^g (that?) will be slaughtered [...]
5) one year. |
| 2) two years; the mature ^e bull; ³ the word (= interpretation?) ⁴ [...] | c Exod 12:5 etc. d Deut 7:13; 28:4, 18, 51 e Lev 1:3-10 etc. f Gen 32:16 g Gen 41:2, 3 | |

¹ The various categories covered in this text seem to preclude the interpretation of *hlmm* as denoting "fattened animals" (for bibliography, see Pardee 1987:396). See also below, note 19 to "In a dream" (*b hlmm*), line 28'.

² The term in this paragraph and at the beginning of the next is ²*alp*, denoting the "bull" of various ages, while the "young bull" in line 3 is the *pr* ("heifer" is *prt*), apparently, as in Mari Akk., the immature bull, under a year in age. In Heb. *par* seems to fill the semantic slot of Ug. ²*alp*, denoting the bull of various ages, for the age of the *par* can be defined, just as the age of the ²*alp* is variously defined here.

³ The Ug. phrase is ²*alp dkr*, lit., "a male bovine." The point of the the qualifier *dkr* seems to be to indicate that the ²*alp* has reached breeding age.

⁴ The word *rgm* appears here near the end of the line. Because of the state of the text, it cannot be determined whether *rgm* here indicates that the interpretation follows. Because the ends of most lines have disappeared, it is also impossible to determine with what frequency *rgm* recurs. Its presence again in line 7, however, can be taken as an indication that it has a structural function in this text.

6) The horse ⁵ of ʿAttartu and the horse of Š[...] ⁵	h 2 Kgs 23:11	20') The n ² it-tool ¹⁴ [...]
7) and if the horse falls over: ⁶ i the word (= interpretation?) [...]	i Judg 7:13; Jonah 3:4	21') then the n ² it-tool [...]
8) that arrives (where) the man ⁷ (is) [...]	j Gen 31:10	22') spe[ak], ¹⁵ your servant [...]
9) And the donkey [...] donkey [...]	k Dan 8:5	23') The worker (or: the work) ¹⁶ (with) the h ² mtt-tool ¹⁷ [...] [...]
10) and ditto ⁸ [...]	l Deut 16:9; 23:26	24') And the cups (of) ŠQYM/T ¹⁸ [...]
11) and BN [...]	m Gen 40:1 etc.	25') the sons of the cup-bearers ^m [...]
12) to the man, the donkey [...]		26') KBDT the personnel [...]
13) and that to the harness ⁹ [...]		27') The sandals [...]
14) And the flock ¹ the goat ^k [...]		28') In a dream ¹⁹ [...]
15) the kid, offspring of [...]		29') face of [...]
16) the lamb [...] ¹⁰		30') The men (personnel) (and) the women [...] ²⁰
17) son(s) of Ba ^c lu ¹¹ [...]		31') barley [...]
... ¹²		32'-34') [...]
18') [...] the servant-girl ¹³ [...]		
19') [...]		

⁵ It is now clear that the deities here are not ʿAttartu and ʿAnatu, as the original editor thought; unfortunately, all that can be said about the second phrase with šfw, "horse," is that it begins with the letter {š}. From an administrative text discovered in 1986 at Ras Shamra, we know that other deities at Ugarit had horses, living flesh-and-blood horses, for which rations of grain were issued (see Pardee 1988b; Bordreuil 1990). This omen seems, therefore, to deal with the appearance in a dream of a horse belonging to the goddess ʿAttartu and, plausibly, another deity whose name begins with {š}, such as šapšu. The sources are not of a kind to tell us whether particular types of horses went under the heading of "horses of X-deity" or whether the horse was identified simply by the presence of the deity in the dream. The association of ʿAttartu and the horse is particularly well attested in ancient Near Eastern iconography (Leclant 1960; for further bibliography, see Pardee 1989-90:468-70).

⁶ One may surmise that the fall of the horse was a negatively polarized omen.

⁷ The word for "man" here and in lines 12 and 26' is *bnš*, which also appears in line 30', along with *ʿatt*, "women," to designate one of the principal categories of entities covered by this text. On the usage of *bnš* in these divinatory texts, see note 10 to RIH 78/14 (text 1.91).

⁸ As in RS 24.247:6, 12, 18, *mtn* may mark the repetition of the entity whence the prognosis is drawn. See text 1.90 above.

⁹ The same word for "harness," *mdl*, is used here as in the mythological texts (e.g., in the ʿAqhatu text, CTA 19 ii 52, 57 [text 1.103]), though the word for "donkey" here, *hmr*, is not the usual one (Dānīʿilu mounts a ʿr). The word *hmr* appears in the mythological texts only in the passage of the Kirta story where noisy animals keep the king of the besieged city from sleeping (CTA 14 iii 121, v 225 [text 1.102]).

¹⁰ This paragraph opens with the generic term, *šʿin*, and three specific terms are extant, ʿz, "goat," *hʿu*, "kid," and *ʿimr*, "lamb."

¹¹ It is uncertain what the function of this phrase is in the text. It could mean "sons of the owner," but the presence of Ba^clu in line 3, where the presence of the deity is plausible because of the presence of deities in the following paragraph, leads me to prefer the same interpretation here.

¹² Some fifteen to twenty lines may have disappeared in the lacuna.

¹³ Because of the state of the text, it is impossible to determine whether *ʿamt* constitutes the principal category of this paragraph, i.e., servants seen in dreams, or whether the appearance is incidental (like *bnš* in lines 8, 12, 26', and, apparently ʿbd, "(male) servant," in line 22'). In any case the following paragraph initiates a sequence dealing with tools, not, primarily at least, persons.

¹⁴ The word *n²it* is attested in both Ug. and Akk. writing and denotes a type of tool that the sources do not allow us to define precisely (for bibliography, see Pardee 1987:425).

¹⁵ The text reads {trg[-]}, perhaps to be restored as a form of the verb *rgm*, "to speak," though the subject cannot be determined.

¹⁶ *m^cbd* could be either a *m*-preformative noun or a D-stem participle.

¹⁷ Heb. *hermēš* seems to designate a type of sickle, but the Ug. term may denote a tool of similar shape but different function (Healey 1983a:50; Huehnergard 1987:130).

¹⁸ The tablet is broken in such a fashion as to preclude determining whether the word here is the same as in the following line (*šqym*, "those who give drinks") or a feminine form from the same root.

¹⁹ The phrase *b hlm* seems to support the interpretation of the text as dealing with dreams, and the repetition of the term here seems to indicate a shift in structure. The state of the text does not allow us to know, however, whether that shift was from the catalogue of entities to more general statements or, as some of the following vocabulary seems to indicate, from non-human to human entities.

²⁰ A similar expression of what appears to be the merismus "men – women" is found in RS 24.277: 23-26 (see notes 26, 27 to that text [1.92]).

REFERENCES

Bordreuil 1990; Healey 1983a; Huehnergard 1987; Leclant 1960; Oppenheim 1956:179-373; Pardee 1987; 1988b; 1989-90; forthcoming; Virolleaud 1965.

4. INCANTATIONS AND RITUALS

UGARITIC LITURGY AGAINST VENOMOUS REPTILES (1.94)

(RS 24.244)

Dennis Pardee

Three Ugaritic texts dealing specifically with the problem of venomous serpents have been discovered: this one, a very fragmentary text found along with this one (RS 24.251+), and RS 1992.2014 (translated below as text 1.100). The first two texts (*editio princeps* by Virolleaud 1968:564-580) were found in the archive of the "prêtre aux modèles de poumon et de foies" (on this building, see introduction to 1.92) and by their liturgical form reflect that person's interest in ritual (see on RS 24.266 [1.88]), whereas the third is an incantation in the narrower sense of the word.

This text consists of three major sections, of which the first is divided into twelve subsections. In these subsections the equine heroine, seeking a vanquisher of venomous serpents, sends a message to twelve deities. The first eleven, all important members of the Ugaritic pantheon, react with typical snake-charming gestures but go no further. Only the twelfth, Hôrānu, responds effectively and, in the second (or thirteenth) section, performs a ritual that renders the serpent venom powerless. The final section presents the negotiations between Hôrānu and the mare in view of marriage.

The text itself does not constitute a pure incantation, and in that respect is unlike RS 1992.2014 (text 1.100). Each of the pleas by the mare to a deity does contain, however, the recitation (*mut*) of a brief incantation expressed in terms proper to a snake charmer (*mlḥš*). The quasi-narrative form of the text, its mythological features, and the dialogical form of the last paragraphs have led to the proposal that this text may constitute one of the few relatively clear examples in Ugaritic literature of a ritual in mythological form, that is, a ritual against venomous reptiles of which this text provides the libretto (Pardee 1978a:108; 1988a:225).

The Mare Seeks an Ally Capable of Vanquishing Venomous Serpents (lines 1-60)

The mother of the stallion, the mare,¹
the daughter of the spring, the daughter of the
stone,²
the daughter of the heavens and the abyss,^{2 b}
Calls to her mother, Šapšu:^{3 c}

Message to ʾIlu (lines 2-7)

Mother Šapšu, take a message
to ʾIlu at the headwaters of the two rivers,⁴
at the confluence of the deeps:^{4 e}

a Jer 2:27
b Gen 7:11;
8:2; 49:25;
Deut 33:13;
Ps 107:26;
Prov 8:27-28
c 2 Kgs 23:11
d Cf. Gen
2:10-13;
Ezek 47:1-12
e Cf. Deut
8:7
f Isa 3:3;
Jer 8:17;
Ps 58:6;
Qoh 10:11 g Deut 32:33; Pss 58:5; 140:4; Job 6:4

My incantation⁵ for serpent bite,
for the scaly serpent's⁶ poison:⁷
From it, O charmer,⁷ destroy,
from it cast out the venom.⁸
Then he binds the serpent,
feeds the scaly <serpent>,
draws up a chair and sits.⁸

Message to Baʿlu (lines 8-13)

She again calls to her mother Šapšu:
Mother Šapšu, take a message

¹ The Ug. phrase is *ʾum pḥl pḥlt*, the last two words being masculine and feminine nominal forms from the root *pḥl*. In the various Semitic languages, the root expresses primarily the reproductive capacities of males, be they human, animal, or vegetal. The terms used here do not necessarily denote a particular species. In Ug. *pḥl* seems, nonetheless, to be used primarily for equids (Pardee 1979:405-406; Dietrich and Loretz 1986b).

² Though the entities named here are certainly projected into the divine realm, the *ad hoc* nature of the list becomes evident by comparison with the mythological texts, on the one hand, and the rituals, on the other, for the entities named here are not attested as divinities in these other sources. Both "heavens" and "abyss" appear in these sources, but in combination with other entities: *ʾars w šmm*, "earth and heavens," and *grm w thmt*, "mountains and waters (of the abyss)," appear as double deities in the Ug. "pantheon" texts and rituals dependent thereupon (see Pardee forthcoming on RS 1.017 and RS 24.643). Note finally that vocalized forms of *šmm* and *thmt* (i.e., a feminine form of *thm*) appear in adjacent entries in one of the polyglot vocabularies (Nougayrol 1968 text 137 iii 33' 34'). The root *thm* appears in three forms in Ug., *thm*, singular, designating the body of fresh waters lying under the earth, *thmt*, and *thmtm*, representing either the plural and the dual or the plural without and with "enclitic" -m (see below note 4). A fourth form, a singular form bearing the feminine morpheme -at, is also attested in syllabic script in the polyglot vocabulary just mentioned (cf. Huehnergard 1987:184-185).

³ Šapšu, the sun deity, is feminine in Ugarit. On the link between the horse and the sun, see Delcor 1981:101-102.

⁴ The address of each of the twelve deities is indicated in each commission. Some are well known from other texts, whereas some of the information provided by this text is new. Though similar to descriptions elsewhere of ʾIlu's abode (see note on CTA 2 iii 4 [text 1.86]; cf. CTA 17 vi 48 [text 1.103]), this one is unique in using the phrase *ʾdt thmtm*, "the meeting-place of the deeps," in place of *ʾapq thmtm*, "the fountains of the deeps."

⁵ *mut*, from *muty*, "to count," appears to have a semantic range similar to Akk. *minūtu*, "recitation," which can be used for the recitation of an incantation. If that is the correct interpretation of the word here (for discussion and bibliography see Pardee 1988a:206-208), the problem arises as to why the mare is sending a message containing the recitation of an incantation. I have explained the literary structure as consisting of a test sent by the mare to a series of deities, her real goal being marriage with the one who reacts most capably (1979:407-408).

⁶ On the particular importance of the word *qšr*, lit., "the one that sloughs its skin," see Bordreuil 1983.

⁷ The word for "poison" here is *šmrr*, "that which produces bitterness" (on *mrr*, "bitter," see Pardee 1978b:249-288). The word for "venom" in the next verse is *hmt*, cognate to Heb. *ḥēmāh*, apparently from the root *yhm*, a by-form of *hmm*, "be hot."

⁸ For the interpretation of this verse as reflecting snake-charming devices, see Astour 1968:17-19, and for the interpretation of these devices

to Ba^clu on the heights of Šapānu.⁹
 My incantation for serpent bite,
 for the scaly serpent's poison:
 From it, O charmer, destroy,
 from it cast out the venom.
 Then he binds the serpent,
 feeds the scaly serpent,
 draws up a chair and sits.

Message to Dagan (lines 14-18)
 She again calls to her mother Šapšu:
 Mother Šapšu, take a message
 to Dagan in Tuttul.¹⁰
 My incantation for serpent bite,
 for the scaly serpent's poison:
 From it, O charmer, destroy,
 from it cast out the venom.
 Then he binds the serpent,
 feeds the scaly serpent,
 draws up a chair and sits.

Message to ^cAnatu-wa-^cAttartu (lines 19-24)
 She again calls to her mother Šapšu:
 Mother Šapšu, take a message
 to ^cAnatu-wa-^cAttartu in ²Inbubu.¹¹
 My incantation for serpent bite,
 for the scaly serpent's poison:
 From it, O charmer, destroy,
 from it cast out the venom.
 Then he¹² binds the serpent,
 feeds the scaly serpent,
 draws up a chair and sits.

Message to Yarihu (lines 25-29)
 She again calls to her mother Šapšu:
 Mother Šapšu, take a message
 to Yarihu in Larugatu.¹³
 My incantation for serpent bite,
 for the scaly serpent's poison:
 From it, O charmer, destroy,
 from it cast out the venom.
 Then he binds the serpent,
 feeds the scaly serpent,
 draws up a chair and sits.

Message to Rašap (lines 30-34)
 She again calls to her mother Šapšu:
 Mother Šapšu, take a message
 to Rašap in Bibitta.¹⁴
 My incantation for serpent bite,
 for the scaly serpent's poison:
 From it, O charmer, destroy,
 from it cast out the venom.
 Then he binds the serpent,
 feeds the scaly serpent,
 draws up a chair and sits.

Message to ^cAttartu (lines 34a-e)¹⁵
 <She again calls to her mother Šapšu:
 Mother Šapšu, take a message
 to ^cAttartu in Mari.¹⁶
 My incantation for serpent bite,
 for the scaly serpent's poison:
 From it, O charmer, destroy,
 from it cast out the venom.

as falling short of the mare's expectations, Pardee 1978a:105-106. According to the latter interpretation, each of the first eleven deities is depicted as a simple snake charmer, capable of dealing with only a limited number of serpents, while Hōrānu acts on a grand scale, dissipating the venom in its entirety.

⁹ Ba^clu's home is consistently described as in the *mrym* (or, in other texts, the *šrrr*) *špn*, terms denoting the heights and the recesses of Mount Šapānu. This was the West Semitic name for Mount Casius, modern Jabal al-Aqra^c, located on what is today the frontier between Syria and Turkey, some forty-five kilometers north of Ras Shamra as the crow flies. For bibliography, see Pardee 1987:442-443; 1988a:134-135; 1989-90:437, 445, 472, 494.

¹⁰ Ancient Tuttul on the Balīḫ, modern Tell Bi'a, was particularly associated with Dagan in the high Amorite period. Dagan is a deity of fertility, particularly that of the grain (for bibliography, see Pardee 1989-90:446-448).

¹¹ In the Ba^clu texts, ²*inbb* is attested as the home of ^cAnatu (CTA 1 ii 14; 3 iv 78 [text 1.86]). Here we meet most acutely the problem of the relationship between ^cAnatu and ^cAttartu, for they appear in this section as a double deity, while ^cAttartu appears again as an independent deity in line 34a (on the textual problem there, see note 15 below). For discussion and bibliography, see Pardee 1988a:48-50; 1989-90:464-466, 468-470.

¹² The verbal form does not reflect the gender of the deity addressed, indicating that the encapsulated incantation formula is presented as directed to a (male) serpent charmer, as is indicated in the preceding verse ("O charmer"). For this interpretation, see Pardee 1988a:209-210.

¹³ The interpretation of *lrgt* was mysterious until the existence of a town named Larugatu was discovered in the texts from Ebla (bibliography in Pardee 1988a:211; 1989-90:490). The data are still too sparse to allow an explanation for the presence there of the principal West Semitic moon deity.

¹⁴ The link between Rašap and the Anatolian town of Bibitta was established by Barré (1978) and this explanation supersedes all attempts at explanations of *bbt* based on Semitic etymology (bibliography in Pardee 1988a:211; 1989-90:473-475, 483).

¹⁵ The paragraph dealing with ^cAttartu of Mari was accidentally omitted by the scribe, who noted his mistake on the left margin of the tablet as follows: ²*atṛ ršp ^ctṛt ^cm ^ctṛt mṛh mut nṭk nḫš*, "After Rašap, ^cAttartu: '... to ^cAttartu in Mari: My incantation for serpent bite'" (in other words: "Insert after the paragraph on Rašap the one on ^cAttartu, whose address is at Mari"). The neat abbreviation of an entire paragraph in a few words shows that the scribe was not only well aware of the repetitious nature of the text he was inscribing (how could he not be?), but had grasped perfectly well the distinctive features of each paragraph, i.e., the proper sequence in a list, the divine name, and the address. In the second serpent incantation text (see introduction), where essentially the same deities are mentioned according to different structural principals (i.e., by pairs, usually without address) but in essentially the same order, ^cAttartu is replaced by a related double-deity, ^cAttaru-wa-^cAttapir (RS 24.251:41', cf. Pardee 1988a:242, 252-253). On this and other "haplographic marginalia" see Hallo 1977.

¹⁶ Mari, modern Tell Hariri on the middle Euphrates, is one of the principal sources of information on life in upper Mesopotamia in ca. 1750 BCE, the heyday of the Amorites. On the identification of a temple of ^cAttartu discovered there, see discussion and bibliography in Pardee 1988a:211; 1989-90:468-470.

Then he binds the serpent,
feeds the scaly serpent,
draws up a chair and sits. >

Message to Zizzu-wa-Kamātu (lines 35-39)

She again calls to her mother Šapšu:
Mother Šapšu, take a message
to Zizzu-wa-Kamātu in Hurriyatu:¹⁷
My incantation for serpent bite,
for the scaly serpent's poison:
From it, O charmer, destroy,
from it cast out the venom.
Then he binds the serpent,
feeds the scaly serpent,
draws up a chair and sits.

Message to Milku (lines 40-44)

She again calls to her mother Šapšu:
Mother Šapšu, take a message
to Milku in ʿAttartu.¹⁸ ʰ
My incantation for serpent bite,
for the scaly serpent's poison:
From it, O charmer, destroy,
from it cast out the venom.
Then he binds the serpent,
feeds the scaly serpent,
draws up a chair and sits.

Message to Kōtaru-wa-Ḥasīsu (lines 45-50)

She again calls to her mother Šapšu:
Mother Šapšu, take a message
to Kōtaru-wa-Ḥasīsu in Crete.¹⁹
My incantation for serpent bite,

ʰ Deut 1:4;
Josh 12:4;
13:12, 31
1 Gen 27:45;
Isa 49:20

for the scaly serpent's poison:
From it, O charmer, destroy,
from it cast out the venom.
Then he binds the serpent,
feeds the scaly serpent,
draws up a chair and sits.

Message to Šahru-wa-Šalimu (lines 51-56)

She again calls to her mother Šapšu:
Mother Šapšu, take a message
to Šahru-wa-Šalimu in the heavens:²⁰
My incantation for serpent bite,
for the scaly serpent's poison:
From it, O charmer, destroy,
from it cast out the venom.
Then he binds the serpent,
feeds the scaly serpent,
draws up a chair and sits.

Message to Hōrānu (lines 57-60)

She again calls to her mother Šapšu:
Mother Šapšu, take a message
to Hōrānu in Mašūdu.²¹
My incantation for serpent bite,
for the scaly serpent's poison:
From it, O charmer, destroy,
from it cast out the venom.²²

Hōrānu Takes Care of the Problem (lines 61-69)

She (the mare)²³ turns (her) face to Hōrānu,
for she is to be bereaved of her offspring.
He (Hōrānu) returns to the city of the east,
he heads

¹⁷ Of the three proper names in this entry, only Kamātu, generally identified with the deity Kemōš known from the Hebrew Bible (bibliography in Pardee 1989-90:453), is known. The divine name's formation is that of the double divine name, but here the first element is unidentified, though one can say that its common explanation by Semitic *ḫ*, "mud," is *prima facie* unlikely because of the name's writing with {z} in Ug., in texts where {t} and {z} are not confused (Pardee 1988a:212, n. 64). The city where Zizzu-wa-Kamātu dwelt has not been identified (Astour 1968:20).

¹⁸ The geographical name is written like, and was plausibly identical with, the divine name ʿAttartu, and the proper explanation of this entry and of the parallel entry in the second serpent incantation text (RS 24.251+) was first given by Astour 1968:19, 30. The importance of this datum for the interpretation of RS 24.252:2 was first understood by Margulis (1970:344; history of discussion in Pardee 1988a:94-97, 212, 252). Milku is poorly attested in the Ug. literature but is plausibly related to the deity Milkem, identified with the Ammonites in the Hebrew Bible. A connection with the Punic *molek*-sacrifice is disputed (Heider 1985) and unlikely. The home of Milku is situated in ʿAttartu, the town located northeast of the Sea of Galilee (ʿAštārōt-Qarnayim in Heb.). This identification is rendered extremely likely by the parallelism of ʿttr and hdrʿy in RS 24.252:2-3, essentially identical to ʿAštārōt and ʿEdreʿt in Deut 1:4 and Josh 12:4; 13:12, 31, the two principal towns ruled by ʿOg, king of Bashan. Among recent discoveries at Ras Shamra is a text mentioning for the first time the deity and his home as a construct phrase, *mlk ʿttr*, providing evidence for the origin of the Phoenician deity *mlk ʿaštart* (the text is RS 1986.2235:17; see Pardee 1988b; Bordreuil 1990).

¹⁹ In the case of the double-deity Kōtaru-wa-Ḥasīsu, the first element corresponds to a deity well known from other ancient Near Eastern sources, while the second is basically an adjectival form meaning "wise," not known from other sources as an independent deity. Kōtaru(wa-Ḥasīsu) is the craftsman god at Ugarit, involved in building, manufacturing, and music-making. Here his home is fixed in Crete, while in the ʿAqhatu text (CTA 17 v 21, 31 [1.103]) it is in Egypt (Memphis). In the Baʿlu cycle he is said to be domiciled both in Egypt and in Crete (CTA 1 iii 1-2, 18-19; 3 vi 14-15 [text 1.86]). This craftsman deity thus had shops in two of the principal centers of civilization and artisanship in the ancient Mediterranean world. In the syllabic versions of the "pantheon" texts from Ugarit, Kōtaru is explicitly identified with Mesopotamian Ea; by inference from his home in Egypt, he is also identified with Egyptian Ptah (see note 30 to the ʿAqhatu text [1.103]); and by inference from his other home further west in the Mediterranean world, with Hephaistos. For an overview with bibliography, see Pardee 1995.

²⁰ CTA 23 (1.87) deals primarily with the birth of this double-deity, the meaning of whose name is "Dawn-and-Dusk." It is debated whether these deities also represented the morning star and the evening star (Cauquot, Sznycer and Herdner 1974:358, 361-363); one can doubt that such is the case because these rôles seem to fall specifically to ʿAštartu and ʿAštartu (see Pardee forthcoming on RS 1.009:4 and RS 1.017:18, 25).

²¹ Hōrānu is closely associated with magic at Ugarit: he is invoked in the curse that Kirta calls down on his son's head (CTA 16 vi 55 [1.102]); here he is the only deity willing to vanquish venomous snakes; in the second serpent incantation (RS 24.251+ [see above, introduction]) he is ranked right alongside ʿIlū; and in RIH 78/20 [1.96] he works against sorcerers. For bibliography on this deity, see Pardee 1989-90:450-451. His domicile of *mašd* is unidentified, except by etymological explanations. Theoretically, it could be either a proper noun designating a terrestrial cult place (such as Tuttul or Mari) or a common noun serving to designate his dwelling (such as "the heavens" in the case of Šahru-wa-Šalimu).

²² The last tricolon of the previous sections is here omitted, the one in which the other deities were depicted as a snake-charmer. In its place is a long section depicting the mare appealing directly to Hōrānu and the latter carrying out a comprehensive program against serpent venom.

²³ That the subject here is *phlt* rather than *špš* seems to be indicated by the second clause, where *ḫtl* seems to indicate the worry of the equid,

for Great Araššihu,
for well-watered²⁴ Araššihu.²⁴
He casts a tamarisk²⁵ ^k (from) among the trees,
the "tree of death"²⁶ (from) among the bushes.^m
With the tamarisk he expels it (the venom),ⁿ
with the fruit stalk of a date palm he banishes it,
with the succulent part of a reed he makes it
pass on,
with the "carrier" he carries it away.²⁶
Then Hôrānu goes to his house,
arrives at his court.
The venom is weak as though (in) a stream,
is dispersed as though (in) a canal.²⁷ ^o

Hôrānu Weds the Mare (lines 70-76)
Behind her the house of incantation,²⁸

j 2 Sam 12:27
k Jer 48:6
l Cf. Gen 2:9
m Gen 2:5
n Exod 14:27
o Prov 5:16
p Gen 34:12;
Exod 22:15,
16;
1 Sam 18:25
q Deut 23:19;
Isa 23:17, 18;
Ezek 16:31,
34, 41;
Hos 9:1;
Mic 1:7

behind her the house she has shut,
behind her she has set the bronze (bolt).

Hôrānu's Plea for Entry (lines 71-72)

Open the house of incantation,
open the house that I may enter,
the palace that I may come in.

The Mare's Requirements (lines 73-74)

Give as <my bride-price>²⁹ serpents,
give poisonous lizards as my bride-price,^p
adders as my wife-price.³⁰ ^q

Hôrānu Assents (lines 75-76)

I hereby give serpents as your bride-price,
adders as your wife-price.

rather than of the celestial orb.

²⁴ This name apparently reflects the Hurrian name for the Tigris (Astour 1968:23), though a city so named is unknown from presently available sources.

²⁵ The verb "to cast" here, i.e., *ydy*, is the same as that in the request to cast out the venom in the mare's message to the twelve deities. Though the verb is not used in this passage to express explicitly the requested casting out of the venom, its presence here at the beginning of the description of Hôrānu's acts may be interpreted as meaning that the following acts are intended to have the effect of carrying out the request. That is, by the act of casting pieces of wood in a particular fashion (see note 27) Hôrānu effectively casts out the venom. Just as this verse provides the explicit link with the mare's request by the repetition of the verb *ydy*, it also provides an explicit link with the ritual itself that Hôrānu performs in the following quadricolon, where the tamarisk (^c*r*^c*r*) is the first of the plants mentioned. The identification of the "tree of death" (^c*s* *mu*) in the next line is unknown, however, and its function is thus unclear. Because the tamarisk is a desert tree, it appears plausible to see in "tree of death" an epithet of the tamarisk rather than the designation of a second type of plant. If such is the case, this verse mentions only the first of the four plants that appear in the following description of the ritual.

²⁶ As is appropriate in a magical rite, each of the acts is expressed by a punning formula (^c*r*^c*r* + *yn*^c*rm*¹, *ssn* + *ysyn*, ^c*dm* + *y*^c*dyn*, and *ybl* + *ybln*). For the identification of the plants in question, see Astour 1968:24-26. The last formula constitutes a *figura etymologica* based on the root *ybl*, "to bear, carry," but the plant designated as *ybl* has not been identified botanically (cf. Astour 1968:25).

²⁷ The entire preceding passage appears to reflect imitative magic: as the various types of wood float away, so the venom is dispersed, as though in water (Pardee 1978a:91-98, 105-106). Astour (1968:23-26) cited parallels in Mesopotamian magical literature for the use of various types of wood and plants in prophylactic rituals. The new Ug. incantation against serpents (RS 1992:2014 [text 1.100]) refers globally to wood so used as ^c*s* *qdš*, "holy (pieces of) wood."

²⁸ Taking a clue from the fact that the only incantation mentioned in this text is the mare's (in each of the first twelve paragraphs — see above, note 5), I have interpreted this verse as marking a change of scene as compared with the preceding verses, i.e., a return to the mare's home (Pardee 1988a:219-220). She has, according to this view, shut herself up in her own house and will only open the door to a serious offer of marriage. Alternatively, one could consider the house in question to be Hôrānu's, the last mentioned in the text. That the following lines constitute a dialogue is clear from the change in persons (third to first); that one is female is indicated by the verbal forms in lines 70-71 ("she shut/set"). Because the content of the dialogue includes references to exchanges associated with marriage, it appears to be necessary to view the protagonists as male and female. Thus, though the subjects are not explicitly stated, it appears necessary to identify them as the primary male and female protagonists of this text, the mare and Hôrānu.

²⁹ The presence of the preposition *km* followed by *nšm* "serpents," whereas in the following line the same preposition is followed by *mhyr*, "bride-price," has led many scholars to believe that the text here is faulty. Whether the word that fell out was also *mhyr* or a synonym thereof cannot, of course, be known. I have surmised that the request for serpents as a bride-price, to make sense in context, should be interpreted as referring to the serpents with which Hôrānu has just dealt, i.e., de venomized serpents (Pardee 1978a:106). The terms for the reptiles in this passage are *nšm*, the generic word for "serpent" used up to this point in the text, *yhr*, explained by Arabic *wahrat* as a type of poisonous lizard (Caquot 1969:252), and *bn b'n*, "sons of the *b'n*-serpent," where *b'n* denotes some kind of asp or adder.

³⁰ The second word used to designate Hôrānu's contribution is ²*itn*, meaning "gift" (derived from *ytn/ntn*). From context it may be interpreted as meaning "a gift (in view of marriage)." Given the rather transparent etymology of the noun, the biblical parallels for the word being used to designate a gift to a prostitute are not sufficient to prove that the mare in this Ug. text was of easy virtue (cf. Pardee 1978a:101).

REFERENCES

- Astour 1968; Barré 1978; Bordreuil 1983; 1990; Caquot 1969; 1989; Caquot, Szyner and Herdner 1974; Delcor 1981; Dietrich and Loretz 1980; 1986b; 1988; Gaster 1975; Heider 1985; Huehnergard 1987; Levine and Tarragon 1988; Margulis 1970; de Moor 1987; Nougayrol 1968; del Olmo Lete 1992; Pardee 1978a; 1978b; 1979; 1987; 1988a; 1988b; 1989-90; 1995; forthcoming; Tsevat 1979; Virolleaud 1961; 1962a; 1962b; 1968; Xella 1981.

UGARITIC RITES FOR THE VINTAGE (KTU 1.41//1.87) (1.95)

Baruch A. Levine, Jean-Michel de Tarragon, Anne Robertson

This is the most extensive Ugaritic temple ritual on record.¹ It describes the annual celebrations of the grape harvest at the Temple of Baal in Ugarit over the period of one month, in the autumn of the year. It highlights the New Moon, and other key days, especially the thirteenth and fourteenth of the month.

Two copies have been found, a fact which, in itself, indicates the canonical status of the ritual. In preparing the translation, KTU 1.41 :1-49 has been used as the base text, allowing for restorations from KTU 1.87: 1-53, a copy apparently made from KTU 1.41. KTU 1.41:50-55, which is appended to the principal ritual of KTU 1.41, will also be translated since it probably relates to the vintage festival.

KTU 1.41 was discovered during the campaign of 1929 in the residence of the High Priest, located not far from the Baal Temple, whereas KTU 1.87 was discovered during the campaign of 1954 in the Royal Palace of Ugarit. It was undoubtedly stored there for use by the king of Ugarit, who presided over the celebrations (Bordreuil and Pardee 1989:6, fig. 2.)

In listing sacrificial animals, the following abbreviations will be used: s.m. = small, male; s.f. = small, female; l.m. = large, male; l.f. = large, female.

Introduction: The Annual Time of the Vintage Rites

(1a)

In the month of *Rišyn*.²*Dates of the Month for Celebration and Purification*

(1b-3)

On the New Moon^a — cutting of the grape cluster.^{3 b}To Il^{4 c} — 4 *šlmm* offerings.^{5 d}

On the thirteenth — The pure king bathes himself.

The Main Event: The "First of the Tribute" Celebration (4-6a)On the fourteenth: First of the tribute.⁶And 2 s.m.⁷ for the Lady of the temples,⁸

Birds for the staff of gods,

And 1 s.m. Elš,⁹ the favored,

1 s.m., the gods.

The King Proclaims the Day (6b-12a)

The king is seated, the pure one.

a Exod 40:2

b Judg 9:27

c Isa 14:13

d Lev 3;

7:11-18;

Deut 27:7;

1 Kgs 3:15

e Isa 55:12;

Ezek 25:6;

Ps 98:8

f Lam 1:21

g Judg 3:31;

5:6

h Lev 1; 6:1-

6; Jer 34:5

i Judg 6:25-

32; 1 Kgs

16:31; 18:21-

40; 2 Kgs

10:23-27

j 1 Kgs 15:13;

2 Kgs 23:4-7

And he clapped [his hands],^{10 e}And proclaimed the day.^f

Then [the king] enters [the temple]

[with] a present¹¹ of [a cu]p and a chal[ice].2 s.f. and a domestic pigeon¹² he prepares for Anat,^g

and 1 l.m., 1 s.m. for Il.

And at the aperture:¹³ [a libation] he pours.*Accompanying Burnt Offerings and šlmm* (12b-17a)

1 l.f. — the gods,

TKMN-w-šNM — 1 s.f.

Rashap — 1 s.f. — [all] as the burnt offering.^hAnd as *šlmm* offerings:

2 s.f. — the god,

1 l.m. and 1 s.m. — the gods,

1 l.f. — the gods.

Baalⁱ — 1 s.m.Athirat^j — 1 s.m.

TKMN-w-šNM — 1 s.m.,

¹ For the most recent treatment, see Levine and de Tarragon 1993.² Ug. *Rišyn* means "the first of the wine," and also "the best of the wine." This month fell in the autumn of the year: de Tarragon 1980:26.³ Ug. *šmr* is taken as a Šaf-el form of the root *šmr* "to cut," known in Arabic.⁴ Following is a list of gods and goddesses with their Heb. or other cognates for identification: Il = El, Akk. *ilu*; Anat = Anat; TKMN-w-šNM (identity unknown); Rashap = Resheph; Baal = Baal; Athirat = Asherah; Shalim = Shalem(?); [Baal] Šaphan = [Baal] Zaphon (see *m* below); Yarih, the moon god = Heb. *yarēah* "moon"; Nikkal = Sum. NIN.GAL, the moon goddess; Shapash = Akk. *šamaš*, the sun god; Yamm = Heb. *yam* "sea"; Ilib = "god of the father," or "Il is the father." (Cf. Gen 49:25, Heb. *ʾel ʾab*); Athart = Ashtoreth. Cf. 304, nn. 10 and 13.⁵ Ug. *šlmm* is taken as a cognate of Heb. *šelāmim*, and both are seen as cognates of Akkadian *šulmānu* "gift of greeting" (see *d* above and Levine 1989:14-15). In the present ritual, *šlmm* contrasts with *šrp* "burnt offering," Heb. **mišrepôt* (see *h* above), suggesting that, like its biblical counterpart, the *šlmm* at Ugarit was mostly cooked, with some parts of the sacrificial animal burnt on the altar. A third kind of offering, "sacred meal" (Ug. *dbh*, cf. Heb. *zebah*) was also prepared in this way. See *k* below.⁶ Ug. *argmn*, Heb. *ʾargaman* (also written *ʾargewān* in 2 Chr 2:6), may be an Anatolian-Hittite, or possibly a Hurrian word. In biblical usage it consistently designates royal purple but at Boğazköy it has the meaning "tribute," as it does here. It is unclear which connotation is primary. See CAD A 2:253.⁷ Most Ug. ritual texts distinguish between small and large sacrificial animals, and register their sex. Thus, male sheep and goats are listed as *s* (Heb. *šeh*, Akk. *šu*), and male cattle as *alp* (Heb. *ʾelep*, Akk. *alpu*). In a parallel fashion, small female animals are listed as *dqt* "small," and female cattle as *gdlt* "large" (Levine 1963).⁸ Ug. *b^clt bhm* is one of several titles borne by goddesses who were in charge of temples. Cf. at Emar the title NIN.É.GAL-*li* "Lady of the Temple" (Arnaud 1985-86:372, no. 378, line 13).⁹ Elš (written *ilš*) is apparently a Hurrian divine name for the herald of the gods (Caquot 1978:573).¹⁰ The word for "his hands" is restored, producing *wmh [ydh]* "He clapped his hands." The same idiom occurs again in line 54.¹¹ The reading of the word translated "present," Ug. *igml*, is uncertain.¹² The sense of "domestic pigeon" for Ug. *ynt qrt* assumes *qrt* to mean "town, city" as in Heb. and Phoen.¹³ The word translated "aperture," Ug. *urbt*, is taken as a cognate of Heb. *ʾarubbāh* "aperture, window, chimney" (Gen 7:11; 8:2; Hos 13:3).

Anat — 1 s.m.,
 Rashap^k — 1 s.m.
 Circle of Il and Council of Baal — 1 l.f.
 Shalim — 1 l.f.

The King Performs Rites at Midday (17b-24a)

And at midday,¹⁴ inside the convening room¹⁵ of the gods and the lords — goblets¹⁶ and cups, thirty, fill[ed].

And the entrance offering¹⁷ that he brings to the royal chapel — a sacred meal¹ of myrrh oil, of blended oil; a gift of bee-honey, a domestic pigeon and two cages.¹⁸

And at the ledge(?)¹⁹ — fourteen jugs of wine, ½ measure of flour.

At the steps of the altars of the chapel of the goddess — birds.

Two Series of Accompanying Burnt Offerings and Šlmm (24b-36a)

For Šaphan - 1 s.m.,
 For "the Young Woman" — 1 s.m.,
 and for [x] — [y],
 [x] for Yarih,
 1 l.f. for Nikkal,
 1 l.f. for the Lady of the Temples,
 birds for the staff of the gods,
 1 l.f. — the gods,²⁰
 1 s.f. — Shapash,
 1 l.f. — Rashap, [all] as the burnt offering.
 And as šlmm offerings — same (as listed).

2 s.f. — the gods,
 1 l.f. — the gods,
 1 s.f. — TKMN-w-ŠNM,
 1 s.f. — the Lady of the Temples,
 2 s.f. — at the spring,²¹ [all] as burnt offerings.
 And as šlmm offerings — same (as listed).

k Exod 12:27;
 Judg 16:23;
 1 Sam 9:12

m Exod 14:2,
 9; Num 33:7

n Ps 113:3

The Regular Public Sacrifice: the Tamid of Ugarit (33b-38a)

1 l.f. for Baal Šaphan,^m
 1 s.f. for Šaphan,
 1 l.f. for Baal of Ugarit,
 1 s.m. for Ilib,
 [x] [for Athi]rat,
 And birds for [the staff of the gods].

Thirty times, and at the chapel of the Lady of the Exalted Temples, and atop the altars.

Special Rites for the First Quarter of the Month (38b-48a)

On the fifth, chapel of Il:

A shekel of silver, the *kubādu*²² ceremony, and a sacred meal.

[x] for Athirat,
 birds for the staff of the gods.
 At the [pedestal] of the Baal altar:

1 l.f. for Baal,
 1 s.f. for Šaphan,
 And 1 s.f. for Baal of Ugarit, twenty-two times.
 Elš, the favored — 1 s.m.
 ŠMN, the favored, — 1 l.f.

And the pure king responds with a recitation.

On the sixth:

2 [s.m.] — ŠMN, the favored.

In addition to it: 1 l.f.

With a recitation he responds, the pure king.

On the seventh:

- a) At the descent of the sun, the day is profane.²³
 At the setting of the sun, the king is profane.
 b) The rising of Shapash, and the circuit of Yamm;
 The setting of Shapash, and the circuit of 'the King.' "

¹⁴ For the sense of "at midday; in the light of day" for Ug. *burm* see Levine 1983; de Tarragon 1989:137. This time-indicator contrasts with *will* "and at night," and *lpn ll* "before night" in other ritual texts (KTU 1.39, line 12; 1.49, line 9; 1.50, line 7).

¹⁵ The sense of "inside the convening room" for Ug. *lbrmst* assumes the phonetic shift of *beth* to *mēm*, so that original *lbrbst* became *lbrmst*. If correct, **rbst*, like Ug. *trbs* "corral, sitting place" in the Kirtu epic (KTU 1.14, ii, 3; text 1.102) would refer to a meeting room, most likely for priests and others: Levine and de Tarragon 1993:86, 96, Fig. 1.

¹⁶ Ug. *dlr* is rendered "goblets" from context, and based on Egypto-Semitic *daši* "cup," in the Amarna vocabulary (CAD D 119).

¹⁷ The word translated "entrance offering" is Ug. *m^crb*, lit., what is brought in. It is cognate with Heb. *ma^carūb* "exchange" (Ezek 27:9), and Akk. *irbu* "offering (presented at the gate when entering a temple)" (CAD I 173, 175).

¹⁸ Ug. *h^ctm* is rendered "cages" from context, and based on Akk. *h^ctsu* "basket, nest" (CAD H 206).

¹⁹ The translation "ledge" for Ug. *gr* is uncertain: Levine and de Tarragon 1993:96-97. Others have taken it to mean "cave," cognate with Heb. *me^cārāh* (Blau and Greenfield 1970).

²⁰ On the tablet, this entry is written again, in error.

²¹ Ug. *nkk* connotes a natural spring, but as used here it likely designates a metallic or stone basin, or reservoir, similar to Akkadian *apsū* "the deep" and Heb. *yām* "sea" (1 Kgs 6:23-26), both of which designate reservoirs located in temple courtyards. See Levine and Hallo 1967:51.

²² The *kubādu* ceremony is known at Emar. As its name suggests, it served to "honor" the gods by offering them gifts. It was often part of larger, annual celebrations including processions. Fleming 1992:167-169; Huehnergard 1987:135; Sivan 1984:237-238; Levine and de Tarragon 1993:98-102. Others have taken Ug. *kbd* merely to signify "honor, gift" and some have even translated it as "liver" (Heb. *kābēd*), a word attested in Ug. On that basis, it would merely designate part of a sacrificial animal. See text 1.122, n. 10 and text 1.124, n. 18, below (pp. 428, 437).

²³ Two alternative translations are provided for the record of the seventh day because there is genuine ambiguity about some of the terms of reference employed in this couplet. In Ug. it reads:

šbu špš whl ym
^crb špš whl mlk

De Tarragon (translation a) takes the verb *šbu* to be synonymous with *^crb* in describing the setting of the sun, and *ym* to mean "day." He further explains *h^c* as cognate with Heb. *hōl* "profane." On this basis, the text is recording that at the end of the sacred day the king (*mlk*) became profane once again.

An Addendum for the New Moon (48b-49)

On the New Moon:

2 s.m. for Athtart.

Rites Performed by the King on the Roof of the Baal Temple (50-55)When the king offers sacrifice^o to PRGL.ŠQRN²⁴ on the roof,^pthere are [four] and four stands bearing *azmr*²⁵ fruit [placed] on it.

1 s.m., as the burnt offering,

1 l.m., 1 s.m., as the *šlmm* offering.

o Lev 3;
7:11-18;
Deut 27:7;
1 Kgs 3:15
p 2 Kgs 23:12;
Jer 19:13;
32:29, 48:38;
Zeph 1:5
q Exod 9:29;
1 Kgs 8:22;
Ps 63:5;
Lam 3:41;
Ezra 9:5

Seven times, each, on it (=the roof).

The king offers a reci[tation].

a) At the setting of the sun, the king is profane.

b) The setting of Shapash, and the circuit of 'the King.'

[He wears] beautiful garments;²⁶

He claps [his hands].

They are brought back²⁷ into the temple,And when he is there,²⁸ he raises his ha[nds] to heaven.^q

Levine (translation b) understands the couplet to represent the actual words recited by the officiant, the opening lines of a liturgy. On this basis, it expresses a cosmic perception, from East to West, affirming that Il and his successor, Baal, ruled the entire universe, and had defeated Yam, the sea god of the western horizon.

²⁴ The identity of PRGL.ŠQRN, a non-Semitic, probably Hurrian divine name is unknown.

²⁵ Ug. *azmr* is taken as a cognate of Neo-Assyrian *zamru* "a tree or shrub and its edible fruit" (CAD Z 40-41).

²⁶ The translation "[He wears] beautiful garments" is based on a restoration: *wl[bs] ypm*.

²⁷ The translation "They are brought back" reflects the partial restoration: *il[il]bn = tutalibāna*, a Šafel passive. Segert 1984:68, no. 54.46.

²⁸ "And when he is there" translates Ug. *wkm il*. Existential *il* (Heb. *yēš*, Aramaic *ʾilāi*) may convey the notion of presence. Gordon 1965:368-369, Glossary, no. 418.

REFERENCES

Text: KTU² 1.47; 1.87; Levine and de Tarragon 1993; de Moor 1987; del Olmo Lete 1987; 1989b:132; 1992:50-51, 73-87; de Tarragon 1980; 1989; Studies: Arnaud 1985-86; Blau and Greenfield 1970; Bordreuil and Pardee 1989; Caquot 1978; Fleming 1992; Huehnergard 1987; Levine 1963; 1989; Levine and Hallo 1967; Segert 1984; Sivan 1984.

UGARITIC INCANTATION AGAINST SORCERY (1.96)

(RIH 78/20)

Daniel Fleming

This Ugaritic magical text was found in 1978 not at Ras Shamra but at nearby Ras Ibn Hani, though it should be the same age.¹ The extant tablet is neatly inscribed but broken from the 16th line at the left edge across to the 22nd at the right. In spite of the good condition of the first 15 lines, interpretation is hindered by previously unknown terms. Clear references to sorcery and expulsion indicate an incantation, but the text lacks immediate literary counterparts at Ugarit or elsewhere to illuminate its focus or perspective. The two sections of the legible contents are introduced by repeated injunctions to drive off attack (lines 1, 9).²

Part I (lines 1-8)

(Baal) shall drive off the young man's accuser

— the affliction(?) of your staff, Rāpi³u(?),Baal, the affliction(?) of your staff.^{3 a}So, you shall depart before the voice of the incantation priest,⁴like^b smoke through a chimney,^c

like a snake up a pillar,

like goats to a rock.^d

a Exod 7:12;
8:1, 12;
Num 17:23
b Deut 32:2;
Hos 13:7-8;
Ps 83:14-15
c Hos 13:3
d 1 Sam 29:3
e Jer 25:38;
Ps 10:9
f Isa 30:20

like lions to a lair.^{5 e}

Staff, attention!

Draw near, staff!

May it harm your back

and waste your figure.

May you eat the bread of fasting(?),^f

may you drink without a cup(?), squeezing(?) (the water-skin),

¹ The first publication appears in Caquot 1978-79.

² See for recent discussion of the whole text, and the interpretation offered here, Fleming 1991:141-154.

³ The awkward syntax that introduces each section is clarified by comparison of lines 1-2 with 9-10. Each leads with the pronouncement of expulsion and then elaborates on the divine actor, first Baal, then Horon. Horon is identified also as Galmu, "Youth," and Baal by a broken title, perhaps Rāpi³u as "Healer." The same parallel suggests that the attack comes from the human sorcerer (line 9), not some demons, *contra* the earlier studies by de Moor 1980b, Avishur 1981, Loretz and Xella 1982, and Caquot 1984. The malady is referred to as "the affliction(?) of your staff," with address to the magician who attacks by means of his staff (*hf*). A young man is the victim, though evidence is insufficient to diagnose impotence; so, Loretz and Xella 1982.

⁴ The incantation priest (*ḫy*) evidently pronounces the entire incantation, whose voice carries the power of the spell.

⁵ Avishur (1981:18-20) discusses biblical comparisons for the assembled similes. For comparison of the Mesopotamian tradition with biblical use of simile, see Hillers 1983.

in the high country, in the lowlands, in the darkness, in the sanctuary. ⁶	g Deut 18:10-11	you shall find your tongue stammering, you shall be tightly bound(?). ⁸
Part II (lines 9-15) Then (Horon) shall expel the sorcerer-accuser — Horon, the magician, ⁸ and Ġalmu, the familiar. ⁷ Go, you shall founder ...,	A Gen 3:21; Isa 33:19 i Num 23:19; Jer 51:43; Job 25:6; 35:8	The god clothed you, ⁸ the god has stripped you. O man, the one with the staff(s) is indeed gone to the underworld; O human, ⁹ in weakness he is removed. [Part III, lines 16 and following, increasingly damaged]

⁶ The staff appears to be called on to turn against its holder. Shortage of drink is defined by obscure terms, here translated according to the suggestions of Watson 1992. Repetition reinforces the verbal force of the incantation, and the four points of reference eliminate all potential refuge from this curse.

⁷ The root meanings "to unite" and "to know" for "magician" and "familiar" can produce nouns for either magic or friendship (see Smith 1984:377-380). As magician himself, Horon both empowers sorcery and can withdraw that power.

⁸ All three curses have uncertain interpretation. The participle that introduces them allows either negative ("you shall not ...") or emphasis, and the command to "go" echoes "depart" of line 2, so likely addressed to the same attacker.

⁹ This line shifts to the ailing man, now called "man"/"son of man" (human), with assurance of deliverance. The attacker is subjected to death, the very fate which threatened the young man.

REFERENCES

Avishur 1981; Caquot 1978-79; 1984; Fleming 1991; Hillers 1983; Loretz and Kella 1982; de Moor 1980b; Smith 1984; Watson 1992.

𐤒𐤋𐤏 ON A TOOT (1.97)
(RS 24.258)

Dennis Pardee

Another text from the archive of the "prêtre aux modèles de poumon et de foies" presents the great god 𐤒𐤋𐤏 as getting himself gloriously drunk and in need of a pick-me-up. This text provides one of the clearest examples of what I have termed a "para-mythological text," that is, one with mythological form or overtones but with a practical function (Pardee 1988a:265-266). The functional value of this text is evident not only from its content, that is, the passage from story to recipe, but also from its literary form, the myth being in poetic form while the recipe is in prose.

The structure of the first part of the myth follows 𐤒𐤋𐤏's progress from a feast to a drinking club to his private chambers. The drinking hall is the *mrzh* (Heb. *marzēh*), a term used to describe a place, the group that meets there, and the socio-religious institution. Comparing the layout of the Baalshamin sanctuary at Palmyra, where there was a banqueting hall (indicated by the word *smk*², literally "bench [for reclining while eating]"), dedicated by the members of a *mrzh*, located apart from the main sanctuary, I have suggested that the principal stages of 𐤒𐤋𐤏's progress correspond to the principal sections of his palace. (1) The feast would have taken place in a part of the palace (*b bth*, *b qrb hklh*, "in his house, within his palace," according to lines 1-2) corresponding to the position of the altar in a sanctuary and to a large room, relatively accessible to the public, in a palace such as the one at Ras Shamra; (2) the drinking club would have been located in a separate room or structure (*b mrzh*, "in his *mrzh*," according to line 15) corresponding to the banqueting area in the Baalshamin sanctuary and to a more intimate banqueting hall in a royal palace (a particular such room has not yet been identified in the palace at Ras Shamra);¹ (3) when 𐤒𐤋𐤏 went home (*l bth*, *lhzrh*, "to his house, to his courts," according to lines 17-18) he would have gone to the private quarters of his palace, corresponding to the "holy of holies" in a sanctuary and to the living quarters of an earthly palace.

Once home 𐤒𐤋𐤏 meets a "pink elephant," an apparition that has not yet been identified to everyone's satisfaction (see below, note 14). Whatever the form and nature of this mysterious being, 𐤒𐤋𐤏 reacts by soiling himself and falling down in his refuse, a consequence of shock and inebriation. The goddesses 𐤀𐤎𐤕𐤏 and 𐤀𐤕𐤕𐤏, who had already had a rôle to play at the feast, then go off, apparently to find the elements of a remedy for 𐤒𐤋𐤏, though the text breaks off here. When the text resumes, on the *verso* of the tablet, the goddesses are again mentioned, apparently bringing relief to the father of the gods.

¹ Research on the *mrzh* in later sources (summed up in O'Connor 1986:71-72) has indicated that membership normally did not exceed a dozen plus one, the head of the group (the latter was designated *rb* in both Ug. and the later dialects).

The last part of the text is marked off from what precedes by a horizontal line on the tablet and provides the prosaic cure for alcoholic collapse and hangover. In it is found the first known reference to "the hair of the dog" in the context of relief from the effects of alcohol.

Though some have seen in this text an example of ancient humor (bibliography in Pardee 1988a:41), it appears just as plausible to see here a serious attempt, even a scientific one, according to the science of the time, at dealing with the aftereffects of an evening spent on the benches of the *mrzh*. No single English term renders perfectly Northwest Semitic *mrzh*, but "drinking club" is chosen below because it expresses the common denominator of the textual sources, viz., the consumption of wine, as well as the social but non-cultic form and function of the institution. The written sources span at least two millennia, from Ugarit² to early Rabbinic texts, and nearly always refer to wine, its production, its provision by one party for others, or its effects. In spite of the widely held view that the *mrzh* was a theater for the cult of the dead, not a single text known to date explicitly links the two phenomena and I doubt, therefore, that such a connection was ever more than incidental (see Pardee 1996 for a more detailed argument along these lines, with some recent bibliography). Though each *mrzh* seems to have had a deity as patron, there is no evidence that sacrifice, the *sine qua non* of old Northwest Semitic cultic activity, took place in the *mrzh*. Indeed, the silence regarding sacrifice in the textual sources is corroborated by the meagre archaeological data, which appear to show that the sacrificial cult and the *mrzh* were very different institutions. Regarding the temple of Baalshamin at Palmyra, see above, and for a description of the building at Ras Shamra for which the best claim as a *mrzh* may be made, the so-called "Temple aux Rhytons," see Mallet 1987; Pardee 1996:280.

²*Ilu Throws a Banquet for the Gods* (lines 1-13)

²Ilu slaughters³ a game^b in his house,
prey⁴ c within his palace,
(and) invites^d the gods to partake.
The gods eat and drink,
they drink wi <ne> to satiety,^e
new wine^f to drunkenness.^g

Yarihu Plays the Dog (lines 4-13)

Yarihu prepares his cup,
(then) like a dog he drags it
under the tables.^h

a Deut 12:15,
21; 1 Sam
28:24; 1 Kgs
19:21; Ezek
34:3;
2 Chr 18:2
b Ezek 13:21
c Gen 25:28;
27:3; Lev
17:13
d Isa 42:11
e Isa 23:18;
55:2; Ezek
39:19

Any god who knows himⁱ
gives him food;^j

But one who does not know him
strikes him with a stick
under the table.

He goes up to ^cAttartu-wa-^cAnatu;⁸

^cAttartu gives him a *nšb*-cut (of meat),

^cAnatu a shoulder-cut.⁹

The doorman^k of ²Ilu's house yells at them,^l

f Judg 9:13; Mic 6:15; Prov 3:10 g Gen 9:21; 1 Sam 1:14 h Judg 1:7 i 2 Sam 7:20; Hos 5:3;
Job 11:11 j Ezek 24:4 k 2 Sam 4:6 (LXX); 2 Kgs 7:10, 11; 1 Chr 9:17 etc. l Gen 37:10; Jer 29:27;
Zech 3:2; Ruth 2:16

² The institution may already be attested a millennium earlier at Ebla (Archi 1988:103-104, n. 2).

³ The verb is *dbh*, "to slaughter, cut the throat, sacrifice, make a (sacrificial) feast." When a deity performs the act, it is depicted as an act of food procurement. In another sense, the deity is depicted as a priest/king, for in the Ug. ritual texts the king is usually the subject of the verb *dbh*.

⁴ The Ug. words *mšd* and *šd*, both from the root *šd*, "to hunt," are here translated by "game" and "prey," i.e., the fruits of the hunt. The same root appears below as the verb expressing what ^cAnatu-wa-^cAttartu do in reaction to ²Ilu's collapse (see note 17 below). Some have taken *mšd* and *šd* as meaning "provisions, food," rather than game. Related words in other Semitic languages designate specifically, however, "travel provisions," and such provisions are "prepared," not "slaughtered/sacrificed" (the verb here is *dbh* < *dbh* = Heb. *zbh*), and one concludes that ²Ilu is being depicted here as presenting a feast including non-domesticated animals.

⁵ The standard parallelism of *yn* and *trf* assure that {y} in line 3 is a mistake for {yn}. The second term is cognate to Heb. *trōš* and, less directly, to the Mesopotamian beer-goddess *Sirish*. The precise meaning of *trf* is uncertain, but certain Heb. passages suggest "new wine."

⁶ Yarihu's role is mysterious in this text, as is the key word in this line, written *gb*, for which the most diverse explanations have been given (see Pardee 1988a:35-39). I have accepted the meaning "cup" because of the general context of drinking; the literary problem with that interpretation is the image of a dog dragging a cup, filled with wine, under the table (note, however, that the formula is *km klb*, i.e., Yarihu is not a dog, he behaves like one). In the next section, when the hunting goddesses ^cAttartu and ^cAnatu give good cuts of meat to Yarihu, they are rebuked for wasting them on a dog (lines 9-13). It appears plausible, therefore, for Yarihu's meal, like that of the gods seated at the table, to consist of both meat and drink (presented in reverse order). It remains mysterious why the moon deity is depicted in this text as acting like and being treated like a dog. Though there is plausibly a connection between the fondness of hunting deities (e.g., Artemis [see below note 17]) for dogs and ^cAttartu-wa-^cAnatu's treatment of Yarihu in this text, that does not explain why Yarihu was chosen to play the rôle of the dog in this vignette. Perhaps the choice was owing to nothing more than the link between hunting goddesses and the moon, i.e., two of the associations of a goddess such as Artemis (hunting dog and moon) would have been fused in the person of Yarihu (cf. Pardee 1988a:39-40). See further below, note 24, on the literary function of the word *klb*, "dog," in this text.

⁷ There are what appear to be explanatory additions between lines 7-8 and 8-9 (see copy in Pardee 1988a:15). The first, *d mšd*, "of the game," seems to offer an explanation of the word *lhm*, "food," in line 7, but the other additions are less well preserved and their interpretation is uncertain. In my edition of the text (Pardee 1988a:45-46) I gave my reasons, epigraphic in nature, for believing that these signs do not represent remains of an earlier text; the latter idea has been put forward again by Dietrich and Loretz 1993, without explicit refutation of the epigraphic arguments.

⁸ One may surmise, on the basis of the switches back and forth between the forms ^cAttartu-wa-^cAnatu (here and in line 26') and ^cAnatu-wa-^cAttartu (lines 22-23) that these two deities had not fused into a double-deity to the same extent as in RS 24.244:20 (text 1.94), where ^cAnatu-wa-^cAttartu appears as a deity entirely separate from ^cAttartu (lines "34a-e"). This vacillation seems to be owing to a perception of this double-deity as consisting more clearly of two separate deities, as not having become an indissoluble unity to the extent that some other double-deities had so done.

⁹ The word *klp*, "shoulder," is well known in Ug., but the precise meaning of *nšb* remains unknown. From PRU II 128 it appears certain that *nšb*, like *klp*, designates a particular anatomical part, for in that text *nšb* appears alongside other terms designating cuts of meat from a bull.

so they don't give a <i>nšb</i> -cut to a dog, ^m (so) they (don't) give a shoulder-cut to a hound.	<i>m</i> Cf. Deut 23:19 <i>n</i> 2 Kgs 6:23 <i>o</i> Jer 16:5; Amos 6:7 <i>p</i> Gen 24:38; 2 Sam 13:7; 8; Ps 122:1 <i>q</i> Isa 46:1, 3 <i>r</i> 1 Sam 9:18; 30:21 <i>s</i> Isa 36:12 <i>t</i> 1 Sam 28:20 <i>u</i> Ps 143:3 <i>v</i> Ezek 26:20 <i>w</i> Gen 27:3; 5; Lev 17:13; Job 38:39; cf. Ezek 13:18 <i>x</i> Job 14:12	urine. ^s ² Ilu falls ¹⁵ ' as though dead, ^u ² Ilu himself (falls) like those who descend into the earth. ¹⁶ ^v ^c Anatu-wa- ^c Attartu Seek a Remedy (lines 22-?) ^c Anatu-wa- ^c Attartu go off on the hunt, ¹⁷ ^w [...] ^{QDŠ} ¹⁸ [...] ¹⁹ ^c Attartu-wa- ^c Anatu Bring Back and Apply the Remedy (lines 26'-28') [...] ^c Attartu-wa- ^c Anatu [...] ²⁰ And in them ²⁰ she ²¹ brings back [...]. When she heals (him), he awakes. ²² ^x The Recipe (lines 29'-31') What is to be put on his forehead: ²³ hairs of a dog. ²⁴ And the head of the PQQ ²⁵ and its shoot
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¹⁰ Though the function of the rebuke (*g^cr*) of the goddesses is clear from context, neither the specific identity of the "doorman" nor his motive for rebuking ² Ilu are made explicit. It is generally assumed that ² Ilu is rebuked for keeping a disorderly house, but the position of the line at the transition from the *dbh* to the *mrzh* may indicate that the rebuke is also for dawdling. As to the problem of identity, none of ² Ilu's sons is elsewhere identified as a *tgr*, "doorman." Judging from this text alone, the doorman may be either the double-deity Tukamuna-wa-Šunama or one of the two (on the filial status of Tukamuna-wa-Šunama, see below, note 13). However that may be, one may surmise that the right to rebuke the patriarch ² Ilu was linked with the sonship of the doorman rather than with the job itself.

¹¹ Though the first sign of this word is clear, the next two are damaged, while the end of the word has totally disappeared. I have suggested restoring {²a[šk]¹[rh]} and have explained the word as a ²-preformative noun from *škr*, "drink, get drunk" (the noun *škr*, "drunkenness," occurs above, line 4, and below, line 16).

¹² For this translation of *mrzh*, see the introduction.

¹³ The double-deity Tukamuna-wa-Šunama here do the duty of the good son (*ms*, "to bear up," as in the ² Aqhatu text, CTA 17 i 31, etc. [1.103]). The title of ² Ilu, ² ab šnm, seems, therefore, to mean "father of Šunama" (see note 52 to the ² Aqhatu text).

¹⁴ The origin of the name *hby* remains in dispute. I have preferred an identification with the Egyptian bull Apis, *hpy* in Egyptian (Liverani 1969:339), because a bull-figure appears more appropriate to the times than the devil-figure proposed by some and because Apis' role as psychopomp, bearing mummies to the underworld, appears in keeping with ² Ilu's reaction which is in imitation of someone dying (discussion and bibliography in Pardee 1988a:60-62).

¹⁵ The verb is *ql*, the same as that which designates war casualties in the birth omens text RS 24.247+ (text 1.90).

¹⁶ ² Ilu is depicted as "dead" drunk, a rather striking image for an immortal. It is to be carefully noted, as regards the structure and meaning of the text, that ² Ilu is depicted as collapsing only on sight of the apparition and under the immediate effect of it — unfortunately the precise meaning of *yšn*, here translated "bows him over," is uncertain, in particular whether *hby* actually knocks ² Ilu down or performs some other act that brings about ² Ilu's collapse. In any case, there can be little doubt that ² Ilu's drunkenness is depicted as instrumental in his abasement, though not the primary cause of the fall itself.

¹⁷ Because of the following lacuna and the difficulty of the vocabulary in the text on the *verso*, it is impossible to say whether *šd* here denotes literal pursuit of game or a broader sense of "go in search of (items for the remedy)." The links between ^c Anatu and the classical hunting goddess Artemis (bibliography in Pardee 1989-90:464-466) make a literal hunt plausible.

¹⁸ Though the signs are reasonably clear (the first sign can be read only as {q}, the second only as {d}, {l}, or {u}, the third only as {š}), the broken context precludes an analysis of the form, whether verbal or nominal, in the latter case whether it be a common noun or a proper noun, and in this latter case whether it be a geographical name or divine name. The restoration here of {[mδbr] qdš}, as in CTA 23:65, may be considered plausible because of the similarity of circumstances in the two texts (deities hunting). It would, however, be entirely hypothetical and not particularly enlightening because of the uncertainty regarding the meaning of the expression *mδbr qdš* (see note 65 to text 1.87).

¹⁹ A dozen or so lines may have disappeared in the break at the bottom of the tablet (Pardee 1988a:13, 66, corroborating Virolleaud 1962a:52).

²⁰ The antecedent of this pronoun was a masculine plural noun, now lost in the lacuna.

²¹ The verbal forms here do not bear the -n of the feminine dual forms in lines 12-13 and 23; it is uncertain, therefore, whether the subject is one or the other of the two goddesses just mentioned (as here translated) or whether the verb is dual without -n (for a discussion and a proposed partial reconstruction, see Pardee 1988a:66-67).

²² The explicit subject of the verb *n^cr* (N-stem of *c^r*, "awaken") is uncertain, because of the state of the text. If there has not been a significant shift in the narrative focus since the text on the *recto* broke off, one can surmise that it is ² Ilu here who is waking up from the swoon into which he fell just before the departure of ^c Anatu-wa-^c Attartu.

²³ The word here is *šb*, on which see note 30 to RS 24.247+ (text 1.90). Again, the antecedent of the pronoun is not clear: is it ² Ilu or has the shift from poetry to prose entailed a shift from the hero of the myth to the person suffering from alcoholic collapse?

²⁴ The use of dog hair, as well as of various other body parts and by-products of the dog, was wide-spread in antiquity (for some bibliographical elements, see Pardee 1988a:69-70). The literary motivation for the appearance of the dog at the feast in the first part of the text is indicated by the presence of the dog here, for these "para-mythological" texts are characterized by various types of puns and recall words between the two or more principal parts of the text (summary in Pardee 1988a:265). This literary fact does not explain, however, why it is that the moon deity was chosen to play the rôle of the dog (see above, note 6).

²⁵ Several have identified *pqq* as designating a plant of some kind, though the botanical identification remains uncertain (perhaps a type of colocynth, widely used as a cathartic, though with that identification the reason for the use of the word *r²iš*, "head," to describe a part of a member of the gourd family is not clear).

he is to drink (mixed) together²⁶ with fresh olive oil.²⁷ y

y Gen 49:11; Exod 27:20; 30:24; Lev 24:2; Deut 32:14

²⁶ The adverbial form *ṣāḥḥ*, lit., "as one," is a technical term in the only type of medical text that has reached us from ancient Ugarit, viz., the hippiatric type (I.106), where it denotes "together" in the process of mixing the ingredients of a medicine (bibliography in Pardee 1988a:72).

²⁷ Lit., "blood of the olive of autumn," i.e., freshly squeezed. The formulation indicates that the olive oil functions as a vehicle for the *pqq*. Given that the chosen vehicle is an oil, it is apparently also intended to amplify the effect of the *pqq* and to have its own soothing effect on the stomach lining.

REFERENCES

Archi 1988; Caquot 1989; Cathcart and Watson 1980; Dietrich and Loretz 1981; 1988; 1993; Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín 1975b; Liverani 1969; Loewenstamm 1969; 1980; Loretz 1988; Mallet 1987; de Moor 1969; 1987; O'Connor 1986; del Olmo Lete 1992; Pardee 1987; 1988a; 1989-90; 1996; Pope 1972; Virolleaud 1962a:51-52; 1962b; 1968; Watson 1990b; Xella 1977.

A PUNIC SACRIFICIAL TARIFF (1.98)

Dennis Pardee

The "Marseilles Tariff" was discovered in 1844 in the city after which it is named, where it was brought from Carthage, though at what date is unknown. Other examples of tariff inscriptions, even more fragmentary than this one, have since been found at Carthage. The heading of the inscription seems to indicate that it was originally affixed to the temple of Baʿl-Šaphon in Carthage. It may be dated palaeographically to the late fourth or early third century BCE. Its purpose was to regulate distributions among priests and offerers of the items presented to the sanctuary as well as to set the fees that were attached to certain offerings.

The text was inscribed on a large block of stone, broken in two pieces when discovered (40 x 33 cm and 25 x 22.5 cm). In addition to various small lacunae, the left side of the stone has entirely disappeared, at an angle from left to right, and thus no single line is intact, while the preserved portion of each line becomes progressively shorter as one reads from top to bottom.

The text is tightly structured, with the body of the document organized according to size/age categories of animals offered, the supplementary fees and portions accorded to the priests decreasing proportionately as the size of the animals listed decreases.

Comparison with the Book of Leviticus is interesting, but the differences turn out to be greater than the similarities. As regards the Carthaginian cult itself, this text is entirely devoted to its economic aspects, with no explicit statements regarding the theory, ideology, or motivations of these offerings. Comparison with the Ugaritic ritual texts also reveals great differences. Though some of the vocabulary and many of the animals offered as sacrifices are the same, the Ugaritic ritual texts deal primarily with the cultic calendar and with the allocation of sacrifices to various deities, passing over almost entirely the matter of distribution of offerings among the cultic officials and the offerers. Moreover, the concept of fee associated with certain offerings in the Punic text is absent from the Ugaritic texts, either because the texts are not primarily economic in nature and therefore do not mention such fees or because the practice of attaching monetary fees to sacrificial beasts had not yet arisen.

Prologue (lines 1-2)

Temple of Baʿl-Šaphon.¹ (This) tariff² of (priestly)

¹ The divinity Baʿl-Šaphon is first attested in Ug. ritual texts. The Sumero-Akkadian versions of the so-called "pantheon" texts from Ugarit provide explicit evidence for the meaning of the compound divine name, for in them *bʿl špn* is translated as "the weather deity (lord/god) of the mountain Ḥazi" ("IM be-el ḤUR.SAG ḥa-zi [RS 20.024:4]; "X DINGIR ḤUR.SAG ḥa-zi [RS 26.142:19]; "X ḤUR.SAG ḥa-zi [RS 1992.2004:7]). Ḥazi is attested in Hittite and Akk. texts as the name of the mountain north of Ugarit, modern Jabal al-Aqra, known to the Ugaritians as Šapānu. These same "pantheon" texts also prove that *bʿl špn* is not identical with *špn*, for the latter occurs elsewhere in the very same texts, rendered in the Sumero-Akkadian versions as *ḤUR.SAG ḥa-zi*, "the divine mountain Ḥazi." In later periods, Baʿl-Šaphon was particularly venerated in Egypt and was invoked in the treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal of Tyre (7th century) as a punisher of rebels. For an overview of the sources and bibliography, see Bonnet 1992. It is of interest that a temple of Baʿl-Šaphon existed at Carthage, for he was not the principal manifestation of the weather god in the Punic world, that honor belonging to Baʿl Ḥammon.

² The final letter of the word *bʿt*, "tariff," is lost in the lacuna, but the restoration is assured by other attestations of the word (cf. in particular CIS i 167:1 *bʿt hmsʿr ʿš ʿmʿ* ... "Tariff of (priestly) revenues set up by ..."). The etymology of *bʿt* is uncertain (Cooke 1903:115 suggested either the hollow root *bʿ*, which in Arabic denotes various contractual notions in the economic sphere, or the III-Y root *bʿh*, "to seek," well known in Arabic and in Aram., hence "demand, requirement"). For a summary treatment of the tariff texts discovered in North Africa, see Lipiński 1992c.

revenues³ (has been) set up (by)⁴ [the thirty men⁵ who are in charge of the revenues], in the time when Hillešba^cl the mayor⁶ b was [head],⁷ c (he being) the son of Bodtinnit the son of Bod^cešmun, and (by)⁸ Hillešba^cl the mayor, (he being) the son of Bod^cešmun the son of Hillešba^cl, and (by) [their] colleagues.^d

a Ezek 20:40;
2 Chr 24:6, 9
b Judg 2:16-19; Ruth 1:1
etc.
c Jer 39:9;
Jon 1:6;
Dan 1:3
d Isa 44:11
e Deut 7:13; 28:4, 18, 51 f Lev 6:15, 16; Deut 33:10; Ps 51:21; cf. 1 Sam 7:9 g Amos 5:22 etc.

The Offering of a Mature Bovine (lines 3-4)

In (the case of)⁹ a mature bovine:¹⁰ e (whether it be) a whole offering,¹¹ f or a presentation-offering,¹² or a whole well-being offering,¹³ g the priests receive

³ *mš^ctt*, the plural of *mš^ct*, lit., "what is lifted, brought," could in theory mean simply "gifts, offerings." Below in this text, however, it sometimes designates explicitly the monetary fee accompanying a sacrifice (lines 3, 6, 10), while here and elsewhere in this text (lines 17, 18, 20, 21), as well as in CIS i 167:1 (and probably in CIS i 170:1, also, badly damaged), it designates both the portion of an offering that goes to the priest and the fee that accompanies certain offerings. The real function of the term, therefore, is to denote the revenue to the priests in the case of each offering, whether it be a part of the offering itself or a payment in cash. One may infer that any offering could have three possible destinations: (1) part or all of the sacrifice could be burned on the altar of the deity; (2) part could go to the priest, who was also entitled to a monetary fee in some cases; (3) part could go to the offerer. The word is attested three times in the plural, always with the double feminine ending -*tt* (here; CIS i 167:1; 170:1). The Heb. equivalent is *maš^cot* (< *maššē^cot* < *manšē^cot*), pl. *maš^cot* (< *maššē^cot* < *manšē^cot*), i.e., without the double feminine ending in the plural.

⁴ The formulation in Punic is active (*ʔš t^c šlšm h^cʔš*), "which the thirty men set up") and is only rendered by the passive here because of the long subject phrase. The verb *t^c* is the standard Phoenician/Punic verb for "erecting" a statue or other object offered to a deity and is also used for "establishing" a person in a position.

⁵ The restoration of this number is derived from CIS i 3917:1 *šlšm h^cʔš ʔš^c l hms^c [tt]*, "the thirty men who are over [= in charge of] the (priestly) revenues."

⁶ The term *šp^ct* designated an elective function, that of "mayor" of a city. From Latin transcriptions it is known to have been pronounced *sufet* (cf. Heb. *šōpēṭ*). The office was shared by two (or three) persons and lasted for one year only, though the title could be kept for life; the year being named eponymically after its suphetes (Sznycer 1977:567-576; Lipiński 1992b). The usage of *šp^ct* to designate a "leader" goes back to the earliest Semitic sources, where it denotes a clan or tribal leader. Among the functions of such a leader was that of deciding differences between members of the group, but the position included much beyond the strictly forensic and the usual translation "judge" is therefore inadequate. Because the title of "mayor" could be kept for life at Carthage, the mention here of two "mayors" does not necessarily mean that they were holding the office when the inscription was made, simply that out of the thirty, two were serving or had at one time served as chief executive officers of the city.

⁷ The meaning of the term *rb* is clear when used in compound phrases, such as *rb sprm*, "head of the scribes," but when used alone, in the absolute state, it is unknown just what socio-political function it designates (Sznycer 1977:585; Lipiński 1992a). In a context such as this one, *rb* may simply indicate that Hillešba^cl son of Bodtinnit was head of the governing body of the Temple of Ba^cl-Šaphon, the group of thirty who set the tariffs. In the text from which the restoration here is taken, CIS i 170:1, as well as in CIS i 132:4 and 3919:4, one finds only {*r*}, which may be the abbreviation of an abstract form of *rb*, "leadership, headship" (*ʔr r hšb^cl*, "at the time of the headship of Hillešba^cl").

⁸ The syntax of the last part of this prologue is not straightforward. The two final phrases introduced by the conjunction *w* do not seem to depend logically on the phrase *ʔt*, "at the time of," a technical term designating the position of Hillešba^cl son of Bodtinnit vis-à-vis the group for, at least in the case of "and their colleagues," the phrase cannot be linked either with the function of head or with that of mayor. It would seem, therefore, that Hillešba^cl son of Bodtinnit was named particularly because he was head of the group, that Hillešba^cl son of Bod^cešmun then had to be named because he also had been, or was currently, mayor, and that "their colleagues" was tacked on at the end by courtesy.

⁹ The prepositional formula *b ʔlp ... l khnm ksp* seems to be based on the so-called *beth* of price (*beth pretii*), though it is clear that the ten shekels do not constitute a price *per se*. The idiom is repeated at the end of the first clause *l khnm ksp ʔrt 10 b ʔhd*, "to the priests (go) ten (shekels) of silver for each."

¹⁰ This text is structured primarily according to the category of size/age of sacrificial beasts. Thus the young bovine and the mature deer are together in the next paragraph because they are approximately equal in size. *ʔlp* denotes here, therefore, any mature bovine, whether bull or cow.

¹¹ The three types of sacrifice in this text are designated by the terms *kll*, *šw^ct*, and *šlm kll*. The first is usually compared to Heb. *kālil* and is identified as a "whole (burnt) offering" because in the Hebrew Bible the *kālil* and the *ʔōlāh* may be identical. This identification appears correct and the fact that the priest gets a portion of the meat does not constitute a particular problem: the offerer does not receive any part of the animal, which is divided up between the deity and his employees, the priests (the deity's portion was burnt on the altar while the priests lived from theirs). On the correct syntactic analysis of *ʔm*, "whether, or," and the related correct analysis of *kll* as an offering type rather than a word meaning "general rule," see Creason 1992.

¹² The *šw^ct* is usually identified by process of elimination with one or the other of the Heb. sacrificial types (if *kll* = *ʔlh* and *šlm kll* = *šlmym*, *šw^ct* can be neither of these and must be one of the other types of sacrifice), with the choice usually falling on the *hš^ct*, "sin-offering" (Ginsberg 1930-31). An etymology has been proposed, however, which points in the direction of the Heb. "wave-offering," Arabic *ḡw^c*, "wave, agitate" (van den Branden 1965:116-117). This type of offering is well attested in Ug. and Heb., where it is designated by forms of the root *nwp* "raise, lift" (*šnpt* and *ʔnnpāh*). It functions as a "presentation" offering (i.e., the emphasis is on the act of presenting to the deity, not on waving it in the air) and has good parallels in other sacrificial systems (Milgrom 1972; 1991:461-473). As in Ug., this offering was an independent one, rather than a portion of the well-being offering as could be the case in the Heb. system. If the etymological explanation is correct, the motion of "waving or moving back and forth in the air" of the offering may not have been as foreign to the act of presentation as Milgrom would have it.

¹³ Because of the presence of *šlm*, the *šlm kll* is usually identified with the Ug./Heb. *šlm*, "sacrifice of well-being," i.e., the communal sacrifice and meal which was believed to produce a state of well-being between the offerer and the deity. The lexico-syntactic basis for the interpretation of *kll* as linked with *šlm*, rather than as a term denoting "general rule," has been set forth clearly by Creason 1992. Though the use of *kll* in two sacrificial terms of precisely opposite destination, the one for the deity the other for the offerer, may appear to border on the ironic, if one keeps in mind that *kll* denotes only "entirety" one sees that the term itself has nothing to do with the direction in which the entirety is expedited. Because *šlm* is only used in conjunction with another term in Punic, one cannot know whether the relationship is adjectival, in which case *šlm* would be singular (e.g., *šelem kālil*) or nominal, in which case *šlm* could be plural (e.g., *šalmē* + a nominal form of *kll*) as in Heb. and Ug. That the former analysis is plausible is shown by the use of the singular form *šelem* in Amos 5:22 and perhaps by a singular form of the same word in the Ug. royal funerary ritual (RS 34.126:31 [1.105]). This type of offering bears the least number of modifications in this text, i.e.,

ten (shekels)¹⁴ of silver¹⁵ for each (animal offered); in (the case of) the whole offering they receive in addition to this fee¹⁶ [three-hundred (shekels)-weight of] meat;¹⁶ in (the case of) the presentation-offering (they receive) the lower part of the legs¹⁷ and the (leg-)joints,¹⁸ whereas the hide,¹⁹ the ribs,²⁰ the feet and the rest of the flesh go to²¹ the one who brought the sacrifice.²²

The Offering of an Immature Bovine or of a Mature Deer (lines 5-6)

In (the case of) the calf¹⁴ whose horns are naturally missing²³ or in (the case of) the mature deer:²⁴ (whether it be) a whole offering, or a presentation-offering, or a whole well-being offering, the priests receive five (shekels) of silver [for each (animal offered)]; in (the case of) the whole offering they receive in addition] to this fee one hundred and fifty (shekels)-weight of meat; in (the case of) the presentation-offering (they receive) the lower part of the legs and the (leg-)joints, whereas the hide, the ribs, the feet [and the rest of the flesh go to the

h Lev 5:15;
27:5, 7
i Lev 7:31-32
j Lev 7:15-19; 19:5-6
k Lev 9:2, 3, 8; Jer 34:18, 19; Mic 6:6;
cf. Gen 15:9;
Deut 21:3, 4, 6; 1 Sam 16:2
l Cf. Deut 12:15, 22; 15:22
m Exod 29:1; Lev 5:15; Num 7:15; 23:1; 1 Sam 15:22; Mic 6:7 etc.
n Exod 12:5; Lev 1:10 etc.
o Ezra 6:9, 17; 7:17; cf. Exod 29:38; Lev 4:32; Num 7:15; Isa 1:11; Ezra 8:35 etc.
p Judg 6:19;

one who brought the sacrifice].

The Offering of a Mature Sheep or Goat (lines 7-8)

In (the case of) a ram^m or a goat:²⁵ (whether it be) a whole offering, or a presentation-offering, or a whole well-being offering, the priests receive one shekel of silver (and) two *zr*²⁶ for each (animal offered); in (the case of) the presentation-offering [they] receive [in addition to this fee the lower part of the legs] and the (leg-)joints, whereas the hide, the ribs, the feet and the rest of the flesh go to the one who brought the sacrifice.

The Offering of an Immature Sheep, Goat, or Deer (lines 9-10)

In (the case of) a lamb,^o or a kid,^p or a young deer:²⁷ (whether it be) a whole offering, or a presentation-offering, or a whole well-being offering, the priests receive three-quarters (of a shekel) of silver (and) [two] *zr* [for each (animal offered)]; in (the case of) the presentation-offering they receive in addition] to this fee the lower part of the legs

13:15, 19; 1 Sam 10:3; cf. Exod 23:19; 34:26; Deut 14:21

a monetary fee is attached to it when that is the case of all three sacrificial types, but beyond this fee no other stipulations are attached to the *šim kil*.

¹⁴ *ksp* ^{šrt} 10: the unit of silver is not indicated, while the number is given both as a word and as a symbol. The unit of measure is certainly the shekel, for below when the amount is a single shekel the formula is *šql* 1 (line 7).

¹⁵ This is the singular form, *mš²t*, of the word discussed above, note 3, translated "(priestly) revenues" in its plural form in line 1.

¹⁶ If the standard Carthaginian shekel weight of ca. 9.4 grams (Alexandropoulos 1992:323) applied here, the priests would have gotten a bit less than three kilograms of meat.

¹⁷ The word is *qšrt*, which was used in the Ug. birth omen texts RS 24.247+ :10, apparently to denote a part of the leg (see note 13 to 1.90).

¹⁸ Most authorities accept a link between the Punic *yslt* and biblical Heb. *ʔaššl*, attested only in the dual/plural and as part of the phrase *ʔaššlē/ʔaššlōt + yādāyīm*, meaning "elbows." Thus it either means "joint(s)" or, perhaps, the part of the leg above the "elbow," i.e., the thigh; if the latter is true, it would be the equivalent of Ug./Heb. *šq*, not attested in this text.

¹⁹ According to biblical law, the hide was either burned (Exod 29:14; Lev 4:11-12; 8:17; Num 19:5) or else went to the priest (Lev 7:8).

²⁰ The meaning of *šlm*, though apparently cognate to Heb. *šlabbīm*, is uncertain, for the Heb. word is attested only as an architectural term: in 1 Kgs 7:28, 29, the word is used to designate parts of the framework in which the layers of Solomon's temple were set.

²¹ The forms of the verb "to be" in the idiom "go to," i.e., "be to, belong to" in this text obey the rule of "waw-consecutive:" in line 3 the formula was *w b kil ykn lm*, "and in (the case of) the whole offering will be to them ...," whereas here the formula is *w kn h^crt ... l b^c l hzbh*, "the hide ... will go to the one who brought the sacrifice."

²² Lit., "the owner of the sacrifice" (*b^c l hzbh*). The Heb. functional equivalent is *hammaqrīb*, lit., "the one who brings (the sacrifice) near" (Lev 7:18, 29, 33).

²³ *ʔš gny l m b mšr b ʔwmt²*, lit., "which, its horns (are) for lack in ʔwmt²". The last word does not have a plausible Semitic etymology and has been explained as Greek. Either a form of *automatos*, "natural," or an *alpha*-privative form of the verb *temnō*, "to cut" (the regular form being *atmētos*), seem most likely. In the latter case, the syntax of the phrase indicates that the reference would be to uncut horns, not to the calf being uncastrated. The point of the phrase in either case seems to be that the calf's horns have not grown yet — one cannot present an older calf whose horns have been polled and expect to pay a fee of only five shekels.

²⁴ If the Punic vocabulary was similar to the Heb. here, the writing with */yl/* (*ʔyl*) < */ʔayal/* indicates the meaning "deer," for "ram" would be written *{ʔl}* (*/ʔayl/* > */ʔʔl/*) in Phoenician-Punic. This conclusion is borne out in the paragraph after next, where the three categories are "lamb," "kid" (i.e. young ram), and *šrb ʔyl*, apparently "young deer" (see below, note 27). According to Israelite law, the deer was not allowed as a sacrificial animal, though it could be eaten. In practice, however, at least at some sanctuaries, the offering of a deer seems to have been acceptable (Houston 1993:124-180).

²⁵ The two terms are *ybl* and *ʔz*, the first denoting primarily the mature male ovid, the second the mature female of the caprids, with both apparently here including both sexes, as in the case of *ʔmr* and *gd²* in the next paragraph. The *ʔz* is a common victim in biblical texts, for various types of sacrifice, whereas biblical *yōbēl* denotes only the "ram's horn," and the functional equivalent of the Punic ram-sacrifice is the *ʔayil*.

²⁶ If *zr* is the name of a small coin, as is commonly believed, it should have weighed less than a quarter of a shekel, for in the next two paragraphs this word follows quarter divisions of the shekel, and more than the *ʔgRT* (see below, note 34).

²⁷ The meaning of *šrb* in the phrase *šrb ʔyl* is unknown. Judging from the structure of the text, the expression should denote either the young of a deer or a small species of deer (if *ʔyl* was used generically for various species of Cervidae). Here, as above, the offering of a deer is in contrast with biblical legislation, whereas the offering of the young caprovids is unexceptional from the biblical perspective. The term for "lamb" here, *ʔmr*, has cognates that are common in Aram. and Akk. In biblical Heb. the term for "lamb" is *kebeš/kibšāh*, common in biblical legislation. The facts that (1) the offering of a kid (Heb. *gd²*, Punic *gd²*) is not prescribed in biblical legislation (though the kid does feature as a sacrifice in biblical narratives) and that (2) *kebeš/kibšāh* is used not only for "lamb" but also to designate a "sheep" as opposed to a "goat" (as is shown by expressions such as *šeh bakk²baššim ʔō ba^cizzīm*, "a caprovid, either a sheep or a goat" [Num 15:11; cf. Deut 14:4]), seem to indicate that the preferred caprovid sacrifice in the eyes of the biblical legislators was that of an adult.

and the (leg-)joints, whereas the hide, the ribs, the feet and the rest of the flesh go to the one who brought [the sacrifice].

The Offering of a Bird (line 11)

[In (the case of) a] bird,²⁸ (whether it be) a fowl or a free-flying bird:²⁹ (whether it be) a whole well-being offering or an extispicy offering or a divinatory offering,²⁹ the priests receive three-quarters (of a shekel) of silver (and) two *zr* for each (bird offered) and the flesh goes [to the one who brought the sacrifice].

Other Bird Offerings (line 12)

[(In the case of) every (other)]³⁰ bird (offering), (whether it be) holy first-born' (birds),³¹ game-(bird) sacrifices,³² or (bird-)fat³³ sacrifices, the priests receive ten ²*grt*³⁴ ^u for each [...].

q Lev 14:4 et passim in this chapter;
cf. Gen 15:9;
Lev 1:14;
12:6, 8
r Cf. Jer 48:9
s Cf. Isa 28:15, 18
t Cf. Lev 2:12-13; Num 18:12; Deut 18:4 etc.
u Cf. 1 Sam 2:36
v Cf. Exod 23:19; 34:26; Deut 14:21
w Exod 23:18; 29:13;
Lev 3:3;
1 Sam 2:15 etc.
x Gen 4:3 etc.

General Statement Regarding Presentation-Offerings (line 13)

[In] all (cases of) presentation offerings which (anyone) brings before the god, the priests shall receive the lower part of the legs and the (leg-)joints. And [in (the case of)] presentation-offerings [...]

The Gift-Offering (line 14)

In [addition] to any (flour-oil) mixture,³⁵ and in addition to milk,³⁶ and in addition to fat,³⁷ and in addition to any (other) sacrifice which a man may make as a gift-offering,³⁸ [the priests] shall [receive ...].

Offerings Made by a Poor Person (line 15)

In (the case of) any sacrifice made by a man who

²⁸ The Punic terms are *spr* for the generic designation (also used below, lines 12 and 15, as the generic term) and ²*gmn* and *ss* for the two sub-categories. The first of the sub-categories is often explained by *gmn*, "to protect, surround," hence "bird of the poultry-yard," the second by various attestations in Northwest Semitic of a word *šš* or *šš* designating a type of bird or meaning "wing." Delcor (1990:89-91) suggests that this pair of terms reflects the distinction between the non-flying birds of the poultry-yard (cf. Dussaud 1921:141) and free-flying pigeons/doves (witness the fortune of the columbarium from classical times to the recent past). The distinction could also be between domesticated and wild birds. In Heb., *šp* is the generic term for a bird offered for sacrifice (Lev 1:14), while *šippōr* is used only in the purification sacrifice for "leprosy" (Lev. 14). Pigeons and doves (*yōnāh* and *tōr*) are designated specifically. In Ug. ritual texts, the two primary designations of bird offerings are *ynt* (*qrr*), "(city) doves," and *šr(m)*, "bird(s)" (see note 18 to RS 24.266 [text 1.88]).

²⁹ Here we encounter the first change in sacrificial terminology, with *šlm kl* placed in the first slot and two new terms, *šsp* and *hzt*, filling the second and third slots. It has been suggested that *šsp* be explained by the Aram. verb *šsp*, "cut," as denoting extispicy (van den Branden 1965:121) and that *hzt* be explained by the common Northwest Semitic verb *hzh*, "to see," as also denoting divination (Cooke 1903:120). Because the most common form of ornithomancy in the ancient world was by the observation of the flight of birds, these two terms could be directly related to the terms ²*gmn* and *ss*, that is, the form of divination using poultry (²*gmn*) would be extispicy, while the free-flying birds (*ss*) would provide a source of divination by observation (*hzt*) of flight patterns (though the latter would involve a two-step process, first the observation, then the sacrifice).

³⁰ The first letter of this line has disappeared and it is uncertain whether {k} is to be restored, giving the word *kl*, as in line 13 ([b] *kl*), or {ʿ}, giving the word *ʿl*, as in line 14. I have chosen the first solution for the principal reason that *ʿl* should denote supplementary offerings and the three types named seem inappropriate for supplements to a bird sacrifice. It seems, then, that this line is outlining specific types of bird offerings, other than the general ones named in the preceding line.

³¹ Lit., "holy early ones" (*qdm qdš*). The form of the adjectives shows that *spr* is, as in Ug. (*šr*) and Heb., a feminine noun. The use of *qdš*, absent elsewhere in this text, seems to indicate a pre-existing state of holiness, i.e., a divine requirement to offer such birds. It is generally assumed that *qdm* here denotes a status equivalent to that indicated by *bikkārm* or *rēšān*, i.e., "first-born, first-fruits," in Heb.

³² "Sacrifices of travel provisions" makes little sense as a translation of *zbh šd*, whereas, with the reconstruction suggested for the beginning of the line, "sacrifices of wild game-birds" is unexceptionable. On the use of *zbh* + *šd*, see above, note 4 to RS 24.258 (text 1.97).

³³ If this line does detail additional forms of bird offerings, then *zbh šmn* should designate a form of *šmn* coming from birds, rather than general "oil offerings" (as could be the case if this were a list of supplementary offerings). Because *hzb* appears below (line 14) to denote animal fat, one may surmise that *šmn* was used for the fat from poultry (the place of goose and duck fat in Mediterranean cuisine is well known, while the use of the goose as a sacrifice is attested, though rarely, at Ugarit).

³⁴ ²*grt* is not well known as a fraction of a shekel and is usually explained as equivalent to Heb. *gerāh*, the smallest division of the shekel, i.e., one twentieth (about half a gram in the Carthaginian system).

³⁵ Forms of *bll* are used in Heb. for "mixing" (and secondarily for the "rubbing on" of a mixture), particularly in cultic contexts for a flour-oil mixture presented as a *minḥāh* in the form of cakes. The Punic term may, of course, have been used for another sort of mixture.

³⁶ Though the promised land was typified by an abundance of milk products and sources of syrup (*ʿeres zābat ḥalāb ūd-bāš*, "a land flowing with milk and honey" [Exod 3:8ff]), neither of these types of products was considered appropriate sacrificial material: *ḥalāb* was ignored (except in the prohibition against eating a kid boiled in its mother's milk), while *d-bāš* was formally excluded, at least from the burnt offering (Lev 2:11). This discrepancy led Delcor (1990:93) to see here an influence of the Greco-Roman world on Carthaginian cult practice. In a warm climate with only primitive means of cooling, milk would, of course, either be drunk immediately or transformed into various secondary products (yogurt, butter, curds, ghee, cheese, etc.).

³⁷ In contrast with *ḥalāb*, "milk" (see preceding note), fat (*ḥēleb*) was an extremely important part of the Israelite sacrificial system, normally being removed from certain internal organs and offered as a burnt offering to the divinity. Though this Punic text is dealing with the economic side of the cult rather than with sacrificial practice *per se*, the organization of the text, where fat is mentioned only in association with birds (line 12) and with the gift-offering (see next note), seems to indicate that the proper disposal of the fat did not have the same ideological significance as in the Israelite cult.

³⁸ This offering, the *mnḥt*, is often described in Heb. terms as a "meal-offering" (e.g., Cooke 1903:114), but in point of fact only one of the terms used in the preceding list may designate an entity including flour (*bll*), two of the other three being animal-derived (milk and fat), and the fourth potentially so (*zbh* need not designate a bloody sacrifice, but usually does). It seems better, therefore, to translate *mnḥt* here as designating a particular type of offering, which can range in content from a small cake to a sacrificial animal (*kl zbh*). One may judge from the preceding rather exhaustive list of sacrificial animals that *kl zbh* refers to a part of a sacrificial animal which the offerer had the right to keep but desired to offer to the deity or, perhaps, to types of domesticated animals or game not covered in the preceding normative list that may have been offerable in certain situations. We know nothing, for example, about the cultic status in the Punic world of beasts that in Heb. terms would be "unclean,"

is poor⁹ as regards beasts³⁹ or birds, the priests shall not receive anything [at all].

Offerings Made by a Group (lines 16-17)

Any citizens' association,⁴⁰ any clan,⁴¹ z any drinking club⁴⁰ (devoted to) a god,⁴² or any (other group of) men who sacrifice [...], these men [must pay] a fee in addition to each sacrifice in accordance with what is set down in the writs⁴³ [...].

Cases Not Covered in this Document (lines 18-19)

Any fee that is not set down in (the text on) this plaque shall be tendered according to the writs⁴³ that [were written (by) the thirty men who are in

y Lev 5:7,
11; 12:8;
14:21
z Exod 12:21;
1 Sam 20:6,
29
aa Jer 16:5;
Amos 6:7
bb Dan 10:21;
1 Chr 28:19
cc 1 Sam 2:16
dd Exod
21:22;
Deut 22:19

charge of the revenues, in the time when Hillešba⁴¹ was head, (he being) the son of Bodtinnit, and (by) Hillešba⁴¹ the son of Bod²ešmun, and (by) their colleagues.⁴⁴

The Oppressive Priest (line 20)

Any priest who requires⁴⁵ a fee deviating from what is set down in (the text on) this plaque shall be fined⁴⁴ [...].

The Recalcitrant Offerer (line 21)

Any offerer who does not tender with [whatever he brings]⁴⁵ the fee that [is set down in (the text on) this plaque ...].

e.g., the donkey (offered in very particular circumstances among the Amorites and at Ugarit), the camel, the pig, or the dog.

³⁹ The term used here as generic for sacrificial animals as opposed to birds is *mqn*, cognate with Heb. *mīqneh*, also a generic term for "livestock."

⁴⁰ Punic *mrzh* is usually compared to Heb. *ezrah*, "native," and explained as a council of common citizens.

⁴¹ The Punic term is *šph*, cognate to Ug. *šph*, "offspring" (see note 11 on the Kirta text [text 1.102] and note 16 on RS 24.247 + [text 1.90]), and to Heb. *mišpāhah*, "clan, tribe, lineage."

⁴² On the *mrzh* institution in general, see introduction to RS 24.258 (text 1.97). As regards the expression *mrzh* ²*lm* here, it is a commonplace of the *mrzh* to have a patron deity (note that ²*lm* functions in Phoenician-Punic as a singular, not a plural). The *mrzh* of Šatrana is known from Ugarit (and there is indirect evidence for others devoted to ʿAttartu Ḫurri and ʿAnatu), Šamaš is attested as patron of a *mrzh* in a Phoenician inscription, and Obodat and Dušara are known as patrons from Nabataean sources. When the meeting place of the *mrzh* was located next to the sanctuary of a deity (as in the case of the sanctuary of Baalshamin at Palmyra), or when the priests of a given deity formed a *mrzh* (as in the case of the priests of Bol at Palmyra), it appears likely that in these cases also the *mrzh* in question was devoted to the deity mentioned, even if the relationship is not stated explicitly. And when there is a myth regarding a deity who has "his" *mrzh* (as in the case of ʿIlū in RS 24.258), it is not illegitimate to posit the existence of a *mrzh* devoted to that deity in the real world, in this case twelfth-century Ugarit. One may find documentation on and discussion of these data in Pardee 1988a:55-56.

⁴³ The word used here for the present inscription is *ps*, a "tablet or plaque" (Cooke 1903:122), while the word for "writs" is *kbt*.

⁴⁴ Because of the lacuna and because of the repetitive nature of Punic onomastics, it is not possible to know whether the reference here is to a more extensive documentation prepared by the same men who set up this inscription or to a document prepared by an earlier group. The first solution seems the more likely, for the extant name is identical to the second *sufet* named in the introduction while the two words described in the preceding note clearly refer to different forms of documentation. If the two persons mentioned correspond to the two named in the introduction, the grandfather was not named here in either case (the {t} at the beginning of line 19 would be the last letter of Bodtinnit) and working backwards from the second name, the title of *sufet* would not have been given either time. This gives a restoration of 35 to 38 letters, about right to fit the lacuna at the end of line 18 ({ʔš [kṭb šlšm hʔš(m) ʔš ʿl hmsʔt ʿt r(bt) ḫlšbʿl bn bdm]}. *Kbt* would in this hypothesis designate a more complete document than the *ps*, of which this inscription represents only a digest.

⁴⁵ Because the definite direct object marker is ²*yt* in Phoenician and usually so in Punic (as opposed to Neo-Punic), it appears best to take ²*t* here before the lacuna as the preposition meaning "with." The reconstruction of the phrase as {ʔt k[l yb]}], lit., "with everything he brings," then appears plausible.

REFERENCES

Alexandropoulos 1992; Baker 1987; Bonnet 1992; van den Branden 1965; Cooke 1903; Creason 1992; Delcor 1983; 1990; *KAI* 69; Dussaud 1921; Ginsberg 1930-31; Houston 1993; Lipiński 1992a; 1992b; 1992c; Milgrom 1972; 1991; Pardee 1988a; Szyner 1977.

THE ARAMAIC TEXT IN DEMOTIC SCRIPT (1.99)

Richard C. Steiner

The Aramaic Text in Demotic Script¹ is a text written on both sides of a twelve-foot-long papyrus in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Amherst Egyptian 63), originally joined by a few fragments which are now at the University of Michigan (Michigan-Amherst 43b). It was acquired by Lord Amherst of Hackney at the end of the nineteenth century.

The decipherment of the text has been a long and painful process of trial and error, which began in the early decades of this century and will no doubt continue well into the next millennium. The translation given here should be viewed

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as an interim progress report, building on the work of many scholars but with many uncertain and controversial elements. Steiner and Moshavi (1995) can be used as a guide to what the author considers reasonably reliable in the translation; however, considerable progress has been made since that selective glossary was completed, and it will need to be expanded.

This largely poetic text is the liturgy of the New Year's festival of an Aramaic-speaking community in Upper Egypt, perhaps in Syene. It seems to have been dictated by a priest of the community, possibly at the beginning of the third century BCE, to an Egyptian scribe trained in the fourth century BCE.

The original homeland of these people, called *rš* and *ʔrš* in the papyrus, is the subject of controversy. The present writer has suggested that it is the land between Babylonia and Elam which the Assyrians called Rashu and Arashu and that Assurbanipal, who captured Rashu in his campaign against Elam, deported its inhabitants to the Assyrian province of Samaria, like the Elamites from Susa mentioned in Ezra 4:9-10. There is reason to believe that most or all of them wound up in Bethel, joining the foreign colonists settled there by earlier Assyrian kings. Their subsequent migration to Egypt may be recorded in the text's account of the arrival of soldiers from Judah and Samaria (XVI.1-6).

The text shows how the groups deported by the Assyrians to Samaria "would venerate the Lord but serve their own gods according to the practices of the nations from which they had been exiled" (2 Kgs 17:33).

Veneration of the Lord is represented by prayers in cols. XI-XII that contain Hebrew words and Israelite divine names (Adonai, 7 times, Yaho, once). Among these prayers is one which parallels Ps 20 (XI.11-19). Phrases like "Yaho, our bull" (XI.17; cf. "let them kiss [your] bull[s], 'let them de'sire your calves" in V.12), "lord of Bethel" (XI.18, cf. VIII.13), and "a city full of ivory houses" (XI.9, immediately before the prayer), if correctly deciphered, suggest that this prayer is a descendant of one used in Jeroboam's temple in Bethel. There may even be echoes of this prayer (XI.17) in Abijah's battlefield condemnation of Jeroboam and his calf-cult (2 Chr 13:8, 10, 12).

Service of other gods is the main thrust of the text, which allows us to follow the progress of a pagan New Year's festival from morning until night. The rituals have counterparts at Babylon, Emar, and Sumer. The wait in the courtyard (III.9-11) and the declaration of innocence (VI.3, 9) followed by a *Heilsorakel* (VI.12-18) are paralleled in the ritual for the fifth day of the New Year's festival at Babylon. The selection by the god of a maiden from among the "daughters of Arash" to be "elevated" to the status of priestess (VIII.13-16) resembles the rite in which "the daughter of any son of Emar" was chosen by the god and "elevated" to the status of *entu*-priestess (text 1.122 below). The laying of the priestess on a bed of perfumed rushes (V.9, XVI.7) covered with an embroidered bedspread (XVI.13-14) made of flax (XV.15-16) has parallels in Sumerian sacred marriage rites.

The chief gods of the community are referred to as *mr* "lord" (a back-formation from *mry* < *mrʔy* "my lord" attested already in Old Aramaic) and *mrh* "lady." These epithets are rendered below as Mar and Marah, because their usage in the text (e.g., IVB.3 *lmrty mrh* "to my lady, Marah") suggests that they have taken on the status of names, much like their Canaanite counterpart *bʕl* "lord," the epithet of Hadad.

Marah appears to be identified with Nanai in the text (except in VII.2, 6, where they are listed separately). She is depicted as a cow (II.19; XIII.5, 7, 18, 19; XVI.16) that suckles (exceptional) human infants (I.19; II.7-8, 16-17; III.5, 16; IVA.5). Each year, after feasting, she falls asleep in the pit, in the waters of fertility (*bšwḥh bmy pryh*), where she brings forth sweet fruit for Mar, her consort (II.8-11).

Nanai's consort, Nebo, appears frequently in the text, as does the god Bethel. The latter is called Resident of Hamath in VIII.6, 10 and Ashi(m)-Bethel in XV.1, 14, 15. This takes us back once again to the Assyrian province of Samaria, where "the men of Hamath made Ashima" (2 Kgs 17:30).

The text concludes with a story about Assurbanipal, the king who destroyed Rashu, and his brother, Shamash-shum-ukin (XVII.5-XXII.9). This story is, in all likelihood, an ancestor of the Sardanapalus legend known from Greek and Latin sources. The original kernel of the story is a piece of pro-Assurbanipal propaganda, similar to the editions of Assurbanipal's Annals which postdate the civil war, intended presumably to win the hearts and minds of the defeated Babylonians (648-c.620 BCE) or to counter claims by the resurgent Babylonians that the Assyrians had committed aggression against them and deserved to be punished (627-612 BCE). However, there are indications that it was revised at a later date and reused, possibly as a weapon in the propaganda war waged against Nabonidus by Cyrus' priestly backers (third quarter of the sixth century BCE).

Introduction (I.1-15)

Mar dwells

... mighty

... your 'in' timates

... on papyrus

... 'in' the gate

... you shall wri'te'

... the king, Mar, with

... [h]arp and lyre

... Rash

... 'let us' ex'al'[t]

...

all the go^ld[s] ...
is 'exa^l[ted];
exalted is Mar[ah],
...
Marah.

A Plea to Marah to Accept the Morning Sacrifice
(I.16-17)

Your 'nour^lishment
[we have] sac^rif^l[iced],
[Ma]rah,
and may [your] e^rye^l[s]
[glance at]
our sacrifice

Marah's Contemptuous Rebuff (I.17-19)

[M]an!
... outside,
[and hear me!]
[I am exa]lted.
I rea^red you,
you [sucked my breast],
[the sap of Marah]
[nourished you,]
[she strengthens,]
[she empowers]
with [her] [po]wer.

A Prayer to Marah Who Sustains Mankind from her Grave (II.1-11)

Come out and make
[your] g^rav^l[e] ...
we will make your grave ...
My wis[e] 'one^l carries you / for you;^a
'she^l carries your burden and your l[oa]d,^b
creating
at your decr[ee].
She builds
and upro^ris;
'her^l breast
[su]ck^lles 'y^lou.
My Princess ea[t]s [and is s]ated 'and^l sleeps.^c
And she 'lies^l
'in^l the pit,
in the waters of fertility,
[bringi]ng forth 'fr^luit
for Mar,
and it is sweet
like you.

Another Plea to Accept the Offering (II.11-13)

Marah,
[in] heaven
[you] [re]side;
you dwell on hi^rgh^l,
'Mar^l(ah).
Your [nour]ishment
we have [sac]ri^lficed,
Marah,
and may [your] eye[s]
g[lan]ce

a Isa 46:7

b Ps 55:23

c 1 Kgs 18:27;
Ps 121:3-4

d Dan 10:11;
Neh 9:3;
2 Chr 34:31;
35:10

at our sacrifice.

More Rebuffs (II.14-III.6)

Man!
... outside
'and^l [hea]r me!
I am exalted.
[I] reared [you],
you sucked my [bre]ast,
the sap of Marah
nourished [you].
[She streng]thens,
she empowers
with her power.
To ...
you call
Hear ...
I am the Co[w]
... outside
... out[side]

Col. III

[M]an!
... outside,
and hear me!
I am exalted.
I reared you,
you sucked my breast,
the sap of Marah
nourished you.
'She^l strengthens,
she empowers
with her power.

The King Denied Entrance (III.6-12)

Our judge
comes/came to the ga^rte^l
and stands/stood still.
"Mar 'is^l blessed
seven times
all 'that which^l
my mouth 's^lays."
And he (=Mar) [c]ries/[c]ried out:
"You may cert^rain^lly not enter,
king.
[Wa]it outside.
Stay at your station."^d
He washes/washed
his hands
inside the courtyard.
"Mar,
[bri]ng our 'lord^l near to you;
Nebo
...."

More Rebuffs (III.14-IVA.6)

[Man!]
... outside,
[and] hear me!

I am exa^lted^l.
 I [reared you]
 You sucked my ^lbre^last,
 the sap of Marah
 [nourished you.]
 [She strengthens,]
 [she empowers]
 with her power.

Col. IVA

Man!

... [outside,]
 and hear me!
 I am exalted.
 [I] reared you,
 you sucked my breast,
 the sap of Marah
 nourished you.
 She strengthens,
 she empowers
 with her power.

The Enthronement of Marah-Nanai (IVA.6-21)

Kings saw yo[u]
 and they were afraid,
 Nanai;
 you frighten them
 in front of their officials

...
 exalted.
 But we saw/see
 the [queen],
 the queen of Ra[sh]
 brought in,
 Marah, among the [go]^ld^ls.
 And they rise
^lfrom^l their thro^lne^ls:
 "Let Marah be enthroned
 among the gods;
 let her [th]rone
 be glo^lri^lous;
 in Rash
 let [her] footstool
 [be] glor^lious^l."

...
 that Mar[ah] was enthroned /
 of the enthronement of Mar[ah]

...
 allow our king to come up,
 Mar[ah]

... may he bless
 ... Marah, ^lb^lle^lss^l
 ... may he bless you
 ... [b]less(,) Shamash
 ... ble[ss]

...

Col. IVB

New Year's Delights (IVB.1-9)

to Marah ... ^lca^lll
 ... to my lady, Marah

the he^laven^ls

...

...

on the earth.

...

come, walk before ^lme^l
 on every

... those who call upon you,
^lmi^lg^lhty one

...

mighty one,

we pu^lt^l

in your cou^lrt^ly^lard

fr^luit^l

from the vin^leya^lrd^ls

[we brin]g out

on New Years

...

which delight my heart and your heart,
 my Fire

...

in El's heart

Col. V

The Destruction of Rash (V.1-11)

You, Mar, ^lp^lut
 te[rror in the land];

Terror [fi]lled
 the country

...

They [de]stroyed for you
 all your cit^lies^l;
 in the land
 trembling dwells.

...

belittles you,
 your entire assembly
 of princes.

He ^lre^lviled

your sons and your mothers;
 with shackles

he clothed their hands.

He hunted the chiefs;

he treated them all with contempt.

He stoned your baker

who used to present b < re > ad
 and make

all your loaves;

your ^lbu^ltcher

who used to present a ram —

he would ^lstr^like the neck,

he would strike the windpipe,

he would make all

the c < o > ws of your ...;

your priest{s}

who used to pr^les^lent

the devotee — / meal offering —

he would lay down for you
 fragrances and rushes;

'your' 'mus' [ici]an{s}
 who used to present
 joyous music —
 he would carry the harp,
 he would carry the lyre.
 ...
 they pour
 the 'd'ri'nk' of his belly.
Kissing the Calves of Bethel (V.12-22)
 ...
 let them kiss [your] bull[s],^e
 'let them de'sire your calves,^e
 Exalted One,
 the 'c' [alves]
 of your ...s
 my m'outh'
 ... and shake
 ...
 ...
 'he will' find
 ...
 ...
 Resident of Rash
 ...
 ...
 'B' [e] 'th' el
Col. VI
A Lament to Mar (VI.1-12)
 ...
 ...
 ...
 ...
 'Mar'.
 Mar, good god —
 my god, what
 should I do/have you done?
 let me know ... my god.
 No evil is in my hands,^f
 my god;
 no duplicity/slander in my mouth.^g
 (But) you have made me
 a lamb in their flocks,
 a ram in their folds.
 They constantly feel me
 (saying) "Let us kill him
 that we may become fat and corpulent."^h
 Let us eat his fleshⁱ
 and become fat;
 let us drink his blood^j
 and become inebriated.
 Lord, god of Rash, Mar —
 Make my body^j
 ...
 in their mouths,
 bitters
 under their tongues.^k
 Mar, good god —
 my god, what

e Hos 13:2 should I do / have you done?
 Let me know ... my god.
f 1 Sam 24:12 No evil is in my hands,
 (11); Job our god;
 16:17 no duplicity/slander in my mouth.
 (But) you have made me
g Isa 53:9 a date in their mouths,
 sweets
h Deut 32:15 under their tongues.^k
 Lord, god of Rash, Mar —
i Ezek 39:17; Make my body
 Ps 50:13 ve'nom' in their mouths,
 poison under their tongues.^l
j Isa 51:23
A Reassuring Reply (VI.12-18)
 Mar speaks up
 and says to me:
 "[Be] 'stro'ng,
 my 'se'rvant, fear not. I will 'save' m'
 your
 To Marah,
 if you will ...,
 to Mar
 from your shrine and Rash,
 [I shall destroy]
 [your] 'en' [emy in] your days
 and during your year's'
 [your] advers[ary]
 will be smitten.
 [Your foes]
 I shall destroy
 in front of you;
 your foot on their necks [you will place].ⁿ
 [I shall suppo]rt' your 'r'ight (hand)^o
 I shall 'cro'wn 'you'
 with prosperity;
 your house
 ...
 ...
 'u'p'o'n you
 your cup ...
 ...
 ...
Col. VII
The Blessings of the Gods (VII.1-7)
 your blessings
 ...
 may they bless you.
 May Mar from Rash
 bl'ess you';
 Marah from Shur —
 [she] should bless you.
 May Baal from Zephon bless you;^p
 Pidra[i]/<i> from Raphia —
 she should bless you.
 May Bel from Babylon
 bless you;
 Belit from Esangila —
 she should bless you.

May Nebo from Borsippa
bless you;
Nanai from Ayakku —
she should bless you.
May the Throne of *Horus*
and *Osiris* from the *Negeb*
bless you.

Offerings to the Gods (VII.7-19)

Give the fire-offerings
and offer (them) up
in fire.

Pick up, send
a lamb, a young sheep;
send a lamb.

Make abundant
holocaust-aroma
for Mar;
may he bless you
abundantly.

Bow down to Anat
and *Mami*;
to Nebo
send

the consecrated animals.
Let there be remembered
as a remembrance,
Mar,
sixty singers.

Let them lift
their voices, Mar;
Mar, let them bless you.
Let there be remembered
as a remembrance,

Mar,
six^{ty}
temple ser^{vit}ors —
their (lit., his) handfuls
of myrrh (and) frankincense
for the nostril[s]
of Bethel.

Let there be remembered
as a remembrance,
Mar,
sixty sheep.

Favor your loved ones,
Mar,
favor your loved ones
and Rash.

Favor your loved ones
(and) Rash.

The blood
of the *dead* sheep
is a sea.

The sheep
floats
to you,
lord of heaven;
wheat

q 2Kgs 17:30

{of} barley
comes near to you.

...
the dust
... lord,
may you se^t a hand,
snatch them.

A Hymn to Mar (VII.20-VIII.3)

Your going out, Mar

...
your coming in

...
on ...
on the path ...
the ^wall
[your] window^s ...
[your] pal^{ace},
Mar

...
Col. VIII
[Al]l the blessings

...
until eternity.
your sons,
and with your daughters
he dealt kindly ...
[was brought low]
and the god of Rash
was victorious over all of them.

An Enticing Invitation (VIII.3-8)

I have taken out
your box, my god —
open (it),
and your mouth

...
Your table
will be covered
with the fat of stags.
Butchers will wait
on it.

All of them,
with skillful hands,
will tremble.

Every bull
you will snatch,
Resident of Hamath.⁹

Your krater
you will pour out
and it will be filled;
and butlers will wait
on it,
each of them standing
and speaking up:
"You are at a banquet.
Look, see!
Drink it!"

A Hymn to Mar (VIII.8-10)

Mar, from your snorts
all the <ea> rth perishes;
like smoke, lord,
from your breaths.^r
You fly
to your followers;
you spread the wing
like an eagle,
and they arise.
The beams of your house,
Bethel,
are from Lebanon;
from Lebanon,
{and} your garden,
are they.
And Resident of Hamath
...

The Selection of Mar's Bride (VIII.10-11)

Elevate a lass.
Who is the lass?
All of your manifestations
are concealed.

A Hymn to Mar (VIII.11-13)

Mar is/se<t>s like the sun
and rises like the moon,
like the moon
along the length of his heavens.
Oh, let them build,
in heaven,
your house,
concealed, with stars;
let your bed
be brought down in Epiph.
In your temples
let them build,
lord of Bethel,
a thousand new altars.

The Selection of Mar's Bride (VIII.13-16)

A beautiful priestess
elevate,
and the burnt offer^ring^s of the city
let her offer;
in Rash
...

"This one here
is ^rbeauti^rful;
in the shape of her face
she is love^rly^r."
Elevate a lass.
Who is the lass?
All of your manifestations
are concealed.

The Diadem of Prosperity for Mar's Bride
(VIII.16-22)

Our Prince has ^rbeen good^r to

^r Ps 18:16;
Job 4:9

^s Esth 1:22

the daughters of Arash:
Mar has ^rgi^rven
the diadem of prosperity;
the god of <Ra>sh
has crowned her
in his hou[se],
and he makes her rule in his palaces.^s
He rai^rse^rs her up
like the sea
in his hou[se],
in ...
^rhis^r hor^rns^r
...
like the river.
^rAnd^r our Prince,
the god of <Ra>[sh],
has done good with his water;
the god of <Ra>sh,
with the sea.

...
^rYour^r shrine, Mar,
is perfect;
...
who has improved?
All of it, Mar, my god

...
a diadem of prosperity

...
...
...
...
our yearly harv[est] (lit., ingathering),
because your peo^rple^r

...
He
... Glean wheat
and glean ...
Glean

Col. IX*A Prayer for Rain* (IX.1-13)

^rAnswer me^r

...
from Rash;
^rto^r my ...

...
The river is disappearing,
it is worn out.
and my lord —
the river
is not rising.
Your mind
is sealed, Mar.
Send to me
your cloud.
Exalted One,
awake for me, awake.
Marah,

lift up the bucket for me;
inspect the canals for me,
Marah.
Inspect,
my g<o>d, my queen,
the pool;
lift up,
the bucket.
In every generation
you rule {in her palaces} in your palaces,^s
{and} and you/come
...
...
...
and my wife.
I shall bring a ram
to my lord;
...
...
Oh, Bethel,
nourishing god / god of the world,
who causes the sea to rise
generation after generation —
all the clouds of moisture^t
offspring of the primeval mist^u
are hidden away for you
Make it rain, Mar;
baths of rain
send down.
Our silver is yours and our gold;^v
our possessions are yours,
our mature cattle are yours,
like our heifers
(and) *yearling calves*.
Chorus (IX.13-17)
He will help us.
We shall be raised up in safety.
He will guard our rear.
The god of Rash will help us.
Let us ponder his mysteries.
Mar is my father
and my bull/shepherd.
He will raise me up.
Let me vaunt
his mighty deeds.
...
...
...
...
let the throng say
Amen, Amen.

A hymn to Mar (IX.17-20)
Mar, my god —
father of the orphan, champion of the widow.^w
She who has lifted up her h^ands
to you,

s Esth 1:22 you calm
in her *sobbing*.
t Job 37:11 She has lifted up her hands —
[you] ca[im]
u Job 36:27 her sob^{bin}g.
v Hag 2:8 Mar humbles the *haughty*.
May you exalt him
with the ...
of your ...;
w Ps 68:6 [your] catt^{le}
[and] [all] your bounty.
x Isa 40:22
Chorus (IX.20-23)
[And he will] [help me]^l.
y Exod 7:19, I shall be raised up [in safety]^l.
8:1 He will guard [our] r[ear].
z Jer 23:29 The god of R^{ash} will
hel^p us.
Mar is [my] father
and my bull/shepherd.
He will ra[ise me up].
Let me [va]unt
his migh^{ty} deeds
...
...
...
...
let the throng say
Amen, Amen.

Col. X
A Prayer for the Rising of the Nile (X.1-6)
Ret^{urn}, our father,
Mar of [A]rash;
...
You stretched out the heavens,^x
Mar,
[you] s^{et} the stars in place,
you dwell throughout
the land of Rash,
our god.
Let canal (and) pool^y
rise through its waves.
Let canal (and) pool
rise through its waves.
The river is poor in floodwater.
The river will die
and it will be bitter.
They will become thin again, Mar;
as thin, god of Rash,
as splinters of flint.^z
Chorus (X.6-8)
Mar is my father
and my bull/shepherd.
He will raise me/us up.
Let us vaunt
his mighty deeds.
...

...
...
...
let the throng say
Amen, Amen.

A Dream about Rash (X.8-13)

In my dream,
I was in my youth;
I was in the land of Rash.
I was building a city,
in Rash
I was erecting it;
its name was
Ellipi Pait.
Rash was supported;
my lord
watched over
Ellipi Pait:
He would beat
her troublemakers
in her stocks;
he would break (them)
in corporal punishment.
The righteous man
he would help,
escorting him
in the face of his troubles,
him whom the oppression
of the creditor
has filled/embittered.

Chorus (X.13-16)

And he will h<el>p me;
I shall be raised up in safety.
He will guard our rear.
The god of Rash will help me.
Let us ponder his mysteries.
Mar is my father
and my bull/shepherd.
He will raise us up.
Let me vaunt
his mighty deeds.

...
...
...
...
let the throng say
Amen, Amen.

A Prayer for the Destruction of Rash's Enemies (X.16-20)

Mar who goes 'out'
from Rash,
who is like you,
who is more for 'bea'ring than you?
'Ta'ke away, destroy the enemy.
Arise, Mar,
take away, destroy
our enemy

aa 1 Kgs
14:23;
2 Kgs 17:10;
Jer 2:20;
Ezek 6:13;
20:28

bb Ps 23:5

cc Amos
3:14-15

...
[that] the Kassites and
Ela[m]ites not destroy us.
May [you] heal,
[O] Mar,
your int[imate]s,
[that] they not per[ish],
and sate
their [en]emi[es]
with all that
with [which]
your oppressed ones
[were sated.]

Col. XI

The Bridal Chamber for the Sacred Marriage (XI.1-3)

A ...
in ...
erect;
on a height ^{aa}
construct it.
Er[ect] [i]t
under lofty ced[ar]s; ^{aa}
there, my powe[rful] one,
may you construct [it],
may you ... it.

Father not Old, Brothers not Frail (XI.3-6)

Satu[rate], invigorate (lit., oil) ^{bb}
your father.
Your father
is a disabled old man,
your brothers
are frail.
My father
is not a disabled old man,
my brothers
are not frail,
for my father
is like a stable (full) of steeds;
my brothers,
like eagles
and <wi>ld asses.

Drought in Bethel (XI.6-11)

"You are poor,
my brother.
Why has the flow of the spring
dis[app]eared?"
"It flowed
and was lost,
and its flow disappeared.
The well flowed,
its water was lost;
our faces
wasted away / dried out.
Stricken is a city
full of ivory houses^{cc}
[and] with linen

and lapis lazuli
on her windows;
her insides/windows
a mountain of ma^{rb}le,
her walls iron and bron^{ze}." *dd*

A Psalm from Bethel (XI.11-19)

May *Horus* answer us in our troubles;
may Adonai answer us in our troubles.^{ee}
O crescent (lit., bow) / bowman
in heaven,
Sahar / shine forth;
send your emissary from the temple of Arash,^{ff}
and from Zephon may *Horus* help us.^{ff}
May *Horus* grant us what is in our hearts;
may Mar grant us what is in our hearts.^{gg}
All <our> plans may *Horus* fulfill.^{gg}
May *Horus* fulfill — *hh*
may Adonai not fall short in satisfying —
every request of our hearts.^{hh}
Some with the bow, some with the spear;ⁱⁱ
but (lit., behold) as for us — Mar is our god;ⁱⁱ
Horus-Yaho, our bull, is with us.^{kk}
May the lord of Bethel answer us^{ll}
on the morrow.
May Baal of Heaven Mar
grant a blessing / bless you;
to your pious ones, your blessings.^{mm}

Col. XII

Lambs for Adonai (XII.1-3)

‘H^{ear} me,
my ‘go^l[d], my king.
Choice ‘lamb^s,ⁿⁿ
sh[ee]p,
we sacrifice
to you (alone)
among the gods;
our banquet
is for you (alone)
out of all the supreme beings /
from the shepherds/chiefs
of the people,
Adonai, for you (alone)
out of all the supreme beings /
from the shepherds/chiefs
of the ‘peo^lple.

Wine and music for Adonai (XII.4-10)

Adonai,
the people bless you;
accept your yearly liturgy.
From the pitcher
saturate yourself,
my god;
I will fill (it) with
the juice of the winepress.
Tower,

dd Jer 1:18

ee Ps 20:2

ff Ps 20:3

gg Ps 20:5

hh Ps 20:6

ii Pss 20:8;
46:10

jj Ps 20:8;
2 Chr 13:10

kk Ps 46:12;
2 Chr 13:8,
12

ll Ps 20:10

mm Ps 3:9

nn Gen 49:21

oo Exod 15:11

pp Prov 1:23

qq Ps 6:8

mercif^{ul} father,

Horus

benefactor of the lowly —
they have mixed wine
in goblets,
in goblets
at our wedding.
Drink, *Horus*,
from the bounty
of a thousand basins;
saturate yourself, Adonai,
from the bounty of men.
Musicians stand
in attendance upon Mar:
a player of the harp,
a player of the lyre.
Here is the music
of the har<p>,
the music of
a Sidonian lyre
and sweet things
in his ear
at the banquets of men.

A prayer to Adonai (XII.11-17)

Who among gods,
among men, *Horus*?
Who among gods,
among royalty,
(among)/among non-royalty.
Who is like you, *Horus*, among gods?^{oo}
Come from Shur,
take vengeance
for those who call upon you,
a peo^lple dwelling
among the crooked.
And make us strong again,
beneath you, *Horus*;
beneath you,
Adonai,
Resident of Heaven;
like the phoenix,
Horus,
Resident of Heaven.
Call out
to us your words
among the crooked;
and make ‘us^l strong again,
Baal from Ze^{ph}on.
May *Horus* grant a blessing.
Arise, *Horus*,
to our aid / help us.
May Adonai
give heed to my prayer.^{pp}
Mar, ari^{se}!
Horus, may you grant protection,
just as you protect
your ey^e from degeneration.^{qq}

Col. XIII

A Hymn to Marah-Nanai (XIII.1-9)

ʾB¹[le]ssed are you,
O Marah,
more than all
blessed ones.
You are my commander

...
You are my queen
and you are a hawk;
Marah from Rash
are you,
queen over all.
Raise the crowns

...
You had mercy on
him who did not finish
the crowns
of your house.
Merciful one, / Beloved,
the summit of your sanctuary
who can build?

Who can build,
merciful one, / beloved,
the tower
by its side?

Nana, Cow,
the niche for your statue
may you build;
may you ʾcarve¹,
my goddess,
the pedestal
of your testimony.

The sun of
blinding light
shines through your windows,
your windows, divine Cow,
over the gate of men.

The men, Dove,
I shall watch for you,
the watch of the portal for you
so that I may satiate myself
from your abundance,
saturate myself,
my si<s>ter,
from your *baths*
in the sea.

Nanai's Statue Trampled in the Sack of Rash
(XIII.9-17)

The one who rebels (lit., raises a hand)
against Mar/Mar<ah> —
on Nana's hands
he trampled
and went (away).

He stretc<hed> forth his hand
against the merciful one / beloved,
against the one who nourishes.

rr Isa 40:19;
44:10

He threw down
the one who proclaimed to us
and taught.

He threw down, trampled
the proclaimer
who proclaimed
(and) taught.

He came,
threw down, trampled.

He threw down
the Dove,
threw down my treasure.

For Na¹nai¹
take up the harp,
(for) Baalat

loosen the tongue.

Your metal is *shattered*;
on my floor
you lie.

Quickly we entered.

We shake it.

Get up

...
that we may exalt you.
Our <str>ength has fallen,
our holy one has fallen,
the teacher of wisdom.
I ran to you.

...
Get up,
watch over the orphan;
over me,
Foster-mother!

The merciful one / beloved was cast;"
it was from metal plates.

...
Its feet he smashed,
its hand he smashed.
Against the merciful one / beloved
he came;
its feet he smashed.
Appoint an idol-maker
from Tyre.

A Prayer to Nanai (XIII.17-XIV.4)

Who are you?

You are
my powerful goddess.
From our *desolation*
grant me rest.

....
Over the king's ʾs¹eat,
ʾC¹ow-head —
appoint lookouts
over the throne;
over the throne,
Cow of Babylon(ia),
guards.

Col. XIV

Who are you?
 You are
 our mighty goddess.
 Your mer[cy]
 for my people —
 for my people,
 like the gods,
 establish, Naⁿai.
 Let them become intoxi^{cated}
 with casks of wine;
 may you intox^{icate}
 with its intoxication,
 Nanai.
 Who are you?
 You are my power^{ful} godd^{ess}.
 From our desolation
 grant me rest.

....

The Trampers Stricken by Nanai's Venom (XIV.4-6)

On my back horses have walked; ^{ss}

I am the viper at their heel. ^a

Horses have walked

^{on} my belly;

from my poison they grew old,

they were sickened

by my venom,

their hide rotted

from my venomous bite.

Drink an antidote,

...

pick up a remedy,

fill the vessels

with drugs,

load the ^{anti}dote

with balm.

...

...

...

...

fashion it.

...

Nebo

...

...

...

Col. XV

Blessings and Prayers (XV.1-9)

...

...

Ashim-Bethel

^{Nebo}

...

...

^{you} entered;

^{with goats}

you came before

your ...

man,

ss Ps 129:3

ff Gen 49:17

uu Ps 78:69

vv Obad 4

who grants

pea^{ce} everlasting.

In the month

of ^{Epi}phⁱ,

may Nebo remember you;

may he put you in mind

on earth and on high.^{uu}

Blessed are you, Hadad;

Had, with a blessing

fit for El.

Blessed are you,

Baal of Heaven.

The holder of your fort

is the Bull,

Nebo is your ^{gu}ard,

^{Pid}rai is

your sturdy beam.

Great Baal!

Tip a pitcher of must

and drink with me.

Spend the night in my house;

come to the threshold,

en^{ter}.

I have placed

on your tray/crown

...

Bull,

in your memory

whom do you leave?

(Whom) do you regard

in <you>r mind,

Nebo?

A nest among golden stars he sets (for) you.^{vv}

Into gold,

divine Sheep,

^{let} the goldbeaters

^beat lapis lazuli.

My god, much plunder

I have carried off:

I shall give you

the silver;

the gold will be added to yours.

...

with the foster-fathers

of the orphan,

speak (saying):

"Exalt Mar El,

may you ascribe to him

supremacy."

They exal<t> me (saying):

"To whom would you liken El,

among foster-fathers

of the orphan?"

Spoon-Stuffed Ducks Brought to the Table (XV.9-12)

I/you/she spoke (saying):

"Come up to me.

Bring near to me

and my dovecote(s)

a dovelet grain.
 Bring near to me
 and my doveote(s)
 a vessel 'of cha¹rm,
 a vessel of beauty.
 'On¹ an ivory 'tray¹
 bring to the table
 of Bel, the king /
 of the King's son (= Nebo son of Bel)
 the ducks,
 the ducks
 placed on ivory.
 Stuff the ducks
 with a spoon;
 make the wine abundant,
 increase the fat tenfold."

Jackal and Hare (XV.12-13)

Jackal, jackal!
 Here, in front of you
 is a hare!
Moon-howler,
 jackal!
 Rove,
 go out and look!
 Rove
 away from my wilds!
 Hare!
 Here, a hunter is hunting you
 assiduously,
 with skillful hands.

A Prayer to Ashim-Bethel (XV.13-17)

The force of
 the divine bull
 is your force,
Horus.
 Ashim-Bethel,
 the force of
 the divine bulls
 is your force;
 your 'venom¹ is like that of 'se¹rpents."^{ww}
 Your bow in heaven
 you, Mar, 'sho¹ot;
 draw it, Ashim-Bethel,
 at your enemies.
 My mighty one,
 may your hammer be good;
 my 'bro¹ther, for me
 against Elam
 may 'you¹ raise it.
 My mighty one,
 may my linen be good,
 my linen
 which will touch your couch.
 Why does your enemy carry off
 ...
 ...
 ...

ww Deut
 32:33;
 Ps 58:5

He fills his hand
 with ... and vessel
 taking out
 from your shrine and Rash

...
 that I/you did not see.

Jackal and Hare (XV.17-19)

Jackal, jackal!
 'Here¹, 'in¹ front of you
 is a hare!
Moon-howler,
 jackal!
 'R¹ove,
 go out and look!
 Rove
 away from my wilds!
 Hare!
 Here, a hunter is hunting you
 assiduously,
 with skillful hands.

Col. XVI

Soldiers from Judah and Samaria (XVI.1-6)

[With] my (own) two eyes
 I watched a tr¹oo¹[p]

...
 a b[and] of
 Samari¹tan¹s
 sounded out
 my lord, the king.
 "Who / From where
 are y¹ou¹, lad?
 Who / From where
 is your...?"
 "I come from 'J¹udah,
 my brother
 has been br¹ought¹ from Samaria
 and now
 a man 'is¹ bring¹ing¹ up
 my sister
 from J¹er¹usalem."
 "Enter, lad;
 we will give you lodging.
 A kab of 'wh¹eat
 pick up
 on your sho¹ul¹der,
 boy;

...
 ...
 ...
 On your table
 will be placed
 lap¹is la¹zuli —
 from every
 dovelet grain,
 lapis lazuli;
 and from every mina
 a vessel of beauty."

The Sacred Marriage Ceremony (XVI.7-19)

Nana, y^ou are my wife.

The *bed of rushes*

they have ^{laid} down,

perfumed fragrances

for ^{you}r nostril <s>.

Our goddess,

may you be carried,

escorted ^to your dear one;

let them bear you

to the dear one.

In your bridal chamber

a priest sings.

Nanai,

bring near to me

your lips.

We dwelled (here)

in the morning;

we shall dwell (here)

in the evening.

I have stayed with you until evening.

The chosen lad too

has come.

A sound keeps you awake in the ^{evening};

into our ^{sh}rine,

my ...,

who is coming?

<A sound of> harps

keeps you awake in the evening;

in the grave

of my ancestor,

a dirge.

A sound of lyres from

the grave keep^s you awake in the evening.^{xx}

My beloved,

enter the doo^r

into our house.

With my mouth,

consort of our lord,

let me kiss you.

^{And} I go

and enter.

In my nostrils

it is sweet;

Come, enter

the perfumed hideaway.

Horus-Bethel will lay you

on a bedspread;

El, on embroidered covers.

In his heavens,

Mar from Rash blesses;

Mar, a bless^{ing}

before Bethel

everlasting:

"My sister, Marah —

blessed are you,

O Cow, our lady."

"Blessed are you,

xx Isa 65:4

yy Isa 1:29;
65:3; 66:17

zz Nah 2:9

O Had,

with a blessing

fit for El.

Blessed are you,

Baal of Heaven."

"Rebuild, man, Ellipi.

A cursed land rebuild,

a city of ruins rebui^{ld};

by the side

of the Hambanites.

a great land.

Keep alive the pauper;

...

the poor [m]an.

Col. XVII

A Lament for Nineveh After the Wedding (XVII.1-5)

O ^{my} godd^{ess} / "Woe," ^I lamented

... the king

...

you/I have come

here;

indeed

you were / I was brou^{ght} up

to my garden.^{yy}

You/I have perfumed

my scent

amo^{ng} cedars;

you/I have played music

on a l^yre;

you/I have put down

perfume.

Baal of Heaven

has come up,

ascended to my/your bower.

O ^{my} goddess, / "Woe," I lamented,

...

O my goddess, / "Woe," I lamented,

I wailed.

Ni <ne> veh is (nothing but) swamps; /

There are swamps in Ni <ne> veh;^{zz}

it [has tur]^{ned} into mud.

T <o> (lit., dow <n to>) the ground

it has been razed (lit., thrown down).

A Tale of Two Brothers in Two Cities (XVII.5-XXII.9)

Omens When the Princes Were Born (XVII.5-XVII.13)

The year in which was born

our lord, King Sar^{ba}nabal,

the land was prosperous

the thin, *the split*

grew thick.

A man would find

its gatekeepers

in good health

(and be told):

"You, my brother,

enter this gate.

From our house

let us fetch (lit., take) for you
a morsel (of bread)^{aaa}
and let me roast a goat
on ... onions."
(Then came) days
which had not been,
years which had not
passed / been spent / been turned.
The year in which was born
our lord, our brother,
Sarmuge,
the earth was bronze, the heavens, of iron,^{bbb}
the soil,
in a bad/ <a>rid state,
the heavens,
in poor/droughty condition,
A ma <n> would find its gatekeepers
very greatly
in distress / in need of food
(and be told): "Get away <from> this gate."
They (lit., he) would be wary of him
as of spies.

*Sarmuge Sent to Babylonia as Governor to Collect
Tribute (XVII.14-18)*

(Then came) 'da¹ys
which had not been,
years which had not
passed / been spent / been turned.
The king
spoke up and said,
addressing
Sar[mu]lge:
"Go
to (!) the land
of Babylonia.
Eat 'its' bread
(as good) 'as la¹mb
Dri¹nk' its wine
(as good) as the finest imported wine.
Devo<te> yourself
to its payment
of tribute
to [A]'ssy¹ria."
Sarmuge went
'to' the land
of Ba¹by¹lonia.
He (!) 'a' te its bread
(as good) as [lamb].
He [d]'ra¹nk its wine
(as good) as the finest import¹ed wine¹.
He devoted himself
to 'its' p[ay]me¹nt¹
of tribu¹te¹
[to] [A]'ssy[ria].

aaa Gen 18:5;
1 Kgs 17:10-
11

bbb Lev
26:19; Deut
28:23; Jer
20:14

ccc 2 Sam
8:2, 6

ddd 2 Sam
10:4; 1 Kgs
22:27

eee Jer 37:20;
Dan 2:47

fff Dan 5:11;
Ezra 9:7

ggg Gen
41:14;
Ezek 16:10

hhh Gen
27:13;
2 Sam 14:9

iii Ps 104:34

Col. XVIII

*A Defiant Message Instead of Tribute from
Sarmuge's Emissaries (XVIII.1-4)*

(Then came) days
which had not [b]¹e¹en,
years which had not
passed / been spent / been turned.

The emissaries went out
from <Ba>bylon
until they were ushered
into Nineveh.

They longed to (lit., for) rest
and to satiate themselves, (lit., and satiation)
dressed in their tunics.

"From Sarmuge
to Sarbanabal.

I am the king
of (!) / in (!) Babylon,
and you are
the/a governor
of/in Ni <ne>veh.

Pay tribute to me! ^{ccc}

Why should I show you respect?"

The Emissaries Imprisoned and Released (XVIII.5-15)

The king became angry
at the emissaries.

"Let them be brought down
from the dining hall, / to (!) the dungeon,
allotted bread and water." ^{ddd}

The sun shone (and) rose.

The general sent up 'ser¹vants
to (!) the palace / from his palace.

"The word of our lord
to the king:

'O lord of kings, hear! ^{eee}

From the days of your father, ^{fff}
from the days of
your father's fathers,
emissaries

have not been imprisoned,
allotted bread and water.

Take out the emissaries
from the dungeon.

Let them be brought
to the bathhouse.

Dress them in embroidered garments. ^{ggg}

Go to the prince;

be gracious to him.

Count their sin against me. ^{hhh}

The advice was pleasing to the king. ⁱⁱⁱ

The king

spoke up and said:

"I will take out the
emissaries

from the dungeon.
 Let them be ¹brought¹
 to the ba¹th house.
 I will dress them
 in embroi¹dered¹ garments.
 I shall go to the prince;
I shall be gracious to him.
 Go out, emissaries, <from> the dungeon.ⁱⁱⁱ
 Be brought
 to the ¹ba¹th house.
 Pu¹ on
 embroidered garments.
 I shall go ¹to¹ [the prince];
 [I sha]¹ll be grac¹ious to ¹hi¹m.”

Saritrah Sent to Reason With an Ungrateful Brother
 (XVIII.15-XIX.8)
 The king
¹spo¹[ke up] and [sai]d:
 “Let them call
 [S]aritrah,
 my sister.
¹Let¹ Saritrah ¹be¹ ¹br¹[ought].^{kkk}
¹Let her (!)¹ be caused
 to [st]and
 in the ga[te]
 of the [p]ala¹ce¹
 of the king”
 The ¹ki¹[ng]
 [spoke up and said,]
Col. XIX
 add[re]¹ss¹ing
 Saritrah:
 You ...
 The rotten fellow
 who has sinned against me —
 I made him the/a governor ⁱⁱⁱ
 of (!) / in (!) Babylon,
 while I am king
 in/of Nineveh.
 A mighty horse
 from (!) Media —
 it was brought
 to Sarmuge.
 {Mighty} linen from (!) Egypt ^{mmmm} —
 we brought (it)
 to our brother.
 Daggers / Purple (wool)
 from .../Ty<re>
 we brought <to> Sarmuge.
 A mighty bow from Elam ^{mm}
 we brought to our brother.
 Go to the rotten fellow.
 Speak,
 say (it) to him.
 Let him know,
 listening to your words ^{ooo}
 and giving heed
 to your remarks.”

ⁱⁱⁱ Isa 49:9

^{kkk} Ps 45:15

^{lll} Ezra 5:14

^{mmmm} Ezek
27:7

ⁿⁿⁿ Jer 49:35

^{ooo} Job 33:1

^{ppp} Gen
41:43

^{qqq} Gen
31:21

^{rrr} 2 Sam
18:24

^{sss} 2 Kgs
13:7;
Isa 41:2;
Ps 83:14

^{tt} Prov
1:23

^{uuu} Gen 29:1

Saritrah's Journey to Babylon (XIX.8-12)

Sarit(ah) went out
 from the palace.
 They seated her in the chariot. ^{ppp}
 She set her fac¹e¹ toward Babylon. ^{qqq}
 The lookouts went up on the wall ^{rrr}
 of Babylon.
 The lookouts
 spoke up (and) said:
 “The troop which
 is coming / has come
 is too large
 to consist of emissaries,
 too small
 to consist of warriors.”
Saritrah beckoned
from the city gate.
 “Who here
 is this / are you?”
 “I am Saritrah,
 sister of
 the twins / the equal brothers.”

An Attempt to Persuade Sarmuge to Return to Nineveh (XIX.12-XX.2)

Sarmuge
 spoke up and said:
 “*Nikkal is now*
 between me and Sarit(ah):
 She (=Nikkal) will not
 let her (! = Saritrah)
 see my face.”
 Saritrah
 spoke up (and) said:
 “Who made us/me
 like ¹stub¹ble
 <for> her feet? ^{sss}
 Sarmuge, my brother!
 Fortune has con<fou>nded you
 and smiled upon (lit., been good to)
 your brother.
 Do listen to my words,
 and may you give heed ¹to¹ my remarks. ^{ttt}
 Act like (lit., make yourself) a governor /
 Put your hands / (in) fetters.
 Lift up ¹your¹ feet from here. ^{uuu}
 Come to the king,
 your bro¹ther¹.
 He is fo¹rbea¹ring.
¹He¹ will not del<ay>
 in <re>¹ce¹iving you.”
Col. XX
 Sarmuge
 spoke up and said:
 “Have [you] rubbed down
¹and rested¹
 your hor¹se¹?
 Why so swift
 your riding?”

A Second Unsuccessful Attempt at Persuasion
(XX.2-6)

Sarit[rah]

spoke up (and) said:

"Listen / hear me, lord,

listen / hear me!

Truly, truly —

two kings

are being overturned

on account of

one of (!) them;

a man (lit., a brother)

and 'his' brother

are quarreling

on account of

one of (!) them.

If my advice may be heard — /

If my king will listen to me —

disregard the tribute

<which> they did not pay you.

Act like (lit., make yourself) a governor/

Put your hands (in) fetters.

Lift up your feet from here.

Come to the king,

your brother."

Sarmuge

did not listen to her,

and did not give <heed>

to her remarks.

Saritrah's Parting Advice (XX.6-11)

Sarit(ah) spoke up (and) said:

"If you will not listen

to my words,

and if you will not give heed

to my remarks,

go from the house of Bel,

away from the house of Marduk."^{vv}

Let there be built for you

a bower (lit., a house of boughs);

a booth (lit., a house of sticks)

do constr<uct>.

Throw down tar and pitch ^{www}

and sweet-smelling/Arabian perfumes.^{xxx}

Bring in your sons

and your daughters

and your doctors

who have made you act brashly.

When you see

how (low) they have sunk

on you (= to your detriment),

let fire burn you

together with your sons

and your daughters

and your doctors

who have made you act 'bra'shly."

Saritrah's Return and Report to the King (XX.11-15)

Sarit(ah) went out

from Babylon.

^{vvv} Jer 50:2

^{www} Isa 34:9

^{xxx} 2 Chr
16:14

^{yyy} 1 Kgs
22:34

^{zzz} Jer 42:9

^{aaaa} Dan 3:6

^{bbbb} Jer
51:27; 52:25

^{cccc} Jer 46:4

She set her face (toward) Nineveh.

She turned 'her' ha'nd' (and) her foot ^{yyy}

to go out from Babylon

until she(!) was ushered

into Nineveh.

The king

spoke up (and) said,

addressing Saritrah:

"What said to you

the rotten fellow

to 'who'm I sent you?' ^{zzz}

"The mee'ti'ng was

stormy (lit., like a blazing fur'nace').^{aaaa}

He contemned me."

The General Sent to Bring Sarmuge Back Alive
(XX.15-18)

The king

spoke up and said,

addressing the general:

"I shall call up

the <t>roops

in(to) the rank<s> of

the Ninevites.

You appoint a scribe ^{bbbb}

for 'ba'u<le>,'/ Ca'ti' up

a war-scribe,

and polish all of your 'swo'rds and your

spea'rs'.^{cccc}

Furthermore,/Afterwards,

to Babylon you shall go,

general,

at the head

of a det'achment'."

The 'k'in'g'

spoke up and said,

addre'ssing

the general:

"Furthermore,/Afterwards,

let them smite Babylon

(but) let them keep my brother alive."

An Appeal and a Warning from the General (XX.18-
XXI.7)

The ge'ne'ral went 'out'

from (!) the pala'ce'.

They seated him

in the cha'ri'ot.

He [se]'t' h'is' face

[toward] [Ba]bylon.

Col. XXI

The loo'kouts' went up

to the wall of Babylon.

The look[out]'s'

spoke up (and) said:

"The troop [which]

'is coming / has come' is

too large

to consist of emissaries,

too small

to be the army of the king."
 The general
 spoke up and said,
 addressing Sarmuge:
 "Listen / hear me, lord,
 listen / hear me!
 Truly — two kings
 are being overturned
on account of (!)
one of them.
 If my advice may be heard — /
 If my king will listen to me —
 disregard the tribute
 which they did not pay you
 Act like (lit., make yourself) a governor/
 Put your hand (in) fetters.
 Lift up your feet from here.
 Come to the king, your brother.
 He is forbearing.
 He will not del <ay>
 in receiving you."
 Sarmuge
 spoke up and said:
 "So he (= the king) decreed
 upon his governor,
your servant,
 and so it is decreed."
 "Then if so,
 listen to your words
 and may you give <heed>
 to your remarks.
 Begone,
 for the wall of Babylon
 in three days / after a day
 we shall capture;
 for the wall
I shall breach
 af<t>er a day."

Sarmuge's Suicidal Response (XXI.7-11)

Sarmuge went
 from the house of Bel,
 away from the house of Marduk.
 He {will have} built for himself
 a bower (lit., a house of boughs);
 a boot^h (lit., house of stic^{ks})
 he did con^{stru}ct.
 He threw down tar and pitch
 [and] sweet-smel^{ling} / Ara^{bian}
 [pe]rfumes.
 He brou^{ght} in
 his sons
 and ^{his} daughters
 [and] [hi]^s doc^{tors}
 [who] had made him act brashly.
 Wh^{en} he [s]aw
 [how] (low) they had sunk
 on h^{im} (= to his detriment),
 ... ^{burned} h^{im} ... ^{dddd}

^{dddd} 1 Kgs
 16:18

^{eeee} Ps 41:4

^{fff} 2 Sam
 1:24;
 Ezek 32:16

with hi[s] sons
 [and his daughters]
 and his doc^{tor}s
 who had made h^{im} act brashly.

A Desperate Attempt to Bring Sarmuge Back Alive
 (XXI.11-15)

The g^{en}[er]al
 keeps al^{ive} ...
 y[ou]ng <and> old.
 He ^{we}[nt] ^{out}
 [from the palace].
 They seated him
 in the chari^{ot}.
 He (!) ^{se}t
^{hi}[s] fa^c[e]
 toward <Ba>bylon^l. (*sic*?)
 Sarmuge
 [he took] ^{with} [him].
 Away they hu^{rr}ied,
 and they [ca]me

...
 ...
 men

...
 The doctor pounds
 balm [and] [cas]sia;
 (with) fran^{kinc}[ense]
 and lau^{da}[num].
 He bandages

...
 He supports ... on ... a be^d. ^{eeee}
 [He ga]ve

...
 and [he hurried]
 ... ^{up} to the wall

Reactions to Sarmuge's Death (XXI.16-XXII.9)

...
 The daughters of As^{sy}[ria] ... ^{mou}[rned] ^{and}
^{wa}[iled]. ^{fff}

...
 ...
 ...
 [to] <Ba>bylon

...
 [to perish]
 ... ^{and on}

...
Col. XXII
 [my] [ha]nds
 in/with his blood."

...
 to ...
 to which of (lit., to whom out of all of)
 ...
 one ... bring near.
 [To] my ^{sist}er
 let him be sent

'and let him' say: ... the ...s who overturned him I shall bani'sh'. They rebelled against me (lit., their hand they lifted up against me), ^{gggg} the one who nourished him ... Saritrah urged the king. She sent (and) urged the king to 'wr'ite his wo[r]'d' "Let them 'take away' ... haughtiness from my presence. ^{hhhh} I shall break ... 'r'lope ... To the 'he'[ig]ht's' of his temple [I shall] ascend, [I shall] go."	^{gggg} 2 Sam 18:28; 20:21; 1 Kgs 11:26, 27 ^{hhhh} Dan 5:20 ⁱⁱⁱⁱ 2 Sam 18:5, 12	Remember how he perished (lit., his perishing), (and) you shall bea'r' your yo[ke], refraining from 'go'ing up to the hou[se] of the one who holds 'h'[eav]'en' and earth. The king 'spo'[ke up] and said 'ad'[dress]ing the gener'al': "[Leave] the 'pa'lace, get out. Your sentence I [pronounce] on behalf of my god ... Your 'fa'ce he will not let [me] 'see', [for] 'I' said [to you]: 'Let them smite Babylon (but) let them keep my brother al'ive'." ^{uu}
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REFERENCES

Bowman 1944; Kottsieper 1988; 1992; Nims and Steiner 1983; Segert 1986; Smelik 1983; Steiner and Nims 1984; 1985; Steiner 1991; 1995; Steiner and Moshavi 1995; Vleeming and Wesselius 1982; 1983-84; 1985; 1990; Weinfeld 1985a; 1985b; Zevit 1990.

A UGARITIC INCANTATION AGAINST SERPENTS AND SORCERERS (1.100) (1992:2014)

Dennis Pardee

A new Ugaritic incantation text, similar in many respects to RIH 78/20 (text 1.96), was discovered in 1992 in the archive that has since been identified as belonging to Urtenu (Bordreuil and Pardee 1995), a high official in the city shortly before its demise (Arnaud 1982:106). The incantation was prepared especially for Urtenu (see lines 14-15) and shows a concern for venomous reptiles reminiscent of that visible in the "para-mythological" text RS 24.244 (text 1.94). We learn from this text that especially to be feared was the joining of forces between sorcerers and serpents. The text is expressed in the first person, the incantation priest speaking to the individual who fears attack.

<i>Incantation Against Serpents</i> (lines 1-8) (When) the unknown one¹ ^a calls you and begins foaming,²	^a Deut 11:28; 13:3, 7, 14; 28:64; 29:25; 32:17; Jer 7:9; 9:15; 14:18; 16:13; 17:4; 19:4; 22:28; 44:3	I, for my part, will call you. I will shake³ bits of sacred wood, So that the serpent⁴ not come up
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¹ The Ug. formula is *dy l yd^c*, "the one not known." Because neither this text nor RIH 78/20, where the term *d^cim* designates a category of sorcerer, deals with necromancy, one may conclude that the "knowledge" in question was not linked in any particular way with necromancy. The same conclusion is probably applicable to the *yidd^c onim* of the Hebrew Bible. Necromancy would, therefore, have been one form of divination among others practiced by sorcerers. The formulation of this text, in spite of the fact that the *d^cim* are not mentioned in it, may indicate that the name of this group arose from their ability to deal with the unknown.

² The vocabulary of line 1 is non-problematic except for the last phrase, *ʔu zb*, taken here as cognate to Arabic *zabba*, which can mean "to foam." If this analysis is correct, it seems to indicate that the "unknown one" earlier in the line is the serpent, for the motif of serpent venom as foam or spittle is well known from Mesopotamian literature (see CAD I-J 139-141), while the ability of the serpent to speak is known from biblical sources (Gen 3) and its general cunning from various Mesopotamian sources (Lipiński 1983:40-43).

³ The form is *ʔamrmrn*, a reduplicated verbal form either from the root meaning "pass on" (i.e., "make pass back and forth") or from the one meaning "to bless" (Pardee 1978b). Though either solution is plausible, the former is chosen here because moving the bits of wood back and forth shows more similarity to the acts described in more detail in RS 24.244:64-67 (text 1.94).

⁴ The word for "serpent" here is *bṭn*, which appears only near the end of the Ug. liturgy against serpent venom, RS 24.244 (see note 28 to

against you,^b

So that the scorpion^c not stand up under you.⁵

The serpent will indeed not come up against you,

The scorpion will indeed not stand up under you!

Incantation Against Sorcerers (lines 8-13)

In like manner, may the tormenters, the sorcerers^d
not give ear^e ^d

^b Cf. Prov

30:19

^c Deut 8:15;

Ezek 2:6

^d Deut 1:45;

Ps 135:17

^e Ps 1:1;

55:4; 119:1-

10; Prov

11:18; 12:5;

6; 19:28;

Job 10:3; 21:16; 22:18

To the word of the evil man,^e

To the word of any man:⁸

When it sounds forth⁹ in their mouth, on their lips,

May the sorcerers, the tormenters, then¹⁰ pour it to
the earth.

Dedication to Urtenu (lines 14-15)

For Urtenu,¹¹ for his body, for his members.¹²

text 1.94).

⁵ The verb used for the movement of the serpent is the common ^cly, "to ascend, go/come up, attack," while the scorpion is described by a verb previously unattested in Ug. (root *qnn*), perhaps best explained as germinate and compared with Arabic *qanna*, one meaning of which is "to stand on top of something," for the latter meaning is reminiscent of the stance taken by a scorpion when threatened.

⁶ The two words used in this text to designate the enemies of ²Urtenu are *dbbm* and *kšpm*. Both occur in RIH 78/20 (text 1.96), where they also designate the adversaries of the person in need of the incantation (Pardee 1993a; forthcoming). The first is derived from a root meaning basically "to speak," secondarily "to attack verbally," while the second is cognate with Akk. *kaššāpu*, "sorcerer."

⁷ Because the verbal form ^tudn is followed by *hwt*, "word," it appears best to analyze it as denominative from ²udn, "ear," meaning "give ear to, listen to" (cf. Heb. *he'zōn*).

⁸ The terms designating the enemies of Urtenu who hire the sorcerers are *ršc*, "the evil man" (cf. Heb. *rāšāc*) and *bn nšm*, previously unattested in Ug., apparently similar in formation to Heb. *ben 'ādām*/²īš and to Aram. *bar 'nōš*, "son of man." *Nšm* in Ug. is masculine, not feminine as in Heb.

⁹ The root *ghr* is previously unattested in Ug. In Syriac it denotes weakness, especially of the eyes, while in Arabic, it denotes strength, especially of the voice and of the sun's rays. Because of the context of speaking here, the semantic field of the Ug. verb seems to be closer to that of Arabic.

¹⁰ *kmm* is here taken as correlative with *km*, "in like manner," in line 8. It may also be analyzed, in proximity with the verb *špk*, "to pour," as consisting of the preposition *k* + a rare form of the word *myl/mym*, "water."

¹¹ See the introduction to this text.

¹² "Body" and "members" represent another pair of words that occur also in RIH 78/20, *gb* and *tmnt*, designating the trunk and the extremities, i.e., the entirety of the body. In the text from Ras Ibn Hani, they also designate the body of the person in whose favor the incantation is made (there nameless), but in the context of that person potentially committing evil deeds against his own body, probably of a sexual nature (Pardee 1993a; forthcoming). Here the terms designate what Urtenu wants to be protected from serpent bite.

REFERENCES

Arnaud 1982; Bordreuil and Pardee 1996; Lipiński 1983; Pardee 1978b; 1993a; forthcoming.

THE LONDON MEDICAL PAPYRUS (1.101)

Richard C. Steiner

The London Medical Papyrus, usually dated to the late 18th dynasty (fourteenth century BCE), contains a number of short Semitic magical texts transcribed into hieratic syllabic script (Wreszinski 1912:150-152). Like magical texts of later periods, they are written in a *Mischsprache*, reflecting their transmission from one group to another. As befits a period when Canaanite vassals wrote to their Egyptian suzerain in Akkadian colored by their own dialects, we appear to be dealing with a mixture of Northwest Semitic dialects (Canaanite and Aramaic), with Egyptian phrases (rendered below in bold letters) and a few Akkadian terms thrown in for good measure. The determinatives used by the scribe show that he understood the texts and provide invaluable guidance to the decipherer. It appears that in these texts, Egyptian *k* renders Semitic *k*, and Egyptian *s* renders Semitic *š* and *s* (as well as *ś* and *t*), against the norm for this period. The notes given below are meant to supplement those of Steiner (1992);¹ they are fullest for those phrases which were not yet deciphered in that article.

(Number 27) [Another] incantation against ḥ-m-k-tu-sickness in the language of those who dwell beyond the desert edge (= foreigners):

[Hea]l(er), hidden one (= Amun), honor your spirit ...

... spittle of our lord,² spittle ...

... spittle of our father.³ Ishtar, mother⁴ ...

¹ That article was written under the guidance of two outstanding Egyptologists: S. G. J. Quirke and R. K. Ritner.

² So Helck (1971:528). For the use of divine spittle as a remedy, see Ritner (1993:78-82).

³ *Bu-n* = *bānā* < ²*abānā* "our father" by aphoresis. Cf. *bā* < ²*abbā* "father" in Targum Onkelos and the Galilean Aram. name *Bān*, derived from the word for "our father" (Dalman 1905:97). No. 28 has the full form, ²-*bu*-[n].

⁴ So, approximately, Helck (1971:528). According to one interpretation of Amarna letter 23, Ishtar was a goddess of healing for the Egyptians

(Number 28) ... ʿE]shmun,⁵ [our] father Ishtar and ... (Number 29) ... physician healing (Number 30) An incantation against the fnt-snake/-worm: "L]leave us," I say, "l<ea>ve us." (Twice.) We have said our incantation.	(Number 31) It is not so-and-so but I, the daughter of Spr.tw-n.s,⁶ the daughter of my lord,⁷ the governess.⁸ (Number 33) An incantation against s-mu-n-sickness.⁹ And [through] the vomiting up of the drunken demon,¹⁰ let h-m-k-tu¹¹ go out, (O) my healer, great one, mother.¹²
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(Helck 1971:459), but this interpretation has been disputed by Moran (1992:62).

⁵ So Bossert (1946:114), noting that the Phoenician god Eshmun is equated with Asklepios, the Greek god of healing, in a trilingual inscription from Sardinia commemorating the healing of a certain Kleon.

⁶ A scorpion goddess, the wife of Horus and daughter of Re. A daughter of this goddess would be a scorpion, for which the Eg. words (*wh^c.t*, *ḡ^r.t*) are feminine. The patient proclaims, "It is not so-and-so but I, the daughter of Spr.tw-n.s," by which he/she means that he/she is no longer so-and-so but rather a scorpion. The declaration is designed to establish kinship with the scorpion whose venom is attacking him/her. I am indebted to R. K. Ritner for this entire interpretation and to S. G. J. Quirke for correcting Helck's reading of this spell.

⁷ This Semitic phrase describes *Spr.tw-n.s* as the daughter of Re (personal communication from R. K. Ritner).

⁸ This epithet of *Spr.tw-n.s* seems to be the feminine of *rābiṣu* "governor," an Akk. word common in the Amarna letters, which can be used of officials in the world of the demons.

⁹ For this disease, see Massart (1954:50-52). For the Mesopotamian *samana/sāmānu* disease, which Massart believes may be identical, see now Kinnier Wilson (1994). I am indebted to R. D. Biggs for this reference.

¹⁰ *W^h.t-ḡi st s-bu⁻²* = *wa-ḡba¹-ḡḡ²* *šēdi sabū³i*. The word for "vomiting" is followed, appropriately, by the dirt-sickness determinative. For the widespread use of beer (Akk. *šibu*) as an emetic, see Ritner (1993:81). The pathogenic demon is intoxicated and then regurgitated.

¹¹ The word *h-m-k-tu*, written with the disease determinative in the introduction to no. 27, is written here with the seated-person determinative, suggesting that the disease is personified as a demon. In Steiner (1992:198), I compared it with the two strangling goddesses (*ʿiltm hnkṯm*) of Ug. and the strangling-demon (*hnt*) of the first Arslan Tash incantation. I subsequently learned from Hoch (1994:227-228) that Ebbell (1924:149) had equated it with Arabic *ḥumḍq* "smallpox." Ritner informs me that "papular eruptions" indicative of smallpox have been found in the mummy of Ramses V (Smith and Dawson 1924:105-106; Harris and Weeks 1973:166). Ebbell's theory is phonetically simpler than mine, but is based on far later sources.

¹² The Aram. ending of *ʿ-m⁻²* = *ʿimma²* "(the) mother," in a text which is otherwise Canaanite, and its position following an Eg. phrase at the end mark it as a later addition. This is further evidence for the theory that these texts are Phoen. spells which were borrowed and adapted by Arameans (Steiner 1992:199-200).

REFERENCES

Bossert 1946:114; von Deines, Grapow, and Westendorf 1958:254-259; Ebbell 1924:149; Helck 1971:528-529; Massart 1954:50-52; Steiner 1992; Wreszinski 1912.

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B. ROYAL FOCUS

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1. EPIC

THE KIRTA EPIC (1.102)

Dennis Pardee

The Kirta story was recorded on three tablets that were discovered during the second and third campaigns at Ras Shamra (1930-1931). Lacunae prevent a complete understanding of the story, which must have been longer, recorded on tablets never discovered. On the other hand, the high degree of poetic narrative repetition permit the comparatively certain restoration of some important lacunae. The story turns around the difficulties encountered by Kirta, king of a city designated only as Bêtu-Hubur, in obtaining an heir to his throne and in maintaining his hold on life after the birth of the son. The absence of reference to Ugarit may indicate that the story had its origin elsewhere, though that origin is uncertain, both in time and in place. The reference to Tyre and Sidon indicates an origin not far from Phoenicia and the mention of horses indicates a version dating after the introduction of the horse into the area (early second millennium). The story may have served a didactic role at Ugarit, teaching proper relationships between kings and deities, between people and king, and between royal offspring and their parents.

CTA 14¹

Classification of Tablet (i 1)

[Belonging to² (the)] Kirta³ (text).

...

The Loss of Kirta's Brothers and Wives (i 7-25)

The house of the king perished,^a

who had seven brothers,

eight siblings.^{4 b}

Kirta—(his) family was crushed,^c

Kirta—(his) home was destroyed.

His rightful wife he never obtained,⁵

even his legitimate spouse.^{6 d}

A(nother) woman he married and she disappeared,

even the kinswoman^e who had become his.⁷

A third spouse⁸ died in good health,^f

a fourth in illness;⁹

a 2 Kgs 9:8

b Judg 8:19;
Ps 69:9

c Mal 1:4

d Prov 18:22

e Lev 18:6,
etc.

f Job 21:23

g Job 5:7

h Joel 2:8

i 1 Sam 18:9

j Job 33:15

A fifth Rašap⁸ gathered in,

a sixth the lad(s) of Yammu,¹⁰

the seventh of them fell by the sword.^h

Kirta sawⁱ his family,

he saw his family crushed,

his dwelling utterly destroyed.

Completely did the family perish,

in their entirety the heirs.¹¹

Kirta Mourns, Sleeps, Has a Dream (i 26 - iii 153)

He entered his room, he wept

as he spoke (his) grief, he shed tears.

His tears poured forth

like shekel(-weights) to the earth,

like five(-shekel-weights) to the bed.

As he wept, he fell asleep,

as he shed tears, he slumbered.^j

¹ See also KTU 1.14.

² The archival classification is indicated by the preposition *l*, also known from tablets belonging to the Ba^clu (see notes 4 and 241 to text 1.86) and ²Aqhatu cycles; not to be confused with the *lamed auctoris* used in the (secondary) headings of several biblical psalms.

³ Several other vocalizations of the name are possible, e.g., Karrate, Kuriti, Kurti, Karta. Since there is no evidence of Ug. having a vowel corresponding to Heb. *seghol*, the traditional vocalization "Keret" is the least likely.

⁴ Lit., "sons of a mother" (*bn 'um*).

⁵ The meaning of *ypq* (from the hollow root *pq*), is established by the omen apodosis *mlkn l ypq šph*, "the king will not obtain offspring" (RS 24.247+ :13; text 1.90).

⁶ The meaning of *mrht* is established by usages of the verb *mrh*, "to marry," D-stem "to marry off," in Ug., by *terḥatu*, "bride-price," in Akk., and by *mrh*, a priestly title, "spouse," in Punic.

⁷ *l'ar 'um*, probably his first cousin on his mother's side, less desirable than the first cousin on the father's side, the first projected bride.

⁸ *mlt* (and similar forms for the numbers "four" through "seven") are D-stem passive participles ("she who is made three/third," etc.), formed in imitation of *mrht*, line 13, "she who is married off," i.e., "she who was the third (to be espoused to Kirta)." Lines 12-21 thus refer to seven wives that Kirta married or should have married, none of whom bore him a son.

⁹ See: Held 1968.

¹⁰ Rašap is the lord of the underworld, Yammu the sea-god. The reference to the "lad(s) of Yammu" is obscure; perhaps a metaphor for waves and hence a reference to death by drowning? The word *glm* is used below as an epithet of Kirta with respect to ²Ilu (*n^cmn glm 'il*, "the goodly lad of ²Ilu") and as an epithet of Kirta's son Yašsubu (see below, note 47). The feminine form *glmt* is used of Kirta's nubile bride, whereas *pšt*, "girl," is used to designate his female daughters (see below, note 51).

¹¹ It is uncertain whether *yrš* refers to Kirta's brothers mentioned above, to children who died at birth, or is simply the abstract notion, used in parallel with *šph*, "family, offspring" (from the same root as *mišpāhah* in Heb.), referring to the children the wives should have born him. The word *šph* reappears again only at the very end of Kirta's dream to designate his offspring (lines 152, 298). In CTA 16 it is used as a title of Kirta himself, identifying him as *šph ḥpn w qdš*, "offspring of the Gracious and Holy One." Judging from the usage here and in lines 152,

Sleep overcame him and he lay down, slumber and he curled up. ¹²	k Ps 68:14	Climb to the summit of the tower,
In a dream ² Ilu descended, in a vision, the father of mankind.	l Job 28:1	yes, climb to the summit of the tower, ¹⁶ mount the top ¹⁷ of the wall.
He came near, asking Kirta: Who is Kirta that he should weep? should shed tears, the goodly lad of ² Ilu?	m Deut 15:17; Job 40:28	Raise your hands heavenward, sacrifice to the Bull, your father ² Ilu.
Would he request the kingship of the Bull, ¹³ his father, or dominion like (that of) the father of mankind?	n Ps 86:16	Bring down Ba ^c lu with your sacrifice, the Son of Dagan ¹⁸ with your game.
<i>Kirta Claims No Desire for Wealth, Preferring Children</i> (i 52 - ii 58) ¹⁴	o Gen 4:1	<i>Preparation for the Campaign</i> (ii 79-84)
[What need have I of silver and of yellow gold] ^k along with its place; ^l	p 2 Sam 6:17	Then Kirta must descend from the rooftops, ^r must prepare food for the city, grain for Bêtu-Hubur. ¹⁹
Of a perpetual [servant], ^m of three [horses], of a chariot in a courtyard, of the son of a handmaid? ⁿ	q 1 Sam 16:2	He must bake bread for the fifth (month), fine foods for the sixth month. ²⁰
[Permit] me to acquire sons, ^o [Permit] me to multiply [children].	r 2 Kgs 23:12; Jer 19:13; Zeph 1:5	<i>Description of the Army</i> (ii 85-103)
² Ilu's Reply: <i>How to Obtain the Child-Bearing Wife</i> (ii 59 - iii 153)	s Ps 73:4	A throng will be provisioned and march forth, a mighty throng will be provisioned, a throng will indeed go forth.
The Bull, his father ² Ilu, [answered] [(with) goodly (words)] ¹⁵ as Kirta wept, as the goodly lad of ² Ilu shed tears:	t Exod 21:2; 1 Sam 17:25	Your army will be a numerous host, ^s three hundred myriads, ²¹ soldiers' without number, archers without count. ²²
<i>Sacrifice</i> (ii 62-79)	u Jer 4:13; Zech 10:1; Job 28:26; 38:25	They will go by thousands like storm-clouds, ^t by myriads like rain.
Wash and rouge yourself, wash your hands to the elbow, your fingers to the shoulder.	v Deut 20:7; 24:5	After two, two go, after three, all of them.
Enter [the shade of (your) tent], ^p take a lamb [in your hand], ^q a sacrificial lamb [in] (your) right hand, a kid in both hands, all your best food.	w Judg 6:5; 7:12; Nah 3:15-17	<i>Even Those Normally Excused from Military Service Will Go</i> (ii 96-103)
Take a fowl, a sacrificial bird, pour wine into a silver cup honey into a golden bowl.		The only son must shut up his house, the widow hire someone (to go). The invalid must take up his bed, the blind man grope his way along. ²³ The newly-wed must go forth, ^r entrusting his wife to someone else, his beloved to someone unrelated.
		<i>The Campaign</i> (ii 103 - iii 123)
		Like grasshoppers you will invade the field, like locusts the edges of the steppe-land. ^w

298, and from the formula *l ypq šph* in the birth-omen texts (e.g., RS 24.247+ : 13 [text 1.90]), one can surmise that the word *šph* denoted offspring undifferentiated as to sex. For the latest of many interpretations of i 15-20, see Sasson 1988.

¹² See: Greenfield 1969:61-62.

¹³ ²Ilu is referred to below as *tr 2abk/h 2il*, "the Bull, your/his father ²Ilu."

¹⁴ The text containing the end of ²Ilu's speech and the beginning of Kirta's reply is lost in the lacuna of about eight lines at the end of column i. The complete list that follows is restorable because it serves as a *Leitmotif* in this story, being offered also below by the father of the bride Kirta seeks, in place of the girl.

¹⁵ {d[mqlt]} hypothetically restored.

¹⁶ This repetition may be a scribal error.

¹⁷ Lit., "mount the shoulders of the wall."

¹⁸ *bn dgn*, "Son of Dagan," is a standard title of Ba^clu (see note 32 to the Ba^clu text 1.86).

¹⁹ The origin of this name is uncertain: perhaps an unknown place name or a circumstantial title for Kirta's city, "the house of union."

²⁰ Lit., "for the fifth ... for the sixth of months." Though the chronological indications in the following text do not indicate a campaign lasting six months, it appears unlikely that the reference here is to the fifth and sixth months of the year, for these would fall in winter (roughly January 21 to March 21). One may surmise that the formulation is hyperbolic for a long campaign.

²¹ The significance of "three" here and in line 95 ("after three, all of them") is unclear, though in the second case, the term after "two" is expected to be "three" in standard parallelistic usage. Perhaps in both instances "three" is meant to underscore the vast number by virtue of its status as the first of the plural numbers (Ug. has a productive dual for expression of two entities, so plural expression begins with "three").

²² The terms *hpt* and *tnn* denote two categories of military forces in Ug. (for bibliography, see Pardee 1987:385, 387, 454). Both these types, as well as the *hrd*-troops, are mentioned in one of the birth-omen texts (RS 24.247+ [text 1.90]).

²³ The meaning of *mzl ymzl* is disputed. Some see it as parallel to the second line of the preceding verse, i.e., the blind man does not go with the army (e.g., he puts out a sum of money, understood as meant to hire an able-bodied person to go in his place). Others see it as parallel to the preceding verse segment, i.e., the blind man, like the invalid, does go (as translated here above).

Go a day, a second,
 a third, a fourth day,
 a fifth, a sixth day.
 Then at sunset on the seventh (day)
 you will arrive at ²Udmu²⁴ the great (city),
 at ²Udmu the well-watered (city).
 Occupy the cities,
 invest the towns.²⁵
 The women gathering wood²⁶ will flee from the
 fields,
 from the threshing-floors the women gathering
 straw;
 The women drawing water will flee from the
 spring,
 from the fountain the women filling (jugs).^x
 Then for a day, a second,
 a third, a fourth day,
 a fifth, a sixth day,
 Do not shoot your arrows at the city,
 your sling-stones^y at the towers.²⁷
 Then at sunset on the seventh (day of the siege)
 Pabil the king (of that city) will not (be able to)
 sleep
 For the sound of the roaring of his bulls,
 for the noise of the braying of his donkeys,^z
 for the lowing of his plough-oxen,^{aa}
 the howling of his hunting dogs.

Reaction of the King of ²Udmu to the Siege (iii
 123-136)

He will send messengers to you,
 to Kirta at his camp:
 Message of Pabil the king:
 Take silver
 and yellow gold
 along with its place;
 A perpetual servant,
 three horses,
 a chariot in a courtyard,
 the son of a handmaid.
 Take, Kirta, many gifts of peace,²⁸
 leave, king, my house,
 go away, Kirta, from my court.
 Do not besiege ²Udmu the great (city),
²Udmu the well-watered (city).
²Udmu was given of ²Ilu,
 (it is) a present of the father of mankind.²⁹

x Gen 24:11;
 1 Sam 9:11

y Num 35:17

z Job 6:5

aa Job 6:5;
 1 Sam 6:12

bb Deut 32:8;
 Eccl 3:13

cc Cant 7:5

dd Ps 11:4

Kirta's Reply (iii 136-53)

Send the messengers back to him (with the mes-
 sage):
 What need have I of silver
 and of yellow gold
 along with its place;
 Of a perpetual servant,
 of three horses,
 of a chariot in a courtyard,
 of the son of a handmaid?
 Rather, you must give what my house lacks:
 give me maid Hurraya,
 the best girl of your firstborn offspring;
 Whose goodness is like that of ^cAnatu,
 whose beauty is like that of ²Atiratu;
 The pupils (of whose eyes) are of pure lapis-
 lazuli,^{cc}
 whose eyes^{dd} are like alabaster bowls,
 who is girded with ruby;
 That I might repose in the gaze of her eyes,
 whom ²Ilu gave in my dream,
 even in my vision, the father of mankind;
 That she might bear a scion for Kirta,
 a lad for the servant of ²Ilu.

Kirta Awakes, Carries Out the Instructions (iii 154
 - end of tablet)²⁹

Kirta looked about and it had been a dream,
 the servant of ²Ilu, and it had been a vision.
 He washed and rouged himself,
 washed his hands to the elbow,
 his fingers to the shoulder.
 He entered the shade of (his) tent,
 took a sacrificial lamb in his hand,
 a kid in both hands,
 all his best food.
 He took a fowl, a sacrificial bird,
 poured wine into a silver cup
 honey into a golden bowl.
 He climbed to the summit of the tower,
 mounted the top of the wall.
 He raised his hands heavenward,
 sacrificed to the Bull, his father ²Ilu.
 He brought down [Ba^clu] with his sacrifice,
 the Son of Dagan with his game.
 Kirta descended from the [rooftops],
 he prepared food for the city,

²⁴ As with Kirta's city, so the object of his campaign is unidentified, though the root letters are the same as those of Edom.

²⁵ The forms and meanings of the verbs are disputed. It appears possible to interpret this passage, in comparison with the passage below where Pabil is not attacked, as referring to the occupation of the towns surrounding Pabil's capital.

²⁶ The word for "female gatherers of wood" is problematic in each occurrence, here written *hḫb* (corrected to *hḫt* in *KTU*) in col. iv, line 214, *hḫb*, the verbal form being each time feminine (*s^ct*).

²⁷ The passage is interpreted as prescribing a passive siege. The negative particle ²al sometimes appears in contexts where a positive meaning is expected, perhaps as a negative interrogative, i.e., a rhetorical question. If that were the case here, the reference would be to an active siege. In either case, those persons who normally provide provisions for the animals kept in the city (to which have been plausibly added those of persons fleeing the surrounding towns) are kept from their duties and the animals suffer (see the following lines).

²⁸ The text has here *šlmm šlmm*, a plural noun repeated. Without vocalization, it is impossible to know whether the form of this noun is precisely the same as the sacrificial term *šlmm*, "offering of well-being" (cf. Heb. *š'lamim*), or only etymologically related to it.

²⁹ There is much narrative repetition in this account, but with variants and additions.

grain for Bêtu-Ḥubur.
 He baked bread for the fifth (month),
 [fine foods] for the sixth month.
 A throng was provisioned and [marched forth],
 [a mighty] throng was provisioned,
 [a throng did] indeed [go forth].
 His army was a [numerous] host,
 three hundred myriads.
 They went by thousands like storm-clouds,
 by myriads like rain.
 After two, two went,
 after three, all of them.
 The only (son)³⁰ shut up his house,
 the widow hired someone (to go).
 The invalid took up his bed,
 the blind man groped his way along.
 The newly-wed conducted (his bride),³¹
 entrusted his wife to someone else,
 his beloved to someone unrelated.
 Like grasshoppers they invaded the field,
 like locusts the edges of the steppe-land.
Kirta Takes a Vow (iv 194-206)³²
 They went a day, a second;
 at sundown on the third (day)
 He arrived at the sanctuary of ²Atiratu of Tyre,
 at (the sanctuary of) the goddess of Sidon.³³
 There noble³⁴ Kirta took a vow:
 The gift of ²Atiratu of Tyre,³⁴
 the goddess of Sidon (is this):
 If I (successfully) take Ḥurra to my house,³⁵
 Bring the girl³⁶ into my courts,
 Double her (weight) in silver I will give,
 triple her (weight) in gold.
 (Then) he went a day, a second,
 a third, a fourth day.
 At sundown on the fourth (day)
 he arrived at ²Udmu the great (city),
 at ²Udmu the well-watered (city).
 He occupied the cities,
 invested the towns.
 The women³⁵ gathering wood fled from the fields,

ee Isa 32:5;
 Job 34:19

ff Gen 24:67;
 Ruth 4:11, 13

gg Isa 7:14

from the threshing-floors the women gathering
 straw;
 The women drawing water fled from the spring,
 from the fountain the women filling (jugs).
 Then for a day, a second,
 a third, a fourth day,
 a fifth, a sixth day,
 <They did not shoot their arrows at the city,
 their sling-stones at the towers.>³⁶
 Then at sundown on the seventh (day)
 Pabil the king (of that city could) not sleep
 [For the sound of] the roaring of his bulls,
 for the noise of the braying of his donkeys,
 [for the lowing] of his plough-oxen,
 the howling of his hunting dogs.
 Thereupon Pabil [the king]
 cried aloud to his wife:
 Hear ...³⁷
 Now [head] off
 towards [Kirta in (his)] camp
 and say to noble [Kirta]:
 Message [of Pabil the king]:
 Take [silver
 and yellow] gold
 [along with its place];
 A [perpetual] servant,
 [three] horses,
 [a chariot] in [a courtyard],
 the son of a handmaid.
 Take, Kirta, many gifts of peace,
 do not besiege ²Udmu the great (city),
²Udmu the well-watered (city).
²Udmu was given of ²Ilū,
 (it is) a present of the father of mankind.
 Leave, king, my house,
 go away, Kirta,] from my courts.³⁸
 ...³⁹
 [Then the messengers left without hesitation,
 They headed off
 Towards Kirta in his camp].
 They raised [their voices and said aloud]:

³⁰ ²ahd, "one," here in place of yhd, "the solitary one," col. ii, line 96.

³¹ ybl, "to bear, to carry," here in place of y²i, "he must go forth," col. ii, line 100.

³² This section breaks quite obviously into the sequence of seven days that was unbroken in the section of instructions (col. iii, lines 106-108). As there is no record in the text as preserved of Kirta's having carried out his vow, many believe that the woes he suffered after the birth of his children arose from his failure to carry out this duty.

³³ The form *šdynm*, which I take as the city name, is apparently archaic, preserving the original third radical. The form may be singular with enclitic -m, dual (*šdyānāma*), or plural (*šdyānūma*). In favor of the interpretation as a dual or a plural, note the references to different quarters of the city in the Eshmunazar inscription (KAI 14).

³⁴ The meaning of the phrase ²i ²itt is in doubt. Two principal explanations have been given: (1) a form of the particle of existence ²it, meaning "by the life of" or "as she lives;" (2) a noun meaning "gift" (from the hollow root ²y) and referring to the silver and gold promised in lines 205-206.

³⁵ The form of the word meaning "gather" is not marked for feminine gender, though the verb "to flee" is (see above, note 26).

³⁶ This bicolon is absent here, apparently a true omission rather than a simple variant, for the preceding section is marked off by a particle (*dm ym w ln*), making it difficult to see the sequence of days as a description of the absence of the women workers, while the following section is not only introduced by a particle (*mk špšm b šb^c*), making a syntactic link between the two difficult, but the timing (*špšm*) and the logic of the story seems to go against the link (i.e., Pabil is not at an end of his resources from the first day on).

³⁷ Col. v lines 230-243 are damaged and not repetitive of a previous section and thus cannot be restored. Because the next restorable section contains Pabil's words to his messengers, there has clearly been a change of address somewhere in the unrestorable portion.

³⁸ Space considerations seem to indicate the presence of this bicolon here rather than after "gifts of peace" as above, lines 131-133.

³⁹ The five-line lacuna at the beginning of col. vi is only partially filled by the restoration of the initial messenger formulae.

Message [of Pabil the king]:
 Take [silver
 and yellow] gold
 [along with its place];
 A [perpetual] servant,
 [three] horses,
 [a chariot] in a courtyard,
 [the son of a handmaid.]
 Take, Kirta, many [gifts of peace],
 do not besiege ²Udmu the great (city),
 ²Udmu the well-watered (city).
²Udmu was given of ²Ilu,
 (it is) a present of the father of mankind.
 Go away, king, from my house,
 Leave, Kirta, my courts.
 Noble Kirta replied:
 What need have I of silver
 and of yellow [gold]
 along with its place;
 Of a perpetual servant,
 of three horses,
 of a chariot in a courtyard,
 of the son of a handmaid?
 Rather, you must give what my house lacks,
 give me maid Hurraya,
 the best girl of your firstborn offspring;
 Whose goodness is like that of ^cAnatu,
 whose beauty is like that of ²Aṭiratu;
 The pupils (of whose eyes) are of pure lapis-lazuli,
 whose eyes are like alabaster bowls;
 Whom ²Ilu gave in my dream,
 even in my vision, the father of mankind;
 That she might bear a scion for Kirta,
 a lad for the servant of ²Ilu.
 The messengers left without hesitation,
 They headed off
 Towards Pabil the king.
 They raised their voices and said aloud:
 Message of noble Kirta,
 word of the goodly [lad of ²Ilu...]

hh Ps 82:1

CTA 15⁴⁰

Praise of Hurraya (i 1-7)

With her hand [she raises the hungry one,]
 with her hand she raises the thirsty one.

[...]⁴¹

to Kirta in his camp,
 (As) the cow lows for her calf,
 the young nurslings⁴² for their mother,
 so the ²Udmites will lament for her.⁴³

Kirta's Reply (i 8 - ii broken section)⁴⁴

Noble Kirta replied:

...

Banquet for the Gods (ii 1-11)⁴⁵

...

Noble Kirta prepared [a banquet] in his house

...

[Thereafter] the assembly of the gods⁴⁶ arrived.Blessing of ²Ilu (ii 12 - iii 19)Mighty Ba^clu spoke:

Must you not depart, Gracious One, kindly [god],⁴⁶
 must you not (go to) bless noble [Kirta],
 must you not pronounce a benediction upon the
 goodly [lad] of ²Ilu?

[²Ilu] took a cup [in] (his) hand,
 a goblet in [(his) right hand].

He did indeed bless [his servant,]

²Ilu blessed [noble] Kirta,
 [pronounced a benediction] upon the goodly lad
 of ²Ilu:

The woman you take, Kirta,
 the woman you take into your house,
 the girl who enters your courts,
 She shall bear you seven sons,
 even eight shall she produce for you.

She shall bear the lad Yaṣṣubu,⁴⁷
 who will drink the milk of ²Aṭiratu,
 shall suckle at the breasts of Girl [^cAnatu].
 Suckling...

⁴⁰ This tablet is less well preserved than the preceding one; some forty lines are missing from the beginning of col. i. Judging from col. i, line 8, indicating a response from Kirta, the first part of the missing text contained portions of three speeches: (1) Kirta's refusal of wealth as recounted by the messengers to Pabil, (2) Pabil's entrusting of a new message for Kirta to his messengers, and (3) in the preserved portion of the column, the end of this message as recounted by the messengers to Kirta.

⁴¹ Partially broken and uncertain; from context the passage should mean: "If Hurraya goes to Kirta, the following will be the situation."

⁴² The meaning of *bn ḥpḥ* is uncertain; translated from context.

⁴³ *mḥn* may be derived from the hollow root *mḥ*, "to lament," or from *mḥy*, "to lead." In the former case, the structure is comparative and similar to CTA 6 ii 6-9 (if that text be interpreted like this one). In the second case, the final clause is temporal: "... when the ²Udmites lead her off."

⁴⁴ The formula of reply is preserved as the last line of column i. After the lacuna, Kirta is already offering what is apparently a feast for the gods in his house. One must assume rather typical narrative brevity, therefore, i.e., that Kirta has made his speech, obtained Hurraya, and returned home in the some twenty lines missing at the beginning of column ii.

⁴⁵ This is a badly damaged section, containing several divine names and a term for the gods viewed as a group, i.e., *ḥt*, "assembly." The crucial words for what it is that Kirta prepared for the gods having disappeared from lines 8-10, the assumption of a type of banquet or feast is based on the fact that in the following section drinking vessels are mentioned.

⁴⁶ On these titles of ²Ilu, see note 46 to the Ba^clu text (1.86).

⁴⁷ On the name Yaṣṣubu, see the bibliography in Pardee 1989-90:407. His epithet *gṯm* is the same as that applied to Kirta with respect to ²Ilu (see above, note 10).

...⁴⁸
 [Greatly uplifted] is Kirta,
 [amongst the Shades] of the earth,
 [in the gathering of] the assembly of Ditānu.⁴⁹
 Her time will come⁵⁰ and she will bear daughters
 for you:
 she shall bear girl [...]⁵¹
 she shall bear girl [...]
 she shall bear girl [...]
 she shall bear girl [...]
 she shall bear girl [...]
 she shall bear girl [...]
 Greatly uplifted is [Kirta],
 amongst the Shades of the earth,
 in the gathering of the assembly of Ditānu.
 The youngest of these girls, I shall treat as the
 firstborn.⁵²
 The gods bless, then depart,
 the gods depart to their tents,
 the circle of gods to their dwellings.
Birth of Kirta's Children (iii 20-25)
 Her time came and she bore a son for him,
 her time came and she bore (two) sons for him.⁵²
 In seven years' time
 Kirta's sons were as they had been vowed (by
 ʔIlu),
 and so also were Hurraya's daughters.

ii Deut 21:16;
 Ps 89:28;
 I Sam 16:11

jj Ps 89:34

kk Jer 50:27

ll Isa 23:9

⁵³ *ʔAtiratu Claims the Vow* (iii 25-?)
 Then ʔAtiratu thinks of his vow,
 the goddess [...].
 She raises her voice and [cries out]:
 O Kirta [...]
 Or has repeated⁵³ the vow [...]?
 I'll annul⁵⁴ [...]⁵⁴

...
Kirta Sets a Feast (iv 1-13)⁵⁵
 Aloud to [his wife he cries out]:
 Listen, [lady Hurraya]:
 Slaughter the best [of your fatlings],
 open jars of wine;
 Invite my seventy bulls,^{kk}
 my eighty gazelles,^{56 ll}
 the bulls of Hūbur the great,
 of Hūbur [the well-watered].

...
Hurraya Obeys (iv 14 - vi)
 Lady Hurraya listened:
 She slaughtered the best of her fatlings,
 she opened jars of wine.
 She brings in to him his bulls,
 she brings in to him his gazelles,
 the bulls of Hūbur the great,
 of Hūbur the well-watered.

⁴⁸ Some fifteen lines are missing at the beginning of col. iii. Judging from col. iii, lines 7-12 where the daughters' names were set, part of this section may have been devoted to prescribing the younger sons' names.

⁴⁹ Standard formulae describing the ancestors of Kirta as well as of the Ug. dynasty (see RS 34.126, text 1.105). Ditānu, etymologically denoting a large ruminant of some kind ("bison"?), is probably the eponymous ancestor of an Amorite clan (see bibliography in Pardee 1989-90:448, to which should be added Lipiński 1978). We know from RS 24.252 (Pardee 1988a:75-118) that the Rapa'ūma (Heb. *r'pā'ūm*, "the shades of the dead") served as conduits for divine blessing. Kirta's high status among them is not meant, therefore, to imply that he is dead, but that he is highly regarded and blessed by them.

⁵⁰ Here and in lines 20-21, the inception of the birth process is indicated by a form of the root *qrb*, "to be near, to approach," of which the precise explanation is uncertain, referring either to conception itself or to the end of gestation, as in our translation. The feminine form of the verb indicates that the wife is the subject, and the translation with "her time" is purely for ease of expression.

⁵¹ It appears that lines 7-12 contained an enumeration of the names to be given to the daughters, though these may have been descriptive, rather than representing genuine proper names (the first and last signs of the first name are preserved, in both cases *t*, perhaps an adjectival form). Though six girls are named here, one of Kirta's daughters is below called *Titmanatu* ("Octavia" < *tmn* "eight"). The word for the infant female daughters here is *pgr*, not the same as the word *gltm* used above to designate Kirta's nubile bride. *Pgr* is the name of ʔAqhatu's sister (see text 1.103) and, in its proper Heb. form, that of one of the Heb. midwives in the Exodus story (Exod 1:15 *Pū'āh*). For bibliography, see Pardee 1987:440-41.

⁵² For reasons of logic, some emend "son" and "sons" to "sons" and "daughters," but the perceived importance of male offspring seems adequate explanation for the text dwelling here on the sons. The form *bnm* in line 21 could be either dual, referring to the second son or to twins, or plural, referring to the sum of sons born.

⁵³ The root *tny* does not denote active "change," as most translators have thought, for it is not cognate with the root *šnh* known from later WS languages, but is the verb derived from the number "two" and thus means "do twice," with various semantic developments. Kirta is not, therefore, being accused *here* of having altered his vow. Perhaps the sentence once contained a question regarding either his initial statement of the vow (*tny* can refer to a simple speech) or a later repetition of the verbal vow at a time corresponding to when he should have carried it out. The subject is uncertain as well, the form being ʔ*u**tn*, though it appears likely that ʔ*u* is the conjunction and *tn* therefore not an imperfect.

⁵⁴ It is tempting to follow most of the commentators in taking ʔ*apr* as cognate with Heb. *pr*, which means "annul" in the Hiphil, in spite of the weakening of the semantic link with the preceding line produced by a correct analysis of *tn*. The following lacuna, a total of some twelve lines, leaves unknown, however, just what the goddess may have been annulling. It is also necessary to note that the Ug. form does not correspond to the Heb. Hiphil, for the causative stem in Ug. is marked by *š*.

⁵⁵ Because Hurraya, in one of her speeches to the invitees, refers to Kirta's demise (col. v, lines 18-21), it appears that the divine punishment of Kirta must have been announced before that moment. It is unclear, however, where that was described in the text, whether in the text that has disappeared between columns iii and iv or in the lacuna between columns iv and v (or in both places, once as the initial announcement by the goddess, once as a repetition). In favor of the second placement, one might think that Kirta's behavior as depicted in column iv is hardly that of someone who has just been condemned by a goddess. In favor of the first, one can interpret the entirety of the banquet scene as some sort of a measure to deal with the problem of the condemnation.

⁵⁶ The two primary hypotheses for explaining the reference to bulls and gazelles are: (1) metaphors for magnates of the kingdom; (2) priestly and/or divinatory officiants who may have been wearing masks of the animals named.

The house of Kirta they enter, to the dwelling [...] to the tent of myrrh⁵⁷ they proceed. She puts forth (her) hand to the bowl,^{mm} puts the knife to the meat. Lady Hurraya announces: To eat, to drink have I invited you, [...]⁵⁸ Kirta your master. ...⁵⁹ She puts forth (her) hand to the bowl, puts [the knife to] the meat. Lady Hurraya [announces]: To eat, to drink have I invited you, ... [For] Kirta you will weep, ...⁶⁰ Kirta will go to where the sun sets, our master to where the sun rises.⁶¹ Then Yaššubu will reign over us, ...⁶² Listen [...]: Again eat and drink Lady Hurraya announces: To eat, to drink have I invited you, (to) the sacrificial feast [of Kirta] your lord. They weep over⁶³ Kirta, Like the voice of bulls is their voice. In a dream [...] Kirta ...⁶⁴ CTA 16 [Belonging to] (the) Kirta (text). ²Iluha²u Deals with the Prospect of His Father's Death (i 2-23)⁶⁵ Like a dog we grow old in⁶⁶ your house,	mm Judg 5:26; Job 28:9 mm Num 16:29; Ps 82:6-7 oo Gen 45:2 pp Ezek 17:3; 7 qq 2 Sam 7:14; Pss 2:7; 89:27-28 rr Gen 3:22; Ps 82:6-7 ss Isa 23:2; Ezek 24:17; Lam 2:10 tt Jer 8:23	like a hound in your court; Must you also, father, die like mortal men,^{mm} must your court pass to mourning,^{oo} to the control of women,⁶⁷ beloved father? Will the mountain of Ba^clu weep for you, father, Šapānu, the holy citadel, Nannaya the mighty citadel, the broad-spread^{pp} citadel? For Kirta is the son of ²Ilu,^{qq} the offspring of the Gracious and Holy One. Unto his father he entered, he wept, gnashed his teeth, raised his voice in weeping. In your life, father, we^r rejoice,⁶⁸ In your not dying do we find happiness. Like a dog we grow old in your house, like a hound in your court; Must you also, father, die like mortal men, must your court pass to mourning, to the control of women, beloved father? How can (that be when) they say: Kirta is the son of ²Ilu, the offspring of the Gracious and Holy One. Do gods die,^{rr} Does the offspring of the Gracious One not live? <i>Kirta Replies, Requesting That Titmanatu Be Sum-</i> <i>moned</i> (i 24-45) Noble Kirta replied; Do not weep, my son, do not lament^{ss} for me. Do not empty out, my son, the fountain of your eyes, the water^{ss} from your head, your tears.^{tt} Summon your sister Titmanatu,
---	--	--

⁵⁷ In spite of some damage, there is general agreement to read the signs here as {wlgmmr}, the best division of which seems to be *w l gmmr*, explained as an idiom for a banquet hall, where myrrh-scented oil was used copiously.

⁵⁸ Restoration is not possible here, for the parallel versions in col. v, lines 10-11, and col. vi, lines 4-5, seem to show variation in the second colon of the verse.

⁵⁹ About fifteen lines are lost from the end of col. iv and the first six partially preserved lines of col. v are too damaged to restore. It is thus uncertain whether we are dealing with multiple references to a single feast or to multiple feasts.

⁶⁰ After the order to "weep," i.e., to mourn for Kirta, there are five lines too damaged to translate. Line 13 (and col. vi, line 7) may contain a reference to "the voice of bulls" (in the second passage the expression takes the form of a comparison, for there, apparently, the family is weeping as loudly as bulls). Lines 14 and 16 may contain a reference to "the dead" (*mtm*), though the *-m* could be enclitic and *mt* could mean "man."

⁶¹ The interpretation of these lines has been much discussed, the essential problem lying in the word *šb²i²a* (root *šb²*). The parallel terms *rb* and *šb²i²a* have been best explained as a merismus, expressing the extent of the underworld to which Kirta must go (Garbini 1983:56). The order "west-east" reflects the progression of the sun through the underworld.

⁶² Some eight lines are too damaged to translate at the end of column v. The shift from *b^ci*, "master," in col. iv, line 28, and col. v, line 20, to *adn*, "lord," here in col. vi, line 5, may indicate that the family is being addressed here. In Ug. letters, *adn* is used for one's natural father, while *b^ci* is used with reference to someone who is socially/politically superior (the only exception to this usage of which I am aware is in *PRU* v 60, where both *adn* and *b^ci* are used of a political superior, perhaps implying the existence of a family relationship, whether real or fictional). See Ug. letters translated in *COS* 3.

⁶³ According to Caquot, Szymer, Herdner (1974:548, n. p) the tablet is in bad enough shape here to allow for the reading *tbkn*, "they weep," though Herdner first read *tb²un* (1963:71).

⁶⁴ Most of the end of col. vi is lost, for the few preserved lines are from the beginning. The bottom of the tablet having disappeared across the width of the tablet, it is impossible to calculate the exact number of missing lines, but one can estimate the loss at between forty and fifty lines. There is, therefore, no reason to be surprised that text 16 opens on what is apparently an entirely different scene.

⁶⁵ The first part of this passage contains someone's speech to ²Iluha²u (or a self-address), then ²Iluha²u repeats the gist of the speech.

⁶⁶ Or: "pass from," in the sense of "die."

⁶⁷ Mourning women.

⁶⁸ Written {*ašmh*}, rather than the expected {*nšmh*}.

⁶⁹ Correcting *mš*, "brain," to *my*, "water" (Gevirtz 1961), as is indicated by *mmh* in line 34.

the daughter whose ...⁷⁰ is strong,
 that she may weep, may lament for me.
 (My) boy, no need⁷¹ to tell your sister (right away),
 no need to tell your sister to mourn.
 I know that she is compassionate;
 so let's not have her pour forth her tears⁷² in the
 fields,
 her utterances on the heights.
 [...] the rising of the great one, the sun,
 the shining⁷³ of the great light.
 Say to your sister *Titmanatu*:
 Kirta has prepared a sacrificial feast,
 the king has set a banquet.
 Take your tambourine in (your) hand,
 your [...] in (your) right hand.
 Go stay on the heights⁷⁴ (where) your lord⁷⁵ (lives);
 take [silver] as your gift,
 gold for all.⁷⁶

⁷*Iluha*²*u* *Complies* (i 46 - ii ?)⁷⁷
 Thereupon, valiant⁷⁸ ²*Iluha*²*u*,⁷⁹
 took his spear in hand,
 his ...⁸⁰ in (his) right hand.
 He approached (the place called) *TRZZ*;
 when he arrived it was getting dark.
 His sister had come out to draw water;
 he planted his spear in a mound.
 Her face came out the door,
 then she saw her brother.
 Her [...] broke on the ground,
 [...] her brother, she wept.
 [Is he] sick, the king,
 [...] Kirta your lord?
 Valiant ²*Iluha*²*u* [replied]:

Amos 1:3;
Prov 30:15

[Not⁷] sick is the king,
 [...] Kirta your lord.
 [...] has prepared a sacrificial feast,
 [...] has set a banquet.
 ...

Titmanatu Learns the Truth (ii 79-?)⁸¹
 She approached her brother [and said]:
 Why are you leading me [to ...]?
 How many months has he [been sick],
 how long has Kirta been ill?
 Valiant [²*Iluha*²*u*] replied:
 Three months has he [been sick],
 Even four has Kirta been ill.⁸²
 Perhaps Kirta has already departed.
 A tomb you will ...

Titmanatu Mourns the Prospect of Losing Her Father (ii 97-111)
 She wept, gnashed her teeth,
 raised her voice in weeping.
 In your life, father, we rejoice,
 In your not dying do we find happiness.
 Like a dog we grow old in your house,
 like a hound in your court;
 Must you also, father, die like mortal men,
 must your court pass to weeping,
 to the control of women, beloved father?
 Do gods die,
 Does the offspring of the Gracious One not live?
 Will the mountain of Ba^clu weep for you, father,
 Šapānu, the holy citadel,
 Nannaya the mighty citadel,
 the broad-spread citadel?
 For Kirta is the son of [²*Ilu*],

⁷⁰ The meaning of *hmh* is unknown.

⁷¹ The verbs in this section are preceded by ²*al* or *l*. Because there is an emphatic *l* and because ²*al* appears in phrases that must be interpreted positively (whether as a separate particle or in negative rhetorical questions is uncertain), some interpret negatively, some positively. Overall it appears best to interpret the forms as orders not to inform *Titmanatu* of her father's illness, but to leave that news for later.

⁷² Lit., "her water."

⁷³ The form *igh* does not, unfortunately, provide a certain solution for the interpretation of *šb*², with which it is in parallel here (see note 61), for it could be derived either from a root *ghy*, "depart" (and refer to the setting of the sun) or from a root *ngh*, "shine" (and refer to the rising of the sun). For bibliography on *šb*², see Pardee 1987:441. *Nyr rbt* is, in any case, an epithet of the sun, not of the moon as some have thought, as is proven by RS 34.126:18-19 (text 1.105).

⁷⁴ If *šrrt* is the same word as is used in the description of Ba^clu's dwelling, the reference is to mountain recesses.

⁷⁵ The word here is ²*adn* (see above, note 62).

⁷⁶ The restoration at the end of line 44 and the interpretation of the two lines are uncertain.

⁷⁷ The beginning of col. ii is so damaged as to preclude a precise delineation of the speech(es) recorded there.

⁷⁸ The word *gẓr* is difficult to translate into English (for bibliography see Pardee 1987:457-458). In this text it is used as an epithet of ²*Iluha*²*u*, but not of Kirta, and some have for that reason translated "boy, lad." In the ²*Aqhatu* text (1.103), however, it is used for both father (*Dānī²ilu*) and son (²*Aqhatu*). In the Ba^clu cycle the god *Môtu* is called a *gẓr*. In administrative texts it appears to designate a son still living with his parents (*lpgt*, "girl"). Finally, it appears in one of the Ba^clu texts (CTA 3 ii 22) in parallel with other terms designating military personnel. The etymology usually cited, Arabic *gẓr*, denotes abundance and generosity. From the Ug. usages, the term appears to designate a young man in full possession of his forces, able to do battle and to father sons. Because of the usage to designate both father and son, an English term denoting "youth" appears improper, while "hero" is too general and stilted. To translate the word *gẓr* when used as an appositional title, the most frequent usage in these texts, the English adjective "valiant" seems to sum up reasonably well the connotations of the Ug. noun. When *gẓr* appears alone, I have preferred "warrior."

⁷⁹ From this text, ²*Iluha*²*u* is the son of Kirta and the brother of *Titmanatu*. Since this story makes a point of all Kirta's children being from a single wife, one must assume that ²*Iluha*²*u* was full brother to *Yašsubu*, though this is not stated in the text as preserved. The form and "meaning" of the name remain obscure (the vocalization is a guess).

⁸⁰ The word at the beginning of line 48 is usually restored as {g|}r{g|h}, though that word is elsewhere unattested in Ug. and of uncertain etymology (cf. Sanmartín 1980:336).

⁸¹ After the word *qbr* in line 87, the text is broken and obscure for nine lines.

the offspring of the Gracious [and Holy] One.

Titmanatu Visits Her Father (ii 112-?)⁸²

Weeping she entered [unto her father],

She entered the ...

The Earth Does Not Produce (iii)⁸³

Oil was poured [from a bowl].

(Someone) saw⁸⁴ the quaking of earth and heaven,
did the rounds to the extremities of the earth,^{iv}
of (its) well-watered portions.

A spring for the earth is the rain of Ba^clu,
even for the field(s) the rain^{vv} of the High One;^{xx}

Good^{yy} for the earth is the rain of Ba^clu,
even for the field(s) the rain of the High One.

Good is it for the wheat in the garden(s),
in the tilled land (for) the emmer,
upon the mounds (for) the ...⁸⁵

The ploughmen lifted (their) heads,
on high those who work the grain,

(For) the bread was depleted [from] their bins,
the wine was depleted from their skins,
the oil was depleted from [their jars].⁸⁶ ^{zz}

...

The Divine Machinery is Set in Motion for Healing Kirta (iv)⁸⁷

...

Like ²Ilu are you wise,

like the Bull, the Gracious One.

Summon the herald of ²Ilu, ²Ilšu,

²Ilšu, <the herald of the house of Ba^clu>,⁸⁸
and his wife, the herald of the goddesses.

...

He summoned the herald of ²Ilu, ²Ilšu,

²Ilšu, the herald of the house of Ba^clu,

and his wife, the herald of the goddesses.

vv Ps 48:11;
65:6

www Ps 147:8;
Job 5:10

xx 1 Sam 2:10;
Ps 7:11;
68:35

yy Gen 49:15

zz 1 Kgs
17:14;
Hab 3:17;
Ps 104:15

aaa Exod
15:11

bbb 1 Kgs
18:29;
Job 5:1

ccc Job 33:6

The Gracious One, the kindly god, responds:

Listen, herald of ²Ilu, ²Ilšu,

²Ilšu, herald of the house of Ba^clu,

and your wife, the herald of the goddesses:

Climb to the summit of the edifice,
to the high terrace...

²Ilu Seeks a Healer Among the Gods (v 10-22)

...

The Gracious One, [the kindly god, asked]:

[Who] among the gods^{aaa} [will expel the sickness],
banish the illness?

[None of the gods] responded to him.^{bbb}

A [second time, a third time] he spoke:⁹⁰

Who among [the gods will expel] the sickness,
banish [the illness]?

None of the gods responded [to him].

[A fourth], a fifth time he spoke.

[Who among the gods] will expel the sickness,
banish [the illness]?

None of the gods responded [to him].

A sixth, a seventh time he spoke:

[Who] among the gods will expel the sickness,
banish the illness?

None of the gods responded to him.

Finding No Takers, ²Ilu Fashions a Healer (v 23-?)

So the Gracious One, the kindly god, said in
response:

Go sit down, my sons, on your seats,
on your princely thrones.

I will personally fashion and establish,
will establish a female expeller of the sickness,
a female banisher of the illness.

He filled [his hand] with clay,

[his right hand] with the very best clay.

He pinched off ...⁹¹ ccc

⁸² The state of the tablet prevents us from knowing whether *Titmanatu*'s trip home took place earlier or is dispensed with in the narrative. Col. iii contains a very different set of motifs and, unless they are part of a speech made by *Titmanatu* in her father's presence, these indicate a major narrative shift. There are about eleven lines partially or totally destroyed at the end of col. ii and another thirty from the beginning of col. iii.

⁸³ Though it is isolated from its context by breaks, one can judge from general parallels in other texts that this passage presents agricultural fertility as having waned because of *Kirta*'s illness. If this interpretation is correct, the divine aspect of *Kirta*'s nature is thereby emphasized.

⁸⁴ Space does not appear sufficient to read the divine name ^cAnatu here, as some have proposed on the basis of parallels in the Ba^clu cycle.

⁸⁵ The signs ^ctrm, apparently parallel to ^cht, "wheat," and ^csmm, "emmer-wheat," in the preceding lines, are enigmatic. If divided as ^ctr m the words may reflect a vision of rows (^ctrm) of grain constituting a crown (^ctr) upon the tells (Caquot, Szymer, Herdner 1974:561, n. n). Or the signs may represent a single word, showing partial reduplication of the root ^ctr, which in Arabic denotes various notions of "fragrance," though it is unclear what crop would be designated as the "fragrant ones."

⁸⁶ The precise meaning of the word here translated from context as "bins" (^cdn) is uncertain, the word denoting "skin (for wine)" (^chmt) is attested in Biblical Heb. only as a container for water, while only the first sign is preserved of the word for the oil containers, i.e., {q}, which does not permit restoration, for no word for oil containers is attested with {q} as its first letter (^cdd and ^ckd are the two best-attested words).

⁸⁷ The remains of this column also are separated from the context by major breaks, with more than thirty lines missing between this text and the preceding and nearly thirty between this text and the following.

⁸⁸ Emended after lines 8 and 12.

⁸⁹ The first nine lines are too broken to translate. In lines 8, 9 one finds the words ^ctnth and ^clth, the second certainly a form of the number "three," the first perhaps derived from ^ctny, the root whence the number "two" is derived. The similarities between these forms and those used by *Kirta* in his vow (CTA 14 col. iv, lines 205, 206, ^ctnh, ^clth) indicate the possibility of a literary connection between the two passages, though this one is too damaged to allow meaningful comparison.

⁹⁰ All the numerically designated repetitions are expressed verbally: "He duplicated, he triplicated the word," etc.

⁹¹ ^cqrš denotes the potter's act of taking from a large piece of prepared clay the amount needed to fashion the specific object he has in mind. Some thirty lines are damaged or missing at the end of col. v. The act of creation of a healer seems to be completed quickly, for in lines 40-41 one finds ^cks and ^ckrpn, the usual terms for drinking vessels used at feasts and in blessings, followed by an apparent address to the healer (^cat ^cl[^cqr] in line 42), and in lines 50-51 a reference to the illness she is to dispel (^cmr[^cl], ^czb[^cln]). It is tempting to see in the word ^ctnn appearing after lacunae in lines 31 and 32 (plausibly cognate with Heb. ^ctanin, "dragon") a parallel to the Mesopotamian creation story which refers to the blood of another creature used in the creation of man (De Moor 1980a:181-82; cf. del Olmo Lete 1981:318).

End of ʿIlu's Address to Šaʿtiqatu ʿthe Healer
(vi 1-2)

O death, be shattered,
O Šaʿtiqatu, be powerful.

Šaʿtiqatu Does Her Job (vi 2-14)

Off went Šaʿtiqatu:
she entered Kirta's house,
amongst weeping did she arrive and enter,
amongst distress did she go on in.

She overflow cities...
overflow towns...⁹²

...
the sickness (from ?) upon his head.⁹⁴
She comes back (or: sits down), washes him of his perspiration,
opens up his throat so he can eat,
his gullet so he can dine.⁹⁵

Death is shattered,
Šaʿtiqatu is powerful.

Kirta Recovers (vi 14-24)

Noble Kirta gave orders,
he raised his voice and said aloud:

Listen, lady Ḥurraya:
Slaughter a lamb that I might eat,
a fatling that I might dine.

Lady Ḥurraya listened:
She slaughtered a lamb and he ate,
a fatling and he dined.

Then for a day, even two,
Kirta returned to his (throne-)room,⁹⁶
he sat on the royal throne,
on the dais, on the seat of dominion.

Yašsubu, Impatient, Wishes to Rule (vi 25-end)

Yašsubu also returned to the palace,
where his inner self instructed^{ddd} him:⁹⁷

Go to your father, Yašsubu,
go to your father and speak,

ddd Ps 16:7

eee Deut
10:18;
Isa 1:17;
Job 29:12-13

fff Ps 41:4;
Job 17:14

ggg Amos
5:11

hhh Isa 10:2;
Ps 82:2-4;
Job 22:9;
31:16-17

say to Kirta [your lord]:

Listen closely and tend [(your) ear]:
When raiders] lead [raids],
and creditors [detain (debtors)],⁹⁸

You let your hands fall slack:
you do not judge the widow's case,^{eee}
you do not make a decision regarding the oppressed.⁹⁹

Illness has become as it were (your) bedfellow,^{fff}
sickness (your) constant companion in bed.
So descend from your kingship, I will reign,
from your dominion, I, yes I, will sit (on your throne).

Yašsubu the lad went off,
entered his father's presence.

He raised his voice and said aloud:
Listen, noble Kirta,
listen closely and tend (your) ear:

When raiders lead raids,
and creditors detain (debtors),
You let your hands fall slack:
you do not judge the widow's case,
you do not make a decision regarding the oppressed
you do not cast out those who prey upon the poor.^{ggg}

Before you, you do not feed the orphan,
behind your back the widow.^{hhh}

Illness has become at it were (your) bedfellow,
sickness (your) constant companion in bed.
So descend from your kingship, I will reign,
from your dominion, I, yes I, will sit (on your throne).

Kirta, Not Liking That Idea at All, Curses Yašsubu
(vi 54-58)

Noble Kirta responded:
May Ḥōrānu¹⁰⁰ break, my son,

⁹² The name means "She who causes to pass on," a feminine nominal formation of the causative stem of the root ʿtq, "pass on." This is the root that designated old age and/or death in the opening lines of the text on this tablet.

⁹³ Because of the uncertainty of the following units, it is difficult to determine whether the reference to Šaʿtiqatu's aerial travels describes a departure from Kirta's house or, retrospectively, her arrival there. Unfortunately, the verbal form *ʾtḥ* in line 10 does not help, for it can be derived either from the hollow root *ṭḥ*, "return," or from *yṭḥ*, "sit down."

⁹⁴ The obscurity of line 8 leaves uncertain the function of the reference to the illness.

⁹⁵ On *npš* and *brt*, see note 203 to the Baʿlu text (1.86 above). The use of the verb *pḥ*, "open," makes it clear that the words in question denote the body part(s), not an abstract notion such as "appetite." The means by which the throat is opened, physical, chemical, or magical, being uncertain, it is equally uncertain how the fact of opening is related to the illness.

⁹⁶ The word *d* seems also to be attested as designating a room in the temple of Baʿlu ʿUgārīta (RS 24.266:9 [text 1.88]).

⁹⁷ *ggn*, apparently another word for "throat" (< "tube") is here the active agent of the verb "instruct." The translation is literal, though the modern equivalent would seem to be "he said to himself."

⁹⁸ Lines 30-31 have inspired the most divergent interpretations: a description of Kirta's illness, a rhetorical question regarding his ability to lead, an accusation of duplicity, etc. The translation proposed here is no surer than several of those already made, but it takes into account the one reasonably sure thing that can be stated, though that only negatively: *ṭwy* does not mean "be like," as some have thought, for it cannot be cognate with Heb. and Aram. *ṭwh*. As the G-stem of the root takes a mono-consonantal form in Ug. (*ṭḥ lḥmy* "she furnishes my food" [RS 17.117:6]), *ṭwy* in line 31 (restored on the basis of line 44) is probably a D-stem form, which means "detain" in Arabic. The retention of the final root consonant may indicate a following long vowel, indicating a plural form. Thus the subject of this (and the preceding) verb is not Kirta, but the perpetrators of the violence and oppression that he is accused of being unable to quell.

⁹⁹ See: Haak 1982.

¹⁰⁰ Ḥōrānu is a chthonic deity best known from Ug. sources for his power over serpents and sorcerers (see here RS 24.244 [text 1.94] and RIH 78/20 [text 1.96]).

may Hôrānu break your head,
Attartu "name" of Ba^clu¹⁰¹ your skull.
You will surely fall...

...¹⁰² and be humbled.

Colophon

The scribe: ²Ilmilku the *td^ciyu*-official.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Though the title *šm b^cl* appears once again some seven centuries later as a title of Astarte in Sidon (in the Eshmunazar inscription, *KAI* 14:18, the two occurrences do not provide sufficient data for an explanation.

¹⁰² The parallel phrases *b gbl šntk* and *b hpnk* have not been satisfactorily explained.

¹⁰³ The *td^ciyu*-official exercised what was basically a cultic function, as is shown by various nominal forms of the root *td^cy* used in the ritual texts to denote a type of sacrifice and the priest in charge of that sacrifice, while the verb is used to denote the offering of that sacrifice.

REFERENCES

Text: *CTA* 14-16; *KTU* 1.14. Translations and studies: Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner 1974; Driver 1956; Garbini 1983; Gevirtz 1961; Gibson 1978; Ginsberg 1946; Gordon 1977; Greenfield 1969; Haak 1982; Held 1968; Herdner 1963; Lipiński 1978; de Moor 1980a; 1987; del Olmo Lete 1981; Pardee 1987; 1988a; 1989-90; Parker 1989; Sanmartín 1980; Virolleaud 1936a; 1941a; 1941b; 1942-43a; 1942-43b.

THE ²AQHATU LEGEND (1.103)

Dennis Pardee

The ²Aqhatu story was recorded on three tablets that were discovered during the second and third campaigns at Ras Shamra (1930-1931). Lacunae prevent a complete understanding of the story, which must have been longer, recorded on tablets never discovered. Like the story of Kirta, this one tells how a father obtained a son, here Dānī²ilu and his son ²Aqhatu, but from that point the two stories diverge: Here the son assumes the primary role instead of the father. The kernel of the story is ²Aqhatu's confrontation with a deity, the goddess ^cAnatu, whose overtures to obtain his favorite bow he repels, with the result that the goddess has him put to death. After his death, his sister Pūgatu comes to the center of the stage, a heroine who attempts to avenge her brother's death. She is apparently on the point of doing so when the text breaks off.

CTA 17

Dānī²ilu Seeks a Son (i 1-34)

[Thereupon, as for Dānī²ilu the man of Rapa²u],
thereupon, as for the valiant [Harnamite man],¹

Girded, he gave the gods food,
[girded, he gave] the Holy Ones [drink].²

He cast down [his cloak, went up],^a and lay down,
cast down [his girded garment³] so as to pass the
night (there).^b

A day, [even two,

a Gen 49:4;
2 Kgs 1:4, 16

b I Sam 3;
Ps 17:3, 15

girded,] Dānī²ilu (gave) the gods (food),
[girded,] he gave [the gods] food,
girded, [he gave] the Holy Ones [drink].

A third, even a fourth day,

[girded,] Dānī²ilu (gave) the gods (food),
girded, he gave [the gods] food,
girded, he gave the [Holy] Ones drink.

A fifth, even a sixth day,

girded, Dānī²ilu (gave) [the gods] (food),
girded, he gave the gods food,

¹ Dānī²ilu's two titles have elicited a great deal of discussion. Judging from the writing of the first, it is a genitive expression, as translated above, not a gentilic (i.e. not "the Rapa²ite man," as some have translated), and it appears to be related to the term Rephaim, well known in the Bible, in Phoenician inscriptions, and in Ug., perhaps even to the eponymous ancestor of the Rephaim, known in the Bible as *harāpā²*. The second title, *hnm*, bears the gentilic suffix and has often been explained as geographical in origin (Albright 1953). Dānī²ilu's name is derived from the hollow root *dn* "to judge" (in the forensic sense, rather than the sense of a tribal leader, the latter being *tpf*), which is the only social occupation ascribed to him in the story (col. v, lines 5-8). His wife's name, Dānatay, seems to be built off the same root.

² There is no consensus regarding the interpretation of this verse, of which the restoration is supplied by repetitions below. It presents two primary difficulties, (1) the meaning of ²uzr and (2) the proper analysis of the verbs *lhm* and *šqy*, whether simply transitive ("he ate/drank") or factitive/causative ("he gave food/drink"). The verbs are here analyzed as factitive ("give to eat/drink"). Though such a usage cannot be shown to exist elsewhere for *lhm*, Tropper (1989) has demonstrated that *šqy* is used factitively (he does not, however, adopt that interpretation in this passage), and it appears plausible on that basis to posit such a usage of *lhm*. This conclusion is based primarily on the fact that the interpretation of the verbs as simple transitives entails the acceptance of an aberrant syntactic structure, i.e., the breaking up of the construct chain "²uzr of the Holy Ones," for the verb is placed between ²uzr and *bn qdš*. Though the meaning of ²uzr is unknown, it appears more plausible to see the word as modifying the subject (as translated here) or as an adverbial ("with X did he ...") than to take it as a noun denoting what is eaten and drunk (why would the same word be used for both the food and the drink?). Tied up with the interpretation of the terms is that of the passage as a whole: does it describe an incubation scene? That interpretation appears more likely if Dānī²ilu is feeding the gods than if he is himself eating high-class food.

³ The precise meaning of *m²izrt*, here taken from the same root as ²uzr, is uncertain. A masculine form of the noun may appear in two economic texts in Akk. from Ras Shamra (Nougayrol 1970:99-100), though that may be a different word. The basic question here is whether the garment is only a loin-cloth, which would imply that he served the gods half naked (as some have argued) and that he lay down naked, or whether it implies a full garment held in place by a belt.

[girded,] he gave the Holy Ones drink.
Dānī²ilu cast down his cloak, went up, and lay
down,
[cast down] his girded garment so as to pass the
night (there).

Ba^clu Appears, Intercedes on Dānī²ilu's Behalf
(i 16-27)

Then on the seventh day,
Ba^clu approached, having had mercy on
The lamenting of Dānī²ilu the man of Rapa²u,
the groaning of the valiant Harnamite [man],
Who had no son like his brothers,
no scion^c like his kinsmen.^d
May he, like his brothers, have a son,
like his kinsmen, a scion.
For, girded, he has given the gods food,
girded, he has given the Holy Ones drink.
O Bull ²Ilu, my father, please bless him
please pronounce a benediction upon him, O
creator of creatures,
So that he may have a son in his house,^e
a scion within his palace:

The Duties of a Son (i 27-34)^f

Someone to raise up the stela of his father's god,^g
in the sanctuary the votive emblem of his clan;^h
To send up from the earth his incense,
from the dust the song of his place;ⁱ
To shut up the jaws of his detractors,^j
to drive out anyone who would do him in;
To take his hand^k when (he is) drunk,
to bear him up [when] (he is) full of wine;^l
To eat his grain(-offering) in the temple of Ba^clu,

c Isa 11:1,
10;
Amos 2:9;
Dan 11:7

d Num 27:4;
2 Sam 11:10

e Ps 63:12

f Isa 51:18

g 1 Sam 1:4

his portion in the temple of ²Ilu;^g
To re-surface his roof when rain softens it up,^h
to wash his outfitⁱ on a muddy day.

²Ilu Blesses Dānī²ilu (i 35-?)^j

[A cup] ²Ilu took <in his hand,
a goblet in his right hand,
He did indeed bless > his servant,
blessed Dānī²ilu the man of Rapa²u,
pronounced a benediction upon the valiant Har-
namite [man]:

May Dānī²ilu, [the man] of Rapa²u, live indeed,
may the valiant Harnamite man live to the
fullest.^k

[...] may he be successful:^l

to his bed he shall mount [and lie down];
As he kisses his wife [there will be conception],
as he embraces her there will be pregnancy;

[...] she who was about to bear,
pregnancy [for the man of] Rapa²u.

He will have a son [in his house,
a scion] within his palace:

[Someone to raise up the stela of] his father's god,
in the sanctuary [the votive emblem of his clan];

To send up from the earth [his incense,
from the dust the] song of his place;

[To shut up the jaws of his detractors],
to drive out anyone who would do [him] in;
...^m

²Ilu's Promise is Recounted to Dānī²ilu (ii 1-8)

...
[Someone to raise up the stela of your father's god,
in the sanctuary the] votive [emblem of your

^d Lit., "so that his son may be in the house."

^e This unit constitutes a set piece within the larger drama, being repeated three times below. As is shown by the verbal forms from derived stems, each attribute is expressed as a participle, "the one who does such-and-such," here translated as "someone to"

^f At the head of the Ug. "pantheon" lists stands ²Ilu²ibī, "the god of the father," apparently the generic designation of the special deity of a clan, tribe, or other ethnic group. The ²il²ib in this text is the same formulation in the form of a common noun, probably a true compound noun, with the same shift of /a/ to /i/ in the first syllable of the second element under the influence of the long case vowel (nominative /²abū/, genitive /²abī/ > /²ibī/). It must be noted carefully that this deity, like the directly related common noun, does not, according to this explanation, represent the "deified ancestor," but the "deity of the ancestor." The veneration of the deity ²Ilu²ibī in the sacrificial cult betrays no particular characteristics of a cult of dead and deified ancestors. In this text that type of cult is referred to, if at all, in the next verse.

^g ²ir ≈ Hittite *sitar-* "votive (sun) disk" (Tsevat 1971:351-352).

^h A much discussed verse, as regards both individual words and over-all interpretation, here taken as referring to the cult of the ancestors at the family vault, which was at Ugarit located under the house. Though recent archaeological work has shown the unlikelihood of frequent incursions into the vault itself (Pitard 1994a), one may expect there to have been some regular, formal recognition of the presence of the dearly departed, as well as a funerary cult in the narrow sense of the term whenever a new inhumation occurred. The outline of the funeral service for a dead king of Ugarit, Niqmaddu (III), has been recorded in RS 34.126 (here text 1.105).

ⁱ RS 24.258:18-19 (here text 1.97) depicts the double deity Tukamuna-wa-Šunama doing this for their father ²Ilu.

^j Lit., "... on a day of mud." Every house at Ugarit had its roof-roller (Elliott 1991:85) to reconsolidate the clay surface of the roofs and terraces after moisture had loosened the surface bonding.

^k *npš* is a generic term, apparently denoting a combination of garments and equipment.

^l Col. i breaks off in the middle of ²Ilu's speech. On the restored and emended text at the beginning of this section, see Pardee 1977, with previous bibliography.

^m The Ug. formulation is difficult to render in English: "As to (his) throat, may Dānī²ilu, the man of Rapa²u, live, as to (his) gullet, the valiant Harnamite man." The words *npš* and *brlt*, already encountered in the Kirta text (text 1.102; see note 95 to that text and here below, note 127), here denote metonymically the life forces.

ⁿ The beginnings of lines 39-43 are broken and unreconstructable with certainty because the formulae seem to vary as compared with other examples of the conception/pregnancy/birth motif. The reconstruction and explanation of the first line in part follow Dijkstra, De Moor 1975:178.

^o Col. i breaks off here; ²Ilu certainly included in his blessing the remainder of the ideal son's duties. The text missing between the remains of cols. i and ii contained the narrative framework for transmitting the message of ²Ilu's blessing to Dānī²ilu, for the end of that message is found at the beginning of col. ii, as preserved. Note that in the recounted form, Dānī²ilu is addressed directly, whereas in ²Ilu's blessing he was referred to in the third person.

clan;
 To send up from the earth your incense,
 from the dust the song [of your place;
 To shut up] the jaws of your detractors,
 to drive out [anyone who would do you in;]¹⁶
 To eat your grain(-offering) in the temple of
 [Ba^clu,
 your portion] in the temple of ²Ilu;
 To take your hand when [(you are) drunk],
 to bear you up when (you are) full of wine;
 To roll your roof when rain softens it up,
 to wash your outfit on a muddy day.
Dānī²ilu Rejoices in the Prospect of a Son (ii 8-23)
 Dānī²ilu's face lit up with joy,
 His countenance^b glowed.¹⁷
 Signs of worry disappeared from his forehead¹⁸ as
 he laughed,
 he (relaxed as he) put his feet on the footstool.
 He cried aloud:
 I can sit and be at rest,
 my innermost being¹⁹ can rest,
 For a son will be born to me,ⁱ as (to) my brothers,
 a scion, as (to) my kinsmen:
 Someone to raise up the stela of my father's god,
 in the sanctuary the votive emblem of my clan;
 <To send up from the earth my incense>,
 from the dust the song of [my] place;
 To shut up the jaws of my detractors,
 to drive out anyone who would do me in;
 To take my hand when (I am) drunk,
 to bear me up when (I am) full of wine;
 To eat my grain(-offering) in the temple of Ba^clu,
 my portion in the temple of ²Ilu;
 To roll my roof when rain softens it up,
 to wash my outfit on a muddy day.

h Ps 104:15

i Isa 9:5

Dānī²ilu Does His Part (ii 24-?)

Dānī²ilu arrived at his house,
 Dānī²ilu entered his palace.
 The Kōtarātu²⁰ entered his house,
 the daughters of brightness,²¹ the pure ones.
 Thereupon, as for Dānī²ilu the man of Rapa²u,
 thereafter, as for the valiant Harnamite man,
 A bull he slaughtered for the Kōtarātu,
 he fed the Kōtarātu,
 provided the daughters of brightness, the pure
 ones, with drink.
 A day, even two,
 he fed the Kōtarātu,
 provided the daughters of brightness, the pure
 ones, with drink.
 A third, even a fourth day,
 he fed the Kōtarātu,
 provided the daughters of brightness, the pure
 ones, with drink.
 A fifth, even a sixth day,
 he fed the Kōtarātu,
 provided the daughters of brightness, the pure
 ones, with drink.
 Then, on the seventh day,
 the Kōtarātu left his house,
 (as did) the daughters of brightness, the pure
 ones.
 ... the lovely bed ...²²
 ... the beautiful bed ...
 Dānī²ilu sat down to count the months ...²³
 ...
The Bow is Promised (v 2-3)
 I will bring the bow there,
 I'll bring arrows in multiples of four.²⁴

¹⁶ This and the following verse are inverted as compared with the first and fourth recitals of the list (this section has disappeared from the second recital, end col. i).

¹⁷ Lit., "In Dānī²ilu, (his) face rejoices, above, he shines in (his) temples."

¹⁸ For the meaning of *lsh*, "forehead" rather than "rows of teeth," see discussion and bibliography in Pardee 1988a:69. For the interpretation of *prq*, see del Olmo Lete 1981:612.

¹⁹ Another usage of *npš*, lit., "my throat (*npš*) within my chest (*ṣirt*)."

²⁰ The Kōtarātu are known from the Ug. texts primarily as goddesses of conception (see Pardee 1995). If the damaged passage at the end of this column has been correctly interpreted, the Kōtarātu are present at conception, then leave. If the goddesses also functioned as midwives, as many scholars believe, one may surmise that their return at the time of birth was recounted in the text of columns iii-iv, now lost.

²¹ *hl* is either an abstract term denoting brightness and purity or the name of a goddess Hulel, known from Emar (see references in Pardee 1995).

²² Lines 41-42 are damaged and it is uncertain exactly what the phrases *n^cmy ṣrš* and *ysmsm ṣrš* denote. The words denoting "beauty" being placed before the word for "bed," they can either modify another entity or, as translated here, they can be taken as modifying *ṣrš* genitively.

²³ The word for "months" bears a third person pronominal suffix (*yršh*), but the antecedent is uncertain, whether referring to Dānī²ilu, his wife, or even, least likely in my estimation, to the child who, according to this hypothesis, has already been born. In line 45 one finds the numbers "three" and "four," indicating that the count progresses, but the surrounding text is too damaged to allow us to perceive the context of the counting. Most scholars believe that the months of gestation are being counted (cf. Job 39:2). According to this interpretation, the birth and infancy of ²Aqhatu would have been recounted in the missing columns iii and iv, which originally ran to over one hundred lines.

²⁴ The identity of the speaker is lost in the preceding lacuna. Below, it is the double deity Kōtaru-wa-Ḥasīsu who brings the bow (lines 10-13). The formulae in this verse are partially repeated below, but several terms are dubious: is *ṣmn* the noun meaning "eight" (referring perhaps to the multiple elements of which the composite bow is made) or the adverb meaning "there"? What is the precise meaning of *ṣārb^c*, "I shall quadruplicate," applied to arrows; is the derivation from *rb^c*, "four," even correct? (Square-shafted darts [a possible interpretation of *rb^c*], such as were used in pre-modern Europe, have not been discovered, to my knowledge, in the ancient Near East.) Does the word *qš^ct*, of unclear etymology, denote the bow or the arrow? If one accepts the derivation of *ṣārb^c* from the root denoting "four," it is unlikely that *ṣmn* is here the word for "eight" because decreasing number parallelism is not common. Also against the numerical interpretation of *ṣmn* is its absence in the parallel passage (line 12). In its favor, perhaps, is the use of *ṣmn*, "eight," plausibly referring to arrows, in CTA 19 i 5 (below, p. 350).

Kôtaru-wa-Ḥasīsu Arrives and Presents the Bow to Dānī²⁵ilu (v 3-33)
 Then, on the seventh day,
 Dānī²⁵ilu the man of Rapa²⁶u,
 the valiant Harnamite man,
 Arose and sat at the entrance to the (city-)gate,²⁷
 among the leaders (sitting) at the threshing
 floor.²⁸
 He judged the widow's case,
 made decisions regarding the orphan.²⁹
 Looking up he perceived
 a thousand yards off,
 ten thousand furlongs off,²⁵
 He saw Kôtaru coming,
 saw Ḥasīsu striding along.²⁶
 He was bringing the bow,
 bringing the arrows in multiples of four.
 Then Dānī²⁵ilu the man of Rapa²⁶u,
 then the valiant Harnamite man,
 Aloud to his wife did call:
 Listen, Lady Dānatay:²⁷
 prepare a lamb from the flock
 For the throat of Kôtaru-wa-Ḥasīsu,
 for the gullet²⁸ of Hayyinu²⁹ the handicrafter.
 Give the gods something to eat, something to
 drink,
 serve, honor them,²⁹
 the lords of Memphis, the gods of all of it.³⁰
 Lady Dānatay listened,
 she prepared a lamb from the flock
 For the throat of Kôtaru-wa-Ḥasīsu,

J Deut 21:19;
 Amos 5:10,
 12, 15

2 Kgs 22:10

Exod 22:21;
 Deut 10:18;
 Isa 1:17;
 Ps 68:6;
 Job 29:12-13

m Gen 18:5-8

for the gullet of Hayyinu the handicrafter.
 When Kôtaru-wa-Ḥasīsu arrive,
 they place in Dānī²⁵ilu's hand the bow,
 set upon his knees the arrows.
 Then Lady Dānatay
 gave the gods something to eat, something to
 drink,
 served, honored them,
 the lords of Memphis, the gods of all of it.
 Kôtaru left for his tent,
 Hayyinu left for his dwelling place.
Dānī²⁵ilu Presents the Bow to Aqhatu (v 33-end)
 Thereupon, Dānī²⁵ilu the man of Rapa²⁶u,
 thereupon, the valiant Harnamite man,
 The bow he ...³¹
 [...] upon/unto Aqhatu³² he ...³³
 The best³⁴ of your game, O [my] son [...]
 [...] the best of your game [...]
 [...] game in his temple/palace [...]
 Anatu Demands of Aqhatu His Bow (vi 16-19)³⁵
 [She raised her voice] and shouted:
 Listen, [valiant Aqhatu]:
 Ask for silver and I'll give (it to) you,
 [for gold and I'll] present (it to) you.
 Just give your bow [to Anatu],
 let the sister-in-law of Li²⁶mu³⁶ [take] your
 arrows.
Aqhatu Isn't Interested (vi 20-25)
 Valiant Aqhatu replied:
 I'll vow³⁷ ash wood from Lebanon,

²⁵ On *šd* // *knn*, see note 21 to the Ba²lu text (1.86).

²⁶ The double divine name Kôtaru-wa-Ḥasīsu can either be split up in a bicolon as here, or appear as a single unit, which then has as its parallel yet a third name, Hayyinu (line 18). This complex of names can be treated as plural (so in lines 18-21). The home of Kôtaru-wa-Ḥasīsu is fixed either in Egypt, or in Crete (see RS 24.244:46 [text 1.94]), or in both places (CTA 1 III 1, 18; 3 VI 14 [text 1.86]).

²⁷ Dānī²⁵ilu's wife seems to bear a name derived from the same root as her husband's (see above, note 1).

²⁸ On *nšl/brlt*, see note 13.

²⁹ This name is explained by Arabic *hayyīn* "easy, light," see note 22 to the Ba²lu text (1.86).

³⁰ On *b²l ḥkpr* *il kll*, see note 19 to the Ba²lu text (1.86).

³¹ The verb *yqb* is uncertain both as to reading (some take the following vertical wedge not as a word divider but as the first wedge of {l} or {š}) and as to interpretation. One wonders if it could not be cognate to Heb. *qbb*, "to curse," but without the negative connotation of that verb, meaning rather "to pronounce a spell upon." In the present case, the spell pronounced by a second party (Dānī²⁵ilu) would be equivalent to a vow pronounced by a first party (Aqhatu), and its purpose/content would be that Aqhatu must offer to the gods the first-fruits of the game killed with the bow. Perhaps, therefore, this text also contained a motif similar to the vow-to-a-god motif in the Kirta text.

³² In the story as preserved, this is the first occurrence of the name Aqhatu, the explanation of which is uncertain, though it appears to be related to the Heb. name Q'hāt.

³³ This verb begins {yq} and is thus plausibly, though not certainly, the same as in the preceding line.

³⁴ The word is *pr²m* (the root *pr²* expresses "firstness" and "topness," as in "the top of the head"), apparently semantically similar to *r²š* and *r²šyt*, "best (part)" (< *r²š* "head"), both corresponding to the Biblical notion of offering first-fruits and first-born to God. In Heb., forms of the root *bkr* are more common in this usage (*bikkūrtm*, "first-fruits").

³⁵ The first fifteen lines of this column are too badly damaged for even an approximate translation, though certain words and phrases are well enough preserved to allow a general interpretation. Judging from some of the standard words and phrases for eating and drinking, Anatu is at a feast where she first spies Aqhatu's bow. The text is too damaged, however, for us to learn the circumstances under which Aqhatu would be present at such a feast.

³⁶ On *ybm* *l²imm*, see note 12 to the Ba²lu text (1.86).

³⁷ This interpretation of *adr* is based on the assumption that Aqhatu is offering to the goddess personally to provide her with the materials necessary to have a bow made for herself just like his; *adr* is thus appropriate, expressing the human-divine relationship. Others take *adr* as the adjective "mighty, powerful," in which case the entire list functions as the direct object of *m*, "give," in line 24; here the goddess is expected to find the materials herself. The basic study of this passage is Albright and Mendenhall 1942.

I'll vow sinews from wild bulls,
I'll vow horns from rams,
tendons from the hocks of a bull,
I'll vow reeds from ĠL²IL.³⁸
Give (these) to Kôîaru-wa-Ĥasîsu,
and he'll make a bow for ^cAnatu,
arrows for the sister-in-law of Li³mu.

^cAnatu Ups the Ante (vi 25-33)

Girl³⁹ ^cAnatu replied:

Ask for life, O valiant ²Aqhatu,
ask for life and I'll give (it to) you,⁴⁰
for immortality⁴⁰ and I'll make it yours;
I'll make you count years with Ba^clu,
with the son of ²Ilu will you count months;
(You will be) like Ba^clu (who), when he comes
(back) to life, feasts:
they give a feast⁴¹ to the living one, give him
drink,
the goodly one⁴² chants and sings in his honor.
So I, for my part, will answer (the request),⁴³
I will give life⁴ to valiant ²Aqhatu.⁴⁴

n Ps 21:5

o 2 Kgs 5:7

p Num 23:10;
Eccl 6:12

q Num 16:29;
Ps 82:7

Aqhatu, Still Not Interested, Shows Little Tact
(vi 33-40)

Valiant ²Aqhatu replied:

Don't lie to me, girl,
your lies are despicable⁴⁵ to a real man;
What after(life)⁴ can one obtain?
what can a man obtain hereafter?
(For) they will pour glaze [on] (my) head,
white stuff over my cranium.⁴⁶
[And] I'll die the death of every man,⁴
I also must surely die.
[Moreover], I've something else to say:
The bow is a fighting man's [weapon];⁴⁷
Shall womankind now go hunting?

^cAnatu Takes Umbrage, Threatens ²Aqhatu
(vi 41-45)

[Outwardly] ^cAnatu laughs.

But within she hatches [a plot].

Reconsider,⁴⁸ valiant ²Aqhatu,
reconsider for your own sake [...].

(Otherwise) I'll meet you on the path of rebellion,

³⁸ From context *ġPîl* is a geographical term, but it is uncertain whether it is a proper or a common noun.

³⁹ ^cAnatu's title *blt* refers to an age/maturity category and to the social norms and cultural overtones associated with that category. See note 11 to the Ba^clu text (1.86).

⁴⁰ Ug. *bl mt*, "not dying."

⁴¹ The repetition of ^csr has been seen as a problem. It appears plausible to see in the first form a usage for receiving a feast (perhaps intransitive, or even passive), the second as denoting the presenting of a feast. This interpretation sees the passage as reflecting a feast in honor of Ba^clu's seasonal return to life. Others interpret the verbal forms in line 30 as active/transitive and see here a feast offered by Ba^clu to the one receiving life from him. The first interpretation appears preferable because it fits better into Ug. mythology as we know it.

⁴² Whatever the correct restoration of line 32 may be (see following note), it appears difficult to avoid interpreting this passage in light of CTA 3 i 18-21 (text 1.86), where someone designated *n^cm* sings in honor of Ba^clu.

⁴³ {*nynn*} is clearly from the root ^cny, "to answer, respond, speak up," apparently with accusative pronominal suffix (-*nn*). Unfortunately, the absence of the preformative element means that the subject is uncertain. Some restore *t* and see a narrative indicator of the following conclusion of ^cAnatu's speech ("she responded to him"), others a continued reference to the singing (note that this should not be a reference to the singing designated in Heb. by ^cny, of which the Arabic cognate is *ġny*), others to another aspect of the feast. Examination of the original hand copy and of the photograph leads me to believe that the generally accepted restoration of three signs in the lacuna is too generous and that two signs (Dijkstra and De Moor 1975:187) correspond better to the available space. Read perhaps {*n^cm* w ²a^cnynn}. The verb ^cny is not usually used with an accusative complement in Ug., and it is difficult to know if the suffix here refers to ²Aqhatu or to the thing requested, i.e., immortality. Given the rarity of the accusative usage, the suffix could even refer to Ba^clu: "I ^cAnatu will answer him (=act correspondingly to him, i.e., Ba^clu)."

⁴⁴ The nature of the proffered immortality has been much discussed: maintenance of human life, repeated restoration to life after dying, or joining with divine immortals after death? The present formulation seems to indicate the second option, i.e., the Ba^clu model, but ²Aqhatu in any case refuses the offer of any form of immortality as being fraudulent, in keeping with general thinking in the ancient Near East on the possibility of human immortality (cf. Gilgamesh, Adapa ...).

⁴⁵ The precise meaning of *h^him* is disputed, some comparing with Heb. *hō^hh*, "briar, thorn, hook," others with Akk. *hahhu*, "slime, spittle."

⁴⁶ A much-debated passage: *spsg* is also attested in an administrative text (PRU II 106:8) alongside terms designating semi-precious stones and has been identified with a Hurrian word that may denote a type of glaze (also attested in a Sumero-Akkadian lexical text: CAD Z 10). See bibliography in Pardee 1987:432. Many scholars have accepted the specificity of the term *spsg* and have endeavored to explain the second word, *h^hrs*, on the basis of the first, but with less obvious success, for no Semitic language provides an etymology clearly in the same semantic field as *spsg* (cf. the *tour de force* in Albright 1945:24-25, with its jump from alkali to "(molten) glass"). Watson (1990:423) proposed a new Akk. etymology, "*hurizu* or *urizu*," which designates "a stone or mineral of as yet undetermined meaning." The proposal to see in this passage a reference to the Neolithic practice of plastering the skulls of the deceased encounters severe difficulties (Rainey 1971:154). From a literary perspective, one must note that this bicolon is placed before the explicit statement of death and could constitute a metaphor for the white hair of old age rather than for a procedure practiced on the dead.

⁴⁷ The restorations at the beginnings of lines 40-44 are uncertain.

⁴⁸ The precise meaning of the idiom *ib l* is uncertain, though something like the above translation appears preferable to "go away," which does not work in all contexts and which might, in any case, be expressed by a verb other than "return."

[...] on the path of pride,
I'll personally bring you down and [trample] you,⁴⁹
(however) good and strong (you may be) among
men.

*°Anatu Departs, Seeks Permission from °Ilu to
Attack °Aqhatu* (vi 46-end)⁵⁰

[She dug in] her feet,
took off across the earth;
She [headed off]
towards °Ilu at the source of the two rivers,
[amidst the fountains] of the deeps.
She penetrated Ilu's abode,
[entered the] dwelling⁵¹ of the king, father of
Šunama.⁵²
[At °Ilu's feet] she bowed and fell,
she did homage [and honored] him.
She heaped slander on valiant °Aqhatu,
[... the child of] Dānī°ilu the man of Rapa°u.
[Girl °Anatu] spoke,
[she raised] her [voice]
and cried out the word [...]

Colophon (left edge)

[The scribe: °Ilīmīlku the Šubbanite, disciple of
°Attānu-]purulini.⁵³

CTA 18

°Anatu Threatens °Ilu (i 1-14)⁵⁴

...
[Girl °Anatu] replied:
[In the grandeur of] your [house], O °Ilu,
[in the grandeur of your house do not rejoice],
do not rejoice [in the height of your palace].

r Prov 30:10

s 2 Sam 7:3

r Job 37:4

Cant 4:9,
10

Will I [not] seize them [in my right hand],
[... in my] broad grasp?⁵⁵
[I'll smite the ...] of your head,
I'll make [your gray hair] flow [with blood],
your [gray] beard with gore.
(If) [you (appeal to)⁵⁶] °Aqhatu, will he (be able to)
save you?
will the son of [Dānī°ilu] (be able to) help you
(when you're) in the grasp of Girl [°Anatu]?
°Ilu Caves In (i 15-19)
The Gracious One, the kindly god, replied:
I know you, (my) daughter, (I know) that you are
a manly sort,
and that [among goddesses] there is none so
emotional as you.⁵⁷
(So) let anger (against me) depart (from) [your]
heart, (my) daughter;
[(so then) go ahead and] lay hold of what you
desire,⁵⁸
carry out what you wish:⁵⁸
The one who gets in your way⁵⁹ may be struck
down.

°Anatu Leaves, Addresses °Aqhatu (i 19-end)⁵⁹

Girl °Anatu [left],
headed [off
towards] valiant °Aqhatu,
A thousand yards away,
[ten thousand] furlongs.
Girl [°Anatu] laughed,
[raised] her voice and cried out:
Hear, valiant [°Aqhatu],
You are (my) brother and I am [your] sister,⁶⁰

⁴⁹ Lit., "I'll cause you to fall under [my feet]."

⁵⁰ The beginning of this passage contains a series of formulae, attested elsewhere in variant forms, for divine travel and arrival at °Ilu's abode.

⁵¹ The two terms for °Ilu's dwelling place, *dd* and *qrš*, apparently designate a tent-like structure. See note 29 to the Ba°lu text (p. 245, 1.86).

⁵² On the title *°ab šnm*, see note 30 to the Ba°lu text (1.86).

⁵³ Considerations of space make the restoration of this form of °Ilīmīlku's titulary plausible. °Ilīmīlku's hometown of Šubbanu has not been localized with certainty (for bibliography, see Pardee 1989-90:489). On the interpretation of °Ilīmīlku's master's name, see van Soldt 1989.

⁵⁴ The proper restoration of lines 1-9 is uncertain; these lines show close parallels with CTA 3 V 27-33 (p. 254), also damaged though less so than here. See note 108 to the Ba°lu text (p. 254, 1.86).

⁵⁵ Lit., "in the greatness of my length," apparently a reference to the length of the goddess' arms (cf. *gdl* + "arm" in Exod 15:16). The restoration of *ymn*, "right hand," appears plausible from the parallel text in CTA 3 V 30 ({b y[-]y}). It is uncertain whether another word for "hand" or a verb parallel to "seize" should be restored in the intervening lacuna.

⁵⁶ The proper restoration here is unknown, though something along the lines of this translation is suggested by the following reference to helping and rescuing. The concept of °Ilu, father of the gods, appealing to a mortal for help is nonetheless a striking one.

⁵⁷ Various interpretations of *°nšllqlš* in this verse have been proposed (for bibliography see Pardee 1987:373, 445). On °Ilu's description of °Anatu here, see note 111 to the Ba°lu text (1.86).

⁵⁸ Lit., "you may seize what is in your heart, you may place/put/establish what is in your breast." The damaged state of the passage and the fact that *hnp* is only attested here have made the meaning obscure. As translated, the "anger" in the first line is °Anatu's anger directed against °Ilu, not against °Aqhatu. °Ilu is apparently telling °Anatu that she can do whatever she wishes to °Aqhatu, as long as she leaves him, °Ilu, alone.

⁵⁹ After the stereotyped formulae in lines 19-23, the text becomes so damaged as to be uninterpretable. From the first line of °Anatu's speech, it would appear that the goddess has chosen to approach °Aqhatu in a friendly fashion. Because, in addition to the loss of the end of this column and the beginning of col. iv, all of columns ii and iii have disappeared, we have no idea as to how the duel between °Aqhatu and °Anatu continued. According to col. iv, line 5, °Anatu goes off to put her plan of attack into motion, but the previous lines are too damaged for us to know with whom she was talking before her departure.

[...] seven of your kin⁶⁰ [...]

[...] of my father [...]

[...] you'll go hunting [...]

[...] I'll teach you [...]

[...] the city of ²Abilūma,

²Abilūma [the city of Prince] Yariḫū,⁶¹

Of which the tower [...]

...

^cAnatu and YTPN Devise a Plan of Attack (iv 5-27)⁶²

Girl ^cAnatu left,

[headed off]

towards YTPN,⁶³ the soldier of the Lady.⁶⁴

Girl ^cAnatu cried [aloud]:

YTP sit/return⁶⁵ [...]

(to) the city of ²Abilūma,

²Abilūma [the city of Prince Yariḫū].

How can Yariḫū not be renewed?⁶⁶

[...] on his right horn,⁶⁷

on the ?⁶⁸ [...] of his head?

Y Isa 46:11

W Gen 1:2;

Deut 32:11

YTPN, [the soldier of the Lady], replied:

Listen Girl ^cAnatu:

You are the one who will strike him [for his bow]

(for) his arrows, you will not [let] him [live].

The goodly warrior has prepared a meal,

and [...] he has stayed on in tents,

and he has settled [...].⁶⁹

Girl ^cAnatu replied:

Sit down, YTP, and [I'll tell] you (what we'll do):

I'll put you like a hawk⁷⁰ under [my] belt,⁷¹

like a bird⁷¹ in my bag.⁷²

[When] ²Aqhatu [sits down] to eat,

the son of Dānī²ilu for a meal,

[Above him] the hawks will soar,⁷³

[the flock of] birds will survey the scene.⁷³

I myself will soar amongst the hawks,

above ²Aqhatu (I'll) position you.

Strike him twice on the head,

⁶⁰ Given the presence of the word for "father" in the following line, one can surmise that ²irk is related to ²ar, the word designating a relation of kinship in the Kirta text (CTA 14 I 15, here text 1.102), instead of guessing a meaning on the basis of Arabic usage.

⁶¹ This is the common formula in the following text for the spot where ²Aqhatu was struck down. To the extent that the name of the city reflects onomastic reality, it seems to be based on ²abil-, a common formative element in Northwest Semitic place names. In this text, however, the name could correspond less to geographical reality than to a *topos* of the story, that of mourning (²bl). In the latter interpretation, the literary function of the link between the city of mourners and the moon deity Yariḫū would not be clear.

⁶² The few words extant in the first four lines seem to indicate acts of violence (*yibr*, "he will break," and *uim dr[qm]*, a phrase of uncertain meaning appearing only here and in CTA 5 i 5-6, a passage dealing with Mōtu, god of death).

⁶³ No etymology and, hence, vocalization have been generally accepted for this name. In two passages the shorter form *ytp* appears (here following line and line 16), generally taken as a variant of the name, but the context is each time broken and the form in question could be verbal (cf. Watson 1976:373; further bibliography in Pardee 1989-90:406).

⁶⁴ The second term in the formulaic title of *ytpn*, *mhr št*, has given rise to various interpretations, the most commonly accepted of which are (1) "lady," cognate with Arabic *sirr*, an apparent reference to ^cAnatu herself, and (2) "Sutaeen" (for which meaning one might expect a gentilic form, since *sutū* is identified as a geographical entity in the cuneiform sources). For bibliography, see Pardee 1987:413; 1989-90:490.

⁶⁵ *ytp* may be the subject, or the word lost in the following lacuna may supply the subject. Hence we do not know whether *ytp* refers to sitting (root *ytp*) or to returning (hollow root *tb*).

⁶⁶ In Ug. Yariḫū designates the "moon" as celestial orb and as lunar deity and also means "month." The verb "renew," *hdt*, is from the same root as the commonly attested word for "new moon." The meaning of the entire passage is, however, unclear, especially as regards YTPN's appointed task. Since his answer shows him to be already aware of the task, we may surmise that in the broken text of columns ii and iii ^cAnatu was presented as engaging YTPN and, consequently, that in the present passage she and YTPN devise the details of the attack.

⁶⁷ If the referent is still Yariḫū, the words *qm ymn* may be thought to refer to the right point of the crescent moon.

⁶⁸ Similar questions arise here as for the use of ²nš by ²ilu in reference to ^cAnatu (see above, note 57 and note 111 to the Ba^clu text [1.86]). Here, however, the context is too damaged to attempt an explanation.

⁶⁹ Lines 14-15 are obscure and lacunary (at least three signs are missing at the end of each line) and have been interpreted variously. I take *irm* as from the root *irm*, denoting an act of eating, as here below lines 19 and 30 (rather than as the plural of *tr*, "bull"), *ddm* as the same word used above for ²ilu's abode (see note 51 and note 29 to the Ba^clu text [1.86]), and *n^crs* as cognate with Arabic *rs*, which denotes "binding" and hence various forms of "settling down" (the form is thus more plausibly N-stem, with ²Aqhatu as subject, than G-stem, 1st plural, "we will *rs*," though, because of the following lacuna, the latter interpretation cannot be ruled out). The precise nuance of ²ist²ir, normally "remain behind/after," is not clear.

⁷⁰ As one can see from this passage, *nšr* denotes in Ug., as in Heb., a raptor rather than a carrion bird ("hawk" is here intended as generic).

⁷¹ The root *d^cy* means "to fly" in Ug.; the precise type of bird denoted by *d^ciy* is uncertain, though it seems to belong to the raptor class (for bibliography, see Pardee 1988:104-105). The form here may be simply that of the G-stem participle, *dā^ciyāma*, "flyers"; below, in CTA 19 iii 115, etc., *d^ciy* denotes the "pinions" of the hawks.

⁷² The precise meaning of the terms *hbš* and *r^crt* is unclear. *r^crt* is elsewhere attested in the meaning "scabbard" (CTA 19 iv 207), and is used here either metaphorically (i.e., the hawk is to function as a sword) or as a designation of any kind of hunting bag, holding weapons, knives, game, etc. *hbš* can only, for the present, be explained etymologically, i.e., by the Semitic verb *hbš*, "to bind" (the noun *hbš* is also attested in CTA 3 ii 13, where a meaning similar to "belt" also appears plausible). In any case, the general meaning of the terms indicates that the motivation is concealment, and this general context and the absence of any motifs characteristic of falconry (i.e., the use by humans of trained falcons as hunters) rule out the latter interpretation here.

⁷³ The meaning "look at, keep an eye on" for *bšr* is now confirmed by RIH 78/14:11' (text 1.91), a lunar omen of which the prognosis is *mlkm tšym*, "the kings (of the various lands) will keep an eye on each other," paralleled in the *Sin* omens from Emar by the verb *innatqālū*, with the same meaning (Arnaud 1985-86 text 651:37).

three times above the ear,
 Pour out (his) blood like one emptying (a bucket),⁷⁴
 (pour it out) on his knees like one slaughtering
 (an animal),
 So that his life force rushes out like wind,^x
 like spittle his vitality,
 like smoke from his nostrils.
 Thus I'll not let the soldier live on!⁷⁵

The Plan is Carried Out (iv 27-37)

She took YTPN, the soldier of the Lady,
 put him like a hawk under her belt,
 like a bird in her bag.
 When ²Aqhatu sat down to eat,
 the son of Dānī²ilu for a meal,
 The hawks soared above him,
 the flock of birds surveyed the scene.
^cAnatu soared [amongst] the hawks,
 above [²Aqhatu] she positioned him.
 He struck him twice [on the head],
 three times above the ear,
 Poured out his blood [like] one emptying (a
 bucket),
 (poured it out) [on his knees] like one
 slaughtering (an animal),

x Ps 146:4

[His] life force rushed out like wind,
 [like spittle] his vitality,
 like smoke [from his nostrils].

^cAnatu Expresses Sorrow (iv 37-end)

[Moreover,] ^cAnatu, as she smote the soldier,⁷⁶
 [...] ²Aqhatu,
 She wept [...]
 I would have made⁷⁷ [...]
 But on account of [your bow ...],
 [on account of] your arrows you have ceased [to
 live].⁷⁸

...

... perished ...

CTA 19

Classification of Tablet (i 1)

[Belonging to⁷⁹ (the)] ²Aqhatu (text).

Something Happens to the Coveted Bow (i 2-5)

...

... the bow was broken ...

... the eight [...] were broken ...⁸⁰

Another Account of ²Aqhatu's Death (i 5-19)⁸¹

Girl ^cAnatu returned [...]
 [...] took⁸² weapons⁸³ as (does) [...] in] his hand,

⁷⁴ The meaning of ³y is uncertain. One of the possible corresponding roots in Arabic means "to draw up mud from the bottom of a well/spring (in the process of cleaning it out)." Perhaps the verb denoted in Ug. the accompanying act of pouring out the sludge. The writing with {²i} shows the form plausibly to be a participle (³ā²iyu).

⁷⁵ The conclusion to ^cAnatu's speech is a monocolon, hence without parallelism to help elucidate its meaning. The first sign seems from the photograph to be a cross between {b} and {²u} (one does not see three clear vertical wedges). The word written {mhrh} is, on the basis of line 38, to be corrected to {mhrh}. The most likely form of this concluding line thus appears to be, in vocalized form: ²ā²apa muhrahū lā²ahawwīyu, literally "And moreover I'll not allow his soldiery (i.e., the abstract expression of the qualities making him a soldier) to continue living."

⁷⁶ The structure is similar to that of lines 26-27 (see preceding note), lit., "as she smote his soldiery."

⁷⁷ Lit., "built," though there is not unanimous agreement on this identification, the context being broken. Moreover, it is impossible to ascertain the object of this verb, though the phrase plausibly has to do with rewards ²Aqhatu would have received if he had been more receptive of ^cAnatu's offers. The verb "to build" could refer, for example, to quasi-creative maintenance of life or to building for ²Aqhatu a house or dynasty.

⁷⁸ The letters {h[...] } may be restored as {h[wt]}, lit., "you did not live."

⁷⁹ See note 2 to the Kirta text above (text 1.102).

⁸⁰ Because of the state of the text here, it is impossible to determine whether qšr, "bow" is subject or object of the verb (tl[br]) in lines 3-4. In line 4 the verb is apparently repeated again, this time differently marked for gender (y[br]). On that basis alone, I assume that qšr is the subject in the first case and that the partially destroyed phrase {lmn [...] } is the subject in the second. Given the standard parallelism of qšr and qš^ct, both above and below (lines 14, 15), and given the use of the verb "quadruplicate" above for the arrows (see above, note 24), it appears likely, as many commentators have believed, that lmn here in line 5 is the number "eight" and that it modifies a word with similar meaning to qš^ct. Though opinion varies widely as to the meaning of the passage, it is generally thought that it refers somehow to a loss suffered by ^cAnatu (or by YTPN) of the weapon that the goddess has killed to obtain.

⁸¹ Lines 5-19 constitute one of the most difficult texts of the ²Aqhatu story: several lines have undergone various degrees of damage and even in the well-preserved sections the vocabulary is so difficult that multiple, wildly varying, interpretations have been proposed. (If the scientific credibility of Ugaritology depended on a consensus in the interpretation of this passage, the discipline would be in deep trouble!) The translation here proposed can only be considered, therefore, as a new attempt at understanding. The principal problem in determining the structure and overall interpretation of the passage lies in determining the actor(s). Indeed, in the present state of conservation of the text, this is not easily done, neither from explicitly indicated subjects nor from grammatical markers of gender and number. Judging from the phrase ^cl qš^cth hwt l²ahw, "on account of his arrows I did not let him live" (lines 15-16) the speaker at that point is ²Aqhatu's killer, either ^cAnatu/YTPN or a party who is here presented as having committed the act. The name ^cAnatu, with her normal title, "girl," is extant in line 5. Is the goddess the speaker/actor in the intervening lines? The fact that the verbal forms are not all clearly marked as 3rd feminine singular seems to indicate that, if ^cAnatu's involvement continues to the end of the passage, she is the speaker rather than the actor. In such a hypothesis, she is explaining to someone how ²Aqhatu died as well as the fact that the bow has disappeared. Judging from the new vocabulary in this passage, if ^cAnatu is the speaker (as I surmise), she is presenting a fanciful account of ²Aqhatu's death, one in which the death occurred in a different fashion from that indicated above in the narrative. In the present state of the text, there is no way to know whether YTPN here bears the blame, being represented by ^cAnatu as a fierce being who acted on his own, or whether the blame is entirely shifted to another party.

⁸² According to CTA, the lacuna in line 6 is long enough to have contained six signs, perhaps one word designating the complement of the verb "return," another the subject of the verb nš².

⁸³ The meaning of tlm is very uncertain; here taken as cognate to Heb. t'li with a broader meaning than that of "quiver" usually ascribed to the Heb. word in its one occurrence in Gen. 27:3.

as (does) a singer the lyre (in) his fingers.⁸⁴
 The "stones of his mouth"⁸⁵ tore,
 his teeth seized,
 they put food in his devouring (maw).⁸⁶
 He tore according to the wishes of the gods,⁸⁷
 then he told the exploits,
 the prince recounted his exploits:⁸⁸
 ḌAqhatu has been put down like a veritable
 fugitive,
 like a vicious viper in a wall,
 (like) a dog on its stake did I smite him.
 For on account of his bow I smote him,
 on account of his arrows I did not let him live.
 His bow, however, was not given to me,
 and in death [...].⁸⁹
 The first growth of summer has/will [...],
 the ear in the stalk.⁹⁰

The Father Learns of ḌAqhatu's Death (i 19 - ii 93)
 Thereupon, Dānīḏilu the man of Rapaḏu,
 thereupon, the valiant Harnamite [man],
 Arose [and sat at the entrance] to the (city-)gate,
 among [the leaders (sitting) at the threshing
 floor].
 He judged [the widow's case],
 made decisions [regarding the orphan].

y Job 8:12
 z Hos 8:1;
 Jer 12:9;
 Job 39:26-30
 aa Lam 2:11
 bb Gen 37:34;
 Judg 11:35;
 1 Kgs 11:30
 cc Gen 41:26;
 2 Kgs 8:1
 dd Ps 68:5
 ee 1 Kgs 17:1
 ff Gen 7:11;
 2 Sam 1:21;
 Prov 3:20

...⁹¹
 ... the coming of ...
 Looking up, she sees ...⁹²
 On the threshing floor [...] is dried up
 bends over, droops, do the young ears⁹³ [...].
 Above her father's house hawks were soaring,
 a flock of birds were surveying the scene.⁹⁴
 Pūgatu⁹⁵ began to weep inwardly,
 to shed tears silently.⁹⁶
 She tore the garment⁹⁷ of Dānīḏilu the man of
 Rapaḏu,⁹⁸
 the cloak of the valiant Harnamite man.

*Dānīḏilu Seeks to Counter the Effects of the
 Drought* (i 38-46)
 Thereupon, Dānīḏilu the man of Rapaḏu,
 uttered a spell⁹⁹ upon clouds in the heat of the
 season,¹⁰⁰
 upon the rain that the clouds pour down on the
 summer fruits,
 upon the dew that falls on the grapes.
 Seven years¹⁰¹ has Baḏlu failed,
 eight (years) he who rides upon the clouds.¹⁰²
 No dew, no showers,¹⁰³
 no upsurging (of water) from the deeps,¹⁰⁴
 no goodly voice of Baḏlu.¹⁰⁵

⁸⁴ Because of the breaks in the middle of lines 6 and 7, it is uncertain whether ḌAnam is the actor here and precisely what the form of the comparison is in lines 6-7. The suffixes of the third person singular being undifferentiated for gender in the writing system ({h} = either -hu or -ha), it is also uncertain whether the suffix on "hand//fingers" refers to the subject of the sentence or to the elements in the comparative phrases.

⁸⁵ Apparently an idiom for "teeth, fangs."

⁸⁶ In Arabic, the root *qmm* denotes various verbal notions of devouring, particularly like a ravenous beast.

⁸⁷ The signs {klb ḏilm} can be interpreted either as "the hound of (klb) the gods" or "according to the wishes of (klb) the gods." Were there, in the absence of an explicit statement, clear parallels for a divine canine bearing the blame for ḌAqhatu's death, the former interpretation could be embraced.

⁸⁸ The forms *gpr* and *gprh* have received multiple explanations. No convincing etymology having presented itself other than the comparison with *gbr*, denoting various forms of "might" and "greatness," I interpret the words in question as containing the subject's self-description (as represented by ḌAnam!) of the killer's deed.

⁸⁹ The end of line 17 is damaged and of uncertain interpretation.

⁹⁰ Below, consequences of drought on plant life function as signs of broader misfortune. Because of the lacuna in line 18, the link between this verse and the subsequent text cannot be ascertained. In *CTA* the lacuna is said to have contained two signs, an assessment that observation of the published photograph seems to uphold; in a note the restoration of y[bl], "it will bear," accepted by several scholars, is preferred. In *KTU* a single sign is read and presented as partially visible (the reading is yh*, "may it live"). Whatever the correct reading, it appears plausible to interpret the statement, following as it does upon the fallacious account of ḌAqhatu's death, either, as a fallacious assurance that this death will not perturb the patterns of life elsewhere, or as an observation that the process of drying up has already begun.

⁹¹ Approximately two and a half lines are missing, wherein were contained plausibly a reference to the arrival of Dānīḏilu's daughter.

⁹² The verb "to see" here has the form *tphn*, precluding that the subject be Dānīḏilu. The subject may be (1) "eyes," (2) a plurality of human beings (Dānīḏilu and the judges, Dānīḏilu and whoever has arrived in lines 25-28?), or (3) ḌAqhatu's sister Pūgatu, who plays an increasingly important rôle in the story. The same problem arises below, col. ii, line 76, where a group is not present (apparently ruling out the second possibility here).

⁹³ Judging from the use of *pgr* as a common noun in Ug., the name should mean simply "Girl." See note 51 to the Kirta text (text 1.102).

⁹⁴ The obvious subject of the verb *tmz* is Pūgatu, though others take *kst*, "garment," as subject of the verb in a passive formulation. In the context, as preserved, Dānīḏilu is unaware of ḌAqhatu's death and the tearing of the garment should, therefore, be seen as a reaction to the effects of drought.

⁹⁵ The meaning of the following speech depends largely on the interpretation of the verb *yšly*, variously taken to mean "to pray" or "to curse." If a strong connotation of "cursing" is intended, then Dānīḏilu is apparently in the following lines calling down seven years of drought, whereas if the meaning is "pray" then he is praying for relief from drought. The previous text, as preserved, has made no reference to seven years of drought already having occurred. On the other hand, no motivation for Dānīḏilu cursing the land with a drought is immediately ascertainable, if one assumes, as the following sections seem to say, that he is unaware of ḌAqhatu's death. The interpretation of the text as referring to the effects of a multiple-year drought assumes some sort of telescoping of time, for though years of drought have occurred, ḌAqhatu's remains are still to be found inside the birds of prey who devoured him. Could the drought have been proleptic, beginning before ḌAqhatu's death and becoming life-threatening only after this death?

⁹⁶ The elements of the phrase *hm ḏun* are interpreted as from *hmm*, "be hot," and from *ḏny*, "meet, be opportune," which gives nouns meaning "occasion, appropriate time."

⁹⁷ The voice of the weather god functions as a metaphor for thunder and hence, by metonymy, for rain.

Dānī²ilu Inspects the Effects of the Drought

(i 46 - ii 74)

When she had torn the garment of Dānī²ilu the
man of Rapa²u,

the cloak of the valiant Harnamite man,

Aloud [Dānī²ilu called] to [his] daughter:

Listen Pūgatu, you who bear [water] on (your)

shoulders,

who gather dew for barley,

who know the paths of the stars:⁹⁸

Saddle the donkey, harness the ass,

put (on it) trappings of silver,

decorations of yellow (gold).

Pūgatu listened, she who bore water on (her)

shoulders,

who gathered dew for barley,

who knew the paths of the stars:

Weeping she saddled the donkey,

weeping she harnessed the ass,

Weeping she lifted her father,

placed him on the back of the donkey,

on the beautiful back of the ass.

Dānī²ilu approached,⁹⁹ circulated through his
cracked fields,¹⁰⁰

he spied something green⁹⁸ (growing) in the
cracked field,

he spied something green (growing) among the
weak (sprouts).

He hugged the green growth (to himself), he kissed
(it and said):

Oh that the green growth would grow tall in the
cracked field,

(Oh that) the green growth would grow tall
among the weak (sprouts).

O plant,¹⁰¹ may the hand of valiant ²Aqhatu gather
you,

put you in the storehouse.¹⁰¹

He approached thereunto, circulated through his
desolate fields,

he spied an ear of grain¹⁰² (growing) in the deso-

gg 2Kgs 4:42

hh 2Kgs 4:39

ii Gen 41:5-
7; Isa 17:5;
Ruth 2:2

jj Ps 139:4

kk Ezek
21:11

late field,

he spied an ear of grain (growing) among the
dried-up (sprouts).

He hugged the ear of grain (to himself), he kissed
(it and said):

Oh that the ear of grain would grow tall in the
desolate field,

(Oh that) the ear of grain would grow tall
[among] the dried-up (sprouts).

O plant, may the hand of valiant ²Aqhatu gather
you,

put you in the storehouse.

The Message of Death (ii 75-93)

Hardly had the words left his mouth,

[the utterance] his lips,¹⁰³

When, raising her eyes, she (Pūgatu) sees

(and) there is no [... in] the arrival of two pages,
...¹⁰²

He/they struck [twice] on the head,

three times above the ear.¹⁰³

...¹⁰⁴

They arrive [and say] aloud:

Listen, Dānī²ilu, [man of Rapa²u]:

Valiant ²Aqhatu is dead.

Girl ²Anatu [caused his life force to go out] like
[wind]

like spittle his vitality.

Dānī²ilu's Reaction (ii 93 - iv 189)

[His (Dānī²ilu's) feet] totter,

above, [his face perspires,

behind], his back muscles [snap,¹⁰⁵

his vertebrae rattle,

his spine] goes weak.¹⁰⁵

[Aloud] he cries [...]

has smitten ...

[...]¹⁰⁶

*Dānī²ilu's Rather Unorthodox, Though Empirically
Sound, Search for ²Aqhatu's Remains (ii 105 - iii 145)*

When he raised [his eyes and looked, he saw

⁹⁸ Pūgatu's standard epithets make of her a specialist in agricultural matters.

⁹⁹ Reading, with many scholars, {ydn <dn>²il}.

¹⁰⁰ Of the terms in the following lines that designate the areas inspected by Dānī²ilu, ²p²alt and ²aklt, only the second is reasonably clear and the first is translated from context. It is assumed that the passage describes the effects of the drought to which Dānī²ilu has just referred and ²aklt is explained, therefore, by the root ²kl, "eat, devour" (the common comparison with Akk. *akkullātu* is of dubious value, as it denotes something like clods in a field). The words *yglm* and *hmdrt*, used to describe the two types of fields (lines 63/65 and 70/72), also pose problems, though the identification of the second with Akk. *hamdirātu*, "desiccated," is generally accepted (Greenfield 1967:89-90). *Yglm* is usually compared with Arabic *wgl*, and legitimately so, but the range of meanings available from the Arabic dictionary is too broad (from "thick green growth" to "parasite") to be of much real help.

¹⁰¹ This passage is one that indicates that Dānī²ilu is unaware of ²Aqhatu's death. (The text as preserved provides no warrant for seeing in Dānī²ilu's reference to ²Aqhatu an expression of hope in the deceased son's resurrection.)

¹⁰² The root *yṣ* appears twice in line 78 and is plausibly restored at the end of line 77, but the subject is each time uncertain.

¹⁰³ Most interpret this as an explicit reference to ²Aqhatu's death, but it may be an imitative gesture on the part of the messengers (Margalit 1989:383). In any case, their actual arrival and the transmission of the message is not stated explicitly until lines 89-93.

¹⁰⁴ Lines 80-88 are damaged and obscure. The only relatively clear line of verse contains a reference to weeping that is similar to the account of Kirta's weeping (lines 82-83: "he/they pour(s) out tears like quarter-shekel pieces"). If this section is still preparatory to the actual transmission of the message, it is the messengers themselves who weep.

¹⁰⁵ These lines, which represent a formulaic and stylized reaction to bad news, are found in variant forms twice in the Ba²lu epic (CTA 3 iii (D) 29-32; 4 II 16-20 [text 1.86]).

¹⁰⁶ Six-line lacuna.

[hawks] in the clouds.
He cried out [aloud]:
May Ba^clu break [the wings of the hawks],
may Ba^clu break [their pinions],
So that they fall down at my feet,¹⁰⁷
so that I may open up [their innards],¹⁰⁷
[And] see whether there be (there) any fat,
whether there be (there) any bone,
So that I may weep,¹⁰⁸ so that I may bury him,
so that I may put (him) in a grave (with) the
gods of the earth.¹⁰⁹

Ba^clu Responds (iii 113-120)

Hardly had the words left his mouth,
the utterance his lips,
When Ba^clu broke the wings of the hawks,
Ba^clu broke their pinions.
They fell down at his feet;
he opened up their innards and [looked]:
no fat, no bone.
He cried out aloud:
May <Ba^clu> rebuild^{mm} the wings of the hawks,
may Ba^clu rebuild their pinions.
May the hawks escape and fly away!

Another Try (iii 120-134)

When he raised his eyes and looked, he saw
Hirgabū,¹¹⁰ father of the hawks.
He cried out aloud:
May Ba^clu break Hirgabū's wings,
may Ba^clu break his pinions,
So that he fall down at my feet,
so that I may open up [his] innards,
And see whether there be (there) any fat,
whether there be (there) any [bone],
So that I may weep, so that I may bury him,
so that I may put (him) in a grave (with) the
gods [of the earth].

Again Ba^clu Responds (iii 127-134)

[Hardly had the words left his mouth],
the utterance his lips,
When Ba^clu broke Hirgabū's wings,
Ba^clu broke his pinions.

#2 Sam 22:39

mm Josh 6:26;
cf. Gen 2:22;
Jer 24:6

He fell down at his feet;
he opened up his innards and looked:
no fat, no bone.
He cried out aloud:
May Ba^clu rebuild Hirgabū's wings,
may Ba^clu rebuild his pinions,
May Hirgabū escape and fly away!

The Third Time's the Charm (iii 134-145)

When he raised his eyes [and] looked, he saw
Šamlu,¹¹¹ mother of the hawks.
He cried out aloud:
May Ba^clu break Šamlu's wings,
may Ba^clu break her pinions,
So that she fall down at my feet,
so that I may open up her innards,
And see whether there be (there) any fat,
(whether) there be (there) any [bone],
So that I may weep, so that I may bury him,
so that I may put him in a grave (with) the gods
[of the earth].

Yet Again Ba^clu Responds (iii 141-144)

Hardly had the words left his mouth,
the utterance his lips,
When Ba^clu <broke> Šamlu's wings,
Ba^clu broke her pinions,
She fell down [at] his feet.

Dan^cilu Finds ²Aqhatu's Remains and Buries Them
(iii 144-147)

He opened up her innards and looked:
there was fat, there was bone.
He took from them ²Aqhatu;
he wailed,¹¹² slept not a wink,¹¹³
He wept and buried (him),
buried him in a dark place, in KNKT/KNRT.¹¹⁴

Dan^cilu Warns Off the Hawks (iii 148-151)

He cried out aloud:
May Ba^clu break the wings of the hawks,
may Ba^clu break their pinions,
If they fly over the grave of my son,
if they do him harm as he sleeps.

¹⁰⁷ Lit., "split their liver."

¹⁰⁸ In this context, and given the regular Ug. strategy of omitting object pronouns, the verb here and below may be in the D-stem, which would be translated "beweep (him)."

¹⁰⁹ Lit., "in the hole of the gods of the earth." Judging from the Ug. king list (RS 24.257; see Pardee 1988:165-178), where each of the past king's names is preceded by the word ²il, "god," the deceased, at least the royal deceased, were thought to be deified at death.

¹¹⁰ It can hardly be a coincidence that Arabic *hirgab* means "tall" when said of a man and "rapid" when said of a camel.

¹¹¹ Again, it can hardly be a coincidence that *šml* in Arabic denotes both "hit (with a stick)" and "be hard, solid." Because the name is not marked for feminine gender, it is not purely descriptive in form, consisting plausibly of a verbal noun, though the form is uncertain.

¹¹² The text has {yb}; either emend to {yb <ky>} or interpret as from the root *ybb*, that denotes a loud cry or wail in several Semitic languages. Alternatively, instead of taking the *l* before the following word, *yqz*, as "emphatic," one could consider taking the word divider after *yb* as misplaced and read *ybl*, "he bore (him)."

¹¹³ The reading here is disputed. Rather than CTA's {lqz}, the authors of *KTU* suggest {yqz}, best explained in context as from *yqz* (Heb. *yqz*), "awake, be awake, stay awake," i.e., "observe a wake."

¹¹⁴ The reading of this word, which constitutes the principal point of attachment in the text for the "Kinneret" interpretation of the ²Aqhatu text (Margalit 1989), remains in dispute. For a recent epigraphic study, where the reading {knrt} is accepted, see Pitard 1994b.

Dānī²ilu Curses the Environs of ²Aqhatu's Murder
(iii 151 - iv 168)

Spring of [water], may what pertains to you¹¹⁵ be destroyed,

Woe to you, spring of water,
for you must bear the responsibility for¹¹⁶ valiant
²Aqhatu's murder:

(May you) constantly (be) an alien residing (as a
refugee)^{aa} in a temple,¹¹⁷
now, for a long time,¹¹⁸ and forever more,
now and for all generations.^{oo}

He took thereafter¹¹⁹ (his) staff (in) his hand,^{pp}
traveled to MRRT TĠLL BNR.¹²⁰

(There) he cried out aloud:

Woe to you, MRRT TĠLL BNR,
for you must bear the responsibility for valiant
²Aqhatu's murder:

May your root not grow in the earth,
may (your) top be lowered into the hand of him
who would pull you up;¹²¹
now, for a long time, and forever more,
now and for all generations.

He took thereafter (his) staff (in) his hand,
traveled to the city of ²Abilūma,
²Abilūma, city of Prince Yarihu.

(There) he cried out aloud:

Woe to you, city of ²Abilūma,
for you must bear the responsibility for valiant
²Aqhatu's murder:

May Ba^clu make you blind,^{qq}
at this very moment and forever more,
now and for all generations.

nn Ps 61:5;
cf. Exod
21:13-14

oo Exod 3:15;
Ps 33:11

pp Gen 38:18;
Exod 12:11

qq Deut
28:28

rr Jer 9:16-
17

ss 1 Kgs
18:28;
cf. Deut 14:1;
Jer 16:6

Dānī²ilu Goes Home and Mourns His Son
(iv 169-179)

He took thereafter (his) staff (in) his hand,
Dānī²ilu traveled to his house,
Dānī²ilu arrived at his palace.

The wailing women entered <his house>,¹²²
the mourning women his palace,^{rr}
those who rend their^{ss} skin his court.¹²³

They (all) wept for valiant ²Aqhatu,
shed tears for the child of Dānī²ilu the man of
Rapa^u.

For days, for months,
for months, for years,
even for seven years

Did they (all) weep for valiant ²Aqhatu,
shed tears for the child of Dānī²ilu the man of
Rapa^u.

Dānī²ilu Halts the Mourning and Sacrifices
(iv 179-189)

[Then] after seven years

[Dānī²ilu the man of] Rapa^u spoke up,
The valiant [Harnamite] man responded.

He cried aloud:

Leave [my house], wailing women,
my palace, mourning women,
my court, you who rend your skin.

Then he offered the sacrifice of the gods,
caused his DĠT-sacrifice¹²⁴ to ascend (as smoke)
to the heavens,
the Harnamite DĠT-sacrifice [of] the stars.

...¹²⁵

¹¹⁵ Since Dānī²ilu is not elsewhere designated as a king, it is unlikely that *mlk* here has that meaning. In comparison with *mhy* in the phrase *mhy rġmt*, "What did she say" (RS [Varia] 4:9 = KTU 2.14), *mlk* is interpreted as meaning "what is yours" (Renfroe 1986:70), i.e., a compound relative phrase rather than an interrogative one. As the following verse indicates, the reference here is to the humans who depend on the spring. Cp. Deut 21:1-9.

¹¹⁶ *d^clk*, lit., "who upon you." The same formula recurs below in reference to the city, showing that *c* need not denote "upon, above" in this formula. It can be interpreted either spatially ("near, next to") or causally ("on your account").

¹¹⁷ Others have seen in the signs {grbt'il} a reference to "leprosy" (see Watson 1989:47-48).

¹¹⁸ The phrase *brh* is usually identified as a single word, meaning either "fleeing" or "evil" (bibliography in Pardee 1987:381). The first of these meanings would be parallel to *gr*, "resident alien," in the preceding line, and may well be correct. The phrase in the slot of *nt brh* in col. iv, line 167, however, is *lht*, a prepositional phrase meaning "for now." {brh} may be analyzed, therefore, as *b rh*, with the second word interpreted as from the hollow root *rh*, "be wide, spacious" (used for a spatial interval in Gen 32:17).

¹¹⁹ The word *uħry* has received multiple translations (cf. Renfro 1986:71). A word written like this one means "posterity" in the birth omens text RS 24.247 + :39'-40' (text 1.90)—without vowels we cannot know whether they were pronounced alike. Seeing no interpretation of this passage that admits such a meaning here, I translate as an adverb. One could also translate "he prepared the extremity of the staff in his hand," but one wonders why this word was used for so banal a statement if it refers to simple "taking" and what a more complicated "preparing" would involve.

¹²⁰ From context, this long name is that of the nearest settlement, perhaps, judging from the following metaphor for loss of progeny within a lineage (see next note), a tribal center. The name is unknown in administrative texts and etymological interpretations vary. Assuming that the function of the name is literary rather than geographical, one can interpret the first word as a form of the root *mrr* "be bitter," for "the bitterness of death" is a known idiom.

¹²¹ That the use of tree imagery does not require that *mr̄rt tġll bnr* be interpreted as the name of a tree is shown by the use of similar imagery in the Bible and in the Eshmunazar inscription (KAI 14) to denote descendants.

¹²² *b bth*, "in his house," is restored on the basis of the plausible restoration of line 183.

¹²³ This verse refers to tribal or professional wailing women who put on a proper public show of grief, weeping and wailing (*bky*) and mourning aloud (*spd*), while the men cut their skin (*pgg ġr*), like the prophets of Baal in 1 Kgs 18:28 (*wayyūgōd dū*).

¹²⁴ *Dġt* is plausibly one of very few Indo-European loanwords in Ug. (Hoffner 1964:66-68; some subsequent bibliography in Pardee 1987:391).

¹²⁵ Lines 187-189 are damaged and, though they deal certainly with music (the words [*ms*]lm, "cymbals," and *mrqdm d š[n]*, "ivory clappers," are present), it is uncertain who the musicians are and how close the formulae are to those attested later in RS 24.252:3-5 (see Pardee 1988:97-101).

Pūgatu Sets out to Avenge her Brother (iv 190-end)
Pūgatu, she who bore water on (her) shoulders, responded:

My father has offered sacrifice to the gods,
has caused his DGT-sacrifice to ascend (as smoke) to the heavens,
the Harnamite DGT-sacrifice of the stars.

Pūgatu Seeks and Receives her Father's Blessing
(iv 194-202)

Now bless me so that I may go in a state of blessedness,¹²⁶

pronounce a benediction upon me so that I may go beatified,

So that I may strike down him who struck down my brother,
so that I may finish off him who finished off the (most important) child of my family.¹²⁶

Dānī²ilu the man of Rapa²u responded:

May [Pūgatu] live (long and prosper),¹²⁷ she who bears water on (her) shoulders,
who gathers dew for barley,
who knows the paths of the stars.

[...] she will be successful:¹²⁸

She will strike down the one who struck down [her brother],

she will finish off him who finished off the (most important) child of [her] family.

Gen 24:60

Under the Disguise of a Woman, Pūgatu Dresses as a Warrior (iv 202-208)

[...] that falls in the sea,

she washed herself, [hand] and shoulder;¹²⁹

She rouged herself with 'husk of the sea',¹³⁰

which ranges a thousand furlongs in the sea.¹³¹

She [...], she puts on the outfit¹³² of a warrior,

she put [a knife in] her NŠG,¹³³

a sword she put in [her] sheath;

Then over (these) she put on women's garb.

Pūgatu Meets her Brother's Assassin (iv 208-224)

[At] the going forth of the Divine Light, the Sun,

Pūgatu [...] the M²INŠ of the fields;

At the setting-place of the Divine Light, the Sun,

Pūgatu arrived at the tents.¹³⁴

Word is brought to YTPN:

Our hireling¹³⁵ has come to your dwelling,

[the girl] has come to the tents.

YTPN, [the soldier of] the Lady, responded:¹³⁶

Take, give me wine to drink,

take (this) cup in my hand,

(this) goblet in my right hand.

So Pūgatu took, gave him wine to drink,

took [the cup] from his hand,

the goblet from his right hand.

YTPN, the soldier of the Lady, responded:

From (this very) wine does ²IL²A¹³⁷ drink, the god

¹²⁶ In the phrase ²l²umty, the second word may be either a by-form of ²um, "mother," or, as one would expect, the word for "tribe, clan" (< "mother's lineage"). In the latter case, ²l, which *strictu sensu* means "suckling," would denote "child."

¹²⁷ The idiom here is the same as above addressed to Dānī²ilu (see note 13), "as to (her) throat, may she live."

¹²⁸ The reading and interpretation of this line are uncertain; this version is based on a comparison with CTA 17 i 39 (*hw* there and *hy* here seem to mark the gender distinction).

¹²⁹ KTU read, hesitantly, *w tkm* at the beginning of line 204, a formula different from that found in the Kirta text (²d tkm), which makes reconstruction difficult at the end of line 203. The restoration of *yd* at the end of line 203 produces a formula similar to that attested in the Kirta text, while translating *trthš* reflexively makes the explanation of the singular form *tkm* easier (cf. Margalit 1989:165).

¹³⁰ It has been commonly accepted since De Moor 1968 that the reference is to purple dye, produced from several species of sea mollusk. It is uncertain, however, (1) whether the mollusk would be designated as "husk/envelope of the sea" (the ancients knew well that the actual color came from the organism living inside the shell); (2) whether an idiom used elsewhere for great distances (²alp šd—see above, note 25 and note 21 to the Ba²lu text [1.86]) would be used for the range (see following note) of the mollusk; (3) whether Pūgatu would be depicted as putting royal purple dye on her skin, and (4) whether that act would be expressed by the root ²dm, "red" (various aspects of dying and the two principal shades of "purple" are designated by ²iqn²u and ²phm in Ug.).

¹³¹ Lit., "which a thousand šd is its exiting (²z²uh) in the sea." It is possible, as others have proposed, that a noun parallel to *šlp* is to be reconstructed at the end of line 204; the antecedent of the relative pronoun would have in that case been this noun.

¹³² The word here and for women's garb below is *npš*, the same as designated the father's outfit needing washing in the list of the duties of the good son (see above, note 11).

¹³³ Because *nšg* denotes a specific accoutrement, it is impossible to do more than guess at this meaning. Arabic *nsg*, "to weave," may indicate that the item in question was woven, but that generality could apply to a type of garment or to a type of carrier (cf. the parallel term *t²rt*, "sheath").

¹³⁴ The structure of the formula *šb²//²rb* is that of the merismus, rather than of parallelism (for bibliography see Pardee 1987:441). Unfortunately the obscurity of the second line of these two verses makes it difficult to determine how the merismus is set up. Judging from *m²rb*, the basic type of reference should be spatial ("east ... west") rather than temporal ("morning ... evening"). This is corroborated by the parallelism of "fields" and "tents." The meaning of *m²inš* is, however, uncertain and the verb in that line has disappeared. From the other indicators, one can posit that Pūgatu was traveling from east to west, through fields towards a settlement or encampment. The solar imagery may imply a day's journey as well.

¹³⁵ For lack of vowels it is uncertain whether Pūgatu is being described as the one who does the hiring or as the one who is hired. The distinction is important, for in the following line some restore *nt*, assuming on the basis of the interpretation of ²agrm as "she who hired us," that Pūgatu has been mistaken for the goddess, while others restore *pgr*, interpreting ²agrm as "she whom we have hired," perhaps a reference to the girl as a camp follower. The verse, in the latter interpretation, may have contained a double reversal of expectations: ²gr used passively rather than actively, *pgr* meaning "girl" rather than "Pūgatu" (i.e., the common noun rather than the name of ²Aqhatu's sister).

¹³⁶ Because of the ambiguities inherent in the Ug. writing system, it is uncertain whether the following speech is addressed to the ones who announced Pūgatu's coming or to the girl herself (the translation proposed).

¹³⁷ Most authorities emend to {²iln}, a divine name attested elsewhere.

of the [lady],
 the god who created tent-dwellings.
 The hand that struck down valiant ²Aqhatu
 shall strike down by the thousands the enemies
 of the lady.
 [He who] assigned workmen (to make) tents¹³⁸
 [...]

[...] his/her heart like a serpent [...] ¹³⁹
 A second time she served the mixture,
 served him drink [...]

Colophon

Here is where to resume the story.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ The resemblance between *hršm l ʿahlm* (line 222) and *yqny ddm* (line 220) is too great to be ignored.

¹³⁹ Perhaps a reference to Pūgatu taking a crafty line of behavior.

¹⁴⁰ The form of the colophon here is not that in which the scribe identifies himself, but an indication of how the story is to be taken up on the next tablet (Margalit 1984:178-179).

REFERENCES

Text: CTA 17-19; KTU 1.17-19. Translations and studies: Aitken 1990; Albright 1945; 1953; Albright and Mendenhall 1942; Arnaud 1985-86; Caquot 1985; Caquot, Sznycer, and Herdner 1974; Clifford 1972; Dijkstra and de Moor 1975; Dressler 1984; Driver 1956; Elliott 1991; Gibson 1977; Gordon 1977; Greenfield 1967; Herdner 1963; Hillers 1973; Hoffner 1964; Margalit 1983; 1984; 1989; de Moor 1968; 1987; Nougayrol 1970; del Olmo Lete 1981; Pardee 1977:53-56; 1987; 1988a; 1989-90; 1995; Parker 1989; Pitard 1994a; 1994b; Rainey 1971; Renfroe 1986; van Soldt 1989; Tropper 1989; Tsevat 1971; Virolleaud 1936b; Walls 1992; Watson 1976; 1989a; 1990a; Xella 1976:61-91.

2. HISTORIOGRAPHY

UGARITIC KING LIST (1.104)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This poorly preserved, enigmatic tablet (RS 24.257 = *Ugaritica* 5.5 = KTU 1.113) contains a retrograde¹ list of the kings of Ugarit in two columns on its verso. The very broken recto seems to preserve some sort of ritual, consistently alternating between two musical instruments (*tp* "a tambourine/drum" and *tlb* "a flute) and the word *ln^cm* "for the Pleasant One."

What the exact relationship is (if any) between the recto and the verso has fueled debate over the tablet's genre. Moreover, the use of the divine determinative *ilu* before each royal name in the verso has also caused some scholars to see affiliations with a cult of the royal ancestors at Ugarit. For the most recent discussions see Lewis 1989:47-52; del Olmo Lete 1986; Pardee 1988a:165-178; 1996:276; and Schmidt 1994:67-71.

RECTO

- | | |
|----|---|
| 1 | [...] and his tambourine is high
[...] the peoples, for the Pleasant One |
| | [...] and the flutes are high
[...] for the Pleasant One. |
| 5 | [...] and his tambourine is high
[...] for the Pleasant One.
[...] arrive |
| | [...] the flutes are high
[...] for the Pleasant One. |
| 10 | [...] the Pleasant One. |
| | []x[] |
| | ... |

¹ Kitchen (1977) cites Assyrian and Egyptian evidence of retrograde king lists. Also see most recently Schmidt 1994:67-71.

	VERSO	
<i>Left</i>		<i>Right</i>
(12') [		] []
(13') [		the divine ³ ^c Ammittamru ⁴
(14') [		the divine Ni]qmepa ^c
(15') [		the divine ^c Ammu <rā>pi ²
(16') [²	]]	the divine ² Ibirānu
(17') [	]]	the divine Ya ^c duraddu
(18') [	]]	the divine Niqmepa ^c
(19') [	]] ^p	the divine ² Ibirānu
(20') [	]d[	the divine ^c Ammurāpi ²
(21') [the divine Niq]mepa ^c		[the divine] Niqmepa ^c
(22') [the divine ^c Ammi]ttamru		the divine ² Ibirā[nu]
(23') [	]]	the divine Niqmepa ^c
(24') [	]]	the divine ² Ibirānu
(25') [	]]	the divine Niqmaddu
(26') [	]] ^q	the divine Yaqaru

² From line 16 to line 19 there is a double vertical line between the columns.

³ Lewis suggests that "it is safe to say that, upon death, a ruler was not deified in the full sense of becoming one of the gods who made up the Ug. pantheon ... upon death a ruler was grouped with his deceased ancestors and was referred to as an *ilu*. These *ilu*'s were not worshipped in the same way that El or Baal were and we find no elaborate cult attempting to make them into high gods ... former rulers are singled out and 'honored' much in the same way as they were in life (compare the proper burial accorded to Jezebel in 2 Kings 9:34 'because she was a king's daughter')" (1989:49-51).

⁴ For a recent discussion of the identification of each king in the list see Aboud 1994:11-26, 40.

REFERENCES

*KTU*²:128-129; *TUAT* 1985 1:496-497; Aboud 1994:3-4; Kitchen 1977; Lewis 1989:47-52; del Olmo Lete 1986a; Pardee 1988a:165-178; 1996; Schmidt 1994:67-71; de Tarragon 1980; Virolleaud 1968; Wilson 1977; Xella 1981.

3. REPHA²IM TEXTS

THE PATRONS OF THE UGARITIC DYNASTY (KTU 1.161) (1.105)

Baruch A. Levine, Jean-Michel de Tarragon, Anne Robertson

KTU 1.161 is a canonical liturgy, commemorating the accession of the last king of Ugarit, Ammurapi (III), and his queen, Tharyelli. It was first published by Caquot (1975), working only from a cast of the uncleaned tablet. Subsequently, six photographs appeared in *Ugaritica* 7, plates VII-IX. Bordeuil and Pardee (1982) prepared a new edition of *KTU* 1.161 based, for the first time, on a careful examination of the tablet in Aleppo. It is this version that serves as the basis for the translation presented here.

INTRODUCTION: The Title (line 1)

The written record of the sacred celebration¹ [in honor] of the Patrons:^{a 2}

a Num 14:9;
Jer 48:45;
Ps 121:5-6;
Lam 4:20

The Invitation to the Rephaim (lines 2-10)

You have summoned³ the Rephaim^b of the netherworld;⁴

b Isa 14:9; 26:14; Ps 88:11

¹ Ug. *dbh*, like Heb. *zebah*, may designate a sacred celebration of many parts. Cf. *KTU* 1.148:1: *dbh spn* "the sacred celebration in honor of Saphan." See Exod 12:27; 1 Sam 9:12; 20:29; 2 Kgs 10:19.

² Ug. *zlm*, written with the variant -z-, instead of the usual *šade*. Pitard 1978 was the first to translate *zlm* "protectors," an interpretation that yielded "Patrons." Thus, the Israelites are told that the Canaanites can be defeated, because "their protector (*šillam*) has departed from them, but YHWH remains with us" (Num 14:9b). Similar meanings occur in Akk. (*CAD* § 189, s.v. *šillu*, meaning 5). In Aram., the cognate *šl* "shadow," also connotes "protection" (Greenfield-Porten 1982:30, 61, Word List, s.v. *šl*). Thus, "shade" from the scorching sun became a metaphor for the shelter and protection provided by gods and kings. On the same basis, the long departed ancestors of the Ug. kings were their "Patrons," the guarantors of kingship and succession.

³ The given translation follows Caquot 1975, and Pope 1977:177 in taking the form *qrīm* as a perfect, second person plural "You have summoned," whereas Pitard 1978 takes it as a perfect, first person singular "I have summoned," with enclitic *mem*. The same of uncertainty remains as to the precise form represented by *qbitm* "You have commanded." The verb *qba* is cognate with Akk. *qabû* "to speak, command" (*CAD* Q, 34, s.v. *qabû*, meaning 4).

⁴ The translation "the Rephaim of the netherworld" for Ug. *rpi arš*, takes the singular, oblique form, *rpi*, as a collective. The nominative

You have commanded the the Council of the Didanites!⁵

Summon ULKN, Raph[a]

Summon TRMN, Raph[a]

Summon SDN-w-RDN, [Rapha!]⁶

Summon TR-LLMN, [Rapha!]

[All] summon the most ancient Rephaim!

You have summoned the Rephaim of the netherworld!

You have commanded the Council of the Didanites!

The Invitation to Departed Kings (lines 11-12)

Summon Ammishtamru, the King!

Summon, as well, Niqmaddu, the King!⁷

The Lamentation (lines 13-17)

O, throne of Niqmaddu — weep!

Let his footstool shed tears!

It front of it⁸ — let the royal table weep;

Let it swallow its tears.

Tears, and [more] tears; many tears!⁹

Shapash is Sent to Locate the Departed Kings in the Netherworld (lines 18-26),

Shine bright,¹⁰ O Shapash!

Shine bright, O great luminary!

On high Shapash cries out:

After your lord, from the throne;¹¹

c Gen 37:35

d 1 Sam 25:6;

1 Kgs 2:33;

Isa 57:19;

1 Chr 12:19

After your lord, to the netherworld descend!¹²

To the netherworld descend;

And go down low into the earth.

Below is SDN-w-RDN;¹²

Below is TR-KLLMN;

Below are the the most ancient Rephaim.

Below is Ammishtamru, the King;

Below is Niqmaddu, the King, as well.

Sacrifices in Honor of the New King (lines 27-30)

Once — offer a benefaction.¹³

A second time — offer a benefaction.

A third time — offer a benefaction.

A fourth time — offer a benefaction.

A fifth time — offer a benefaction.

A sixth time — offer a benefaction.

A seventh time — offer a benefaction.

You shall present a bird.

Blessings (lines 31-34)

Hail!¹⁴

Hail, Ammurapi!

And hail to his household!¹⁴

Hail, [Tha]ryelli!¹⁵

Hail to her household!

Hail, Ugarit!

Hail to her gates!

singular form is *rpū*, here taken to be in the accusative, *rp[a]*. Kings and heroes buried in the earth were eventually beatified. For a discussion of this theme at Ugarit and in biblical literature see de Moor 1976; Pope 1977; Levine and de Tarragon 1984.

⁵ Ug. *qbs ddn* "the council of the Didanites" parallels *phr qbs dtn* "the assembled council of the Ditanites" in the Keret epic (KTU 1.15, iii 4,15). Both entities are associated with the Rephaim. The word *Didānu*, also written *Ditānu* and *Tidānu(m)*, refers to a tribe, or large group, perhaps composed of Amorites or neighbors of the Amorites, who inhabited Northeastern Syria in earlier times. To judge from our text and from the Keret epic, the Ugaritians traced their origins to the Didanu people, and thus desired the presence of the Council of Didanites at the accession of their kings. Levine-de Tarragon 1984:654-656; Buccellati 1966:243ff; and Astour 1973.

⁶ The identities of the divine, dead kings, ULKN, TRMN, SDN-w-RDN, and TR-LLMN are unknown, except that they are numbered among the Rephaim.

⁷ Reference is to Niqmaddu III, the father of Ammurapi III, the last king of Ugarit. In the Ug. king list, Niqmaddu III was immediately preceded by a certain Ibiranu, not by Ammistamru II, the king named in the present text. It is likely that our text is summoning only the major kings of the Ug. dynasty to the coronation of Ammurapi III. Another possibility is that Ibiranu and Niqmaddu III were brothers, or co-regents. Kitchen 1977; Healey 1978.

⁸ Ug. *lphn* could alternatively be taken to mean "in front of him," namely, in front of Niqmaddu, himself.

⁹ Ug. *dmu* may represent a metathesis of *dm^ct* "tears," resonating the prothetic form *udm^ct* "tears" in the previous line. Others have derived it from a cognate of Arabic *adima* "to be lacking, without vegetation," hence: "desolation" Lane 1874 Book 1/5:1975-1976.

¹⁰ Ug. *išhn* is to be read *iššahnt* "be warming, bright", an N-stem imperative, fem. sing., addressed to the goddess Shapash. Akk. attests a cognate *šahānu* "to become warm, to warm — the earth" (CAD Š 1:78, s.v. *šahānu*).

¹¹ The Ug. text reads *l ksh*, a scribal error, to be corrected to *l ksi* "from the throne."

¹² Ug. *tht* is taken as a cognate of Heb. *tahat* "below, underneath."

¹³ Ug. *l^cy* "offer a benefaction" is a verbal form, denominative of *l^c* a type of sacrificial offering, listed in KTU 1.39, line 1. The sense of "benefaction" derives from the epithet *l^c* "noble, gracious" as in *krt l^c* "Keret, the noble" in KTU 1.14, IV, 37, a cognate of Heb. *šō^ca* "a generous, noble person" (Job 30:24). A noble person offers a benefaction, just as, in Heb. usage, the *nāḏib* "generous, noble person," offers a sacrifice called *nedābāh* "free-will offering" (Isa 32:5). In form, *l^cy* may be read as a D-stem, plural imperative, *la^ccāyū*, or as an infinitive absolute, *la^ccāyū*, with essentially the same meaning.

¹⁴ The text actually reads *ba(!)h*, corrected with considerable certainty to *bth* "his household."

¹⁵ The name Tharyelli, Ug. *[t]ryl*, is partially restored, but fairly certain. It is clearly written and complete in KTU 2.14, line 8, an official letter. One would expect it to be the name of Ammurapi's queen. It occurs as the name of a donor of a stele to Dagan in KTU 6.13, restored *[t]ryl*, as here, and this name has been equated with Akk. *Šarelli*, a queen of Ugarit named in an Akk. business document from Ugarit, *Ugaritica* 5:159. The same identification is probable in *Ugaritica* 5:161. Laroche 1976.

REFERENCES

Text: KTU 1.161; *Ugaritica* 5 vii; Studies: Astour 1973; Bordreuil and Pardee 1982; Buccellati 1966; Caquot 1975; Greenfield and Porten 1982; Healey 1978; Kitchen 1977; Lane 1874; Laroche 1976-77; Levine and de Tarragon 1984; de Moor 1976; Pitard 1978; Pope 1977a.

C. INDIVIDUAL FOCUS

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1. INSTRUCTIONS

HIPPIATRIC TEXTS (1.106)

Chaim Cohen

The Ugaritic hippiatric texts, dating from the fourteenth to the twelfth centuries BCE, have been known to the scholarly world since 1934, when the first two fragmentary copies (here referred to as B,C) were published by C. Virolleaud. Only in 1968, however, when the best preserved copy (here referred to as A) was first published in *Ugaritica* V, did it become clear that all three texts were in fact copies of the same veterinary procedural (or professional instruction) text, dealing with the therapeutic treatment of sick horses and consisting of a title and ten (copies B and C: nine) structurally parallel sections, demarcated by the underscoring of the last line of each division.¹ Since then, a fourth fragmentary text (here referred to as D) was published in *KTU*¹ in 1976 and this has been followed by two modern critical editions of all four texts by Cohen and Sivan (1983) and Pardee (1985).² Methodologically, these texts are among the most difficult of the Ugaritic texts to interpret since the language is highly technical and many of the terms are nowhere else extant in Ugaritic.³ On the other hand, the very clear tripartite structure of each of the ten sections (Symptoms, Remedy-Components and Their Preparation, The Administering of the Remedy [constant for all ten sections]) as well as the existence of four copies of the same text, provide much more textual and structural evidence than is usually available. A major comparative tool is provided by the occurrence of many of these technical terms (both symptoms and remedy-components) in Akkadian medical texts and plant and drug lists. The few extant Akkadian hippiatric passages and the classical Greek and Latin hippiatric texts have also been consulted.

The following translation refers to the "new revised composite text of UHT" established by C. Cohen which will appear in *UF* 28 together with extensive commentary (Cohen 1997).

Commas have been used in this translation *only* to separate the three parts of each section according to the formal tripartite structure of this text (see Cohen and Sivan 1983:10, 48-51).

Title (1)

Treatise^a concerning the well-being^b (health) of horses:

^a Exod 24:7;
Num 21:14;
Josh 10:13;
2 Sam 1:18;

Section One (2-4)

If^c a horse roars,^d a *št*-measure of the scorpion-like

1 Kgs 8:13 (LXX); 11:41; 14:19,29; Nah 1:1; Esth 2:23; 6:1; 10:2; Neh 7:5; 1 Chr 9:1;
2 Chr 16:11; 25:26 b e.g., Prov 3:17 (contrast 2:18); 24:25; Job 36:11 c) e.g., Exod 21:2,7;
Lev 2:1,4 d 2 Sam 22:14-16 = Ps 18:14-16; 104:5-9; Job 26:11

¹ For the importance of Copy A (= RS 17.120; *KTU* 1.85; Cohen and Sivan 1983:Text A; Pardee 1985:Tablette 1) in restoring the other three texts and in demonstrating that all four are copies of the same hippiatric text, see already *CTA* 1:245 and esp. Fronzaroli 1975:38; Cohen and Sivan 1983:1; Pardee 1985:14-16. For the typology, see especially Cohen and Sivan 1983:1-2; Pardee 1985:13-14; Mack-Fisher 1990. Here it should be emphasized that seven Akk. hippiatric sections and related references have also been found, in some cases embedded in between the "regular human" sections of various Akk. medical texts (see Pardee 1985:appendix III; Stol 1986:174). For a full edition and translation of the two most important Akk. hippiatric sections (*BAM* 159:V:33-36,37-47) see Cohen 1983. See also Köcher *BAM* xiv-xvi; Fronzaroli 1975:44 and n. 40; Stol 1986:174; and most recently Biggs 1990:629b. Regarding the underscored lines see Fronzaroli 1975:41 and nn. 22-27; Cohen and Sivan 1983:8, 11; Pardee 1985:15, 26, n.39. Section eight was omitted from copies B and C and contains somewhat different symptom formulations in A and D (Pardee 1985:15, 27, n. 41). Thus, the four copies reflect divergent traditions only concerning section eight in this otherwise canonical Ug. hippiatric text. See in general Hallo 1991.

² Besides the many different interpretations of individual technical terms, the two main differences in these two critical editions are as follows: a) In Cohen and Sivan, the readings of *KTU*¹ were used (in almost all cases) as the basis for establishing a composite text of paragraphs 1-7 and 10, with an apparatus listing all significant variants in the four copies and with a provisional translation of that text. The Pardee edition contains what appear to be far superior readings of paragraphs 8-9 together with collations undertaken by Prof. Pardee of all four copies. The readings of all four texts are presented individually with RS 17.120 being considered the main standard text, which is also the only one translated. See Pardee 1985:12-13, 20-37. b) In Cohen and Sivan, much more emphasis was placed on utilizing the formal structure of the composite text as crucial evidence for determining the approximate usage and meaning of individual terms. See Cohen and Sivan 1983:48-51. Neither of these two critical editions took the other into consideration. The present translation is of an unpublished "new revised composite text of UHT" incorporating virtually all of Pardee's new readings and most of his restorations in accordance with the formal structure of the composite text as established in the Cohen-Sivan edition. See now Cohen 1997.

³ See Fronzaroli 1975:40, 45-46; Cohen and Sivan 1983:1-3; Pardee 1985:13-14.

plant should be pulverized^e and liquified^f either in a solution^g of *dalīqātu*-groats or of *mundū*-groats, and it (the remedy) should (then) be poured into his nose.

Section Two (5-6)

If a horse discharges/d a putrid liquid, the *mēmētu*-plant and a *bšql*-measure ^h of the *rgz*-tree/plant should be pulverized together, ⁱ and it (the remedy) should (then) be poured into his nose.

Section Three (7-8)

Or if a horse discharges/d a putrid liquid, grain and bitter almond should be pulverized together, and it (the remedy) should (then) be poured into his nose.

Section Four (9-11)

If a horse does not defecate or urinate,^j the sap of a *št*-measure of the *qulqullānu*-tree/plant and a *št*-measure of the *rgz*-tree/plant should be pulverized together, and it (the remedy) should (then) be poured into his nose.

Section Five (12-14)

If a horse is seized^k with "pain," a *št*-measure of average quality *mkšr* and a *št*-measure of the *šakirū*-plant and the "fruit" of the lettuce plant should be pulverized together, and it (the remedy) should (then) be poured into his nose.

Section Six (15-17)

Or if a horse is seized with "pain," the *nīnū*-plant and a *št*-measure of average quality *mkšr* and a *št*-measure of the *urānu*-plant of *hmr*-quality should

^e Num 11:7-8

^f Exod 16:21

^g Isa 5:22;
Ps 102:10;
Prov 9:2,5

^h 2 Kgs 4:42

ⁱ Deut 22:11;
Isa 41:19;
60:13

^j 1 Sam 25:22, 34; 1 Kgs 14:10; 16:11; 21:21; 2 Kgs 9:8; 18:27 = Isa 36:12

^k Exod 15:14, 15; 2 Sam 1:9; Isa 21:3; 33:14; Jer 13:21; 49:24; Ps 48:7; 119:53; Job 21:6; 30:16

^l Exod 16:31; Num 11:7

^m Ezek 47:12

ⁿ 1 Sam 30:12; 2 Kgs 20:7; Isa 38:21

^o 1 Sam 30:12

be pulverized together, and it (the remedy) should (then) be poured into his nose.

Section Seven (18-19)

If a horse *yr²aš*, a *št*-measure of the *pillū*/*billū*-plant of *qt*-quality should be pulverized, and it (the remedy) should (then) be poured into his nose.

{Section Eight (20-22)}

Or if a horse [discharges/d a putrid liquid and is/was leth]argic(?), coriander^l from the hills {and a *št*-measure of ... and} the leaves^m of [...] should be pulverized [together, and it (the remedy) should (then) be poured [into his nose.]]

Section Nine (23-29)

Or if a horse roars, [...] of the juniper-tree [and] the "fruit" of the *trb*-tree/plant <and> the seed ⁱ of the [bitter al]mond similar to ⁱ coriander [and(?) similar to fennel(?) [and] the *mēmētu*-plant and a *št*-measure of the *nīnū*-plant and the "fruit" of the *abukkātu*-plant and a *št*-measure of the *sc*[orpi[on-like plant] <<(and) the *mēmētu* plant >> (?) and the "fruit" of the lettuce-plant and a *bšql*-measure of the *urānu*-plant of *hmr*-quality should be pulverized togeth[er], and it (the remedy) should (then) be poured into his nose.

Section Ten (30-32)

<Or> if <a horse> *yr²aš* and *ykh^p* incessantly, old fig-cakesⁿ and old raisins^o and flour of groats should be pulverized together, and it (the remedy) should (then) be poured into his nose.

REFERENCES

Text: CTA 160-161 (B,C including copies and photos); UT 55-56 (B,C); Ugaritica 5:625-627 - figures 16, 16A, 16B (Photo of A); KTU¹ 1.85; 1.71; 1.72; 1.97 (A,B,C,D); Cohen and Sivan 1983 - composite edition of lines 1-19, 30-32; Pardee 1985 - latest readings, copies and photos (A,B,C,D). Studies: Biggs 1990; Cohen 1983; 1997; Cohen and Sivan 1983; Fronzaroli 1975; Hallo 1991; Köcher BAM xiv-xvi; Mack-Fisher 1990; Pardee 1985; Stol 1979.

2. SCHOOL TEXTS

ABECEDARIES (1.107)

Aaron Demsky

The alphabet was invented in Canaan ca. 1700 BCE, during the Middle Bronze IIB period, a time of increased urbanization and cross cultural fertilization. This invention was probably the result of reflective thought of a local Canaanite scribe familiar with the scripts of the major powers, i.e., Akkadian cuneiform and most likely Egyptian hieroglyphic and hieratic writing. These latter scripts were logo-syllabic in nature, so that each sign represented a word/idea and/or a syllable thus creating a writing system of hundreds of signs. The alphabetic revolution was the radical reduction of graphemes to less than thirty in number. Once the consonantal signs could be memorized in a standard order this revolution in visual communication would have resounding effects on all aspects of society, religion and education in the ancient world. It would not be far-fetched to say that the abecedar, i.e., the conventional order of the letters, is the fundamental building block of western literacy.

There is a difference of opinion among scholars regarding the nature of the Semitic alphabet prior to its adoption by the Greeks who gave letter form to the vowels. There are those who argue the novelty of a true alphabet having reduced writing to a pure consonantal system (e.g., A. H. Gardiner, W. F. Albright, F. M. Cross, J. Naveh,

A. R. Millard, A. Demsky). On the other hand, others maintain that the Semitic alphabet is actually a syllabic system of consonant plus any vowel (I. J. Gelb, G. R. Driver, S. Yeivin, W. W. Hallo). Whatever the case, the basic letter order is documented from Ugarit of the 14th century BCE, which probably indicates also the antiquity of the letter names and method of instruction.

1. The Order of the Letters

There are two basic systems for ordering the letters of the alphabet. The first and most familiar is generally called the Northwest Semitic order. It is found already in Ugaritic cuneiform and in the linear scripts used for Canaanite and Aramaic from which were derived the Greek, Latin and Etruscan forms in the west and classical Arabic in the south. It is this basic sequence which has given us the terms *aleph-bet* in Hebrew, *alpha beta* in Greek, *abecedarium* in Latin and *abgedhawa* in Arabic.

The second system is the so-called South Semitic order known from South Arabic inscriptions (5th century BCE) and from medieval Ethiopic (Geez) manuscripts. However, recent research has shown that this too was an alternate sequence known and practiced in the scribal schools of ancient Canaan. A. G. Lundin (1987b) deciphered this order on a 13th century BCE alphabetic cuneiform tablet discovered in the 1930's at Tel Beth Shelesh. With the stabilization of the alphabet at the beginning of the Iron Age, the *ABC* order dominated and caused the second *HLHM* sequence to be displaced to the periphery of the Semitic world, though there might have been some later contact between the two (Knauf 1985:204-206).

The Ugaritic abecedar with twenty-seven individual signs represents the full phonetic range of that language, which may have been also the original Proto-Canaanite alphabet (Lundin 1987a). Local scribes probably added three more signs at the end for greater clarity in writing other languages in use at Ugarit. Many complete and incomplete abecedaria have been found in Israel from the Iron Age down to the Roman period; they were written by professional writers as well as by semi-literates. Sometimes they were engraved on stone, even in the negative by seal cutters practicing their trade, sometimes they were written in ink on shards. For some it was a learning exercise and for others it was a way to pass time.

The Izbet Sartah ostrakon (ca. 1200) is worth special attention for it is the oldest reduced twenty-two letter alphabet inscribed in the Proto-Canaanite script (Demsky 1977; 1986). This beginner's exercise tablet, written from left to right, is also peculiar in that some of the letters are transposed: the *heth* precedes the *zayin* and the *pe* comes before the *ain*. While one might assume this to be a child's sloppiness, the *pe-ain* sequence is found in the alphabetic acrostics of Lamentations 2, 3 and 4, as well as in the triple abecedar in the Hebrew script found at Kuntillet Ajrud (early 8th century BCE) indicating a contemporary secondary Israelite scribal tradition of ordering the letters.

The Greek alphabet reflects the conservative nature of a literate education in that it preserves the basic order of the Canaanite alphabet as well as the traditional (and the unintelligible) Semitic names. At the same time, it also demonstrates the ability of a recipient culture, especially a geographically distant, non-dependent one, to deviate from the norm in adapting the alphabet to its own phonetic stock, which in this case probably led to the innovative visualization of the vowels. As in the Ugaritic alphabet, the Greeks added additional letters at the end of the list.

The classical Arabic alphabet, derived from the twenty-two letter Aramaic through the Nabataean script (Healey 1990-91), was six letters short of its phonemic range. This difficulty was resolved by adding diacritical points to the available forms, similar to the *shin/sin* distinction in Hebrew. The Arabic alphabet was then reordered according to the external shape of the letters. Still one can discern the underlying influence of the traditional Aramaic abecedar when new forms appear, e.g., *alf, ba, gim, dal ... yn, fa ... kaf, lam, mim, nun ... he, waw, ya* and the use of the *abgedhawa* sequence to represent numerals.

The North Semitic abecedar and its derivatives

Ugaritic: ²a b g h d h w z h t y k l m n z s ^cp q r t g t + ²i ²u s

Standard Canaanite: ²b g d h w z h t y k l m n s ^cp q r s t

Izbet Sartah: ²b g d h w h z t y k l m n s p ^cs q r s t

Greek: Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ + Υ Φ Χ Ψ Ω

Arabic: ²b t t g h h d d r z s s s d t z ^cg f q k l m n h w y

The South Semitic abecedaries

South Arabic: h l h m q w s r g/b t s k n h s f ^cd g d b/g t z d y t s/z

Ethiopic: h l h m s r s q b t h n ²k w ^cz y d g t p s d f p s

2. The Letter Names

The names of the letters seem to be an integral part of the abecedar, preserving through a mnemonic ditty the traditional order. The letter sequence was not determined in antiquity by either similarity of shape or phonetic origins. In his decipherment of the Proto-Sinaitic script, A. H. Gardiner (1916) proposed the *acrophonic principle*

where the pictographic form of the letter was chosen because it represented an object whose name began with the desired consonant, e.g., "house," in Canaanite *bet*, represents the phoneme *b*. This would mean that the names go back to the very invention of the alphabet. Cross and Lambdin (1960) published an exercise tablet from Ugarit which gives the initial syllable in Akkadian cuneiform for the names of the alphabet. As they have shown these initial syllables correspond to the Canaanite letter names.

This observation has been challenged by W. W. Hallo (1958), who has argued on the basis of Isa 28:9-13 that the names were actually the consonant plus a helping sound like *aw*, e.g., *waw*, *šaw*, *qaw*, *taw* (cf. Greek *mu*, *nu*). Following this possibility, we might suggest that in certain scribal schools some of the names were composed by adding a *t* to the initial consonant, e.g., *bet*, *het*, *tet* and Greek *zeta* or by seeking words that begin and end in the same consonant, e.g., *waw*, *mem*, *nun* and possibly **gag*, **iit* **šiš* (cf. in rabbinic literature the late names *hehin*, *pepin*, *b. Šabb.* 103b). It seems therefore that letter names were somewhat fluid, especially as the form of the signs became simplified and chronologically removed from the original pictograph.

The letter names of the Hebrew alphabet are first recorded in the Greek Septuagint of the alphabetic acrostic Psalm 119, reflecting the nomenclature of the third century BCE at the latest. An examination of the names will show two linguistic sources that probably reflect the adoption of the Aramaic script by the Jews no later than this century. We can determine the late non-Canaanite names either by the pronunciation of the diphthong (*ain*, *zain*) or by the choice of an Aramaic word instead of the Canaanite form preserved in the Greek alphabet, e.g., *zain* instead of *zet* or *resh* instead of *ro(sh)* and *nun* instead of *nahash* as in Ethiopic.

3. Exercises

Since learning the alphabet was a function of a formal curriculum, we can assume that there were different exercises for memorizing the order of the letters already at an early period. An exercise that is already documented in the sixth century BCE is the *ATBaSh* exercise which is based on the equal division of the twenty-two letters of the alphabet, correlating the first and last letter, the second and 21st letter and so on. Jeremiah (25:25,26; 51:1,41) uses this elementary school exercise to create audience participation in comprehending the intent of his prophesy by substituting the corresponding letters: *ššk* ↔ *bbl*; *lškmy* ↔ *kšdym*; *zmry* for *zmky* ↔ *ylm* (i.e., Elam).

For variety, the teachers devised the *ALBaM* exercise, where the first and twelfth letters, etc. were matched, e.g., *bg* ↔ *lmn*. In the Latin primary school one could therefore learn his *abecedarium* or the *elementum*, which gave rise to the term elementary (school) (Coogan 1974). Further variations and combinations were devised and are noted in the classical period for Hebrew (*b. Šabb.* 104), Greek (Jerome) and Latin (Quintilian).

4. Application of the Abecedarium

In antiquity, the fixed abecedarium created new opportunities for literary expression and memory aids especially in three areas:

a) the organization of information and the placing of objects in their proper order according to the alphabet. E. Puech (1980) has published a second century CE document that contains an abecedarium in addition to an incomplete alphabetized list of personal names. It seems from Zech 6:10, 14 that the prophet and his audience also were using the alphabet to order and remember pertinent data already in the late 6th century BCE (Demskey 1981). Occasional inscriptions of letters of the alphabet found on the back of ivory pieces from Samaria or on stone gutters or pillars show that the alphabet had become knowledge of joiners and masons and their tool for facilitating their work.

b) aesthetics as expressed in writing alphabetic acrostic poetry. This literary technique allows the biblical poet to strive for completeness and totality (cf. *me^aalef ve^aad taw*, *b. Šabb* 55a; *b. Abod. Zar.*), as well as challenging the poet's ability to express himself within the structural demands of the alphabet, which would be similar to composing a haiku or a sonnet. There is variation in the limited number of acrostic poems, for instance some are complete or partially incomplete and others are fragmentary (Nah 1:1-11; Pss 9-10). Furthermore, Lam 3 is a triple acrostic while Ps 119 is eightfold. It is possible that this literary form influenced the length of other compositions, limiting them to twenty-two verses, the number of the letters in the alphabet, as in Lam 5 (Brug 1990:290). The alphabetic acrostic might have been popular among learned members of the Wisdom School not only as a didactic method but also as a literary device to conclude their works as in Prov 31:10-31 and Sir 51 or to express the comprehensive nature of Torah (Ps 119). In this context, note Ceresko's observations (1985) that the additional *pe* at the end of Pss 25 and 34 creates a subtle acrostic pattern *alp*, with the first and middle letters of these psalms, which spells not only the name of the first letter but also the verb "to teach" (see Job 33:33), or perhaps "to alphabetize." Garsiel (1994) has shown another literary development in the biblical poets' predilection to play on the conventional letter names.

c) express the mysterious and the magical or a reference to the divine, e.g., *Alpha-Omega* (Rev 1:8; 22:13) or the rabbinic statement (*y. Sanh.* 18a) that God's personal seal reads *Emet*, i.e., "truth," which is composed of the first, last and (almost) middle letters of the alphabet (see Dornseiff 1925).

In a very perceptive proverb found at the end of the Syriac version of Ahiqar (Conybeare 1913:127), the author juxtaposed the school lesson in learning the alphabet with its potential for popular literacy. An unlikely but intuitively intelligent student — the wolf — is brought into the formal educational system including the teacher/master (*rab*), the school house (*bet sfr²a*) and elementary curriculum ²*alf bet*. The result of this meeting is that the wolf quickly recognizes the potential of the alphabet as a means of achieving his own goals, in this case in having a good meal of kid. While the teacher is still on the opening lesson of the first two letters, the wolf anticipates the next lesson by providing a word which includes the following two letters and one that indicates his personal aim in life.

"They brought him (the wolf) into the school house. His master said to him, '²*Aleph-Beth*.' The wolf said, '*Gady²a*'" ("the kid," here used for the name of the third letter).

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AKKADIAN CANONICAL COMPOSITIONS

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A. DIVINE FOCUS

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1. MYTHS

THE DESCENT OF ISHTAR TO THE UNDERWORLD (1.108)

Stephanie Dalley

The Akkadian story is first attested in Late Bronze Age texts, in both Babylonia and Assyria, and later from the palace library at Nineveh. It is a short composition of some 140 lines, and seems to end with ritual instructions for the *taklimtu*, an annual ritual known from Assyrian texts, which took place in the month of Dumuzi (Tammuz = June/July) and featured the bathing, anointing, and lying-in-state of a statue of Dumuzi in Nineveh, Arbela, Assur and Kalah.¹ Weeping for Tammuz was observed in Jerusalem in the 6th century BCE according to Ezek 8:14.

The Sumerian version, *The Descent of Inanna*, is attested earlier, and is much longer, consisting of some 410 lines. It is a fuller, more detailed account, and shows clearly that Dumuzi periodically died and rose, causing seasonal fertility, a fact which had been doubted until 1963, when a newly published fragment disclosed the crucial evidence. This version contains no ritual or incantation. However, like the Akkadian story, it seems to represent the goddess as a cult statue, and it has been suggested that the goddess's statue makes a ritual journey from Uruk, her home town, to Kutha, seat of Underworld deities.

There is an obvious similarity in basic theme to the Greek myth of Persephone, who was abducted by Hades. He periodically released her to her mother Demeter, thus causing fertility on earth to be seasonal, but of course there are many major differences between the Greek and the Akkadian myths.

Certain lines of text in *The Descent of Ishtar* are also found in *Nergal and Ereshkigal* and in *Gilgamesh*.

To Kurnugi, land of [no return],² Ishtar daughter of Sin was [determined] to go;³ The daughter of Sin was determined to go To the dark house, dwelling of Erkalla's god, To the house which those who enter cannot leave, On the road where travelling is one-way only, To the house where those who enter are deprived of light, Where dust is their food, clay their bread. They see no light, they dwell in darkness, (10) They are clothed like birds, with feathers.⁴ Over the door and the bolt, dust has settled. Ishtar, when she arrived at the gate of Kurnugi, Addressed here words to the keeper of the gate, "Here gatekeeper, open your gate for me, Open your gate for me to come in! If you do not open the gate for me to come in, I shall smash the door and shatter the bolt, I shall smash the doorpost and overturn the	doors,⁵ I shall raise up the dead and they shall eat the living: (20) The dead shall outnumber the living!"⁶ The gatekeeper made his voice heard and spoke, He said to great Ishtar, "Stop, lady, do not break it down! Let me go and report your words to queen Ereshkigal." The gatekeeper went in and spoke to [Ereshkigal], "Here she is, your sister Ishtar [...] Who holds the great <i>keppū</i>-toy,⁷ Stirs up the Apsu in Ea's presence [...]" When Ereshkigal heard this, Her face grew livid as cut tamarisk, (30) Her lips grew dark as the rim of a <i>kuntnu</i>- vessel.⁸ "What brings her to me? What has incited her against me?"
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¹ Farber 1977:122-123; Stol 1988:127-128.

² This passage occurs almost verbatim in *Nergal and Ereshkigal* (see text 1.109 below).

³ Ishtar is named as daughter of Sin rather than daughter of Anu, as she is in *Gilgamesh*. This may imply that the story is not closely associated with the literary traditions of Uruk.

⁴ Underworld creatures are often represented with feathers in Mesopotamian iconography.

⁵ The tablet from Assur adds an extra line: "I shall break the hinges(?) and tear out the knob(?)."

⁶ The same threat is made by Ereshkigal in *Nergal and Ereshkigal* if the sky gods do not send Nergal back down to the Underworld, and by Ishtar in *Gilgamesh*.

⁷ *keppū*-toy: perhaps a whipping top. The old interpretation of *keppū* as a skipping rope was based on a misinterpretation of a glyptic scene, and should be abandoned. It may be a whipping-top (a spinning top lashed into faster gyrations with a cord) which is shown in action at Carchemish on a mural sculpture in relief, dating to the early first millennium BCE.

⁸ Namtar's reactions in *Nergal and Ereshkigal*, when he saw Nergal at the gate, are expressed in identical similes. The *kuntnu* was a particular kind of vessel often made of reeds, of which the rim was coated with bitumen, thus black-lipped.

Surely not because I drink water with the Anunnaki,
 I eat clay for bread, I drink muddy water for beer?
 I have to weep for young men forced to abandon sweethearts.⁹
 I have to weep for girls wrenched from their lovers' laps.⁹
 For the infant child I have to weep, expelled before its time.⁹
 Go, gatekeeper, open your gate to her.
 Treat her according to the ancient rites."
 The gatekeeper went. He opened the gate to her.
 (40) "Enter, my lady: may Kutha give you joy,¹⁰
 May the palace of Kurnugi be glad to see you."
 He let her in through the first door, but stripped off (and) took away the great crown on her head.
 "Gatekeeper, why have you taken away the great crown on my head?"
 "Go in, my lady. Such are the rites of the Mistress of Earth."
 He let her in through the second door, but stripped off (and) took away the rings in her ears.
 "Gatekeeper, why have you taken away the rings in my ears?"
 (50) "Go in, my lady. Such are the rites of the Mistress of Earth."
 He let her in through the third door, but stripped off (and) took away the beads around her neck.
 "Gatekeeper, why have you taken away the beads around my neck?"
 "Go in, my lady. Such are the rites of the Mistress of Earth."
 He let her in through the fourth door, but stripped off (and) took away the toggle-pins at her breast.¹¹
 "Gatekeeper, why have you taken away the toggle-pins at my breast?"
 "Go in, my lady. Such are the rites of the Mistress of Earth."
 He let her in through the fifth door, but stripped off (and) took away the girdle of birth-stones¹² around her waist.
 "Gatekeeper, why have you taken away the girdle of birthstones¹² around my waist?"
 "Go in, my lady. Such are the rites of the Mistress of Earth."
 He let her in through the sixth door, but stripped off (and) took away the bangles on her wrists

and ankles.

"Gatekeeper, why have you taken away the bangles on my wrists and ankles?"

"Go in, my lady. Such are the rites of the Mistress of Earth."

(60) He let her in through the seventh door, but stripped off (and) took away the proud garment of her body.

"Gatekeeper, why have you taken away the proud garment of my body?"

"Go in, my lady. Such are the rites of the Mistress of Earth."

As soon as Ishtar went down to Kurnugi,¹³
 Ereshkigal looked at her and trembled before her.
 Ishtar did not deliberate (?), but threatened her.
 Ereshkigal made her voice heard and spoke,
 Addressed her words to Namtar her vizier,

"Go, Namtar [] of my []
 Send out against her sixty diseases []
 Ishtar;

(70) Disease of the eyes to her [eyes],
 Disease of the arms to her [arms],
 Disease of the feet to her [feet],
 Disease of the heart to her [heart],
 Disease of the head [to her head],
 To every part of her and to []."

After Ishtar the mistress of (?) [] had gone down to Kurnugi],

No bull mounted a cow, [no donkey impregnated a jenny],

No young man impregnated a girl [in the street (?)],

The young man slept in his private room,

(80) The girl slept in the company of her friends.
 Then Papsukkal, vizier of the great gods, hung his head, his face [became gloomy];

He wore mourning clothes, his hair was unkempt.
 Dejected (?), he went and wept before Sin his father,

His tears flowed freely before king Ea.

"Ishtar has gone down to the Earth and has not come up again.

As soon as Ishtar went down to Kurnugi
 No bull mounted a cow, no donkey impregnated a jenny,

No young man impregnated a girl in the street,
 The young man slept in his private room,

(90) The girl slept in the company of her friends."
 Ea, in his wise heart, created a person.¹⁴

⁹ Alternatively these lines may be interpreted as rhetorical questions.

¹⁰ Buccellati suggested that the Sum. *Descent of Inanna* is based on the ritual journey made by a statue of the goddess from Uruk to Kutha (Buccellati 1982), and George remarked that the goddess is described as if she were a statue in this version. The reference to Kutha here may be a relic of the journey theme in the Sum. version; or since Kutha had Nergal as patron god, the city name may be used as a name for the Underworld as Nergal's dwelling (George 1985:109-113).

¹¹ The identification of *nuditu* as "toggle-pin" rather than "pectoral" was made by Klein 1983.

¹² Or: "the girdle with the birthstone."

¹³ Note that Ishtar does not cross the river in order to reach the Underworld, nor does Nergal in *Nergal and Ereshkigal*.

¹⁴ Pun on *zikru*, "word, name" and *zikaru/zikru*, "man, male," as also in *Gilgamesh*, II.

He created Good-looks the playboy.¹⁵

"Come, Good-looks, set your face towards the gate of Kurnugi.

The seven gates of Kurnugi shall be opened before you.

Ereshkigal shall look at you and be glad to see you.

When she is relaxed, her mood will lighten.

Get her to swear the oath by the great gods.

Raise your head, pay attention to the waterskin,¹⁶

Saying, 'Hey, my lady, let them give me the waterskin, that I may drink water from it.'

(And so it happened. But)

(100) When Ereshkigal heard this,
She struck her thigh and bit her finger.

"You have made a request of me that should not have been made!

Come, Good-looks, I shall curse you with a great curse.¹⁷

I shall decree for you a fate that shall never be forgotten.

Bread (gleaned [?]) from the city's ploughs shall be your food,¹⁸

The city drains shall be your only drinking place,

The shade of a city wall your only standing place,

Threshold steps your only sitting place,

The drunkard and the thirsty shall slap your cheek."

Ereshkigal made her voice heard and spoke;

(110) She addressed her words to Namtar her vizier,

"Go, Namtar, knock (?) at Egalgina,

Decorate the threshold steps with coral,¹⁹

Bring the Anunnaki out and seat (them) on golden thrones,²⁰

Sprinkle Ishtar with the waters of life²¹ and

conduct her into my presence."

Namtar went, knocked at Egalgina,

Decorated the threshold steps with coral,

Brought out the Anunnaki, seated (them) on golden thrones,

Sprinkled Ishtar with the waters of life and brought her to her (sister).

He let her out through the first door, and gave back to her the proud garment of her body.²²

(120) He let her out through the second door, and gave back to her the bangles for her wrists and ankles.

He let her out through the third door, and gave back to her the girdle of birth stones¹² around her waist.

He let her out through the fourth door, and gave back to her the toggle pins at her breast.

He let her out through the fifth door, and gave back to her the beads around her neck.

He let her out through the sixth door, and gave back to her the rings for her ears.

He let her out through the seventh door, and gave back to her the great crown for her head.

"Swear that (?) she has paid you her ransom, and give her back (in exchange) for him."²³

For Dumuzi, the lover of her youth.

Wash (him) with pure water, anoint him with sweet oil,

Clothe him in a red robe, let the lapis lazuli pipe play (?).²⁴

(130) Let party-girls raise a loud lament (?).²⁵

Then Belili tore off (?) her jewelry,

Her lap was filled with eyestones.

Belili heard the lament for her brother, she struck the jewelry [from her body],

The eyestones with which the front of the wild cow was filled.²⁶

"You shall not rob me (forever) of my only brother!

On the day when Dumuzi comes back up, (and) the lapis lazuli pipe and the carnelian ring

¹⁵ Lit., "His appearance is bright." he may have been a boy castrated as an act of devotion. Such a practice is described by Lucian, *The Syrian Goddess* (see Attridge and Oden 1976). The name may be an intentional play on a name of the moon-god, who like the boy could travel to and from the Underworld without being harmed. In the Sum. version of the story, two impotent creatures are sent down to the Underworld and they take a plant of life and water of life with them.

¹⁶ Kilmer suggests this is a cryptic reference to Ishtar's corpse. *halziqqu* is a very rare word for a waterskin, and a pun may be intended on the two words *ali*, "ghost" and *ziqqu*, "gust" (1971:229-311); I suggest this to support her idea.

¹⁷ The same line is used in *Gilgamesh*, VII.i.

¹⁸ Similar formulation of the curse, and two identical lines, are found in Enkidu's curse of Shamhat in *Gilgamesh*, VII.i. The Sum. version does not include any cursing. "City's ploughs": the variant, "city's bakers," may be due to mis-hearing by oral tradition, since "bakers" and "plough" are both Akk. words beginning *epi*.

¹⁹ "Coral" or "cowries"; the meaning of the noun is not quite certain.

²⁰ Possibly a reference to a ritual against seizure by ghosts. See Introduction to Nergal and Ereshkigal. Akk. *kussu* is both a chair and a throne. In the Sum. story the Anunnaki seize the goddess, demand a substitute for her, and send her out of the Underworld with demons who are to bring her back if their demand is not met.

²¹ Waters of life also feature in the myth of Adapa; and in John 4:10.

²² Either Namtar or the doorkeeper is the subject.

²³ Equivalent instructions are given to the demons in the Sum. story. A variant Akk. text gives the information that Ereshkigal is speaking to Namtar.

²⁴ Corpses were wrapped in red cloth for burial; traces have occasionally been recovered by excavations.

²⁵ "Party girls": attached to the staff of Ishtar's temples.

²⁶ Probably beads of banded agate and similar stones, which were often inscribed with the name of the donor; see Lambert 1969b:65-71.

come up with him,²⁷
(When) male and female mourners come up
with him,

The dead shall come up and smell the incense
offering."
(3 lines missing)

²⁷ In the Sum. story Dumuzi's sister Geshtin-anna pleads for his periodic release. Also in the Sum. story, Inanna took the "rod and ring," emblems of kingship, down to the Underworld; this may be a reference to those emblems.

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Text: Borger *BAL*² 1:95-104, 2:340-343. Studies: Buccellati 1982; Dalley 1989:154-162; Ebeling 1949; George 1985; Klein 1983; Attridge and Oden 1976; Kilmer 1971; Lambert 1969b.

NERGAL AND ERESHKIGAL
(Standard Babylonian Version) (1.109)

Stephanie Dalley

Two very different versions of this story are extant. The earlier one was found at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt, dating from the fifteenth or fourteenth centuries BCE, and is told in a highly abbreviated manner in about ninety lines. Nergal visits the Underworld accompanied by demons, seizes the throne of Ereshkigal, queen of the Underworld, by force, and remains thereafter as king.

The version known from Sultantepe of the seventh century BCE and from Uruk in the Late Babylonian period is much longer, consisting of perhaps 750 lines. In this story Nergal makes two visits to the Underworld, and takes down with him not demons but a special chair or throne. The meaning of the chair may be explained by reference to a particular piece of furniture called a "ghost's chair" in lexical texts; its purpose is explained in a ritual text as preventing seizure by ghosts:

If a man is chosen for death, and a ghost has seized him, you must purify everything. ... place a bread ration before Shamash, Ea, and Marduk, threefold; scatter dates, flour, set up three *adagurru*-vessels; set up three censers with aromatics, scatter all kinds of cereals. You must put down a chair to the left of the offerings for the ghost of his kin, ...

Thus, Nergal takes the chair down in an attempt to ensure that he can escape from the Underworld and elude death.

Both myths share the same basic theme: that the gods hold a banquet and, since Ereshkigal as queen of the Underworld cannot come up to join them, she sends her vizier to fetch a portion for her. Nergal behaves disrespectfully to the vizier, and for the insult to Ereshkigal he must be punished by her. He ends up as her husband.

It might appear that this myth records the transition of rule in the Underworld from a solitary female deity to a pair. However, Nergal is called "the Ellil of the Netherworld" in a composition from the late third or early second millennium, so it may be preferable to ascribe to the myth a different purpose, such as harmonizing two separate traditions. No Sumerian version of the story is known.

Nergal's ability to travel between heaven and the Underworld may be related to a major event in Phoenician religion. The name of Melqart, chief god of Tyre, is a Phoenician translation of the Sumerian name Nergal, and they are thus very closely assimilated. There is now evidence that Melqart was a dying and rising god, although the precise timing of events during the ritual of his death and resurrection has still to be established. Possible Phoenician influence upon Nergal and Ereshkigal is found in the use of the "plural of majesty," in referring to Nergal as "gods."

(SBV i) [About 4 lines missing?]¹

[Anu made his voice heard and spoke, he
addressed his words to Kakka],
["Kakka, I shall send you to Kurnugi].
You must speak thus to Ereshkigal [...],
Saying 'It is impossible for you to come up].
(10') [In your year you cannot come up to see us]
[And it is impossible for us to go down].
[In our month(s) we cannot go down to see
you].
[Let your messenger come]

[And take from the table, let him accept a
present for you].

[I shall give something to him to present to
you]."

[Kakka went down the long stairway of heaven].
[When he reached the gate of Ereshkigal (he said)],
["Gatekeeper, open] the gate to me!"
["Kakka, come] in, and may the gate bless
you."

(20') He let the god Kakka in through the first gate,
He let the god Kakka in through the second gate,

¹ The opening of the myth as suggested by Gurney 1960 was wrongly assigned to this composition, and is now joined to a different tablet.

He let the god Kakka in through the third gate,
 He let the god Kakka in through the fourth gate,
 He let the god Kakka in through the fifth gate,
 He let the god Kakka in through the sixth gate,
 He let the god Kakka in through the seventh gate.
 He entered into her spacious courtyard,
 He knelt down and kissed the ground in front of her.

He straightened up, stood and addressed her,
 (30') "Anu your father sent me
 To say, 'It is impossible for you to go up;
 In your year you cannot go up to see us,
 And it is impossible for us to go down;
 In our month we cannot go down to see you.
 Let your messenger come
 And take from the table, let him accept a
 present for you.
 I shall give something to him to present to
 you.'"

Ereshkigal made her voice heard and spoke, she
 addressed her words to Kakka,
 "O messenger of Anu our father, you who
 have come to us,
 (40') May peace be with Anu, Ellil, and Ea,
 the great gods.
 May peace be with Nammu and Nash, the pure
 god(desse)s.²
 May peace be with the husband of the Lady of
 Heaven.³
 May peace be with Ninurta, [champion] in the
 land."

Kakka made his voice heard and spoke, he address-
 ed his words to Ereshkigal
 "Peace is indeed with Anu, Ellil, and Ea, the
 great gods.
 Peace is indeed with Nammu and Nash the
 pure.
 Peace is indeed with the husband of the Lady
 of Heaven.
 Peace is indeed with Ninurta, champion in the
 land."

Kakka made his voice heard and spoke, he address-
 ed his words to Ereshkigal,⁴
 (50') "[] may be well with you."

Ereshkigal made her voice heard and spoke, she
 addressed her words to her vizier Namtar,
 "O Namtar my vizier, I shall send you to the
 heaven of our father Anu.
 Namtar, go up the long stairway of heaven.

Take from the table and accept a present (for
 me).
 Whatever Anu gives to you, you must present
 to me."

[about 16 lines missing]

(ii) [about 10 lines missing]

Ea addresses Nergal

[...]

"[When he arrived [...]

[...] path [...]

The gods are kneeling together before him.

The great gods, the lords of destiny.

For it is he who controls the rites, controls the
 rites of [...]

The gods who dwell within Erkalla.

Why do you not kneel down before him?

I keep winking at you,

(10') But you pretend not to realize,

And ...

[6 lines missing]

(Nergal addresses Ea)

[...] I will rise to my feet⁵

[...] you said.

(20') [...] will double it."

When Ea heard this he said to himself,

"....."

(Then) Ea made his voice heard and spoke, he ad-
 dressed his words to Nergal.

"My son, you shall go on the journey you want
 (to make), ... grasp (?) a sword in your
 hand.

Go down to the forest of *mēsu*-trees.

Cut down *mēsu*-trees, *tiāru*-trees, and juniper!

Break off *kanaktu*-trees and *simberru*-trees."⁶

When [Nergal] heard this, he took an axe up in his
 hand,

Drew the sword from his belt,

Went down to the forest of *mēsu*-trees,

Cut down *mēsu*-trees, *tiāru*-trees, and juniper,

(30') Broke off *kanaktu*-trees and *simberru*-trees,

[] and Ningišzida.⁷

He painted it with gypsum [... as a substitute for
 silver],⁸

Painted it with yellow paste and red paste as a
 substitute for gold,

Painted it with blue glaze as a substitute for lapis
 lazuli.

² Nash is an abbreviated and assimilated form of the name Nanshe. Nammu and Nanshe are the mother and daughter of Ea.

³ Possibly a reference to Dumuzi.

⁴ This line appears to be an unnecessary addition.

⁵ Or, "Should I rise to my feet?"

⁶ *mēsu*-wood: a dark wood used in making divine statues, probably a form of rosewood (*Dalbergia*). *tiāru*: described as "white pine" in explanatory texts. *kanaktu*: an aromatic timber, not identified. *simberru*: an aromatic fruit tree; maybe Umbrella pine/pine-nuts, Arabic *ṣnobar*; the Uruk text established this reading, replacing Gurney's restoration of the Sultantepe text, which was damaged at that point, as "staff."

⁷ Uruk version has "[...] he made a throne for far-sighted Ea."

⁸ The Sultantepe version has "lapis lazuli" here, perhaps as a scribal confusion because it is a school exercise tablet; so the Uruk version is preferred here.

The work was finished, the chair complete.

Then he (Ea) called out and laid down instructions for him,

"My son, (about) the journey which you want to make: from the moment you arrive, [Follow whatever instructions [I give you]. From the moment they bring a chair to you, Do not go to it, do not sit upon it.

(40') (When) the baker brings you bread, do not go to it, do not eat the bread.

(When) the butcher brings you meat, do not go to it, do not eat the meat.

(When) the brewer brings you beer, do not go to it, do not drink the beer.

(When they) bring you a foot bath, do not go to it, do not wash your feet.

(When) she (Ereshkigal) has been to the bath And dressed herself in a fine dress,⁹

Allowing you to glimpse her body ...

You must not [do that which] men and women [do]"

Nergal [...]

[about 12 lines missing]

Nergal set his face towards Kurnugi,

To the dark house, dwelling of Erkalla's god,

To the house which those who enter cannot leave,

(iii) On the road where travelling is one way only, To the house where those who enter are deprived of light,

Where dust is their food, clay their bread.

They are clothed, like birds, with feathers.

They see no light, they dwell in darkness.

[...]

[... they moan(?) like doves.

[...]

[The gatekeeper opened his mouth and addressed his words to Nergal,

(10') "I must take back a report about the [god(?) standing] at the door."

The gatekeeper entered and addressed his words to Ereshkigal,

"My lady, a [...] has come to see us.

[...] who will identify him."

[a few lines missing]

Ereshkigal made her voice heard and spoke to Namtar.

[3 lines missing, comprising Ereshkigal's speech]

[Namtar replies:]

"Let me identify him [...]"

Let me ... him at the outer gate.

Let me bring back to my lord [a description of him."

(20') Namtar went and looked at Erra in the shadow of the door.

Namtar's face went as livid as cut tamarisk.

His lips grew dark as the rim of a *kuntnu*-vessel.¹⁰

Namtar went and addressed his lady,

"My lady, when you sent me to your father,

When I entered the courtyard of Anu

All the gods were kneeling, humbled [before him(?)]

All the gods of the land were kneeling [humbled before him.]

"The gods' rose to their feet in my presence."¹¹

Now 'they' have gone down to Kurnugi."

(30') Ereshkigal made her voice heard and spoke, she addressed her words to Namtar,

"My dear Namtar, you should not seek Ellil-power

Nor should you desire to do heroic deeds.

(What,) come up and sit on the throne of the royal dais?

You, perform the judgments of the broad Earth?

Should I go up to the heaven of Anu my father?¹²

Should I eat the bread of the Anunnaki?

Should I drink the water of the Anunnaki?

Go and bring the god [into my presence!]"

Namtar went and let in 'the gods,' Erra.

He let Nergal in through the first, the gate of Nedu.¹³

He let Nergal in through the second, the gate of Kishar.

He let Nergal in through the third, the gate of Endashurimma.

(40') He let Nergal in through the fourth, the gate of Enuralla.

He let Nergal in through the fifth, the gate of Endukuga.

He let Nergal in through the sixth, the gate of Endushuba.

He let Nergal in through the seventh, the gate of Ennugigi.

He came into the broad courtyard,

And he knelt down, kissed the ground in front of her.

He straightened up, stood and addressed her,

"Anu your father sent me [to see you],

Saying, 'Sit down on [that] throne,

Judge the cases [of the great gods],

⁹ "Fine robe": restoring the broken signs to give *lamahuššu*.

¹⁰ *kuntnu*-vessel: see to the Descent of Ishtar above (text 1.108, note 8).

¹¹ "The gods" is used to refer to Nergal. This is a Phoenician and Punic usage, also found in the Old Testament when Yahweh is called *Elohim* "gods," and in Amarna letters from Phoenician cities where Pharaoh is addressed as "my gods" (*RIA*, s.v. *Elohim*).

¹² These three questions should probably be taken as sarcastic and rhetorical, emphasizing that each deity has a separate and appropriate sphere.

¹³ The Uruk version names the gates as: Nedu, Enkishar, Endashurimma, Nerulla, Nerubanda, Endukuga, and Ennugigi, which are all Sumerian names or epithets. The cuneiform text uses ditto signs for the main areas of repetition here.

(50') The great gods who live within Erkalla!"
As soon as they brought him a throne
(He said to himself) "Don't go to it!" and did not
sit on it.¹⁴

(When) the baker brought him bread, "Don't go to
it!" and did not eat the bread.

(When) the butcher brought him meat, "Don't go
to it!" and did not eat his meat.

(When) the brewer brought him beer, "Don't go to
it!" and did not drink his beer.¹⁵

(When) they brought him a footbath, "Don't go to
it!" and did not wash his feet.¹⁶

(When) she went to the bath
And dressed herself in a fine dress
And allowed him to catch a glimpse of her body,
(60') He [resisted] his heart's [desire to do what]
men and women [do].

[about 10 lines missing]

(iv) [3 lines fragmentary]

Nergal [...]

She went to the bath

And dressed herself in a fine dress

And allowed him to catch a glimpse of her body.

He [gave in to] his heart's [desire to do what men
and women do].

The two embraced each other¹⁷

(10') And went passionately to bed.

They lay there, queen Ereshkigal and Erra, for a
first day and a second day.

They lay there, queen Ereshkigal and Erra, for a
third day and a fourth day.¹⁸

They lay there, queen Ereshkigal and Erra, for a
fifth day and a sixth day.

When the seventh day arrived,

Nergal, without [...]

Took away after him [...]

"Let me go, and my sister [...]"

Do not make tremble [...]"

Let me go now, and I will return to Kurnugi
[(later)]."

(20') Her mouth turned dark (?) (with rage) [...]"

Nergal went [...]"¹⁹

[...] addressed his speech to the gatekeeper,

"Ereshkigal your lady sent me,

Saying, 'I am sending you to the heaven of
Anu our father,'

So let me be allowed out! The message [...]"

Nergal came up the long stairway of heaven.

When he arrived at the gate of Anu, Ellil, and Ea,

Anu, Ellil, and Ea saw him and (said),

"The son of Ishtar has come back to us,"²⁰

(30') She (Ereshkigal) will search for him and [...].

Ea his father must sprinkle him with spring
water, and bareheaded,

Blinking and cringing let him sit in the assem-
bly of all gods."²¹

Ereshkigal [...]

To the bath [...]

[...]

Her body [...]

[...]

She called out [...]

"The chair [...]"

Sprinkle the room with the water [of]

(40') Sprinkle the room with the water [of]

Sprinkle the room with the water [of]

The [...] of the two daughters of Lamaštu (?)
and Enmešarra,

Sprinkle with the waters of [...]"

The messenger of Anu our father who came to
see us

Shall eat our bread and drink our water."

Namtar made his voice heard and spoke,

Addressed his words to Ereshkigal his lady,

"The messenger of Anu our father who came
to see us —

Before daylight he disappeared!"

Ereshkigal cried out aloud, grievously,

(50') Fell from the throne to the ground,

Then straightened up from the ground.

Her tears flowed down her cheeks.

"Erra, the lover of my delight —

I did not have enough delight with him before
he left!

Erra, the lover of my delight —

I did not have enough delight with him before
he left."

Namtar made his voice heard and spoke, addressed
his words to Ereshkigal,

"Send me to Anu your father, and let me arrest
that god!

[Let me take him to you,] that he may kiss you
again!"

(v) Ereshkigal made her voice heard and spoke,

Addressed her words to Namtar her vizier,

"Go, Namtar, [you must speak to Anu, Ellil,
and Ea!]

Set your face towards the gate of Anu, Ellil,
and Ea,

¹⁴ Uruk version has: "He did not go to it" instead of "Don't go to it."

¹⁵ Uruk version has: "cupbearer" instead of "brewer."

¹⁶ Uruk version has: "The foot-washer brought him water."

¹⁷ Reading *aḥa-meš*, "together" rather than logographically "brothers."

¹⁸ Ditto are again used.

¹⁹ Later in this column the story implies that he departed without her realizing.

²⁰ "son of Ishtar" implies that he is a lover with the capacity for fertility.

²¹ Either Nergal exhibits apparent congenital deformities through Ea's magic, or (as translated) the disguise is momentary.

To say, ever since I was a child and a daughter,
 I have not known the playing of other girls,
 I have not known the romping of children.
 That god whom you sent to me and who has impregnated me — let him sleep with me again!
 Send that god to us, and let him spend the night with me as my lover!
 I am unclean, and I am not pure enough to perform the judging of the great gods,
 The great gods who dwell within Erkalla.
 If you do not send that god to me
 (10) According to the rites of Erkalla and the great Earth
 I shall raise up the dead, and they will eat the living.
 I shall make the dead outnumber the living!"²²
 Namtar came up the long stairway of heaven.
 When he arrived at the gate of Anu, Ellil, and Ea, Anu, Ellil, and Ea saw him, and (said),
 "What have you come for, Namtar?"
 "Your daughter sent me,
 To say, 'Ever since I was a child and a daughter,
 I have not known the playing of other girls,
 (20) I have not known the romping of children.
 That god whom you sent to me and who has impregnated me — let him sleep with me again!
 Send that god to us, and let him spend the night with me as my lover!
 I am unclean, and I am not pure enough to perform the judging of the great gods,
 The great gods who dwell within Erkalla.
 If you do not send that god to me,
 I shall raise up the dead, and they will eat the living!
 I shall make the dead outnumber the living!'"
 Ea made his voice heard and spoke, addressed his words to Namtar,
 "Enter, Namtar, the court of Anu,
 (30) [Search out your wrongdoer and bring him!]." ²³
 When he entered the court of Anu,
 All the gods were kneeling humbled [before him],
 [All] the gods of the land were kneeling [humbled before him].
 He went straight up to one, but did not recognize that god,
 Went straight up to a second and a third, but did not recognize that god either.
 Namtar went (away), and addressed his words to his lady,

"My lady, about your sending me up to the heaven of Anu your father:
 My lady, there was only one god who sat bareheaded, blinking and cringing at the assembly of all the gods."
 "Go, seize that god and bring him to me!
 (40) (I expect) Ea his father sprinkled him with spring water,
 And he is sitting in the assembly of all the gods bareheaded, blinking and cringing."
 Namtar came up the long stairway of heaven.
 When he reached the gate of Anu, Ellil, and Ea, Anu, Ellil, and Ea saw him and (said),
 "What have you come for, Namtar?"
 "Your daughter sent me,
 To say, 'Seize that god and bring him to me.'
 "Then enter, Namtar, the courtyard of Anu, and Search out your wrongdoer and take him."
 He went straight up to one god, but did not recognize him,
 (50) Went straight up to a second and third, but did not recognize him either.
 [Then X] made his voice heard and spoke, [addressed his words] to Ea,
 "Let Namtar, the messenger who has come to us,
 Drink our water, wash, and anoint himself."
 [break of about 15 lines]
 (vi) "He is not to strip off [...]
 Erra, [...]
 I shall [...]."
 Namtar [made his voice heard and addressed his words to Erra],
 "Erra, [...]
 All the rites of the great Underworld [...]
 When you go from [...]
 You shall carry the chair [...]
 You shall carry [...]
 (10) You shall carry [...]
 You shall carry [...]
 You shall carry [...]
 You shall carry [...]
 You shall carry [...]"²⁴
 [...]
 [Do not grapple with him (?) lest] he bind (?) your chest."
 [Erra to]ok to heart [the speech of Namtar].
 He [...] oiled his strap and slung his bow.
 Nergal went down the long stairway of heaven.
 When he arrived at the gate of Ereshkigal (he said (?)),
 (20) "Gatekeeper, open [the gate for me (?)]!"
 He struck down Nedu, the doorman [of the first] gate, and did not let him grapple with him (?).²⁵

²² This is identical to Ishtar's threat in the Descent of Ishtar.

²³ Line restored from a presumed repeat eighteen lines later.

²⁴ Several entirely different refrains are possible.

²⁵ Read *"atú ša KÁ [ina l-en] KÁ i-nar-šu-ma ana ti-[iṣ-bu-ti?] ul i-din.*

He struck down the second [doorman] (and did not let him grapple with him).
 He struck down the third [doorman] (and did not let him grapple with him).
 He struck down the fourth [doorman] (and did not let him grapple with him).
 He struck down the fifth [doorman] (and did not let him grapple with him).
 He struck down the sixth [doorman] (and did not let him grapple with him).
 He struck down the seventh [doorman] (and did not let him grapple with him).
 He entered her wide courtyard,
 (30) And went up to her and laughed.
 He seized her by her hairdo,
 And [pull]ed (?) her from [the throne].
 He seized her by her tresses
 [...]
 The two embraced each other
 And went passionately to bed.
 They lay there, queen Ereshkigal and Erra, for a

first day and a second day.
 They lay there, queen Ereshkigal and Erra for a third day.²⁶
 They lay there, queen Ereshkigal and Erra, for a fourth day.
 (40) They lay there, queen Ereshkigal and Erra, for a fifth day.
 They lay there, queen Ereshkigal and Erra, for a sixth day
 When the seventh day arrived,
 Anu made his voice heard and spoke,
 Addressed his words to Kakka, his vizier,
 "Kakka, I shall send you to Kurnugi,
 To the home of Ereshkigal who dwells within
 Erkalla,
 To say, 'That god, whom I sent to you,
 Forever [...]
 Those above [...]
 (50) Those below [...]
 [break, about 20-25 lines missing to end]

²⁶ The text has dittos again.

REFERENCES

Gurney 1960; Hunger 1976: no. 1; Dalley 1989:163-177.

NERGAL AND ERESHKIGAL
 (Amarna Version) (1.110)

Stephanie Dalley

When the gods organized a banquet,¹
 They sent a messenger
 To their sister Ereshkigal.
 "We cannot come down to you,
 And you cannot come up to us.
 So send someone to fetch a share of the food
 for you!"
 Ereshkigal sent Namtar her vizier,
 "Go up, Namtar, to high heaven!"
 He went into [where] the gods were [sitting],
 (10) And they [bowed (?)] and greeted Namtar,
 The messenger of their eldest sister.
 They bowed respectfully (?) when they saw him
 and ...
 The high gods [...]
 [...] food for the goddess his mistress.
 [...] wept and was overcome.
 [...] the journey (?)
 [about 6 lines missing]

Ea [...]
 Went [to Namtar and] sent (him) back.
 "Go and [tell] my words to [our] sister.
 She will say, 'Where (?) is the one who did not
 rise to his feet in the presence of my
 messenger?
 Bring him to me for his death (?), that I may
 kill him!'"²
 [And so it happened]
 Namtar came (back) and spoke to the gods,
 The gods summoned him and discussed the death
 with him.
 (30) "Look for the god who did not rise to his
 feet in your presence,
 And take him before your mistress!"
 Namtar counted them. The last god was crouching
 down.
 "That god who did not rise to his feet in your
 presence — he is not here!"

¹ Some confusion is caused in this text by the arrangement of lines. Probably a tablet with very short lines was badly copied on to one with longer lines so that ends of lines do not always correspond to ends of sentences as would be normal.

² Pun: *mutu*, "husband" and *mātu*, "death."

Then Namtar went and gave his report, (saying):
 "[My mistress, I went and counted] them.
 The last god [was crouching down].
 [The god who did not rise to his feet in my
 presence] was not there."
 [Ereshkigal made her voice heard],
 [And addressed Namtar] her messenger,
 (40) "[...] month."
 [...] Ea, honored lord.
 "Identify the one," [...] to the hand of [Ea].³
 "Take (him) to Ereshkigal!" He was weep[ing]
 Before his father Ea: "He will see me!
 "He will not let me stay alive!" "Don't be
 afraid [...]
 I shall give to you seven and seven [demons]
 To go with you: ..., ..., ..., Flashes-of-Light
 ning,
 Bailiff, Croucher, Expulsion, Wind,
 Fits, Staggers, Stroke, Lord-of-the-Roof,
 Feverhot, Scab [...]
 With you [...] door
 (50) Ereshkigal will call out: 'Doorkeeper, [...] your door.'
 [You must say]
 'Loosen the thong, that I may enter into the
 presence of your mistress,
 Ereshkigal. I have been sent!'" The doorkeeper
 went
 And said to Namtar: "One god is standing at the
 entrance of the door,
 Come, inspect him and let him enter." Namtar
 came out
 And saw him and gladly: "[Wait (?)] here!" He said
 To his mistress: "My lady, here is the god who in
 previous
 Months had vanished (?), and who did not rise
 to his feet in my presence!"⁴
 (60) "Bring him in. As soon as he comes, I

shall kill him!"
 Namtar came out and [...], "Come in, my lord,
 To your sister's house and"
 Nergal [said], "You should be glad to see me.
 [...] Nergal [...]
 [2 lines missing]
 ... at the third, Flashes-of-Lightning at the fourth.⁵
 Bailiff at the fifth, Croucher at the sixth, Expulsion
 (70) At the seventh, Wind at the eighth, Fits
 At the ninth, Staggers at the tenth, Stroke
 At the eleventh, Lord-of-the-Roof at the twelfth,
 Feverhot at the thirteenth, Scab at the fourteenth
 Door, he managed to seal her in (?). In the
 forecourt he cut off⁶
 Namtar. He gave his troops orders: "Let the doors
 Be opened! Now I shall race past (?) you!"
 Inside the house, he seized Ereshkigal
 By her hair, pulled her from the throne
 To the ground, intending to cut off her head.
 (80) "Don't kill me, my brother! Let me tell
 you something."
 Nergal listened to her and relaxed his grip, he wept
 and was overcome (when she said),
 "You can be my husband, and I can be your
 wife.
 I will let you seize⁷
 Kingship over the wide Earth! I will put the
 tablet
 Of wisdom in your hand! You can be master,
 I can be mistress." Nergal listened to this
 speech of hers,
 And seized her and kissed her. He wiped away her
 tears.
 "What have you asked of me? After so many
 months,
 It shall certainly be so!"⁸

³ "Identify": reading as imperative of *wussûm*.

⁴ Rituals and customs for honoring and placating the dead were carried out on a monthly schedule linked to the phases of the moon.

⁵ Ishtar/Inanna has similar shamanistic control of demons in the Sumerian story, *The Descent of Inanna*. In the cult of Ishtar at Nineveh, the goddess controlled demons who formed her entourage (Haas 1979:397-401).

⁶ Tentatively reading *huttumasa*, "to seal her in."

⁷ Exactly the same words are used by Ishtar in *Gilgamesh*, VI. i.

⁸ Some scholars think this ending is too cryptic and abrupt to be intentional, and that the story would have continued.

REFERENCES

Knudtzon 1915; Dalley 1989:178-181.

EPIC OF CREATION (1.111)

(*Enûma Elish*)

Benjamin R. Foster

The so-called epic of Creation preserves a relatively late Babylonian conception of the creation of the physical world (including humanity), but its real focus is on the elevation of Marduk to the top of the pantheon in return for taking up the cause of the embattled gods, who build his great temple of Esagila in Babylon in recognition of his leadership.

The composition could therefore be as readily called "The Exaltation of Marduk." As such it provides a parallel of sorts to the exaltation of Yahweh as celebrated by Moses and Miriam in the Song of the Sea (Exodus 15), and the subsequent erection of the Tabernacle in the Wilderness (Hallo and van Dijk 1968 ch. 6; Mann 1977; Hurowitz 1992). Unique to the epic is its denouement, in which Marduk is acclaimed by fifty names and these are given learned explanations or etymologies (Bottéro 1977). [WWH]

Tablet I

(1) When on high no name was given to heaven,
Nor below was the netherworld called by name,
Primeval Apsu was their progenitor,
And matrix-Tiamat was she who bore them all,
(5) They were mingling their waters together,
No cane brake was intertwined nor thicket matted
close.

When no gods at all had been brought forth,
None called by names, none destinies ordained,
Then were the gods formed within the(se two).

(10) Lahmu and Lahamu were brought forth, were
called by name.

When they had waxed great, had grown up tall,
Anshar and Kishar were formed, greater than they,
They grew lengthy of days, added years to years.
Anu their firstborn was like his forebears,

(15) Anshar made Anu, his offspring, his equal.
Then Anu begot his own image Nudimmud,
Nudimmud was he who dominated(?) his forebears:
Profound in wisdom, acute of sense, he was mas-
sively strong,

Much mightier than his grandfather Anshar,
(20) No rival had he among the gods his brethren.¹
The divine brethren banded together,
Confusing Tiamat as they moved about in their stir,
Roiling the vitals of Tiamat,
By their uproar distressing the interior of the
Divine Abode.²

(25) Apsu could not reduce their clamor,
But Tiamat was silent before them.
Their actions were noisome to her,
Their behavior was offensive, (but) she was indul-
gent.

Thereupon Apsu, begetter of the great gods,
(30) Summoned Mummu his vizier, saying to him,
"Mummu, vizier who contents me,
Come, let us go to Tiamat."
They went, took their places facing Tiamat,
They took counsel concerning the gods their off-
spring.

(35) Apsu made ready to speak,
Saying to her, Tiamat, in a loud voice,
"Their behavior is noisome to me!
By day I have no rest, at night I do not sleep!
I wish to put an end to their behavior, to do away

with it!

(40) Let silence reign that we may sleep."
When Tiamat had heard this,
She grew angry and cried out to her spouse,
She cried out bitterly, outraged that she stood
alone,

(For) he had urged evil upon her,

(45) "What? Shall we put an end to what we creat-
ed?

Their behavior may be most noisome,
but we should bear it in good part."

It was Mummu who answered, counselling Apsu,
Like a dissenting vizier's was the counsel of his
Mummu,

"Put an end here and now, father, to their trouble-
some ways!

(50) By day you should have rest, at night you
should sleep."

Apsu was delighted with him, he beamed.

On account of the evils he plotted against the gods
his children,

He embraced Mummu, around his neck,
He sat on his knees so he could kiss him.

(55) Whatever they plotted between them,
Was repeated to the gods their offspring.

The gods heard it as they stirred about,
They were stunned, they sat down in silence.

Surpassing in wisdom, ingenious, resourceful,

(60) Ea was aware of all, recognized their strata-
gem.

He fashioned it, he established it, a master plan,
He made it artful, his superb magic spell.

He recited it and brought (him)
to rest in the waters,

He put him in deep slumber, he was fast asleep,

(65) He made Apsu sleep, he was drenched with
slumber,

Mummu the advisor was drowsy with languor.

He untied his sash, he stripped off his tiara,

He took away his aura, he himself put it on.

He tied up Apsu, he killed him,

(70) Mummu he bound, he locked him securely.

He founded his dwelling upon Apsu,

He secured Mummu, held (him) firm by a lead-
rope.

After Ea had captured and vanquished his foes,

¹ This elaborate theogony, or genealogy of the gods, builds on Sum. precedent. It finds a parallel in Hesiod's version of Greek mythology, and is perhaps its ultimate source (Walcot 1966), but is absent in the Bible.

² For the perennial theme of noise disturbing the gods, cf. the Atra-hasis Epic (below, Text 1.130). But here it is the (younger) deities themselves who make the noise. See Finkelstein 1956:328-331.

Had won the victory over his opponents,
(75) In his chamber, in profound quiet, he rested.
He called it "Apsu," (meaning) "They Recognize Sanctuaries."

He established therein his chamber,
Ea and Damkina his wife dwelt there in splendor.
In the cella of destinies, the abode of designs,

(80) The most capable, the sage of the gods,
the Lord was begotten,

In the midst of Apsu Marduk was formed,
In the midst of holy Apsu was Marduk formed!

Ea his father begot him,
Damkina his mother was confined with him.

(85) He suckled at the breasts of goddesses,
The attendant who raised him endowed him well
with glories.

His body was splendid, fiery his glance,
He was a hero at birth, he was a mighty one from
the beginning!

When Anu his grandfather saw him,

(90) He was happy, he beamed, his heart was filled
with joy.

He perfected him, so that his divinity was strange,
He was much greater, he surpassed them in every
way.

His members were fashioned with cunning beyond
comprehension,

Impossible to conceive, too difficult to visualize:

(95) Fourfold his vision, fourfold his hearing,³

When he moved his lips a fire broke out.

Formidable his fourfold perception,

And his eyes, in like number, saw in every direc-
tion.

He was tallest of the gods, surpassing in form,

(100) His limbs enormous, he was surpassing at
birth.

"The son Utu, the son Utu,

The son, the sun, the sunlight of the gods!"

He wore (on his body) the auras of ten gods,
had (them) wrapped around his head too,

Fifty glories were heaped upon him.

(105) Anu formed and produced the four winds,

He put them in his hand, "Let my son play!"

He fashioned dust, he made a storm bear it up,

He caused a wave and it roiled Tiamat,

Tiamat was roiled, churning day and night,

(110) The gods, finding no rest, bore the brunt of
each wind.

They plotted evil in their hearts,

They said to Tiamat their mother,

"When he killed Apsu your husband,

You did nothing to save him but sat by, silent.

(115) Now he has made four terrible winds,

They are roiling your vitals so we cannot sleep.

You had no care for Apsu your husband,

As for Mummu, who was captured, you remained
aloof.

Now you churn back and forth, confused.

(120) As for us, who cannot lie down to rest, you
do not love us!

Think of our burden, our eyes are pinched,

Lift this unremitting yoke, let us sleep!

Battle has begun, give them what they deserve,

[Ma]ke a [tempest], turn them into nothingness."

(125) When Tiamat [heard] these words, they pleas-
ed her,

"[As y]ou have counselled, we will make a tem-
pest,

[We will] the gods within it,

(For) they have been adopting [wicked ways]
against the gods [thei]r parents."

[They] closed ranks and drew up at Tiamat's side,

(130) Angry, scheming, never lying down night and
day,

[Ma]king warfare, rumbling, raging,

Convening in assembly, that they might start hosti-
lities.

Mother Hubur, who can form everything,

Added countless invincible weapons, gave birth to
monster serpents,

(135) Pointed of fang, with merciless incisors(?),

She filled their bodies with venom for blood.

Fierce dragons she clad with glories,

Causing them to bear auras like gods, (saying)

"Whoever sees them shall collapse from weakness!"

(140) Wherever their bodies make onslaught,

they shall not turn back!"

She deployed serpents, dragons, and hairy hero-
men,

Lion monsters, lion men, scorpion men,

Mighty demons, fish men, bull men,

Bearing unsparing arms, fearing no battle.

(145) Her commands were absolute, no one opposed
them,

Eleven indeed on this wise she crea[ted].

From among the gods her offspring, who composed
her assembly,

She raised up Qingu⁴ from among them, it was he
she made greatest!

Leadership of the army, command of the assembly,

(150) Arming, contact, advance of the melee,

Supreme command in warfare,

(All) she entrusted to him, made him sit on the
dais.

"I cast your spell. I make you the greatest in the
assembly of the gods,

³ See the statue of a god with four heads possibly illustrating this conception in Jacobsen 1976:166.

⁴ Others read Kingu, and take it as a pun on the Sum. name of Sumer, i.e., Kengir, and Tiamat (lit., "Sea," cognate with Heb. *tehom*) similarly as standing for the Sealand (Akk. *māt tamīm*). See Jacobsen 1975:76.

Kingship of all the gods I put in your power.
 (155) You are the greatest, my husband, you are illustrious,
 Your command shall always be greatest, over all the Anunna-gods."
 She gave him the tablet of destinies, had him hold it to his chest, (saying)
 "As for you, your command will not be changed, your utterance will be eternal.
 Now that Qingu is the highest and has taken [supremacy],
 (160) And has [ordained] destinies for his divine children,
 Whatever you (gods) say shall cause fire to [subside],
 Your concentrated venom shall make the mighty one yield."

Tablet II

(1) Tiamat assembled her creatures,
 Drew up for battle against the gods her brood.
 Thereafter Tiamat, more than(?) Apsu, was become an evildoer.
 She informed Ea that she was ready for battle.
 (5) When Ea heard this,
 He was struck dumb with horror and sat stock still.
 After he had thought and his distress had calmed,
 He made straight his way to Anshar his grandfather.
 He came in before his grandfather, Anshar,
 (10) All that Tiamat plotted he recounted to him,
 "My father, Tiamat our mother has grown angry with us,
 She has convened an assembly, furious with rage.
 All the gods rallied around her,
 Even those you created are going over to her side,
 (15) They are massing around her, ready at Tiamat's side.
 Angry, scheming, never lying down night and day,
 Making warfare, rumbling, raging,
 Convening in assembly, that they might start hostilities.
 Mother Hubur, who can form everything,
 (20) Added countless invincible weapons,
 gave birth to monster serpents,
 Pointed of fang, with merciless incisors(?),
 She filled their bodies with venom for blood.
 Fierce dragons she clad with glories,
 Causing them to bear auras like gods, (saying)
 (25) 'Whoever sees them shall collapse from weakness!
 Wherever their bodies make onslaught,
 they shall not turn back!'
 She deployed serpents, dragons, and hairy hero-men,
 Lion monsters, lion men, scorpion men,

Mighty demons, fish men, bull men,
 (30) Bearing unsparing arms, fearing no battle.
 Her commands were absolute, no one opposed them,
 Eleven indeed on this wise she created.
 From among the gods her offspring, who composed her assembly,
 She raised up Qingu from among them, it was he she made greatest!
 (35) Leadership of the army, command of the assembly,
 Arming, contact, advance of the melee,
 Supreme command in warfare,
 (All) she entrusted to him, made him sit on the dais.
 'I cast your spell. I make you the greatest in the assembly of the gods,
 (40) Kingship of all the gods I put in your power.
 You are the greatest, my husband, you are illustrious.
 Your command shall always be greatest, over all the Anunna-gods.'
 She gave him the tablet of destinies, had him hold it to his chest, (saying)
 'As for you, your command will not be changed, your utterance will be eternal.
 (45) Now that Qingu is the highest and has taken [supremacy],
 And has [ordained] destinies for his divine children,
 Whatever you (gods) say shall cause fire to [subside],
 Your concentrated venom shall make the mighty one yield.'"
 [When Anshar heard] the speech, the affair was confused,
 (50) He cried out "Woe!"; he bit his lip,
 His spirits were angry, his mind was uneasy,
 His cries to Ea his offspring grew choked,
 "My son, you yourself were instigator of battle!
 Do you bear the consequences of your own handiwork!
 (55) You went forth and killed Apsu,
 So Tiamat, whom you have enraged,
 where is one who can face her?"
 The sage counsellor, wise prince,
 Producer of wisdom, divine Nudimmud,
 Answered his father Anshar gently,
 (60) With soothing words, calming speech,
 "My father, inscrutable, ordainer of destinies,
 Who has power to create and destroy,
 O Anshar, inscrutable, ordainer of destinies,
 Who has power to create and destroy,
 (65) I will declare my thoughts to you, relent for a moment,
 Recall in your heart that I made a good plan.

Before I undertook to kill Apsu,
Who had foreseen what is happening now?
Ere I was the one who moved quickly to snuff out
his life,

(70) I indeed, for it was I who destroyed him,
[wh]at was occurring?"

When Anshar heard this, it pleased him,
He calmed down, saying to Ea,
"Your deeds are worthy of a god,
You can(?) [] a fierce, irresistible stroke,
(75) Ea, your deeds are worthy of a god,
You can(?) [] a fierce, irresistible stroke,
Go then to Tiamat, sub[du]e her onslaught,
May her anger [be pacified] by [your] magic
spell."

When he heard the command [of his father] A[n-
shar],

(80) He set off, making straight his way,
Ea went to seek out Tiamat's stratagem.
He stopped, horror-stricken, then turned back.
He came before Anshar the sovereign,
He beseeched him with entreaties, saying,

(85) "[My father], Tiamat has carried her actions
beyond me,

I sought out her course, but my spell cannot
counter it.

Her strength is enormous, she is utterly terrifying,
She is reinforced with a host, none can come out
against her.

Her challenge was in no way reduced, it was so
loud(?) against me,

(90) I became afraid at her clamor, I turned back.
My father, do not despair, send another to her,
A woman's force may be very great, but it cannot
match a man's.

Do you scatter her ranks, thwart her intentions,
Before she lays her hands on all of us."

(95) Anshar was shouting, in a passion,
To Anu his son he said these words,
"Stalwart son, valiant warrior,

Whose strength is enormous, whose onslaught is
irresistible,

Hurry, take a stand before Tiamat,

(100) Soothe her feelings, let her heart be eased.

If she will not listen to what you say,
Say something by way of entreaty to her,
so that she be pacified."

When he heard what his father Anshar said,
He set off, [made str]aight his way,

(105) Anu went to seek out Tiamat's stratagem.
He stopped, horror-stricken, then turned back.
He came before [Ansha]r, [his father who begot
him],

He beseeched him with entreaties, s[aying].
"My father, Tiamat has carried her actions beyond
me,

(110) I sought out her course, but my s[pell] cannot
counter it].

Her strength is enormous, she is utterly terrifying,
She is reinforced with a host, none can [come out
against] her.

Her challenge was in no way reduced, it was so
loud(?) against me,

I became afraid at her clamor, I turned back.

(115) My father, do not despair, send another to
her,

A woman's strength may be very great, but it
cannot match a man's.

Do you scatter her ranks, thwart her intentions,
Before she lays her hands on all of us."

Anshar fell silent, gazing at the ground,

(120) Nodding towards Ea, he shook his head.

The Igigi-gods and Anunna-gods were all assem-
bled,

With lips closed tight, they sat in silence.

Would no god go out [at his] command?

Against Tiamat would none go as [he] ordered?

(125) Then Anshar, father of the great gods,
His heart was angry, he [would not summon] any-
one!

The mighty firstborn, champion of his father,
Hastener to battle, the warrior Marduk

Did Ea summon to his secret place,

(130) Told him his secret words,

"O Marduk, think, heed your father,

You are my son who can relieve his heart!

Draw nigh, approach Anshar,

(135) Make ready to speak. He was angry,
seeing you he will be calm."

The Lord was delighted at his father's words,
He drew near and waited upon Anshar.

When Anshar saw him, his heart was filled with
joyful feelings,

He kissed his lips, he banished his gloom.

(140) "My father, let not your lips be silent but
speak,

Let me go, let me accomplish your heart's desire.

[O Anshar], let not your lips be silent but speak,

Let me go, let me accomplish your heart's desire!

What man is it who has sent forth his battle against
you?"

(145) Why, Tiamat, a woman, comes out against
you to arms.

[My father], creator, rejoice and be glad,

Soon you will trample the neck of Tiamat.

[Anshar], creator, rejoice and be glad,

Soon you will trample [the neck] of Tiamat!"

(150) "[Go], son, knower of all wisdom,

Bring Tiamat to rest with your sacral spell.

Make straight, quickly, with the storm chariot,

Let it not veer from its [course], turn (it) back!"

The Lord was delighted at his grandfather's words,

(155) His heart was overjoyed as he said to his grandfather,

"Lord of the gods, of the destiny of the great gods,
If indeed I am to champion you,
Subdue Tiamat and save your lives,
Convene the assembly, nominate me for supreme destiny!

(160) Take your places in the Assembly Place of the Gods,

all of you, in joyful mood.

When I speak, let me ordain destinies instead of you.

Let nothing that I shall bring about be altered,
Nor what I say be revoked or changed."⁵

Tablet III

(1) Anshar made ready to speak,
Saying to Kakka his vizier these words,

"Kakka, vizier who contents me,
Let it be you that I send off towards Lahmu and Lahamu.

(5) You know how [to find a way], you can make a fine speech.

Send over to my presence the gods my ancestors,
Let them bring all the gods before me.
Let them converse, sit down at a feast,
On produce of the field let them feed, imbibe of the vine.

(10) Let them ordain destiny for Marduk, their champion.

Be off, Kakka, wait upon them,
All that I tell you, repeat to them:

'It is Anshar your son who has ordered me to come,

He has bade me speak in full the command of his heart,

(15) To wit: "Tiamat our mother has grown angry with us,

She has convened an assembly, furious with rage.
All the gods rallied around her,
Even those you created are going over to her side.
They are massing around her, ready at Tiamat's side.

(20) Angry, scheming, never lying down night and day,

Making warfare, rumbling, raging,
Convening in assembly, that they might start hostilities.

Mother Hubur, who can form everything,
Added countless invincible weapons,
gave birth to monster serpents,

(25) Pointed of fang, with merciless incisors(?),
She filled their bodies with venom for blood.

Fierce dragons she clad with glories,

Causing them to bear auras like gods, (saying)

'Whoever sees them shall collapse from weakness!

(30) Wherever their bodies make onslaught,
they shall not turn back.'

She deployed serpents, dragons, and hairy hero-men,

Lion monsters, lion men, scorpion men,

Mighty demons, fish men, bull men,

Bearing unsparing arms, fearing no battle.

(35) Her commands were absolute, no one opposed them.

Eleven indeed on this wise she created.

From among the gods her offspring, who composed her assembly,

She raised up Qingu from among them, it was he she made greatest!

Leadership of the army, command of the assembly,

(40) Arming, contact, advance of the melee,

Supreme command in warfare:

All she entrusted to him, made him sit on the dais.

'I cast your spell, I make you the greatest in the assembly of the gods,

Kingship of all the gods I put in your power.

(45) You are greatest, my husband, you are illustrious,

Your command shall always be greatest, over all the Anunna-gods.'

She gave him the tablet of destinies, had him hold it to his chest, (saying)

'As for you, your command will not be changed, your utterance will be eternal.

Now that Qingu is the highest and has taken over [supremacy],

(50) And has [ordained] destinies for his divine children,

Whatever you (gods) say shall cause fire to [subside],

Your concentrated venom shall make the mighty one yield.'

I sent Anu, he could not confront her,

Nudimmud was afraid and turned back.

(55) Marduk came forward, the sage of the gods, your son,

He has resolved to go against Tiamat.

When he spoke, he said to me,

'If indeed I am to champion you,

Subdue Tiamat and save your lives,

(60) Convene the assembly, nominate me for supreme destiny!

Take your places in the Assembly Place of the Gods,

all of you, in joyful mood,

When I speak, let me ordain destinies instead of you.

⁵ Marduk demands supremacy in the pantheon as the price of defending it against the older generation of gods led by Tiamat. This can be seen as a metaphor for the rise of Babylon, Marduk's city, perhaps under Nebuchadnezzar I; see Lambert 1964.

Let nothing that I shall bring about be altered,
Nor what I say be revoked or changed.'

(65) Come quickly to me, straightaway ordain him
your destinies,

Let him go and confront your powerful enemy."

Kakka went and made straight his way
Towards Lahmu and Lahamu the gods his ancestors.

He prostrated, kissed the ground before them.

(70) He stood up straight and said to them,

"It is Anshar your son who has ordered me to
come,

He has bade me speak in full the command of his
heart:

'Tiamat our mother has grown angry with us,
She has convened an assembly, furious with rage.

(75) All the gods rallied around her,
Even those you created are going over to her side.
They are massing around her, ready at Tiamat's
side.

Angry, scheming, never lying down night and day,
Making warfare, rumbling, raging,

(80) Convening in assembly, that they might begin
hostilities.

Mother Hubur, who can form everything,

Added countless invincible weapons,

gave birth to monster serpents,

Pointed of fang, with merciless incisors(?),

She filled their bodies with venom for blood.

(85) Fierce dragons she clad with glories,

Causing them to bear auras like gods, (saying)

"Whoever sees them shall collapse from weakness!

Wherever their bodies make onslaught

they shall not turn back!"

She deployed serpents, dragons, and hairy hero-
men,

(90) Lion monsters, lion men, scorpion men,

Mighty demons, fish men, bull men,

Bearing unsparing arms, fearing no battle.

Her commands were absolute, no one opposed
them.

Eleven indeed on this wise she created!

From among the gods her offspring who composed
her assembly,

She raised up Qingu from among them, it was he
she made greatest!

Leadership of the army, command of the assembly,

Arming, contact, advance of the melee,

Supreme command in warfare:

(100) (All) she entrusted to him, made him sit on
the dais.

"I cast your spell and make you the greatest in the
assembly of the gods,

Kingship of all the gods I put in your power.

You shall be the greatest, you are my only spouse,

Your name shall always be greatest, over all the

Anunna-gods."

(105) 'She gave him the tablet of destinies, had him
hold it to his chest, (saying)

"As for you, your command will not be changed,
your utterance will be eternal.

Now that Qingu is the highest and has taken over
[supremacy],

And has [ordained] destinies for his divine
children,

Whatever you (gods) say shall cause fire to [sub-
side],

(110) Your concentrated venom will make the
mighty one yield."

'I sent Anu, he could not confront her,

Nudimmud was afraid and turned back.

Marduk came forward, the sage of the gods, your
son,

He has resolved to go against Tiamat.

(115) When he spoke, he said to me,

"If indeed I am to champion you,

Subdue Tiamat and save your lives,

Convene the assembly, nominate me for supreme
destiny!

In the Assembly Place of the Gods take your
places,

all of you, in joyful mood.

(120) When I speak, let me ordain destinies instead
of you.

Let nothing that I shall bring about be altered,

Nor what I say be revoked nor changed."

'Hurry to me, straightaway ordain him your
destinies,

Let him go and confront your powerful enemy.'

(125) When Lahmu and Lahamu heard, they cried
aloud,

All of the Igigi-gods wailed bitterly,

"What (is our) hostility, that she has taken a[ct]ion
(against) us?

We scarcely know what Tiamat might do!"

They swarmed together and came.

(130) All the great gods, ordainers of [destinies],

Came before Anshar and were filled with [joy].

One kissed the other in the assembly [],

They conversed, sat down at a feast,

On produce of the field they fed, imbibed of the
vine,

(135) With sweet liquor they made their gullets run,

They felt good from drinking the beer.

Most carefree, their spirits rose,

To Marduk their champion they ordained destiny.

Tablet IV

(1) They set out for him a princely dais,

He took his place before his fathers for sovereign-
ty.

"You are the most important among the great gods,

Your destiny is unrivalled, your command is supreme.

(5) O Marduk, you are the most important among the great gods,

Your destiny is unrivalled, your command is supreme!

Henceforth your command cannot be changed,
To raise high, to bring low, this shall be your power.

Your command shall be truth, your word shall not be misleading.

(10) Not one of the gods shall go beyond the limits you set.

Support is wanted for the gods' sanctuaries,
Wherever their shrines shall be, your own shall be established.

O Marduk, you are our champion,
We bestow upon you kingship of all and everything.

(15) Take your place in the assembly, your word shall be supreme.

May your weapon never strike wide but dispatch your foes.

O Lord, spare his life who trusts in you,
But the god who has taken up evil, snuff out his life!"

They set up among them a certain constellation,

(20) To Marduk their firstborn said they (these words),

"Your destiny, O Lord, shall be foremost of the gods',

Command destruction or creation, they shall take place.

At your word the constellation shall be destroyed,
Command again, the constellation shall be intact."

(25) He commanded and at his word the constellation was destroyed,

He commanded again and the constellation was created anew.⁶

When the gods his fathers saw what he had commanded,

Joyfully they hailed, "Marduk is king!" "

They bestowed in full measure scepter, throne, and staff,

(30) They gave him unopposable weaponry that vanquishes enemies.

"Go, cut off the life of Tiamat,

Let the winds bear her blood away as glad tidings!"

The gods, his fathers, ordained the Lord's destiny,
On the path to success and authority
did they set him marching.

(35) He made the bow, appointed it his weapon,
He mounted the arrow, set it on the string.

He took up the mace, held it in his right hand,

a Pss 93:1;
96:10; 97:1;
99:1; 1 Chr
16:31

Bow and quiver he slung on his arm.

Thunderbolts he set before his face,

(40) With raging fire he covered his body.

Then he made a net to enclose Tiamat within,
He deployed the four winds that none of her might escape:

South Wind, North Wind, East Wind, West Wind,
Gift of his grandfather Anu;
he fastened the net at his side.

(45) He made ill wind, whirlwind, cyclone,
Four-ways wind, seven-ways wind, destructive
wind, irresistible wind:

He released the winds which he had made, the
seven of them,

Mounting in readiness behind him to roil inside
Tiamat.

Then the Lord raised the Deluge, his great weapon.

(50) He mounted the terrible chariot, the unopposable
Storm Demon,

He hitched to it the four-steed team, he tied them
at his side:

"Slaughterer," "Merciless," "Overwhelmer,"
"Soaring."

Their lips are curled back, their teeth bear venom,
They know not fatigue, they are trained to trample
down.

(55) He stationed at his right gruesome battle and
strife,

At his left the fray that overthrows all formations.
He was garbed in a ghastly armored garment,

On his head he was covered with terrifying auras.
The Lord made straight and pursued his way,

(60) Toward raging Tiamat he set his face.
He was holding a spell ready upon his lips,

A plant, antidote to venom, he was grasping in his
hand.

At that moment the gods were stirring, stirring
about him,

The gods his fathers were stirring about him, the
gods stirring about him.

(65) The Lord drew near, to see the battle of
Tiamat,

He was looking for the stratagem of Qingu her
spouse.

As he looked, his tactic turned to confusion,
His reason was overthrown, his actions panicky,

And as for the gods his allies, who went at his
side,

(70) When they saw the valiant vanguard,
their sight failed them.

Tiamat cast her spell pointblank,
Falsehood, lies she held ready on her lips.

"..... lord, the gods rise against you,
They assembled [where] they are,

⁶ The ability to destroy or create by fiat is the test of divine supremacy.

(but) are they on your side?"

(75) The Lord [raised] the Deluge, his great weapon,
To Tiamat, who acted conciliatory, sent he (this word),
"Why outwardly do you assume a friendly attitude,
While your heart is plotting to open attack?
Children cried out, they oppress their parents,
(80) But you, their own mother, spurned all natural feeling.
You named Qingu to be spouse for you,
Though he had no right to be, you set him up for chief god.
You attempted wicked deeds against Anshar, sovereign of the gods,
And you have perpetrated your evil against the gods my fathers.
(85) Though main force is drawn up,
though these your weapons are in array,
Come within range, let us duel, you and I!"
When Tiamat heard this,
She was beside herself, she turned into a maniac.
Tiamat shrieked loud, in a passion,
(90) Her frame shook all over, down to the ground.
He was reciting the incantation, casting his spell,
While the gods of battle were whetting their blades.
Tiamat and Marduk, sage of the gods, drew close for battle,
They locked in single combat, joining for the fray.
(95) The Lord spread out his net, encircled her,
The ill wind he had held behind him he released in her face.
Tiamat opened her mouth to swallow,
He thrust in the ill wind so she could not close her lips.
The raging winds bloated her belly,
(100) Her insides were stopped up, she gaped her mouth wide.
He shot off the arrow, it broke open her belly,
It cut to her innards, it pierced the heart.⁷
He subdued her and snuffed out her life,
He flung down her carcass, he took his stand upon it.
(105) After the vanguard had slain Tiamat,
He scattered her forces, he dispersed her host.
As for the gods her allies, who had come to her aid,
They trembled, terrified, they ran in all directions,
They tried to make a way out(?) to save their lives,
(110) There was no escaping the grasp that held (them)!

b Gen 1:1-8

He drew them in and smashed their weapons.
They were cast in the net and sat in a heap,
They were heaped up in the corners, full of woe,
They were bearing his punishment, to prison confined.
(115) As for the eleven creatures, the ones adorned with glories,
And the demonic horde(?), which all went at her side,
He put on lead ropes, he bound their arms.
He trampled them under, together with their belligerence.
As for Qingu, who was trying to be great among them,
(120) He captured him and reckoned him among the doomed.
He took away from him the tablet of destinies that he had no right to,
He sealed it with a seal and affixed it to his chest.
Having captured his enemies and triumphed,
Having shown the mighty(?) foe subservient(?),
(125) Having fully achieved Anshar's victory over his enemies,
Valiant Marduk having attained what Nudimmud desired,
He made firm his hold over the captured gods,
Then turned back to Tiamat whom he had captured.
The Lord trampled upon the frame of Tiamat,
(130) With his merciless mace he crushed her skull.
He cut open the arteries of her blood,
He let the North Wind bear (it) away as glad tidings.
When his fathers saw, they rejoiced and were glad,
They brought him gifts and presents.
(135) He calmed down. Then the Lord was inspecting her carcass,
That he might divide(?) the monstrous lump and fashion artful things.
He split her in two, like a fish for drying,
Half of her he set up and made as a cover, heaven.
He stretched out the hide and assigned watchmen,
(140) And ordered them not to let her waters escape.^b
He crossed heaven and inspected (its) firmament,
He made a counterpart to Apsu, the dwelling of Nudimmud.
The Lord measured the construction of Apsu,
He founded the Great Sanctuary, the likeness of E-sharra.⁸
(In) the Great Sanctuary, (in) Esharra, which he built, (and in) heaven,

⁷ Technically, Marduk conquers Tiamat by forcing her body open with the wind as with a bellows, then shooting an arrow into her innards. Symbolically, there may be here an allusion to the military triumph of Kassite Babylonia over the First Sealand Dynasty in the 15th century BCE; cf. above, n. 4.

⁸ The creation of heaven and earth here and in the next tablet (chapter) serves as a way of disposing of the defeated Tiamat rather than as the main focus of the epic.

He made Ea, Enlil, and Anu dwell in their holy places. c Gen 2:14

Tablet V

(1) He made the position(s) for the great gods,
He established (in) constellations the stars, their likenesses.

He marked the year, described its boundaries,
He set up twelve months of three stars each.

(5) After he had patterned the days of the year,
He fixed the position of Neberu⁹ to mark the (stars') relationships.

Lest any make an error or go astray,
He established the position(s) of Enlil and Ea in relation to it.

He opened up gates on both (sides of her) ribs,

(10) He made strong bolts to left and right.

In her liver he established the zenith.

He made the moon appear, entrusted (to him) the night.

He assigned to him the crown jewel of nighttime to mark the day (of the month):

Every month, without ceasing, he exalted him with a crown.

(15) "At the beginning of the month, waxing over the land,

You shine with horns to mark six days,

At the seventh day, the disk as [ha]lf.

At the fifteenth day, you shall be in opposition, at the midpoint of each [month].¹⁰

When the sun f[ac]es you from the horizon of heaven,

(20) Wane at the same pace and form in reverse.

At the day of di[sappeara]nce, approach the sun's course,

On the [] of the thirtieth day, you shall be in conjunction with the sun a second time.

I d[efined]? the celestial signs, proceed on their path,

[] approach each other and render (oracular) judgment.

(50) To raise the wind, to cause rainfall,

To make mists steam, to pile up her spittle (as snow?),

He assigned to himself, put under his control.

He set down her head and piled [] upon it,

He opened underground springs, a flood was let flow(?).

(55) From her eyes he undammed the Euph[rates] and Tigris,^c

He stopped up her nostrils, he left ...

He heaped up high-peaked mo[unt]ains from(?) her dugs.

He drilled through her waterholes to carry off the catchwater.

He coiled up her tail and tied it as(?) "The Great Bond."

(60) [] Apsu beneath, at his feet.

He set her crotch as the brace of heaven,
Spreading [half of] her as a cover, he established the netherworld.

[After he had completed his task inside Tiamat,

[He spre]ad his net, let all (within) escape.

[...]

After he had designed his prerogatives and devised his responsibilities,

He put on leadlines, entrusted (those) to Ea.

[The tablet] of destinies, which he took from Qingu and brought away,

(70) As the foremost gift he took away, he presented (it) to Anu.

The [] of battle, which he had fastened on and set on his head,

[] he led before his fathers.

[And as for] the eleven creatures which Tiamat created ...

He smashed their [wea]pons, he tied them to his feet.

(75) He made images [of them] and set them up at the [Gate of] Apsu:

"Lest ever after they be forgotten, let this be the sign."

When [the gods] saw, they rejoiced and were glad, Lahmu, Lahamu, and all his fathers.

Anshar [embra]ced him, proclaimed (his) salutation (to be) "king."

(80) [A]nu, Enlil, and Ea gave him gifts,

[] Damkina his mother made cries of joy over him,

She(?) made his face glow with (cries of) "Good ...!"

To Usmu, who brought (Damkina's) gift at the glad tidings,

[He en]trusted the ministry of Apsu and care of the sanctuaries.

(85) All the Igigi-gods together prostrated themselves before him,

[And] the Anunna-gods, all there are, were doing him homage,

The whole of them joined together to pay him reverence,

[Before him] they stood, they prostrated themselves, "This is the king!"

[After] his fathers had celebrated him in due measure,

(90) [] covered with the dust of battle.

[] ...

With cedar [oil] and [] he anoi[n]ted his body,

He clothed himself in [his] princely [gar]ment,

The kingly aura, the awe-inspiring tiara,

⁹ Lit., "the passage," i.e. the Milky Way.

¹⁰ Cf. Atra-hasis (below, Text 1.130) I 206 and n. 5.

(95) He picked up the mace, he held it in his right hand,

[] he held in his left hand.

[]

[] he made firm at his feet.

He set over []

(100) The staff of success and authority [he hung] at his side.

After he [had put on] the aura of [his kingship],

His netted sack, the Apsu [] awesomeness.

He was seated like []

In [his] throne room []

(105) In his cella []

The gods, all there are, []

Lahmu and Lahamu []

Made ready to speak and [said to] the Igigi-gods:

"Formerly [Mar]duk was 'our beloved son,'

(110) Now he is your king, pay heed to his command."

Next all of them spoke and said:

"Lugaldimmerankia' is his name, trust in him!"

When they had given kingship over to Marduk,

They said to him expressions of good will and obedience,

(115) "Henceforth you shall be provider for our sanctuaries,

Whatever you shall command, we will do."

Marduk made ready to speak and said

(These) words to the gods his fathers,

"Above Apsu, the azure dwelling,

(120) As counterpart to Esharra, which I built for you,

Below the firmament, whose grounding I made firm,

A house I shall build, let it be the abode of my pleasure.

Within it I shall establish its holy place,

I shall appoint my (holy) chambers,

I shall establish my kingship.

(125) When you go up from Apsu to assembly,

Let your stopping places be there to receive you.

When you come down from heaven to [assembly],

Let your stopping places be there to receive all of you.

I shall call [its] name [Babylon], (meaning) "Houses of the Great Gods,"

(130) We shall all hold fe[stival]s with[in] it."

When the gods his fathers heard what he commanded,

They ... []

"Over all things which your hands have created,

Who has [authority, save for you]?

(135) Over the earth that you have created,

Who has [authority, save for] you?

Babylon, to which you have given name,

Make our [stopping place] there forever.

Let them bring us our daily portions,

(140) [] our [].

Whosoever shall [] our task which we [],

In his place [] his toil []."

[...]

The gods prostrated themselves before him, saying,

(150) To Lugaldimmeran[ki]a their lord they [said],

"Formerly [we called you] 'The Lord, [our beloved] son,'

Now 'Our King' ... [shall be your name],

He whose [sacral] sp[ell] saved our lives,"

[au]ra, ma[ce], and ne[t],

(155) [Ea(?), ev]ery [sk]ill.

Let him make the plans, we ... []."

Tablet VI

(1) When [Mar]duk heard the speech of the gods, He was resolving to make artful things:

He would tell his idea to Ea,

What he thought of in his heart he proposes,

(5) "I shall compact blood, I shall cause bones to be,

I shall make stand a human being, let 'Man' be its name.

I shall create humankind,

They shall bear the gods' burden that those may rest.

I shall artfully double the ways of the gods:

(10) Let them be honored as one but divided in twain."

Ea answered him, saying these words,

He told him a plan to let the gods rest,

"Let one, their brother, be given to me,

Let him be destroyed so that people can be fashioned.

(15) Let the great gods convene in assembly,

Let the guilty one be given up that they may abide."

Marduk convened the great gods in assembly,

He spoke to them magnanimously as he gave the command,

The gods heeded his utterance,

(20) As the king spoke to the Anunna-gods (these) words,

"Let your first reply be the truth!

Do you speak with me truthful words!

Who was it that made war,

Suborned Tiamat and drew up for battle?

(25) Let him be given over to me, the one who made war,

I shall make him bear his punishment, you shall be released."

The Igigi, the great gods answered him,

To Lugaldimmerankia, sovereign of all the gods, their lord,

"It was Qingu who made war,

(30) Suborned Tiamat and drew up for battle."
They bound and held him before Ea,
They imposed the punishment on him and shed his blood.

From his blood he made mankind,
He imposed the burden of the gods and exempted the gods.

(35) After Ea the wise had made mankind,
They imposed the burden of the gods on them!¹¹
That deed is beyond comprehension,
By the artifices of Marduk did Nudimmud create!
Marduk the king divided the gods,

(40) The Anunna-gods, all of them, above and below,

He assigned to Anu for duty at his command.
He set three hundred in heaven for (their) duty,
A like number he designated for the ways of the netherworld:

He made six hundred dwell in heaven and nether-world.

(45) After he had given all the commands,
And had divided the shares of the Anunna-gods of heaven and netherworld,

The Anunna-gods made ready to speak,
To Marduk their lord they said,

"Now, Lord, you who have liberated us,

(50) What courtesy may we do you?

We will make a shrine, whose name will be a byword,

Your chamber that shall be our stopping place, we shall find rest therein.¹²

We shall lay out the shrine, let us set up its emplacement,

When we come (to visit you), we shall find rest therein."

(55) When Marduk heard this,
His features glowed brightly, like the day,
"Then make Babylon the task that you requested,
Let its brickwork be formed, build high the shrine."

The Anunna-gods set to with hoes,

(60) One (full) year they made its bricks.

When the second year came,

They raised up Esagila, the counterpart to Apsu,
They built the high ziggurat of (counterpart-)Apsu,
For Anu-Enlil-Ea they founded his ... and dwelling.

(65) Majestically he took his seat before them,
Its pinnacles were facing toward the base of Esharra.

After they had done the work of Esagila,
All the Anunna-gods devised their own shrines.
The three hundred Igigi-gods of heaven
and the six hundred of Apsu all convened.

(70) The Lord, on the Exalted Dais, which they built as his dwelling,

Seated the gods his fathers for a banquet,

"This is Babylon, your place of dwelling.

Take your pleasure there, seat yourselves in its delights!"

The great gods sat down,

(75) They set out cups, they sat down at the feast.¹³

After they had taken their enjoyment inside it,
And in awe-inspiring Esagila had conducted the offering,

All the orders and designs had been made permanent,

All the gods had divided the stations of heaven and netherworld,

(80) The fifty great gods took their thrones,

The seven gods of destinies were confirmed forever for rendering judgment.

The Lord took the bow, his weapon, and set it before them,

The gods his fathers looked upon the net he had made.

They saw how artfully the bow was fashioned,

(85) His fathers were praising what he had brought to pass,

Anu raised (it), speaking to the assembly of the gods,

He kissed the bow, "This be my daughter!"

He named the bow, these are its names:

"'Longwood' shall be the first, 'Conqueror' shall be the second."

(90) The third name, 'Bow Star,' he made visible in heaven.

He established its position with respect to the gods his brethren.

After Anu had ordained the destinies of the bow,

He set out the royal throne which stood highest among the gods,

Anu had him sit there, in the assembly of the gods.

(95) Then the great gods convened,

They made Marduk's destiny highest, they prostrated themselves.

They laid upon themselves a curse (if they broke the oath),

With water and oil they swore, they touched their throats.

They granted him exercise of kingship over the gods,

(100) They established him forever for lordship of heaven and earth.

Anshar gave him an additional name, Asalluhi,

"When he speaks, we shall all do obeisance,

At his command the gods shall pay heed.

¹¹ Though the motivation for the creation of humanity is the same here as in Atra-hasis (below, Text 1.130), i.e., to relieve the gods of their labors, it is stated here much more briefly, the creator is Ea, not the mother-goddess, and his method of creation is quite different.

¹² The physical symbol of Marduk's exaltation is the construction of his temple in Babylon by all the other deities.

¹³ A banquet marks the formal inauguration of the temple (Hurowitz 1992b).

His word shall be supreme above and below,
 (105) The son, our champion, shall be the highest.
 His lordship shall be supreme, he shall have no rival,
 He shall be the shepherd of the black-headed folk,¹⁴
 his creatures.
 They shall tell of his ways, without forgetting, in the future.
 He shall establish for his fathers great food offerings,
 (110) He shall provide for them, he shall take care of their sanctuaries.
 He shall cause incense burners to be savored, he shall make their chambers rejoice.
 He shall make on earth the counterpart of what he brought to pass in heaven,
 He shall appoint the black-headed folk to serve him.
 Let the subject peoples be mindful that their gods should be invoked,
 (115) At his command let them heed their goddess(es).
 Let their gods, their goddesses be brought food offerings;
 Let (these) not be forgotten, let them sustain their gods.
 Let their holy places be apparent(?), let them build their sanctuaries.
 Let the black-headed folk be divided as to gods,
 (120) (But) by whatever name we call him, let him be our god.¹⁵

Tablet VII

The Igigi-gods pronounced all the names.
 When Ea heard (them), he was joyful of heart,
 He said, "He whose name his fathers have glori-

fied,
 (140) His name, like mine, shall be 'Ea.'
 He shall provide the procedures for all my offices,
 He shall take charge of all my commands."
 With the name "Fifty" the great gods
 Pronounced his fifty names, they made his position supreme.
 (145) They must be grasped: the "first one" should reveal (them),
 The wise and knowledgable should ponder (them) together,
 The master should repeat, and make the pupil understand.
 The "shepherd," the "herdsman" should pay attention,
 He must not neglect the Enlil of the gods, Marduk,
 (150) So his land may prosper and he himself be safe.
 His word is truth, what he says is not changed,
 Not one god can annul his utterance.
 If he frowns, he will not relent,
 If he is angry, no god can face his rage.
 (155) His heart is remote, his feelings all encompassing,
 He before whom crime and sin must appear for judgment.
 The revelation (of the names) which the "first one" discoursed before him (Marduk),
 He wrote down and preserved for the future to hear,
 The [wo]rd of Marduk who created the Igigi-gods,
 (160) [His/Its] let them [], his name let them invoke.
 Let them sound abroad the song of Marduk,
 How he defeated Tiamat and took kingship.

¹⁴ The expression "black-headed folk" is a poetic term for mankind in general. It may also imply contrast with fair-haired people living beyond the bounds of ancient Mesopotamia.

¹⁵ The rest of Tablet VI and the beginning of Tablet VII are given over to the proclamation and elucidation of the fifty names of Marduk (not included here).

REFERENCES

Text: Lambert and Parker 1966. Translations and studies: *ANET* 60-72, 501-503; Heidel 1951; Foster *BM* 1:351-402; *FDD* 9-51.

THE THEOGONY OF DUNNU (I.112)

William W. Hallo

The city of Dunnu(m), whose name is a generic term for "fort, fortress," is equated in a lexical text with the "pristine heavenly city" (URU-SAG-AN-NA), and in a date formula with the "ancient capital city" or rather perhaps the "bolt" (URU-SAG-MAH) of the kingdom of Isin. Its fall in 1795 BCE ushered in the fall of Isin to Larsa in the following year. In the present text, it is even called an "eternal city" (*ālu šātu*; line 6), built by Heaven and Earth themselves "in the beginning." It is their third and climactic creation and is followed by a complicated theogony set in the primordial past.

In the beginning,¹ ^a [Ha²rab² married Earth.] Family³ ^b and lord[ship he founded.] [Saying: "A]rable land we will carve out (of) the plowed land of the country." [With the p]lowing of their <i>harbu</i>-plows they caused the creation of Sea.⁴ ^c (5) [The lands plowed with the <i>mayaru</i>-pl]ow by them[selves] gave birth to Sumuqan.⁵ His str[onghold,] Dunnu, the eternal city, they created, both of them. Harab gave himself clear title to the lordship in Dunnu, but [Earth] lifted (her) face to Sumuqan, his son, and "Come here and let me make love to you!" she said to him. (10) Sumuqan married his mother Earth and Hara[b his fat]her he killed (and) In Dunnu which he loved he laid him to rest. Moreover Sumuqan took over the lordship of his father. Sea, his older sister, he married. (15) Gaiu,⁶ the son of Sumuqan, came [and] Sumuqan he killed and in Dunnu in the g[rave] of his father he laid him to rest. Sea, his mother, he married. Moreover Sea murde[red] Earth, her mother. (20) In the month Kislimu, the 16th day, he took over lordship and kingship.⁷ [Gaiu], son of Gaiu, married Ida (River), his own sister. [Gaiu], (his) father, and Sea, his mother, he killed and [In the gra]ve he laid them to rest together. In the month Tebitu, the 1st day, he [seize]d kingship and lordship for himself.	^a Gen 1:1 ^b Num 3:24 <i>et passim</i> ^c Gen 1:2	(25) [Kush,⁸ son of G]aiu, married Ua-ildak,⁹ his sister, and [the verdure] of the earth he made abundant. He put it at the [disposal of sheepfold and] cattle-pen, [for the cosumpt]ion of wildlife and herds of wild animals.¹⁰ [Moreover the necessitie]s he put at the [disposal] of the needs of the gods. (30) [Gaiu and] Idu (River), his mother, he kille[d and] [in a grave] he caused them to dwell. [In the month Shabatu, the xth day,] he took over lordship and kingship for himself. [Haharnum,¹¹ son of Ku]sh, married Belit-seri,¹² his sister, [and] [Kush and] Ua-ildak, his mother, he [killed and] (35) [in a grave] he caused them to dwell. [In the month Addar]u, the 16th day (var.: the 29th day), [he took over] kingship and lordship. [Hayyashum,] the child of Hahaharnum, Married [...], his own sister. [At the New Year] he took over the lordship of his father. (40) [He did not] kill him but a[live] [he seized him and to the city of Shupat-...] he brought him.] (Approximately 40 lines largely destroyed.) At the <i>akitu</i>-festival of the month Ayaru (rev. 20') the Song of the Plowing Oxen in the country [let him declaim] sweetly.¹³ (Colophon) [According to the wording] of a tablet which is a copy from Babylon and Assur, written and checked. (Composition called) Harab.¹⁴ Complete.
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¹ Jacobsen restored "Ha-rab at the beginning of the line based, perhaps, on the colophon (see below) but there is hardly room enough for that; moreover, *ina reš* occurs as an *incipit* (twice) in a literary catalogue (van Dijk 1980:90:3f.).

² Jacobsen read "Ha-rab based on the absolute form of *harbu* = "plow" (cf. lines 4f.) and the Kassite deity Harbe, equated variously with Anu (Heaven) and Enlil, the two chief deities of the Sumer-Akkadian pantheon. Earlier scholars read "Ha-in, not to be confused with the divine name *hyn* in Ug., equated there with the third ranking deity, Ea (Lipiński 1988).

³ Lit., "a father's house." For the comparable biblical *ktom*, see Weinberg 1973.

⁴ Written "A.AB.BA, read "T(i)amtu, cognate with Heb. *tehom*.

⁵ For the equation of "AMA.GAN.DU with Sumuqan, the embodiment of wildlife, see Jacobsen 1984:24; previously *apud* Cross 1976:330.

⁶ Earlier scholars read Lahar. Both Gaiu and Lahar are readings of the sign in question when serving as a divine name. As a generic term it stands for "ewe." It is the embodiment of domesticated cattle, as in the disputation between Lahar and Ashnan, conventionally known as "Cattle and Grain" or "Ewe and Wheat" (below, text 1.180).

⁷ A double dividing line here and after lines 24 and 32 identifies the beginning of a new section.

⁸ I.e., the divine herdsman (*kizū*).

⁹ I.e., the divine pasture (*ritu*) and poplar (*ildakku*).

¹⁰ Alternatively: vermin and creeping things (cf. Gen 1:20).

¹¹ Haharnum and his son Hayyashum, recur otherwise only in broken context in KAR 339a and at the beginning of the "Marduk Prophecy," last edited by Longman (1991:233-235). See text 1.149 below.

¹² I.e., the lady (goddess) of the open country, equated with the Sum. "lady of the vine."

¹³ The *akitu*-festival of the first month (Nisannu) was part of the New Year's rites, but here it is observed in the second month, named (in Sum.) for the ceremonial inauguration of the plowing, to the accompaniment of the "Song of the Plowing Oxen" which begins E-EL-LU MA-AL-LU in Sum. (Civil 1976) and *atali* (as here) in Akk. (Livingstone 1980).

¹⁴ This need not be the *incipit* (opening word/words) of the composition (Jacobsen) since some colophons identify their composition by its protagonist or otherwise (Leichty 1964:148, n. 4).

REFERENCES

Text: CT 46:43. Translations and studies: Lambert and Walcot 1965; Grayson in *ANET* 517f.; Hallo 1970:66; Jacobsen 1984 (largely followed here); Dalley 1989:278-281.

ERRA AND ISHUM (1.113)

Stephanie Dalley

In the extant text known to us at present, Erra and Ishum may date no earlier than the eighth century BCE, but it almost certainly incorporates older elements. It consists of five tablets comprising some 750 lines; the final tablet is shorter than the others. Tablets with the text come from both Assyria (Nineveh, Assur, Sultantepe) and Babylonia (Babylon, Ur, Tell Haddad). The main tablet, from Assur, takes the form of an amulet.

The introductory lines belong to the genre associated with oral narrative in Standard Babylonian compositions, in which the poet in the first person declares the main theme of his subject; similar introductions are found in the Standard versions of Anzu and of Gilgamesh.

A few quotations have been found in the inscriptions of Sargon II and his contemporary in Babylon, the notorious Merodach-Baladan II, of the late eighth century, but those kings may have been quoting from the work because it was popular then, and not necessarily because it was composed at that time. Although the various tablets show very little textual variation, much more variation is exhibited in extracts, which were written commonly on amulets, and they show that different versions did indeed exist, perhaps due to oral tradition. Certain evidence of older associations has been noted, particularly with reference to the Suteans, traditionally nomadic enemies who damaged Babylonian cities in the eleventh century BCE, but they may have been incorporated deliberately to lend an air of antiquity and thus authority to the poem. Such a possibility is reinforced by an apparent element of pseudo-prophecy, which is expressed in Tablet IV, when Erra proclaims: "But afterwards a man of Akkad shall rise up." So a date in the ninth or eighth century BCE seems likely. Erra and Ishum are quite similarly depicted in the Crown Prince's Vision of the Nether World, which was probably composed in the early seventh century BCE.

Erra, also known as Nergal, one main subject of the poem, is a great god in the Mesopotamian pantheon whose aspects as a god of plague and lord of the Underworld made him particularly unpredictable and awesome. Partially assimilated with Gilgamesh on the one hand and with Heracles on the other, he was a fertility god, patron of copper smelting, controller of both wild and domesticated animals, and his weapon was floods and mountain torrents. As consort of the great fertility goddess Mami he had succeeded the Sumerian god Shulpae. As a heroic warrior of sudden and uncertain changes of mood, the poem presents him as an effective challenge to Marduk, now represented as the disgruntled and senile god of Babylon. The other main subject of the poem is Ishum, whose essential nature as god of fire and as leader in battle is tempered by his skill as a wise counsellor and cunning placator of Erra.

The poem does not describe a clear narrative of specific events, but rather consists of direct discourse in which the poet, Erra, Ishum, and Marduk all make speeches, mostly in a rhetorical and declamatory style. War threatens Babylonia because of Marduk's impotence and Erra's aggression, but total disaster is narrowly averted thanks to the soothing flattery of Erra by Ishum. There is no real enemy, no rivalry, no dangers faced and overcome, no failure. An element of ridicule and satire spices the characterization of both Erra and Marduk. Possibly the poem shows features of ritual drama: the poet speaks to the gods who are sometimes addressed in the second person, sometimes he speaks for them in the first person; at other times the narrative is in the third person. At times direct speech is given without preamble, as in the Epic of Creation; at times an epic type of formulaic introduction to direct speech is given in full. Thus the composition may offer information on the ancestry of true drama, which is thought to have arisen in Greece from a dithyrambic chorus that began a dialogue, in which a single actor played the god.

As for the purpose and form of the work, it is generally reckoned that it refers to the recent past history and tribulations of Babylonia which will now be put to right by the new "man of Akkad," perhaps Nabonassar or Merodach-Baladan II, and the poem relates the events in a didactic manner. The ending of the work, and its use in extracts on amulets, makes it clear that certain passages served to ward off danger and illness. There is no clear evidence that the poem was used in the cult in specific circumstances, and there is no reason to connect its author with worship of Erra, whose main cult center at Kutha plays no part in the poem.

The ending of the poem is unusual, for the scribe is named as Kabti-ilani-Marduk of the Dabibi clan, a family first attested around 765 BCE and associated with high temple office in both Babylon and Uruk. A dream is the express

source of his inspiration. In the final lines Erra in the first person exhorts the people to praise him. The destructive prophecies of Erra have been compared in general with the Oracles against the Nations in Ezekiel 24-32.

Although an epic formula to introduce direct speech is sometimes used, many of the speeches in this work occur abruptly. In some cases, especially where there are breaks in the text, the precise points at which a speech begins and ends are not certain.

Tablet I

[I sing of the son of] the king of all populated lands, creator of the world,¹
Of Hendursanga, Ellil's heir,
Holder of the lofty scepter, herder of the black-headed people, shepherd of [populations],
Of Ishum, pious slaughterer whose hands are adept at carrying his furious weapons
And making his fierce axes flash! Erra, warrior of gods was stirring at home;²
His heart urged him to make war.
He spoke to his weapons, "Rub yourselves with deadly poison!"
To the Sebitti, unrivalled warrior, "Arm yourselves with your weapons!"
He said to you (Ishum), "I shall go out into the open country — ³
(10) You will be the torch, people can see your light.
You are to march in front, and the gods [will follow you].
You are the sword that slaughters [...]."
"O Erra, rise up, and in overwhelming the land
How happy your mood, how joyous your heart!"⁴
Yet Erra himself felt as weak as a man short of sleep,
Saying to himself, "Should I rise or sleep?"
He told his weapons, "Stay propped in the cupboard!"
To the Sebitti, unrivalled warrior, "Go back to your home."
Until you (Ishum) rouse him, he will stay asleep in bed,
(20) Enjoy himself with Mami his lover!
For he is Engidudu, lord who prowls by night, leader of princes,
Who leads on youths and girls and makes (night) as bright as day.

Different is the divine nature of the Sebitti, unrivalled warrior;
Their birth was strange and full of terrible portents.
Anyone who sees them is smitten with terror, for their breath is lethal;
People are petrified and cannot approach them.⁵
Ishum is the door bolted before them.
When Anu, king of the gods, impregnated Earth,
She bore the Seven Gods for him and he named them Sebitti.
(30) When they stood before him, he decreed their destiny.
He summoned the first and gave him orders,
"Wherever you band together and march out, you shall have no rival."⁶
He spoke to the second, "Ignite like Gerra and blaze like a flame!"
He said to the third, "You must put on the face of a lion, so that anyone seeing you will crumble in terror."
He spoke to the fourth, "Let the mountain flee before the one who bears your fierce weapons!"⁷
He ordered the fifth, "Blow like the wind, and seek out the rim of the world!"
He commanded the sixth, "Go through above and below, and do not spare anyone!"
The seventh he filled with dragon's venom, and "Lay low living things!"
When Anu had decreed the destinies of all the Sebitti,
(40) He gave them to Erra, warrior of the gods,
"Let them march at your side!
Whenever the hubbub of settled people becomes unbearable to you,⁸
And you want to wreak destruction,
To kill off some black-headed people and lay low Shakkan's cattle."⁹
These shall act as your fierce weapons, and

¹ The opening lines are modelled on the opening of Anzu. Some commentators would restore the name of Marduk or of Erra/Nergal at the end of the line, but it is very doubtful whether there is a lacuna at the ends of lines 1 or 2, and Hendursanga is definitely a name for Ishum. Therefore I have followed Edzard, *RIA*, s.v. Irra; the prologue, like the epilogue, is addressed to Ishum and Erra. The epilogue shows that Erra and Nergal are two names for the one god.

² Unusual vocabulary for the phrase "fierce axes" is also found in the letter describing Sargon's eighth campaign, line 122 (Thureau-Dangin 1912).

³ The second person address, only briefly maintained, perhaps implies that the dialogue within the poem was a hymn sung around a statue of Ishum.

⁴ These two lines read like the exclamation of a chorus, tinged with sarcasm.

⁵ Lit., "him." The Sebitti, "The Seven Gods," can be regarded both as a singular and as a plural deity.

⁶ Reading [te-n]e-di-ru, from *edêru* N, "band together."

⁷ Cagni translated "be razed to the ground" rather than "flee."

⁸ This speech echoes Atrahasis, I-II in which the gods recommend that overpopulation be curbed by plague, although the idea comes from Ellil, not Anu, in the version known to us.

⁹ "Black-headed people"; see the Epic of Creation, text 1.111, n. 14 above (p. 402).

march at your side!"

They were indeed fierce, and their weapons rose up.

They said to Erra, "Rise! Stand up!

Why do you stay in town like a feeble old man?

How can you stay at home like a lisping child?

Are we to eat women's bread, like one who has never marched on to the battlefield?

(50) Are we to be fearful and nervous as if we had no experience of war?

To go on to the battlefield is as good as a festival for young men!

Anyone who stays in town, be he a prince, will not be satisfied with bread alone;

He will be vilified in the mouths of his own people, and dishonored.

How can he raise his hand against one who goes to the battlefield?

However great the strength of one who stays in town,

How can he prevail over one who has been on the battlefield?

City food, however fancy, cannot compare with what is cooked on the embers.

Best beer, however sweet, cannot compare with water from a water-skin.

A palace built on a platform cannot compare with the shelters of [a camp.]

(60) Go out to the battlefield, warrior Erra, make your weapons resound!

Make your noise so loud that those above and below quake,

So that the Igigi hear and glorify your name,

So that the Anunnaki hear and fear your word,

So that the gods hear and submit to your yoke,

So that kings hear and kneel beneath you,

So that countries hear and bring you their tribute,

So that demons hear and avoid (?) you,

So that the powerful hear and bite their lips,

So that mountain peaks hear and bow their heads in terror,

(70) So that the rolling seas hear and are stirred up and destroy their produce,

So that tree trunks are lopped in a mighty grove,

So that the reeds of an impenetrable reed-bed are cut down,

So that people are frightened into controlling their noise,

So that cattle tremble and turn to clay,

So that the gods your fathers see and praise your valor!

Warrior Erra, why did you abandon the battlefield and stay in town?

Even Shakkan's cattle and wild beasts despise us.

Warrior Erra, we must tell you, and our words will surely be harsh for you,

As long as the whole land is too much for us,

(80) Surely you will listen to our words!

Do a favor for the Anunnaki who love silence!

Sleep no longer pours over the Anunnaki, because of people's noise.¹⁰

Cattle are trampling down the pasture land, the life of the country.

The farmer weeps bitterly over his [yield].

The lion and the wolf lay low Shakkan's cattle.

The shepherd prays to you for his sheep, he cannot sleep by day nor by night.

And we, who know the mountain passes, we have quite forgotten the road!

Spiders' webs are spun over our campaign gear.

Our trusty bows have rebelled and become too tough for our strength.

(90) The points of our sharp arrows are blunt.

Our daggers are corroded with verdigris for lack of butchery."

Warrior Erra listened to them.

The speech which the Sebitti made was as pleasing to him as the best oil.

He made his voice heard and spoke to Ishum,

"How can you listen and stay silent?

Open up a path, and let me take the road!

Let me appoint the Sebitti, unrivalled warrior, [to]"¹¹

Make them march at my side as my fierce weapons.

And as for you, go ahead of me, go behind me."

(100) When Ishum heard this,

He made his voice heard and spoke to the warrior Erra,¹²

"Lord Erra, why have you planned evil for the gods?

You have plotted to overthrow countries and to destroy their people, but will you not turn back?"

Erra made his voice heard and spoke,

Addressed his words to Ishum who marches before him,

"Ishum, be silent, and listen to my speech

About settled people whom you say I should spare!

Wise Ishum, who marches in front of the gods, whose advice is good,

¹⁰ Another use of the overpopulation theme from Atrahasis.

¹¹ Reading *lupqil[d]*, "appoint," rather than *luppi[s]*, "draw (them)" (Cagni).

¹² Var. "He felt compassion and ..."

In heaven I am a wild bull, on earth I am a lion.
 (110) In the country I am king, among the gods I am fierce.
 Among the Igigi I am the warrior, among the Anunnaki I am powerful.
 Among cattle I am the smiter, in the mountains I am a wild ram.¹³
 In the reed-thicket I am Gerra, in the grove I am the *magšaru*-axe.
 In the course of a campaign I am the standard. I blow like the wind, I rumble like Adad, I can see the rim of everything like Shamash. I go out on to the battlefield, and I am a wild sheep.
 I go into sheepfolds (?), and I make my dwelling there.¹⁴
 (120) All the (other) gods are afraid of battle, So that the black-headed people despise (them). But I, because they no longer fear my name, And since prince Marduk has neglected his word and does as he pleases,
 I shall make prince Marduk angry, and I shall summon him from his dwelling, and I shall overwhelm (his) people.”
 Warrior Erra set his face towards Shuanna, city of the king of gods.
 He entered Esagila, palace of heaven and earth, and stood in front of him (Marduk),
 He made his voice heard and spoke (to) the king of gods,
 “Why does the finery, your lordship’s adornment which is full of splendor like the stars of heaven, grow dirty?
 The crown of your lordship which made E-halanki shine like E-temen-anki — its surface is tarnished!”
 The king of gods made his voice heard and spoke,
 (130) Addressed his words to Erra, warrior of gods,
 “Warrior Erra, concerning that deed which you have said you will do:
 A long time ago, when I was angry and rose up from my dwelling and arranged for the Flood,¹⁵
 I rose up from my dwelling, and the control of heaven and earth was undone.

The very heavens I made to tremble, the positions of the stars of heaven changed, and I did not return them to their places.
 Even Erkalla quaked; the furrow’s yield diminished, and forever after (?) it was hard to extract (a yield).
 Even the control of heaven and earth was undone, the springs diminished, the flood-water receded. I went back, and looked and looked; it was very grievous.
 The (remaining) offspring of living things was tiny, and I did not return them to their (former) state,
 To the extent that I was like a farmer who can hold (all) his seed-corn in his hand.¹⁶
 I made a house and settled into it.
 (140) As for the finery which had been pushed aside by the Flood, its surface dulled:
 I directed Gerra to make my features radiant, and to cleanse my robes.¹⁷
 When he had made the finery bright, and finished the work,
 I put on my crown of lordship and went back to my place.
 My features were splendid, and my gaze was awesome!
 (As for) the people who were left from the Flood and saw the result of my action,
 Should I raise my weapons and destroy the remnant?¹⁸
 I made those (original) Craftsmen go down to the Apsu, and I said they were not to come back up.¹⁹
 I changed the location of the *mēsu*-tree (and of) the *elmešu*-stone, and did not reveal it to anyone.²⁰
 Now, concerning that deed which you have said you will do, Warrior Erra,
 (150) Where is the *mēsu*-wood, the flesh of the gods, the proper insignia of the King of the World,²¹
 The pure timber, tall youth, who is made into a lord,²²
 Whose roots reach down into the vast ocean through a hundred miles of water, to the base of Arallu,²³

¹³ The word for “smiter,” *māḥiṣu*, can also be translated “hunter.”

¹⁴ “Sheepfolds” or “pasture land.”

¹⁵ Here Marduk takes responsibility for the Flood; in Atrahasis it was Ellil’s idea.

¹⁶ Lit., “To the extent that I held their seed in my hand like a plowman.”

¹⁷ In this speech Marduk refers to himself as a cult statue made of precious metals, gems, and timbers.

¹⁸ Var. has: “Should you raise your weapons ...” The line may equally be taken as an affirmative statement, not as interrogative.

¹⁹ These Craftsmen are the Seven Sages.

²⁰ Or, “of the *mēsu*-tree (which bears) *elmešu*-stone.” Although a translation “amber” has been suggested for *elmešu*, amber seems not to have been used in ancient Mesopotamia. The word is sometimes used with *bāṣu*, “glass,” and may perhaps be rock crystal. *mēsu* may have been a rosewood (*Dalbergia*) with wider mythical connotations.

²¹ I.e., the wood was used to make the gods’ basic statues, which were then adorned with inlay etc.

²² This is a pun on *mes* as a logographic value for *eṣlu*, “youth,” and *mēsu*-timber (Cagni 1969:194). The same pun occurs in a late third millennium poem known as *Shulgi King of Abundance* (Klein 1981:11).

²³ Lit., “a hundred double hours.”

Whose topknot above rests on the heaven of Anu?
 Where is the pure *zagindurû*-stone which [...] threw away?²⁴
 Where is Nin-ildu the great carpenter-god of my Anu-power,
 Who carries the pure axe of the sun, and knows ... timbers,
 Who makes [the night (?)] as radiant as day and makes [people (?)] bow down beneath me?¹
 Where is Kusig-banda, creator of god and man, whose hands are pure?
 Where is Ninagal, who carries the hammer and anvil,
 (160) Who chews hard copper like hide and manufactures tools?
 Where are the precious stones, produce of the vast ocean, fitting ornament for crowns?
 Where are the Seven Sages of the Apsu, the holy carp, who are perfect in lofty wisdom like Ea their lord, who can make my body holy?²⁵
 The warrior Erra listened to him as he stood (?) there.
 He made his voice heard and spoke to prince Marduk,
 "[...]
 [...]
 The holy *elmešu*-stone [...]."
 When Marduk heard this,
 He made his voice heard and spoke to warrior Erra,
 (170) "I shall rise up from my dwelling, and the control of heaven and earth will be undone.
 The waters will rise and go over the land.
 Bright day will turn into darkness.
 A storm will rise up and cover the stars of heaven.
 An evil wind will blow, and the vision of people and living things will [be obscured (?)].
Gallu-demons will come up and seize [...]
 Those who are undressed will [...] who opposes them.
 The Anunnaki will come up and trample on living things.
 Until I gird myself with weapons, who can make them go back?"
 When Erra heard this,
 (180) He made his voice heard and spoke to prince

Marduk,
 "Prince Marduk, until you re-enter that house and Gerra cleanses your robes, and you return to your place,
 Until then shall I rule and keep firm control of heaven and earth.
 I shall go up into heaven, and give orders to the Igigi;
 I shall go down to the Apsu and direct the Anunnaki.
 I shall send ferocious *gallu*-demons to Kurnugi, And I shall set my fierce weapons over them.
 I shall tie the wings of the wicked wind like a bird.
 At that house which you shall enter, prince Marduk,
 I shall make Anu and Ellil lie down like bulls, to right and left of your gate."

(190) Prince Marduk listened to him,
 And the speech that Erra made was pleasing to him.

(Catchline)

He rose up from his inaccessible dwelling and set his face towards the dwelling of the Anunnaki.

Tablet II

He rose up from his inaccessible dwelling and set his face towards the dwelling of the Anunnaki.
 He entered ... and sto[od] before them,
 [Discarded] his radi[ance] and let his rays fall [...] ²⁶
 [Because (?)] he had set his face towards another place and no longer [...] the earth,
 [The winds (?)] rose up, and bright day was turned into darkness.
 [...] of the land together [...]
 [...] went up [...]
 [...] and the bottom of [...]
 [...] all of the rim of [...]

(gap of 7 lines)

The crown [...]

His heart [...]

"The mantle of radiance [...]

Let Ea in the Apsu [...]

Let Shamash see [...] and let the people [...]

Let Sin look, and at his sign [...] to the land

Concerning that work Ea [...] is expert (?)."

The warrior Erra was filled with anger,²⁷

Why, because of foam on the surface of water, did Marduk

Give the [...] of mankind, whom I myself

²⁴ A blue stone, possibly top-quality lapis lazuli.

²⁵ When a divine statue was made or repaired, rituals known as "washing the mouth" and "opening the mouth" were carried out with incantations, Ea's speciality, to bring the statue to "life." In an inscription of Esarhaddon (680-669 BCE) "(the newly fashioned statues) entered the city with rituals by sages, with 'washing the mouth' and 'opening the mouth'" (Borger *Asarh.* 89).

²⁶ The idea that a god is made powerless when divested of his rays or mantle of radiance is also found in the episode of Humbaba in *Gilgamesh*.

²⁷ This restoration and those which follow are based on a new, fragmentary tablet from Tell Haddad, kindly made available by Dr. Farouk al-Rawi and Dr. Jeremy Black. That tablet shows that Tablet II had about 160 lines.

created
 To bring promptly the *taklīmu*-offerings of the
 Anunnaki,
 At the wrong time?
 He plotted evil, to devastate the land, to
 destroy people [...]"
 (30) Ea-sharru considered, and then he said,
 "Now, (it was) prince Marduk who rose up,
 who told those Craftsmen that they were
 not to come back up.
 Statues of them, which I made among the
 people, for [his great divinity]
 Which no god goes and approaches [(?) ...]"²⁸
 He gave to the Craftsmen a generous heart, and
 [...]ed their base.
 He bestowed on them wisdom and made their work
 beautiful.
 They made that finery radiant, and more choice (?)
 than before.
 The warrior Erra stood before him night and day
 without cease;
 Whatever (?) was placed there to make the finery
 radiant for the king of kings, he would say:
 "You can't come near the work!
 [...] I shall cut off his life, I shall stretch out
 his ...
 (40) [...] hasten to the work.
 [...] has no rival.
 [...] ...
 [...] shall rival princes." (?)
 [...] his head
 [made his finery radiant]
 [...] ...
 [...] at his door.
 [...] king Shamash was clothed.
 [...] set down his dwelling
 (50) [...] light was established
 [...] assembled.
 [...] Marduk
 (8 lines fragmentary)
 The king of gods made his voice heard and spoke
 "[...] and they will go up to heaven.
 [...] return to your dwelling.
 [...] ...
 [...] upon your cheek
 [...] their people
 [...] you did not turn back."
 [...] spoke to the king of gods,
 "[...] of the day
 (gap of about 17 lines)
 [...] father of the gods [...]

Ellil [...]
 The gods, all of them in [...]
 Among Shakkan's cattle, all of them [...]
 Erra among all the gods [...]
 Among the stars of heaven the Fox Star [...] ²⁹
 Was twinkling and its rays [...] to him.
 The stars of all the gods were dazzling [...]
 Because they were angry with each other and
 Prince Marduk [...] put [...].
 (10') "The star of Erra is twinkling and carries
 rays, [...] of Anunitu.
 His mantle of radiance will be activated (?) and
 all people will perish.
 As for (?) the dazzling stars of heaven that
 carry a sword (?),
 As for (?) the titch (?) of creation, the ant, it
 does not ... [...].
 Among Shakkan's cattle, their astral image is
 that of the Fox [...]
 Endowed with strength, a fierce (?) lion [...]
 Ellil is the father of populations (?) and he has
 made the final [decision (?)]."
 Innina replied from the gods' assembly, gave
 advice [...],
 [Addressed] her words to Anu and Dagan [...],
 "Pay attention, all of you, go into your private
 quarters;
 (20') Cover your lips. Did you not smell the
 inc[ense-offering (?)]
 In the presence of Prince Marduk, nor give ad-
 vice, nor bese[ech him (?)]?
 Until the time is fulfilled, the [hour] is passed,
 The word Marduk spoke is like a mountain
 where trees (?) [grow]; he does not change
 it (?) [...]
 Erra [...]
 (gap of 4 lines)
 Ishtar went and they entered the private quarters.
 (30') She urged Erra, but he would not agree [...] ³⁰
 Ishum [made his voice heard and spoke],
 Addressed [his words to Innina], ³¹
 "He has ill-treated (?) [...]
 Erra is angry and will not be silent [...].
 Let the mountains be at peace, [...] to him."
 Ellil's lofty son, who does not take the road with-
 out the leader Ishum,
 Entered Emeslam and made his dwelling there.
 He deliberated (?) with himself concerning that
 work. ³²
 But his heart [...]; it gave him no reply.
 He asked himself, "How can you sit still? (?) ³³
 (40') Open up a path, and let me take the road!

²⁸ Cagni translates: "Where the god does not go, they draw near."

²⁹ The Fox Star was equated with Erra.

³⁰ The main restorations using the Tell Haddad tablet end here.

³¹ The new passage shows that Innina, not Erra, should be restored here.

³² Tentatively reading *išlīma ramdnuš*.

³³ Tentatively reading *tuš-bi mīn-su*.

The time has elapsed, the hour has passed.
 I promise that I shall destroy the rays of the Sun;
 I shall cover the face of the Moon in the middle of the night.
 I shall say to Adad, 'Hold back [your] well-springs,
 Drive away the clouds and cut out snow and rain.'
 To Marduk (?) and to Ea I shall bring a reminder:
 He who grows up in times of plenty shall be buried in times of deprivation.
 He who travels out on a path with water shall return along a way of dust-storms.
 I shall say to the king of gods, 'Stay in Esagila!'
 (50') They will do as you have told them, they will carry out your command in full.
 The black-headed people will revile you, and you will not accept their prayers.
 I shall finish off the land and count it as ruins.
 I shall devastate cities and make of them a wilderness.
 I shall destroy mountains and fell their cattle.
 I shall stir up oceans and destroy their produce.
 I shall dig out reed-thickets and graves and I shall burn them like Gerra.
 I shall fell people and [I shall leave no] life
 I shall not keep a single one back!
 I shall not leave out any of the cattle of Shakkan nor any wild beasts [whatsoever].
 (60') From city to city I shall seize the one who governs.
 A son will not ask after the health of his father, nor the father of his son.
 A mother will happily plot harm for her daughter.
 I shall let a [barbarian] enter a god's shrine where evil men should not go.
 I shall let a rogue sit down in the dwelling of princes.
 I shall let a wild beast of ... enter [cult centers].
 I shall stop anyone entering any city which he encounters.
 I shall let wild beasts of the mountains go down (into cities).
 I shall devastate public places, wherever people tread.
 I shall let wild beasts of the countryside which are not ... come into the public square.
 I shall let a bad omen occur to devastate a city.
 (70') I shall let the demon 'Supporter of Evil' enter the gods' [inaccessible] dwelling.
 I shall devastate the royal palace and make it

into a ruin [()].

I shall cut off the noise of mankind and deprive him of joy,
 Like [...] like fire where there was once peace.
 [...] I shall let evil enter."

(Catchline)

[...] he would pay attention to nobody.

Tablet III

[...] he would pay attention to nobody,
 The words of caution that they spoke [...]
 Lions [...]

[...]

To [...]

"I shall make them take [...] and I shall shorten their lifetime,

I shall sever the life of the just man who takes on paternal responsibility,

I shall set up [at the head (?)] the wicked man who cuts off life.

I shall change the minds of people, so that the father will not listen to the son:

(10) The daughter will speak words of rejection to the mother.

I shall make their words wicked, and they will forget their god,

Will speak great insolence to their goddess.

I shall muster the bandit and cut off the highway.

They will even plunder each other's property in the city center.

The lion and the wolf will fell Shakkan's cattle.

[...] I shall cause to rage and he will cut off offspring.

I shall deprive the nurse of the baby's cry and toddler's prattle.

I shall make Alala leave the pasture.

Shepherd and herdsman will forget the shelter.

(20) I shall cut off the garment from a man's body
 And I shall make the young man walk naked in the city square.

I shall make the young man go down into the Earth unshrouded.

The young man — his supply of sacrificial sheep will be interrupted and endanger his own life.

The prince — his supply of lambs will become too scarce to obtain oracles from Shamash.³⁴

The sick man will demand roast meat (perversely) to satisfy his craving.

He will not free for ... he will go.

[...] I shall stop the steeds of princes.

[...] I shall cut off.

[...] I shall cause to seize.

³⁴ Shamash and Adad were gods of extispicy (the reading of entrails) and other omens.

(gap of uncertain length)³⁵

Rain [...]

Evil winds [...]

(gap of uncertain length)³⁵

"You have (?) set up the weapons of *kidinnu*-men as an abomination to Anu and Dagan.³⁶

You have made their blood flow like water in the drains of public squares.

You have opened their veins and let the river carry off (their blood).

Ellil has cried "Woe!" and clutched at his heart [He has risen up from] his dwelling.

(80') An irredeemable curse is set in his mouth, He has sworn not to drink the river's waters, He shuns their blood and will not enter into Ekur."

Erra addressed his words to Ishum, who marches before him,

"The Sebitti, unrivalled warrior [...]

All of them [...]

Who [...]

Who marches before [...]

Who [...]

Who like Gerra [...]

(90') In front of the house [...]

Who like [...]

Who [...]

Whom Erra [...]

The face of a lion [...]

In my rage [...]

Open the path, let me take the road!

Let me appoint the Sebitti, unrivalled warrior [...].

Make them march at my side as my fierce weapons.

And as for you, go ahead of me, go behind me!"

(100') Ishum listened to this speech of his;

He felt compassion and said to himself,

"Woe to my people against whom Erra rages and [...]

Whom the warrior Nergal, as in the moment of battle, [...] Asakku.³⁷

His arms, like those which (slew (?)) the ruin-

ed god, are not too weak to slay them,³⁸

His net, like that (which overwhelmed) wicked Anzu, is spread to overwhelm them."³⁹

Ishum made his voice heard and spoke,

Addressed his words to the warrior Erra,

"How could you plot evil for gods and men?

Even though you have plotted evil against the black-headed people, will you not turn back?"

(110') Erra made his voice heard and spoke,

Addressed his words to Ishum who marches before him,

"You know the decisions of the Igigi, the counsels of the Anunnaki.

You give the command for the black-headed people, and gain their attention (?).

How can you speak like one who is ignorant, Advise me as if you did not know of Marduk's words to me!

The king of gods has risen up from his dwelling

So how can all the lands stay firm?

He has taken off his lordly crown:

King and princes [...] will forget their rites.

(120') He has undone his girdle:

The belt of god and man is loosened and cannot be retied.

Furious Gerra has made his finery bright as day, and has displayed his radiance.

He holds a mace in his right hand, the great weapon

Of Prince Marduk; his glance is terrifying.

Yet to me you speak [...]

Leader of the gods, wise Ishum, whose counsel is good,

How can you now sit and [...]

Was Marduk's word not pleasing to you?"

Ishum made his voice heard and spoke to warrior Erra,

(130') "Warrior Erra, [...]

Trample on the people and [...]

Where the cattle [...]

The reed-thicket and grove which [...]

Now, as for what you say, warrior Erra,

One was put in charge, but you [...]

You killed seven and did not spare one.

³⁵ If the total number of lines for this tablet should be about 160 as indicated by the tablet from Tell Haddad, this and the following gap represent about forty-three missing lines.

³⁶ Certain cities were accorded the privileged status of protection called *kidinnu* in which its citizens were exempted from military service, and professional soldiers were forbidden to bear arms within the city walls. Such places proclaimed their status with standards set up at the gates of the city. They may in return have supported permanent encampments of professional soldiers. In Babylonia the cities Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, and Borsippa, in Assyria the cities Assur and Harran enjoyed the status, at least in the early first millennium, although not without interruption. *kidinnu*-men in such cities appear to have had a special relationship with the two gods Anu and Dagan. It is not certain whether the *kidinnu*-men were citizens exempt from military service or the soldiery stationed in those cities.

³⁷ Or, "storm," rather than "moment." This line assimilates Nergal with Ninurta, who defeated Asakku in the Sum. story Lugal-e (Van Dijk 1983).

³⁸ This literary allusion is not understood. According to one text "the ruined gods were in the sea," and the Epic of Creation, VI may allude to the same event. It is possible that a feat of Ninurta is involved.

³⁹ The reference is to the myth of Anzu, but a different version from the one known to us in which no net is used. As in previous lines here assimilation with Ningirsu and Ninurta is implied. However, the text may be corrupt; cf. Etana, text 1.131, note 18 below.

Cattle [...]

Erra, you clash your weapons together
And the mountains shake, the seas surge
(140') At the flashing of your sword [...] they
look towards the mountain.
The palace [...]"

(gap of uncertain length)

Ishum made his voice heard and spoke to warrior
Erra, [...]

"Warrior Erra, you hold the nose-rope of
heaven,⁴⁰

You control the whole earth, and you rule the
land.

(150') You made the sea rough and encompass
mountains,

You govern people and herd cattle.

Esharra is at your disposal; E-engurra in your
hands.

You look after Shuanna and rule Esagila,

You control all the rites and the gods respect
you.

When you give counsel, even Anu listens.

The Igigi revere you, the Anunnaki fear you,
Ellil agrees with you. Does conflict happen

without you,

Or warfare take place in your absence?

The armory of war belongs to you

(160') And yet you say to yourself, 'They
despise me!'

(Catchline)

O warrior Erra, did you not fear prince
Marduk's name?

Tablet IV

O warrior Erra, did you not fear prince Mar-
duk's name?

You have untied the bond of Dimkurkurra, city
of the king of gods, the bond of lands!

You have changed your divine nature and
become like a human!⁴¹

You have donned your weapons and entered in,
Into the heart of Babylon, and have spoken like
a braggart (?), that you would seize the
city.

The sons of Babylon, who have none to take
charge of them, like reeds in a reed-thicket,
have all gathered about you.

He who is ignorant of weapons is unsheathing
his dagger,

He who is ignorant of bows is stringing his
bow,

He who is ignorant of battle is making war,

(10) He who is ignorant of wings is flying like
a bird.

The weakling covers the master of force;⁴²

The fatty is overtaking the sprinter.

To the governor in charge of their shrines they
utter great blasphemies.

Their hands have dammed up the city gate of
Babylon, the artery of their wealth.

They have thrown firebrands into the shrines of
Babylon like looters of the country.

You are the one who marches at the head, and
you take the lead for them.

You press down arrows upon Imgur-Ellil until
he says 'Woe is me!'

You have founded a dwelling for Muhra,
keeper of its city-gate, in the blood of
young men and women.

You are the decoy for the inhabitants of
Babylon, and they are the bird;

You ensnared them in your net and caught and
destroyed them, warrior Erra.

(20) You left the city and went off elsewhere;
You put on the face of a lion and entered the
palace.

The army saw you and donned their weapons.
The governor, who had treated Babylon well,
became enraged,

Directed his troops to loot like enemy looters,
Incited the leader of the army to crime,

'You are the man whom I shall send to that
city!

You shall respect neither god nor man.

Put young and old alike to death.

You shall not leave any child, even if he still
sucks milk.

(30) You shall pillage the accumulated wealth
of Babylon.'

The royal troops were put into units and
entered the city.

The bow twanged, the dagger pricked.

You set up the weapons of *kidinnu*-men as an
abomination to Anu and Dagan.

You have made their blood flow like water in
the drains of public squares.

You have opened their veins and let the river
carry off (their blood).

The great lord Marduk saw and cried 'Woe!'
and clutched at his heart.

An irredeemable curse is set in his mouth.

He has sworn not to drink the river's waters.

He shuns their blood and will not enter into
Esagila,

(40) 'Woe to Babylon, which I made as lofty as

⁴⁰ This speech is quoted on plague amulets (Reiner 1960).

⁴¹ Erra/Nergal may have been equated with Heracles, whose ambivalent nature as a god and as a mortal hero is stressed by Herodotus (Dalley 1987).

⁴² For "wings" see Tsevat 1987. The second phrase probably implies a wrestler's strength, arm muscles.

a date-palm's crown, but the wind shrivelled it.

Woe to Babylon, which I filled with seeds like a pine-cone, but whose abundance I did not bring to fruition.

Woe to Babylon, which I planted like a luxuriant orchard, but never tasted its fruit.

Woe to Babylon, which I have thrown on to the neck of Anu like a cylinder seal of *elmešu*-stone.

Woe to Babylon, which I have taken in my hands like the Tablet of Destinies and will not deliver to anyone else."

Then prince Marduk spoke thus,

"[...] which from time immemorial [...]"

Henceforth he who would cross from the quayside shall cross on foot.

Henceforth the rope which would go down into the cistern shall not save the life of a single man.

Henceforth they shall drive out the deep-sea fisherman's boat a hundred leagues into the vast expanse of sea-water with a pole.

(50) Even Sippar, the eternal city, which the Lord of Lands did not allow the Flood to overwhelm, because it was so dear to him;

You destroyed its wall without Shamash's permission and dismantled its parapet.⁴³

Even Uruk, the dwelling of Anu and Ishtar, city of prostitutes, courtesans, and call-girls,

Whom Ishtar deprived of husbands and kept in her (lit. their) power:

Sutean men and women hurl their abuse;

They rouse Eanna, the party-boys and festival people

Who changed their masculinity into femininity to make the people of Ishtar revere her.

The dagger-bearer, bearers of razors, pruning-knives, and flint blades

Who frequently do abominable acts to please the heart of Ishtar:

You set over them an insolent governor who will not treat them kindly.

(60) He persecuted them and violated their rites.

Ishtar was enraged and became angry with Uruk.

She summoned an enemy and despoiled the land like (standing) corn before (flood-) water.

The inhabitants of Parsa would not cease ritual wailing because of E-ugal, which had been contaminated.

The enemy whom you had summoned would not agree to stop."

Angal replied,

You have made the city of Der into a wilderness;

You have snapped the people within it like reeds!

Like scum (?) on the surface of water you have stopped their hubbub,

And you did not spare me; you delivered me up to the Suteans.⁴⁴

(70) So I, because of my city Der,⁴⁵

Shall not give fair justice, I shall not make decisions for the land.

I shall not give any orders, nor will I open my ear.

The people abandoned justice and took to atrocities.

They deserted righteousness and planned wickedness.

I made the seven winds rise up against the one country.

Anyone who has not died in battle will die in an epidemic.

Anyone who has not died in the epidemic, the enemy will carry off as spoil.

Anyone whom the enemy has not carried off as spoil, thieves will murder.

Anyone whom thieves have not murdered, the king's weapon will overcome.⁴⁶

(80) Anyone whom the king's weapon has not overcome, a prince will fell.

Anyone whom a prince did not fell, Adad will wash away.

Anyone whom Adad has not washed away, Shamash will parch.⁴⁷

Anyone who goes out on to the land, the wind will infect.

Anyone who enters his own home, the Croucher will hit.

Anyone who goes up into the heights will die of thirst,

Anyone who goes down into the depths will die by water,

For you encompass the heights and the depths alike.

The city governor will say thus to his mother,

⁴³ The historical event to which this line alludes cannot be pinpointed.

⁴⁴ The Suteans were traditional enemies of Assyria and had raided Der, Nippur, and Parsa in the eleventh century (Heltzer 1981:90-94); they are attested again on the fringes of Babylonia in the eighth and early seventh centuries; Sargon II in the late eighth century claimed to have driven Sutean bandits from Babylonian countryside.

⁴⁵ This allusion to Der is not clear. The Assyrians were defeated there by Elam in 720 BCE, perhaps with Babylonian help (Brinkman 1984:48) but retained control of the city.

⁴⁶ Probably a reference to the winged disk, symbol of royalty on which oaths of loyalty to the king were sworn under threat of horrific penalties for perjury. Such symbols were regularly referred to as weapons because of their power to harm and kill.

⁴⁷ Or, "will take away" rather than "will parch."

'Would that I had been obstructed in your womb on the day you bore me,
(90) Would that my life had ended and that we had died together,

Because you delivered me to a city whose walls were to be demolished,

Its people treated like cattle, their god turned smiter,⁴⁸

And because his net is of such fine mesh, even picked men could not draw (their swords), but died by the sword.⁴⁹

He who sired a son will say, 'This is my son And I reared him and he does good in return,' —

Yet shall I put the son to death and his father shall bury him.

Afterwards I shall put the father to death, and he shall have nobody to bury him.

He who builds a house and says, 'This is my home,

I have built it and I shall find peace within it,

(100) And when Fate carries me off I shall rest there (forever)' —⁵⁰

Yet shall I put him to death and vandalize his home.

Afterwards it will be wrecked, and I shall give it to someone else"

(Ishum answers)

"O warrior Erra, you have put the just to death,

You have put the unjust to death.

You have put to death the man who sinned against you,

You have put to death the man who did not sin against you.

You have put to death the *en*-priest who made *taklīmu*-offerings promptly,

You have put to death the courtier who served the king,

(110) You have put old men to death on the porch,

You have put young girls to death in their bedrooms.

Yet you will not rest at all,

Yet you say to yourself, 'They despise me!'

Yet this is what you tell yourself, Warrior Erra,

'I shall smite the strong and terrify the weak.

I shall murder the leader of the army and rout the army,

I shall ruin the shrine on top of the temple-

(tower) and the wall's crenellations, and destroy the city's vitality.

I shall tear out the mooring poles and let boats drift downstream,

I shall break the rudder, so that it cannot reach the bank,

I shall rip out the mast and tear out its rigging.

(120) I shall dry out the breast so that the baby cannot live,

I shall block springs, so that small channels cannot bring the waters of fertility.

I shall make Erkalla quake, so that the skies billow,

I shall fell the rays of Shulpae and throw away the stars of heaven,

The roots of trees shall be cut through so that their new growth will not flourish,

I shall destroy the base of the wall so that the top of it sways.

To the dwelling of the king of gods I shall go, so that counsel shall not prevail."

Warrior Erra listened to him,

And the words that Ishum spoke to him were as pleasing as the best oil.

(130) And Warrior Erra spoke thus,

"Sealanders shall not spare Sealanders, nor Subartian (spare) Subartian, nor Assyrian Assyrian,⁵¹

Nor shall Elamite spare Elamite, nor Kassite Kassite,

Nor Sutean spare Sutean, nor Gutian Gutian,

Nor shall Lullubean spare Lullubean, nor country country, nor city city,

Nor shall tribe spare tribe, nor man man, nor brother brother, and they shall slay one another.

But afterwards a man of Akkad shall rise up and fell them all and shepherd all (the rest) of them."⁵²

Warrior Erra addressed his words to Ishum, who marches before him,

"Go, Ishum! Take full discretion for the words you spoke!"

Ishum set his face towards the mountain Hehe.

(140) The Sebitti, unrivalled warrior, stormed (?) behind him.

The warrior arrived at the mountain Hehe, Raised his hand and destroyed the mountain,

Counted the mountain Hehe as (flat) ground.

He lopped the tree trunks in the forest of *hašūru*-trees⁵³

⁴⁸ Or, "hunter" rather than "smiter," both meanings of *māḥiṣu*.

⁴⁹ The word *haṣṣu*, "chosen one," normally means a lover, bridegroom, first husband. A widower was often obliged to marry the widow of a relative, and had little choice upon remarriage.

⁵⁰ People were commonly buried under the floors of their houses.

⁵¹ The Sealander probably refers to southern Mesopotamia, where the marsh-lands were inhabited by several different tribes or "houses."

⁵² "Man of Akkad" probably refers to an urban Babylonian as opposed to a nomad or a foreigner. This line indicates that there is an important element of pseudo-prophecy in the epic. Cf. below, texts 1.149-150 for this genre.

⁵³ *hašūru*: a kind of cypress.

Like [...]

He finished off the cities and made of them a wilderness,

Destroyed mountains and struck down their cattle,
Stirred up the seas and destroyed their produce,
Devastated reed-beds and groves, and burnt them like Gerra

(150) Cursed the cattle and turned them into clay.

(Catchline)

When Erra had rested and settled in his dwelling,

Tablet V

When Erra had rested and settled in his dwelling,
All the gods began to look at his face.

The Igigi and the Anunnaki, all of them, were standing in awe.

Erra made his voice heard and spoke to all the gods,

"Keep quiet, all of you, and learn what I have to say!

What if I did intend the harm of the wrong I have just done?

When I am enraged, I devastate people!

Like a hired man among the flocks, I let the leading sheep out of the pen.

Like one who does not plant the orchard, I am not slow to cut it down.

(10) Like one who plunders a country, I do not distinguish just from unjust, I fell (them both).

One does not snatch a corpse from the mouth of a marauding lion,

And where one man is beside himself, another man cannot give him advice!

What would happen if Ishum, who goes before me, were not there?

Where would your provider be, wherever would your *en*-priest be?

Where would your *nindabû*-offerings be? You would not (even) smell the incense-offering!"

Ishum made his voice heard and spoke,

Addressed his words to warrior Erra,

"Warrior, be still and listen to my words!

What if you were to rest now, and we would serve you?

We all know that nobody can stand up to you in your day of wrath!"

(20) Erra heard him and his face brightened;

His features lit up like the dawning of a (new) day.
He entered into Emeslam and settled in his dwelling.

Ishum called out and said the key word,

Began to confirm the decision concerning the scattered people of Akkad.

"May the reduced people of the land become

numerous again,

May the short man and the tall man go along its paths,

May the weak man of Akkad fell the strong Sutean,

May one man drive away seven (of them) as if they were flocks!

You shall make *their* towns into ruins and *their* hills into wildernesses,

(30) You shall bring their heavy spoils into Shu-anna,⁵⁴

You shall put the country's gods who were angry safely back into their dwellings,

You shall let Shakkan and Nissaba (i.e., cattle and grain) go down into the country,

You shall let the mountains bear their wealth and the sea its produce,

You shall let the meadowlands, which you allowed to be devastated, bear their produce!

Then let the governors of all cities, every one of them, haul their heavy tribute into Shu-anna,

Let the temples, which were allowed to become damaged, lift their heads (up) as high as the rising sun,

Let the Tigris and Euphrates bring the waters of abundance,

Let the governors of all cities, every one of them, deliver up to the provider of Esagila and Babylon!"

For countless years shall the praises of the great lord Nergal and the warrior Ishum (be sung):

(40) How Erra became angry and set his face towards overwhelming countries and destroying their people,

But Ishum his counsellor placated him so that he let a remnant!

The one who put together the composition about him was Kabti-ilani-Marduk son of Dabibi.

(Some god) revealed it to him in the middle of the night, and when he recited it upon waking, he did not miss anything out,

Nor add a single word to it.

Erra heard and approved it,

And it was pleasing also to Ishum who marches in front of him.

All the other gods gave praise with him.

And the warrior Erra spoke, saying,

"Wealth shall be piled up in the shrine of the god who praises this song!"⁵⁵

(50) But whoever discards it shall never smell the incense-offering!

The king who magnifies my name shall rule the world,

The prince who recites the praise of my valiant

⁵⁴ Veenhof has pointed out an identical phrase used in an inscription of Merodach-Baladan II, who ruled Babylon in 721-710 and 703 BCE. See Brinkman 1984:49, n. 230.

⁵⁵ This and the following lines are paraphrased in the subscripts of plague amulets (Reiner 1960).

deeds shall have no rival, The musician who sings it shall not die in an epidemic. The words of it will find favor with kings and princes. The scribe who learns it will survive even in enemy country, and will be honored in his own. In the shrine of craftsmen where they ever proclaim my name, I shall make them wise, ⁵⁶ In the house where this tablet is placed, even if Erra becomes angry and the Sebitti storm, The sword of judgement shall not come near him, but peace is ordained for him. Let this song endure forever, let it last for eternity! (60) Let all countries listen to it and praise my	valor! Let settled people see and magnify my name!" (Colophon) Fifth tablet, series "Erra." I, Assurbanipal, great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria, Son of Esarhaddon king of Assyria, son of Sennacherib king of Assyria, Wrote, checked, and collated this tablet in the company of scholars In accordance with clay tablets and wooden writing boards, exemplars from Assyria, Sumer, and Akkad, And put it in my palace for royal reading. Whoever erases my written name and writes his own name, May Nabu, the scribe of all, erase his name.
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⁵⁶ Lit., "I shall make them open their ears."

REFERENCES

Text: Cagni 1969 and 1977. Translation: Dalley 1989:282-315; Foster *BM* 2:771-805; *FDD* 132-163.

2. HYMNS AND PRAYERS

PRAYER TO MARDUK (1.114)

Benjamin R. Foster

The harmony and effectiveness of this composition set it apart as a masterpiece.

(1) O warrior Marduk, whose anger is the deluge,
Whose relenting is that of a merciful father,
I am left anxious by speech unheeded,
My hopes are deceived by outcry unanswered,
(5) Such as has sapped my courage,
And hunched me over like an aged man.
O great lord Marduk, merciful lord!
Men, by whatever name,
What can they understand by their own efforts?
(10) Who has not been negligent, which one has committed no sin?
Who can understand a god's behavior?
I would fain be obedient and incur no sin,
Yes, I would frequent the haunts of health!
Men are commanded by the gods to act under curse,
(15) Divine affliction is for mankind to bear.
I am surely responsible for some neglect of you,
I have surely trespassed the limits set by the god.
Forget what I did in my youth, whatever it was,
Let your heart not well up against me!
Absolve my guilt, remit my punishment,
(20) Clear me of confusion, free me of uncertainty,
Let no guilt of my father, my grandfather, my

mother, my grandmother, my brother, my sister, my family, kith, or kin
Approach my own self, but let it be gone!
(25) If my god has commanded (it) for me, let him purify me as with medicaments.
Commend me into the hands of my (personal) god and my (personal) goddess for well-being and life,
Let me stand before you always in prayer, supplication, and entreaty,
Let the fruitful peoples of a well-ordered land praise you.
Absolve my guilt, remit my guilt!
(30) O warrior Marduk, absolve my guilt, remit my guilt!
O great lady Erua-Sarpanitu, absolve my guilt,
O Nabu of the good name, absolve my guilt,
O great lady, Tashmetu, absolve my guilt,
O warrior Nergal, absolve my guilt,
(35) O gods who dwell <in> Anu's <heaven>,
absolve my guilt!
The monstrous guilt that I have built up from my youth,
Scatter it hence, absolve it sevenfold.

Like my real father and my real mother,
Let your heart be reconciled to me.

(40) O warrior Marduk, let me sound your praises!

REFERENCES

Text: Ebeling 1953: No. 61, and duplicates. Translations and studies: Foster *BM* 2:591-593; *FDD* 247f.

PRAYER TO GODS OF THE NIGHT (1.115)

Benjamin R. Foster

The short prayers to the "gods of the night" (i.e., the stars) are among the less stereotypical and more creative liturgical poems of the Akkadian canon. Their individualized variations on a common theme may have been inspired by the setting: typically they were recited (and perhaps composed) at night while praying on the roof of the house and with the surrounding city or countryside asleep; see Oppenheim 1959. [WWH]

The noble ones are safely guarded(?), doorbolts
drawn, rings in place,
The noisy people are fallen silent, the doors are
barred that were open.
Gods of the land, goddesses of the land,
Shamash, Sin, Adad, and Ishtar are gone off to the
lap of heaven.¹
They will give no judgment, they will decide no
cases:
The veil is drawn for the night, the palace is
hushed, the open land is deathly still,

a 1 Sam 14:41

The wayfarer cries out to a god, even the petitioner
(of this omen) keeps on sleeping!
The true judge, father to the orphaned,
Shamash has gone off to his bedchamber.
May the princely ones of the gods of the night:
brilliant Girra, warrior Erra,
The "Bow," the "Yoke," Orion, the "Dragon,"
The Great Bear, the Lyre, the "Bison," the
"Horned Serpent,"²
Stand by! In the extispicy I perform,
in the lamb I offer, place the truth!³ ^a

¹ I.e., sun, moon, (storm) and evening-star have all set.

² Various constellations, in many cases still called by their Babylonian names. But Orion is a Greek equivalent for the constellation which the Babylonians called "the true shepherd of Heaven" (SIPA-ZI-AN-NA).

³ In divination it was crucial that a true answer be obtained, whether by the inspection of the entrails of sacrificial sheep or goats (extispicy) as here, or by the use of the Urim and Thummim as in the Bible (1 Sam 14:41). See Horowitz and Horowitz 1992.

REFERENCES

Text: Dossin 1935. Translations and studies: *ANET* 390f.; Oppenheim 1959:295f.; Foster *BM* 1:146f.

DIURNAL PRAYERS OF DIVINERS (1.116)

Benjamin R. Foster

As with the immediately preceding selection (above, Text 1.115, note 3), divination (here again by means of the entrails) demanded and relied on a "truthful" answer from the deity. To secure such an answer, the divination priest invoked Shamash and Adad, patrons of divination, here in the company of other great deities. [WWH]

O Shamash, I hold up to you seven and seven
sweet loaves,^a
The rows of which are ranged before you.
O Shamash, lord of judgment, O Adad, lord of
divination,
Seated on thrones of [gold], dining from a tray of
lapis,
Come [down to me] that you may eat,
That you may sit on the throne and render judgment.

a Exod 40:23;
Lev 24:5f.

In the ritual I perform, in the extispicy I perform,
place the truth!
O Shamash, I hold up to you the plentiful yield of
the gods, the radiance of the grain goddess.
O Shamash, lord of judgment, O Adad, lord of
divination,
In the ritual I perform, in the extispicy I perform,
place the truth!

O Shamash, I have laid out for you the plentiful yield of the gods, the radiance of the grain goddess, O Shamash, lord of judgment, O Adad, lord of prayer and divination, In the ritual I perform, in the extispicy I perform, place the truth!	b 1Sam 14:41	Take your seat, O valiant Shamash, Let there be seated with you the great gods, Let Anu, father of heaven, Sin, king of the tiara, Nergal, lord of weaponry, Ishtar, lady of battle Be seated with you. In the ritual I perform, in the extispicy I perform, place the truth! ^b
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REFERENCES

Text: YOS 11:22. Translations and studies: Goetze 1968; Hallo 1991:144f.; Foster *BM* 1:148-150, *FDD* 288-290.

THE SHAMASH HYMN (1.117)

Benjamin R. Foster

This "preceptive hymn" is one of the "literary prayers" of the Babylonians which rise above the level of standard religious texts by their artful poetic construction and diction. Even the length of the composition (precisely 200 lines) seems carefully and deliberately contrived. The object of the poet's attention is Shamash who, as the all-seeing eye in the daytime sky, plays the role of guardian of justice in Akkadian (as the goddess Nanshe did in Sumerian). In particular he keeps an eye on the merchant travelling far from home and seemingly free of constraints. In the section reproduced here, he is particularly concerned with the merchant's use of honest weights and measures, a perennial theme in ancient Near Eastern literature. [WWH]

(1) Illuminator of all, the whole of heaven, Who makes light the d[arkness for mankind] above and below, Shamash, illuminator of all, the whole of heaven, Who makes light the dark[ness for mankind a]bove and below, (5) Your radiance [spre]ads out like a net [over the world], You brighten the g[loo]m of the distant mountains. Gods and netherworld gods rejoiced when you ap- peared, All the Igigi-gods rejoice in you. Your beams are ever mastering secrets, (10) At the brightness of your light, humankind's footprints become vis[ible]. (95) You blunt the horns of a scheming villain, The perpetrator of a cunning deal is undermined. You show the roguish judge the (inside of) a jail, He who takes the fee but does not carry through, you make him bear the punishment. The one who receives no fee but takes up the case of the weak, (100) Is pleasing to Shamash, he will make long his life. The careful judge who gives just verdicts, ^a Controls the government, lives like a prince. What return is there for the investor in dishonest dealings? His profits are illusory, and he loses his capital. (105) He who invests in long-range enterprises(?), who returns (even?) one shekel to the ... [...], Is pleasing to Shamash, he will make long his life.	a Lev 19:15 b Deut 25:13- 16; Amos 8:5 c Lev 19:35- 36	He who [commits] fra[ud as he holds the ba]llances, Who switches weights, who lowers the [...], ^b (His) profits are illusory, and he lo[ses the capital]. (110) The one who is honest in holding the ba- lance, ^c [...] plenty of [...], Whatever (he weighs) will be given to him in plenty [...]. He who commits fra[ud] as he holds the dry mea- sure, Who pays loans by the smaller standard, demands repayment by the extra standard, Before his time, the people's curse will take effect on him, (115) Before his due, he will be called to account, he will bear the consequence(?). No heir will (there be) to take over his property, Nor will (there be) kin to succeed to his estate. The honest merchant who pays loans by the [ex]- tra(?) standard, thereby to make extra virtue, Is pleasing to Shamash, he will grant him extra life, (120) He will make (his) family numerous, he will acquire wealth, [His] seed will be perpetual as the waters of a perpetual Spring. For the man who does virtuous deeds, who knows not fraud, The man who always says what he really means, there will be [...], The seed of evil-doers wi[ll not be perpetual]. (125) The nay-sayers' speeches are before you, You quickly analyze what they say.
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You hear and examine them, you see through the trumped-up lawsuit. Each and every one is entrusted to your hands, You make their omens the right ones for them, you resolve what perplexes. (130) You heed, O Shamash, prayer, supplication, and blessing, Obeisance, kneeling, whispered prayer, and prostration.¹ The feeble one calls you as much as his speech allows him. The meek, the weak, the oppressed, the submissive, Daily, ever, and always come before you. (135) He whose family is far off, whose city is distant, The shepherd [in] the afflictions of the wilderness, The herdsman in trouble, the keeper of sheep among the enemy, come before you. O Shamash, there comes before you the caravan, passing in fear, The travelling merchant, the agent carrying capital. (140) O Shamash, there comes before you the fisherman with his net, The hunter, the archer, the driver of the game, The fowler among his snares comes before you, The skulking thief comes before Shamash, The bandit on the wilderness paths comes before you, (145) The wandering dead, the vagrant spirit come before you, O Shamash, you have listened to them all.	d 1 Kgs 8:27	You did not hold back(?) those who came before you, you heeded them, For my sake, O Shamash, do not despise them! You grant wisdom, O Shamash, to humankind, (150) You grant those seeking you your raging, fierce light. [You make] their omens [the right] ones for them, you preside over sacrifices. You probe their future in every way.¹ You grant wisdom to the limits of the inhabited world. The heavens are too puny to be the glass of your gazing, (155) The world is too puny to be (your) seer's bowl.^d On the twentieth of the month you rejoice with mirth and joy, You dine, you drink fine brew, the tavernkeep's beer at wharfside. They pour barkeep's beer for you, you accept it. You are the one who saved them, surrounded by mighty waves, (160) You accept from them in return their fine, clear libations. You drink their sweet beer and brew, You are the one who makes them achieve the goals they strive for. You release the ranks of those who kneel to you, You accept prayers from those who are wont to pray to you. (165) They revere you, they extol your name, They(?) praise your greatness(?) forever.
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¹ As patron deity of divination, Shamash was the object of the prayers of all who sought to divine the future by one of the numerous techniques developed in Mesopotamia.

REFERENCES

Text: Lambert *BWL* pls. 33-36 and duplicates. Translations and studies: *ANET* 387-389; Lambert *BWL* 121-137; Reiner 1985:68-84; Foster *BM* 2:531-539; *FDD* 254-261.

3. LAMENTATIONS AND ELEGIES

A NEO-BABYLONIAN LAMENT FOR TAMMUZ (1.118)

William W. Hallo

This text, of Seleucid date, laments the destruction of the cities of Sumer and Akkad at the hand of the Gutians, a theme strangely out of place two millennia after their historic incursions. So it either represents a late version of a much earlier original or, more likely, a case of deliberate archaizing.

"Oh grieving women of Uruk, (a) oh grieving women of Akkad,^a I am laid to rest!" The goddess of Uruk¹ wept, whose female chair-	a Gen 10:10	bearer had departed, (ditto), who has been stripped (even) of her loincloth. The daughter of Uruk wept, the daughter of Akkad
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¹ Both Uruk (Erech) and Akkad appear as cities in the "Table of Nations" (Gen 10). "The goddess of Uruk" is an attempt to render *Akk. urukattu, arkattu*, "Our Lady of Uruk," which like all the other "goddess of GN" names in the text, refers to local manifestations of Ishtar, whose consort was Tammuz.

was lamenting.		to finish the task!" ⁸
Of the daughter of Larak ² — her face was shrouded by (her garment down to) its very fringes.	b Mic 5:4; Ecc1 11:2	Her cheeks were sore (from weeping), she was deprived of her husband in whom she delighted.
(5) The goddess of Hursag-kalamma wept, who was deprived of her husband. ³		The goddess of Der ⁹ (wept): "It is for the Gutians to finish (the task!)"
The goddess of Hulhudhul ⁴ wept, she who had set up her staff.		(15) She whose city was toppled, whose family broken and violated, (wept):
The goddess of Siptu ⁵ wept, whose seven brothers were killed, whose eight brothers-in-law have been laid to rest. ⁶		"(Oh women,) weep on account of Uruk, my head-band caught in a thornbush.
The goddess of Akkad wept, whose shoe-soles were torn, whose lord in whom she delighted was killed.		As for me, I do not know where I stepped in the tempest.
The goddess of Kesh ⁶ wept, sitting in the alleyway, she the lord of whose house a lynx had put and end to.		(Oh women,) weep on account of Larak, I am deprived of my saltier ¹⁰ (and) cloak.
10) The goddess of Dunnu ⁷ wept: "For whom the couch, for whom the coverlet?		My eyes cannot look upon my [...], the ripping of mothers' wombs. (20) (Oh women,) weep on account of Nippur. Silence abides with me.
For whom are guarded by me the coverlets, (now) deathly still?"		The heavens have covered me.
The daughter of Nippur wept: "It is for the Gutians		My throne has been overturned on me.
		Bel has deprived me of my consort, the husband in whom I delighted!" ¹¹
		(A lengthy colophon follows.) ¹²

² An antediluvian city in Sum. tradition (Hallo 1970:64f. and n. 94).

³ The reference is to Ishtar of Kish and her consort Tammuz.

⁴ Perhaps identical with Hulhullu north of Uruk (Zadok 1985:165).

⁵ For Siptu and various toponyms beginning with Siptu, cf. Zadok 1985:279. For the numerical sequence "x/x+1" in ancient Near Eastern literature, see Roth 1962.

⁶ Different from Kish (see n. 3).

⁷ For Dunnu see above, text 1.112.

⁸ Nippur is the ancient religious capital of Sumer and Akkad. For the Gutians as stereotypes of destructive mountaineers from the eastern frontier in first millennium texts, see Hallo 1971b:717-719.

⁹ A major city east of the Tigris (Zadok 1985:117f.).

¹⁰ Restoring *lubari* with Lambert. For the translation by "saltier" cf. Hallo and Hoffner *apud* Pope 1970:193. CAD E 66d restores *ahṭallup buri* and translates "I am wrapped in a reed mat(?)."

¹¹ Bel = Marduk, chief deity of Babylon; that city here appears to receive the blame for the misfortunes that have befallen Uruk and the other cities of the south.

¹² See for the colophon Lambert 1983:213; previously Oelsner 1964:263f., n. 7, 268; Hunger 1968:57 No. 146.

REFERENCES

Text: Pinches 1901. Translations and studies: Pinches 1901; Oppert 1901:830ff.; Pinches 1902:477f.; Langdon 1909:263ff., No. XXV; Hallo 1971:718; Lambert 1983; Foster *BM* 2:838f. (largely followed here).

AN ASSYRIAN ELEGY (1.119)

William W. Hallo

Akkadian poets rarely speak of themselves in the first person (for a notable exception see Foster 1983), so it is doubly curious that in this short poetic dialogue, the chief speaker is a woman who has died in childbirth - from all indications a young bride experiencing her first delivery. Her interlocutor is also apparently a woman, perhaps her mother, perhaps a midwife. Their speeches are here indicated by (Mother) and (Bride) respectively; in the original they are at most implied by a change in intonation, a rising inflection elsewhere associated with interrogative sentences.

(Mother:) Why are you cast adrift like a boat in the middle of a river,
Your thwarts in pieces, your mooring rope cut,

Your face shrouded (as) you cross the river of Inner City?
(Bride:) How could I not be cast adrift, my

mooring rope not be cut?	complaint:
(5) On the day that I bore fruit, how happy I was! Happy was I, even I, happy my chosen husband! ¹ On the day of my labor-pains, did my face grow overcast?	["Why do you leave] me, the wife in whom I delight?
On the day I gave birth, were my eyes prevented (from seeing)?	(15) [...] in the course of the years [Have you haunted] a terrain full of ruins? [In the In]ner City, have you piteously ³ declaimed a lament?"
With opened fists I prayed to Belet-ili: ²	[All] those days with my chosen husband ¹ was I! I lived with him who was my lover.
(10) "You are the mother of women who give birth — save my life!"	(20) (But) death slunk stealthily into my bedroom. It has driven me out of my house.
When Belit-ili heard this, she shrouded her face, (saying)	It has separated me, even me, from the presence of my chosen husband ¹
"You are [...], why do you keep praying to me?" [My husband, who lov]ed me, kept uttering his	It has set my feet into my terrain-of-no-return.

¹ Or: "husband of the preferred wife"; cf. Hallo 1973:167f.

² Lit., "lady of the gods," a name for the Mother Goddess, who pleads for her human children in face of the Flood (see Text 1.132 XI 122, below).

³ Reading *re-miš*, an otherwise unattested adverb from *rēmu*, "to take pity" etc.

REFERENCES

Text: Strong 1894:634. Translations and studies: Albertz 1978:54; Reiner 1978:186f.; 1985:85-93; Livingstone 1989:37-39; Foster *BM* 2:905; *FDD* 329.

4. DIVINATION

Ann K. Guinan

According to a first millennium text from Assurbanipal's library, Enmeduranki, an antediluvian king of Sippar, learned oil and liver divination — the secrets of heaven and earth — directly from Shamash and Adad. He in turn taught these arts to learned men in the cities of Sippar, Nippur, and Babylon.¹ While the sources that attest to Mesopotamian divinatory practices span three millennia, it was not until the second millennium that a written Akkadian literature developed around the observation of omens. Once the recording of omens was instituted, divination began to evolve into a complex, literate, and highly venerated discipline. By the first millennium Mesopotamian scholars applied much of their intellectual energy to the practice of divination and the scholarship associated with the omen collections. They produced a vast written record consisting of lengthy omen compendia,² commentaries, instruction manuals, reports, correspondence related to divination, rituals and prayers.³

Although typologies of divinatory practices are notoriously difficult to establish (with one form blending into another),⁴ it is useful to distinguish three basic types: 1.) *omina oblativa* observation of freely offered or unsolicited omens. 2.) Impetrated divination — various techniques for asking a question and directly evoking a response. There is a conceptual difference between techniques designed to elicit omens (*omina impetrativa*) and the manipulation of divinatory objects such as lots. 3.) mediumistic divination — various practices which utilize a human being as a divinatory vehicle and produce a message in speech or written language. It can involve altered states of consciousness and divine intervention in human cognition. Necromancy, consultation with the dead, is also a form of mediumistic divination. *In all cases, a divinatory vehicle in the material world mediates communication between a sensory and suprasensory realm. Divination operates on a case by case basis to address specific situations.*

Documents from the Old Babylonian period preserve evidence for a variety of different forms of impetrated divination: observing oil as it is dropped into water (lecanomancy),⁵ smoke as it rises from a censer (libanomancy),⁶ flour

¹ Lambert 1967:132; Vanstiphout and Veldhuis 1995.

² An individual omen was formulated as a conditional sentence: the ominous sign recorded in the protasis of the sentence, and the prognostication in the apodosis. Paradigmatic distinctions between contrasts such as right/left; up/down; front/back; top/middle/base; white, black, red, yellow/green characterize the genre.

³ For a survey of Mesopotamian divination see: Bottero 1974:70-197; Oppenheim 1977:213-227; and most recently, Cryer 1994:124-338.

⁴ Peek 1991:11-12.

⁵ For bibliography see Cryer 1994:145-147.

⁶ For bibliography see Cryer 1994:148.

scattered on water (aleuromancy),⁷ and examination of entrails (extispicy).⁸ As the tradition developed, scholars increasingly turned to the investigation of unsolicited omens and, except for extispicy, impetrated omens ceased to be part of the standard repertoire.⁹ The diviners were attentive to sudden ruptures in pattern, deviations in nature, and to whatever was noteworthy or unusual. While prodigies such as eclipses and monstrous births may have formed the core of divinatory observations, the diviner's attention inevitably extended to lesser details and minutiae of related events. Celestial and meteorological events, abnormal births, behavior of animals, features of the human habitat, attributes of human physiognomy and behavior were studied not as events to be understood for their own sake, but for their cryptic power to signify.

On the surface, none of the divinatory techniques practiced in Israel whether licit, illicit, or falling somewhere in between, bear strong resemblances to the Mesopotamian divinatory traditions. Fully legitimate forms include divining by Urim and Thummim (Num 27:21; Exod 28:15-30), ephod (1 Sam 14:41; 23:6-12) and "inquiring of YHWH" (1 Sam 14:35-37; 22:10-17; 23:1-12; 30:7-8; 2 Sam 2:1). Dreams could be a legitimate means of obtaining knowledge (Gen 28:10-22; Judg 7:13; 1 Sam 28:6; 1 Kgs 3) or they could be misleading and false (Deut 13:2-6; Jer 29:8). The elusive teraphim, household idols or apotropaic figurines, could also have a divinatory function (Hos 3:4; Ezek 21:21; Zech 10). The prohibitions against foreign divination, *qesem*¹⁰ and *naḥaš* in particular (Lev 19:26, 31; 20:6 and Deut 18:10-11, 14), cannot be clearly identified with or connected in any substantial way to specific Mesopotamian forms.

The liver models found at Hazor, Megiddo, Ebla, and Ugarit and the corpus of omen texts recovered from Ugarit¹¹ clearly attest to a pre-Israelite transmission of Mesopotamian practices to the Levant.¹² While the biblical record preserves clear evidence of familiarity with Mesopotamian practices, there is no biblical corollary to the divinatory texts produced in Mesopotamia.¹³ There are a few direct references to Mesopotamian practices (Ezek 21:21; Isa 47:12-13; Dan 5:11). Echoes of, or, perhaps, direct references to Mesopotamian texts,¹⁴ find their way into other conceptually very different genres.¹⁵

In contrast with Mesopotamia, there was no scholarly tradition associated with divination nor any systematic observation of omens. The signs sent by God (2 Sam 5:24; Judg 7:13-15; 2 Kgs 3:22-23) are significant only in the moment — they never accumulate meaning that carries over from one context to another. All authorized practices are characterized by simplicity and the near presence of God. The divinatory apparatus never becomes disassociated from the divine, it never operates independently, nor does any form take on the artificial quality that long standing practices tend to acquire. Descriptions of specific techniques and paraphernalia are often omitted from the narrative.

Various biblical practices have been explored for a common ancient Near Eastern background or for Mesopotamian parallels. Strong parallels do connect Mesopotamian and biblical accounts of dream interpretation.¹⁶ The texts from Mari provide a rich body of source material for the study of mediated divination.¹⁷ Various scholars have argued a parallel to Mesopotamian extispicy.¹⁸ There are references to necromancy in both the Mesopotamian¹⁹ and the biblical record (1 Sam 28:3-25; Isa 29:4). While they may share a common cultural context, the evidence on both sides is far too limited to make a determination and consulting the dead is such a basic form of divination that ethnographic parallels may be equally valid. Recent scholarship has sought a general Near Eastern background for divinatory forms, such as teraphim, the Balaam Story (Num 22:7) and aspects of the book of Daniel.²⁰

A Mesopotamian psephomancy ritual, LKA 137 (see text 1.127 below), provides the clearest parallel to biblical divination. The technique of casting stones in a ritual context is a marginal practice in Mesopotamia and represented by a single text. Although there is much to be gained by examining the broader Near Eastern background behind various forms of divination, the contrasts between Mesopotamian and biblical divination are more telling than the parallels.

⁷ Nougayrol 1963.

⁸ For a discussion of the types of documents relating to extispicy, see: Cryer 1994:168-180.

⁹ See: *STT* 73, Reiner 1960 for an unusual first millennium text referring to impetrated practices.

¹⁰ See: Hurowitz 1992a and Sasson 1994.

¹¹ Meyer 1987.

¹² Dietrich and Loretz 1990.

¹³ Hallo 1966:231-232.

¹⁴ Cryer 1994:306-323.

¹⁵ See for example Porter 1983 and Meier 1989.

¹⁶ See: Oppenheim 1956:186-211 and more recently for discussion and bibliography see: Cryer 263-272.

¹⁷ *ARM* 10, AEM 1/1, Ellis 1989:133-140.

¹⁸ Although it is never explicitly described, several scholars have argued that divination by means of animal sacrifice (extispicy) is an implicit part of the repertoire of priestly divination. For bibliography and reevaluation of the sources see Cryer 1994:286-305.

¹⁹ Finkel 1983-1984.

²⁰ van der Toorn 1990; Horowitz 1992a; Wolters 1993; and Porter 1983.

MESOPOTAMIAN OMENS (1.120)

Extispicy^{21 a}

1. If there is a *Hal* sign at the emplacement of "the well-being" the reign of Akkad is over.²²
2. If the entire liver is anomalous — Omen of the king of Akkad regarding catastrophe.²³
3. Omen of Ibbi-Sin when Elam reduced Ur to tell and rubble.²⁴
4. If the "rise of the head of the bird" is dark on the left and the right there will be *pitrušta*.²⁵
5. When you make an extispicy and in a favorable result there is one *pitruštu* (the extispicy is) unfavorable; in an unfavorable result (the extispicy is favorable).²⁶

*Behavior of the Sacrificial Sheep*²⁷

6. If a sheep bites his right foot — raids of the enemy will be constant against my land.²⁸

*Lecanomanancy*²⁹

7. If (I throw oil (in)to water and) the oil divides itself into two — the sick person will die; for the campaign: the army will not return.^{30 b}

*Anomalous Births: šumma izbu*³¹

8. If an anomaly has no right ear — the reign of the king will come to an end; his palace will be scattered; overthrow of the elders of the city; the king will have no advisors; the mood

a Ezek 21:26;
Dan 2:4;
2 Kgs 16:15

b Gen 44:5,
15

c Dan 8:3

d Dan 5:11;
Isa 47:12-13;
Jer 10:2;
Nah 3:16

of the land will change; the herds of the land will decrease; you will make a promise to the enemy.³²

9. If an anomaly has no left ear — the god has heard the prayer of the king, the king will take the land of his enemy, the palace of the enemy will be scattered, the enemy will have no advisors, you will decrease the herd of the enemy, he will make a promise you.³³
10. If an anomaly's right ear is cleft — that ox-fold will be scattered.³⁴
11. If an anomaly's left ear is split — that ox-fold will expand; the ox-fold of the enemy will be scattered.³⁵
12. If an anomaly has two ears on the left and none on the right — the enemy will take your border city, your adversary will prevail over you.³⁶
13. If an anomaly's horns are on the right — the prince will have auxiliary troops.³⁷
14. If an anomaly's horns are on the left — the enemy: the equivalent.³⁸
15. If a ram's horns protrude from its forehead — that ox-fold will be scattered.^{39 c}

Celestial Divination^{40 d}

16. If there is an eclipse of the moon in Nisannu

²¹ Extispicy, divination from the examination of entrails, derives from the ritual of animal sacrifice. The offering provides a mode for soliciting the gods and a medium on which they could respond. The practice had a complex and lengthy tradition developed over three millennia and was widely disseminated throughout the ancient Near East. It produced a voluminous and varied textual record consisting of reports, clay models, prayers, and queries. Starr 1990:xiii - lv; Meyer 1987. The process of compiling systematic collections of extispicy omens culminated in the production of the great first millennium series, *Bārātu*. Jeyes 1989:8-14.

²² Note the use of a cuneiform sign as an ominous mark. YOS X 61:7; Jeyes 1989:114; The zone of the liver called the *šulmum*, "the well-being," has been identified as a groove running between the umbilical fissure and the gall bladder, see Jeyes 1978. Cf. Lieberman 1977.

²³ TCL 6 1:18. For a discussion of "historical" omens, see Cooper 1980:100; Cryer 1994; Hallo 1991c:160.

²⁴ RA 35 43 no. 8A. The text is inscribed on a liver model from Mari. The model represents the anomaly. For a depiction and discussion, see: Meyer 1987:195; Hurowitz 1992a:5-15.

²⁵ YOS X 53:17. The term *pitrušištu* refers to a negative feature occurring in both left and right contexts. In OB omens a *pitrušištu* renders the omen inconclusive.

²⁶ CT 20 47:53. In the first millennium series *Multābitlu*, the 10th Tablet of *Bārātu pitrušištu* is paired with another ambiguous sign, *nip̄u*, and both terms systematically presented. A *pitrušištu* is unfavorable in a particular zone, but it will also reverse the reading of a final tally. CT 20 43-48; Jeyes 1989:111; Starr 1976:244.

²⁷ See Leichty 1993 for a discussion of omen collections dealing with the behavior of a lamb before sacrifice.

²⁸ Arnaud 1987:320:41-42.

²⁹ Cryer 1994:145-147.

³⁰ CT V 4:18; Pettinato 1966 vol 2 17:18; each version has slightly different wording: B: "the army will go on a campaign and not return." D: "the army will not return from a campaign." Cf. Lambert 1967:132.

³¹ For biblical parallels from Daniel, see: Porter 1983 and Cryer 1994:320.

³² CT 27 37:1, Leichty 1970:131:1.

³³ CT 27 37:2, Leichty 1970:131:2.

³⁴ CT 27 37:3, Leichty 1970:131:3.

³⁵ CT 27 37:4, Leichty 1970:131:4.

³⁶ Leichty 1970:139:116'.

³⁷ Leichty 1970:118:49'.

³⁸ Leichty 1970:119:50'.

³⁹ Leichty 1970:171:87' K3823+.

⁴⁰ The celestial omens were systematically collected and compiled into the series *Enūma Anu Enlil*, "When Anu Enlil ..." The most comprehensive and best preserved version of the series come from Assurbanipal's library at Nineveh. Unlike extispicy, this form of divination is not well documented in the Old Babylonian period. The growth of the discipline and its increasing importance at the Neo-Assyrian court occurred as part of the shift to observational forms of divination, Rochberg-Halton 1988:5-29; Van Soldt 1995. See Walker, Galter and Scholz 1993 for bibliography.

and it is red — prosperity for the people. ⁴¹	e Gen 11:1-9	always shepherd him] steadfastly. ⁵³
17. If Venus wears a black tiara (it means) Sa-[turn(?)] stands in front of her.	f Dan 5:5	29. If a man repairs a sun-disk — his god wil[l always shepherd him] steadfastly. ⁵⁴
If Venus wears a white tiara (it means) J[upiter] stands in front of her. ...	g Lev 14:33	30. If a king repairs (the statue) of the god — the god will [...] ⁵⁵
If Venus wears a green tiara (it means) Mars stands in front of her.		31. If a man sees the body of a king — t[hat] man [...] ⁵⁶
If Venus wears a red tiara (it means) Mercury stands in front of her.		32. If there is black fungus in a man's house — there will be brisk trade in the man's house; the man's house will be rich. ⁵⁷
[Co]mmentary to the 61st Tablet of Enūma Anu Enlil. ⁴²		33. If there is green and red fungus in a man's house — the master of the house will die, dispersal of the man's house. ⁵⁸ ^g
<i>The Human Habitat: šumma alu</i> ⁴³		37. If a snake crosses from the right of a man to the left of a man — he will have a good name. ⁵⁹
18. If a city lifts its head to the heaven — that city will be abandoned ⁴⁴ ^e		38. If a snake crosses from the left of a man to the right of a man — he will have a bad name. ⁶⁰
19. If a city's garbage pit is green — that city will be prosperous, variant: go to ruin. ⁴⁵		39. If a white cat is seen in a man's house — (for) that land hardship will seize it.
20. If there are many messengers in the city — dispersal [of the city.] ⁴⁶		If a black cat is seen in a man's house — that land will experience good fortune.
21. If a man repairs a moon-disk — his god wil[l always shepherd him] steadfastly.		If a red cat is seen in a man's house — that land will be rich.
22. If there are bearded women in a city — hardship will seize the land. ⁴⁷		If a multicolored cat is seen in a man's house — that land will not prosper.
23. If in a man's house a dog is inscribed on the wall — worry [...] ⁴⁸ ^f		If a yellow cat is seen in a man's house — that land will have a year of good fortune. ⁶¹
24. If everything for a banquet in the temple is regularly provided — the house will have regular good fortune. ⁴⁹		40. If "mountain grass" is seen [in a fie]ld inside the city — the field will become fallow, that man will die. ⁶²
25. If a god enters a man's house for a banquet — constant uprising and contention will be constant for the man's house. ⁵⁰		41. If the linen curtain of a temple (in front of the cult statue) looks like a figure — those who have entered that temple will go out and never (re)enter the door. ⁶³ ^h
26. If syrup is seen in a house or on the walls of a house — the house will be devastated. ⁵¹		
27. If the house makes the sound of a kettle-drum — [...] ⁵²		
28. If a man repairs a moon-disk — his god wil[l		

⁴¹ Labat 1965:70 144; ACh Sin 25:10, 12, 17. Cf. Stol 1992:157. The series, *Iqqur šippuš*, uses signs that parallel *Šumma alu* and *Enūma Anu Enlil* but organizes them according to a calendar of auspicious and inauspicious dates. Tablet 17 and 18 of *Enūma Anu Enlil* and *Iqqur šippuš* 70-74 preserve parallel lunar eclipse omens, the former organized by phenomena and the latter by month; see: Rochberg-Halton 1988:139.

⁴² K148 r 8-12, 30; ACh Supp. Istar 36:8-12; Pingree 1993:265-266.

⁴³ The omen series *Šumma alu* is a collection of terrestrial omens observed against the background of the human environment. At the present time, the only sources are Gadd's copies (CT 38-41) and the text edition based on them by Nötscher 1928-1930. There is, in addition, a general introduction to the series by Moren 1978. See also: Guinan 1989.

⁴⁴ CT 38 1:15; for discussion see: Guinan 1989:234.

⁴⁵ CT 38 2:38; Note that the var. gives an inauspicious meaning.

⁴⁶ CT 38 4:80.

⁴⁷ CT 38 5:124, cf. CT 29 48 53; note that the goddess Ishtar can be bearded; see: Reiner 1995:6. Cf. ACh Supp. 33:41.

⁴⁸ CT 38 16 83; CT 40 1:18.

⁴⁹ CT 40 11:86 plus joins to K2685+.

⁵⁰ CT 40 5:38 plus joins to K268+.

⁵¹ CT 40 2:27.

⁵² K268+ 8.

⁵³ CT 40 11 ii 76. Cf. Stol 1992:247.

⁵⁴ CT 40 11 ii 77.

⁵⁵ CT 40 8:1; CT 40 10:ii 57.

⁵⁶ CT 40 9; Rm.136:13.

⁵⁷ CT 40 16:43.

⁵⁸ CT 40 18 83; Caplice *Or* 40 (1971) 144-146; Cryer 1994:317-319; ABL 367; Oppenheim 1967:167; JEOL 32 (1991-92) 65 n. 157.

⁵⁹ KAR 386 10.

⁶⁰ KAR 386 11.

⁶¹ CT 39 48:5-9.

⁶² CT 39 3:20, cf. CT 38 5:140. Cf. Veldhuis 1990; Reiner 1985:94-100.

*Cledonomancy (from šumma ālu)*⁶⁴

42. If a kledon (a divinatory sound) answers a man yes twice — deferment (of meaning).⁶⁵
If a kledon answers yes three times — it is a firm yes.⁶⁶
If a kledon answers no to a man two times — attainment of desire
If a kledon answers no to a man 4 times — *nip̄hu* (indeterminate meaning).⁶⁷
If a kledon answers a man on his right — deferment (of meaning)⁶⁸
If a kledon as a pig answers a man to his face — no attainment of desire.⁶⁹
If a kledon (as) a bird answers a man to his face — yes, truly, his prayer will be g[ranted].⁷⁰
43. If a man scrapes dirt from his nose — his adversary will submit [to him].⁷¹
44. If a man breaks a drinking vessel from which he is drinking — for three days lamentations [will befall him].
So that (the evil) not approach: he should throw its shards in the river and then [it will] not [approach him].⁷²
45. If a woman, her husband dies and a son of her fat[her-in-law] marries her — that man will be rich.⁷³
46. If a man "goes" (i.e., has intercourse) to a woman lying on (her) back and her feet go around the back of his neck — wherever he goes god, king, and noble will be agreeable.⁷⁴
- h Exod 26:1
i 1 Sam 14:8-12; 1 Kgs 20:30-35; Judg 7:13f
j Lev 15:16-17
k Lev 18:22; Lev 20:13
l Deut 18:10-11; Lev 19:31; 20:6-7, 1 Sam 28:6-14; Isa 8:19; 2 Kgs 21:6; 1 Sam 3
47. If a man "goes" (i.e., has intercourse) to his brother's daughter — wherever he goes [there will be] sh[ortages].
So that (the evil) does not approach: Say thus, "God, my strength!" [and then it will not approach him].⁷⁵
48. If a man "goes" to the daughter of his brother's daughter — [he will lay his hand] on whatever is not his; he will have profit; the family [will be rich].⁷⁶
49. If a man has sexual relations with an old woman — he will quarrel daily.⁷⁷
50. If a man ejaculates in his dream and is spattered with his semen — that man will find riches; he will have financial gain.⁷⁸
51. If a man has anal sex with a man of equal status — that man will be foremost among his brothers and colleagues.⁷⁹
52. If a man divorces his first-ranking wife — unhappiness (until) the end of days, quarrelling will be constant for him, his days will be short.⁸⁰
53. If in a man's house, a ghost enters the ear of the mistress of the house — mourning will take place in the man's house.⁸¹
54. If a severed head laughs — conquest of the army [...].⁸²
55. If a man laughs in his sleep — he will become very sick.⁸³
56. If a man grinds his teeth (while sleeping) — he will experience troubles.⁸⁴

⁶⁵ CT 39 33:51, 40 46:11.⁶⁶ Oppenheim 1954-1956; 1956:210-211; Finet 1982.⁶⁷ CT 39 41:4.⁶⁸ CT 39 41:5.⁶⁹ CAD N/2 s.v. *nip̄hu* 3.a. "unreliable, false prediction" A divinatory response that cannot be resolved and leaves the inquirer without guidance can in itself be a negative omen (cf. Starr 1983; Jeyes 1989:88-89). See above, n. 26, for a discussion of the terms *nip̄hu* and *pitrusištu* in the series *Muttabiltu*.⁷⁰ CT 39 41:15.⁷¹ CT 39 42:30 (plus unpubl. dups.).⁷² CT 39 42:32 (plus unpubl. dups.).⁷³ CT 37 47:17.⁷⁴ CT 37 48:7.⁷⁵ CT 39 43 K3677 4-5'.⁷⁶ K8268+, AMT 65:3. From Tablet 103. The coital positions recorded in Tablet 103 correspond to the positions represented on erotic plaques, figurines, and seals; see: Cooper *RIA* 4:259-270. Cf. Scurlock, 1993 "Lead Plaques and Other Obscenities," *NABU* 1993/1:15.⁷⁷ CT 39 43 K3134 3'-4. Omens in this group deal with intercourse with a female relative and her daughter.⁷⁸ CT 39 43 K3134 6'.⁷⁹ CT 39 43 K3134 10'; CT 39 44:1.⁸⁰ CT 39 45:26; cf. 45:25; 44:9-10; 38 r.13; van der Toorn 1985:32.⁸¹ CT 39 44:13; MAL A 19/20; Olyan 1994.⁸² CT 39 45:39. *LU* 9, *LH* 137-141, MAL A 37.⁸³ CT 38 26:33; Abusch 1995.⁸⁴ K6229 8' (unpublished); CT 29 48:2, CT 40 46:51, CT 41 22:19. Communication with the dead could also be impetrated. See Finkel 1983:1-17. Whether apparitions of the dead are taken as omens or contact is deliberately sought, it is not uncommon to look to the dead for divinatory information. Mesopotamian necromancy rituals attest to the practice of deliberately provoked communication for the purposes of divination. The ritual produces a vision which allows the inquirer to see and speak with a ghost. Another type of ritual enables a skull to be used as a medium of speech; Finkel 1983-84.⁸⁵ Cf. K9739+ 9 (and dupes); CT 37 49:9; Köcher and Oppenheim 1957-58:74:9 The belief that laughing in one's sleep is a sign of sorrow is widespread and occurs in a variety of historical contexts. For a discussion see, Köcher and Oppenheim 1957-58:62 n. 13 and Guinan 1990:12.⁸⁶ K9537+ 10'. See "If a sheep grinds his teeth ..." Arnaud 1987:321:4. Omens from human behavior share many parallels with omens derived from the behavior of a sheep before sacrifice. See note 27 above.

Oneiromancy^{85 n}

56. [If] (he dreams) that a dog rips his [garment] — he will experience losses.⁸⁶
 57. If a man (dreams) he kisses his penis — what he says will find acceptance; whatever he desires will not be withheld from him.⁸⁷

Physiognomic Omens^{88 n}

58. If a mole is very white — that man will become poor, very [...]

m Jer 23:25;
 1 Sam 28:6;
 Gen 40:1-23;
 Dan 2:1-49;
 Judg 7:13f.;
 Deut 13:2-6

n Lev 13

59. If a mole is very green — ditto [...]
 60. If a mole is very red — he will be ri[ch]⁸⁹
 61. If his garment hangs down and is marked with white blemishes — garment of deprivations.⁹⁰
 62. If the walls of a house are dotted with very white (spots) — the master of that house will die a death of violence.⁹¹
 63. If a man (while speaking) bites his lower lip — (his word?) will find acceptance.⁹²

⁸⁵ Oppenheim following Artemidorus, the Roman dream interpreter, distinguishes between message dreams and symbolic dreams. Both types can be divinatory. Message dreams in which a deity is solicited (often in a sanctuary) and speaks in response is a form of mediumistic divination. Mediumistic dreaming was practiced at Mari; see: Sasson 1983; and in later at the sanctuary of Arbela; see: Oppenheim 1956:188, 200, 249; for more recent bibliography see: Ellis 1989:147. Oblated dream omens are collected in the canonical series, *Ṣaḡiqu*; see Oppenheim 1956. The text, named for the god of dreams, is a divinatory interpretation of dream symbols. In some cases the omens are similar to observations made while awake and in other cases they have a fantastic quality befitting of dreams. There is also evidence for the practice of impetrating symbolic dream omens, but this form of dream incubation was peripheral and rare, see: Reiner 1960:27,33:61-70, 34:82-84.

⁸⁶ This omen comes from a poorly preserved sequence of omens in the Series, *Ṣaḡiqu*, which concern dreams about clothing. K9812+ 10862 Oppenheim 1956:292, 336; Oppenheim 1969:158-159.

⁸⁷ From the Susa version of dream omens, MDP 14 55 4. i 20-22; Oppenheim 1956:258.

⁸⁸ Omens dealing with human physiognomy were collected in the series *Ṣumma alamdimmū* which concerns, according to the ancient scribe, Esagil-kin-Apli, "external form and appearance and they imply the fate of man," Finkel 1988:149:29. There are various subseries such as *Ṣumma kataduggū* which reads outer traits and body language for clues to deeper aspects of personality and *Ṣumma liptu* which collects omens related to moles.

⁸⁹ Kraus, *Afo* Beiheft 3:53: r.26-28. Cf. Köcher and Oppenheim 1956-1957:66:42-45.

⁹⁰ Köcher and Oppenheim 1956-1957:6-7; for a discussion of the term *pāṣu*, "a white patch," see: Jeyes 1989:91.

⁹¹ CT 38 15:49.

⁹² CBS 4501 r 53, Kraus 1937:233, Cf. Bryce 1975. See also: If a sheep bites his upper lip ... CT 31 33:10.

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5. INCANTATIONS

OLD BABYLONIAN INCANTATION AGAINST CATTLE DISEASE (1.121)

D. O. Edzard

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) There was a whirl[wind] in the sky,
(2) A fire was kindled,
(3) And the "peg" ¹ fell
(4) On all the cattle.
(5) It was infected with heat
(6) The kids and the lambs
(7) And also the small ones on the nurse's shoulder. ² | (8-9) Address my mother Ningirim. ³
(10) Let the face of the cattle be bright again,
(11) Let Sumuqan rejoice, ⁴
(12) Let the herbs rejoice,
(13) Let the trail resound ⁵ with merry bleating —
(14-16) (Then) I will most carefully apply lots of
little sun disks to the seats of the great gods.
(17) Incantation of sheep infected with the "peg." |
|---|--|

¹ The illness called "peg" (*sikkatum*) has not yet been identified beyond doubt; "constipation" has been suggested.

² As in the modern Middle East, children sat astride on their mother's or nurse's shoulders.

³ This is an abbreviation of the formula describing how a messenger is sent to a deity who is an expert in matters of incantation.

⁴ God of cattle.

⁵ Lit., "let the trail jubilate."

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van Dijk, Goetze, and Hussey 1985: Number 7.

6. RITUALS

RITUALS FROM EMAR¹

Daniel Fleming

THE INSTALLATION OF THE STORM GOD'S HIGH PRIESTESS² (1.122)

This text combines length and variety with minimal loss by tablet breaks to provide the best point of entry for reading Emar rituals. The translation offered here follows the principal tablet, which is large and neatly inscribed, with only one major break on the front side. Four further copies are represented by other fragments, so it is evident that the text had attracted special interest in the diviner's training system, along with the collected *kissu* festivals.³ Sections of the text are marked by horizontal lines drawn across the tablet, though these vary in position from copy to copy. The whole festival centers on the installation itself, which begins on the third day and continues through a seven-day feast, with the priestess settled in her new residence on the last day. A distinct preparatory rite of shaving occupies a day to itself before the installation, and the priestess is designated by lot on the opening day. This unique installation text combines wedding imagery with more widely applied rites for consecration to temple service, but it does not display the sexual aspect attributed to the *hieros gamos* or sacred marriage. For the sake of simplicity, the text presented here draws from multiple copies with bias toward the fuller version (text A), usually without comment.

Heading (line 1)

Tablet of rites for the high priestess of Emar's storm god.^{4 a}

Day 1: The Day of Selection (lines 1-6)

When the sons of Emar^b elevate the high priestess to the storm god, the sons of Emar^b take lots^c from the temple of NINURTA and grasp them before the storm god.⁵

The daughter of any son of Emar may be designated.

On the same day they take fragrant oil from the palace and from NINKUR's temple and place it on her head.^{6 d}

a Exod 29;
Lev 8
b Ezek 23:1-5;
Joel 4:6
c Lev 16:8;
Num 26:55, 34:13; Josh 14:2; 18:6;
Esth 3:7; 9:24
d Exod 29:7;
Lev 8:12;
1 Sam 10:1;
16:13
e Deut 32:51;
Isa 30:29
f Num 6:9, 18
g Ezek 46:4, 6; Neh 5:18

They offer before the storm god one sheep, one quart jar, and one standard vessel of wine.⁷

They give the diviner one shekel of silver.

They send back to NINURTA's temple eight dried cakes and one standard vessel along with the lots.^c

During the consecration of the shaving ceremony they consecrate all the gods^e of Emar with bread and beer.⁸

Day 2: The Day of Shaving (lines 7-21)

The shaving^f of the high priestess falls on the next day.

One ox and six sheep^g proceed to the storm god's temple as the sacrifice of the high priestess. The

¹ The following translations take considerable liberties with Emar vocabulary in order to provide a rendition not continually burdened with transliterated terms of unknown or uncertain meaning. Notes to the text provide brief rationale for many of the choices made, some of which cannot be close to literal, especially for the multitude of vessels and breads presented for offerings. Lineation likewise is less precise than strict adherence to the Akk. word order would allow, for the sake of clarity.

² See Arnaud 1986 no. 369 (Hereafter *Emar*); Dietrich 1989; Fleming 1992.

³ In addition to Fleming 1992, Dietrich 1989 examines the copying of this text at some length. On the *kissu* festivals, see below.

⁴ The "high priestess" is written with the Sum. NIN.DINGIR, read in one lexical text as *ittu*, evidently derived from the Akk. high priestess *entu* (Fleming 1990). This figure occupies the highest position in a Mesopotamian temple, originally the human wife of a god, as the *ēnu* priest was husband of a goddess. Emar's storm god is rendered by the Sum. "IM, which in different settings may have been read as Baal (Ba'lu) or Addu.

⁵ The god written by Sum. "NIN.URTA serves as divine authority in conduct of local legal affairs, alongside human elders. This defines him as "city god," like the original Ninurta of Nippur, but some native divine name is likely covered by the Sum. writing. It is not clear what specific divinatory technique is indicated by "grasping" the lots.

⁶ The goddess "NIN.KUR is prominent in Emar ritual though not so in wider Mesopotamia. Again, the Sum. writing likely covers a native Semitic name.

⁷ The "quart" refers to the size of the *qu²ū* vessel, and the "standard" recalls the fact that the *hizzibu* vessel serves one meal for one person in the feasts, below, just as the *naptanu* provides one serving of bread for one meal. The derivation of the word *hizzibu* remains uncertain.

⁸ The usual term for consecration (root *qds*) here refers not to preparation of new statues for sacred use but only the more immediate preparation for participation in one sacred event.

⁹ The divine weapon is specified elsewhere as the divine axe, lit., "the axe of the god(s)." No particular deity is associated with this sacred implement, which seems to serve the divine sphere more generally.

divine weapon and the high priestess follow them, while the singers walk in front.^{9 h}

When they reach the storm god's temple, they shave the high priestess at the entrance of the courtyard gate.ⁱ

[...] they perform a sacrificial homage^j before the storm god.¹⁰ Her father carries the divine weapon for the sacrificial homage on her behalf.

After they finish the Greater Sacrificial Homage, they give the diviner (one?) shekel of silver, and they sacrifice the one ox and the six sheep before the storm god.

They set before the gods the ritual portion of beef and the ritual portion of mutton.¹¹

They set before the gods seven standard loaves,¹² seven dried cakes, and two dried cakes with fruit.

They fill goblets with wine.^k

The officials who give the consecration-gift(?), the heralds(?), and seven [and seven Hamša³-u-men] eat and drink at the storm god's temple.^{13 l} The men of the consecration-gift(?) receive one standard loaf and one standard vessel of barley-beer each.

The clan head^{14 m} slaughters one sheep at his house. Once he cooks it, they set five tables with three standard loaves each at the gate of the storm god's temple, in the room of the high priestess.

Oneⁿ table is for the previous high priestess.¹⁵

One table is for the high priestess of Šumi.

One table is for the war-priestess.¹⁶

One table is for the king of the land of Emar.

One table is [for the king of Šatappi].

h Josh 6:4,
8; Ps 68:26

i Lev 8:4

j 2 Chr 32:33

k Exod 29:40;
Lev 23:13;
Isa 65:11

l Exod 24:11

m Exod 22:7;
Judg 19:22-23

n 1 Sam 20:5,
25, 29

o Exod 12:6;
Lev 23:5

p Exod 25:5

q Exod 25:23,
etc.; Isa
65:11

On them they set out the mutton and one dried cake with fruit each.

(The tables) receive one jar of barley-beer each and one presentation vessel of barley-beer each.¹⁷

They offer to all the gods of Emar one standard loaf each, one standard vessel of barley-beer, thick bread,¹⁸ cedar oil, and fruit, which they distribute among the gods.

Just before evening,^o they take fragrant oil of NINKUR's temple and of the palace, and the diviner pours it on the head of the high priestess^d at the gate of the storm god.

When the men of the consecration-gift(?) leave the storm god's temple, they bring her [into the house of her father].

The Consecration of the Installation Proper (lines 22-28)¹⁹

On the consecration day of the installation, they consecrate all the gods of Emar [with bread and beer].

They lay NINKUR in the house of (the high priestess's) father, [take] the red wool^p vestment of [NINKUR's] temple, and put it on NINKUR.

They set four tables before the gods.^q

They set one table for the storm god,

one table for [...],

and [two tables] on the ground for the underworld gods.²⁰

On them they set out twelve fat loaves, [...], and standard loaves, four dried cakes each, and four dried cakes with fruit each.²¹

For seven days ...

¹⁰ The "sacrificial homage" is a *kubadu*, which usually designates a combination of offerings more generally, but here is focused at the moment of presentation, before actual slaughter of the animals. The *kubadu* offering is evidently characterized by this presentation ceremony, which only happens to be detailed here because of responsibilities that shift from the father to the new priestess.

¹¹ The noun *paršu* (GARZA) means "ritual," but in this context refers to a specific portion of sacrificed meat, apparently determined by ritual standard.

¹² Just as the *hizzibu* represents a standard allotment of drink for one person at one meal, so the *naptanu* provides one portion of bread at a single "meal."

¹³ These participants are all unique to Emar ritual. "The officials who give the consecration-gift(?)" (*šarrū nadinū(t) qidašū*) include at least the diviner and the singers, perhaps along with the king (lines 54-55, 83). Use of the verb *nadānu* need not suggest that these figures fund the festival; on the contrary, they are described only as recipients of payments. Instead, the role may relate to the statements from the administrative sections of other festival texts that the king, the diviner, and the chief scribe consecrate the gods with bread and beer; see Fleming 1992:160; and Dagan's *kissu* festival, *Emar* 385:25-26, (text 1.126) below. The "consecration-gift" would then be the *qidašu*. The "heralds" are *hussā*, from the root *hss* "to bring to mind," associated with oath-taking in Mari letters.

¹⁴ Lit., "lord of the house." This is not a sacred profession, and may instead identify a one-time festival sponsor.

¹⁵ If the installation takes place at the death of a high priestess, this offering is then posthumous. No calendar indicates any annual occasion, and the text ends with arrangements at time of death.

¹⁶ The *maš-artu* is not known outside Emar. Her installation text places her in service of Aštart-of-Battle, and a rare verb *ša'aru* means "to conquer," from which the noun may be derived.

¹⁷ The *maḥḥaru* vessel is derived from the verb *maḥāru*, "to face," which can refer to both presentation and reception of offerings. This translation adopts "presentation" to distinguish it from the common Emar offering verb *naḡū* (originally, "to libate").

¹⁸ "Thick bread" is the Hittite sense of NINDA.GUR₄.RA, whose Emar reading is not certain.

¹⁹ Advance "consecration" for the installation begins the day before the installation proper just as consecration for the shaving began one day prior to that ceremony. Apparently because NINKUR stays in the father's house through the whole installation feast, this text section anticipates the seven days which begin on the installation day itself.

²⁰ Lit., "the gods below."

²¹ The fat loaves, *aklu ebū*, appear to be distinct from the NINDA.GUR₄.RA, "thick bread," unless the first represents a syllabic equivalent of the second.

They fill goblets with wine. [They offer] one ox, one sheep, seven standard vessels of wine, and two bushels [of barley to ...].²²	r Lev 1:8, 12 s 2 Kgs 11:12 = 2 Chr 23:11; 2 Kgs 23:30	loaves, seven dried cakes, and two dried cakes with fruit. They fill goblets with wine and barley-beer.^k
They set before the gods the ritual portions of the ox and of the sheep, the heads of the ox and one sheep, and seven standard vessels of barley-beer.	r Gen 30:11; Isa 65:11	Since the men of the consecration-gift(?) and heralds(?) (act as) the servers and the attendants, they may eat and drink as (the storm god's) servers and attendants.
Day 3: The Installation (lines 29-48)	u Gen 28:18; 31:13; 35:14	They set up five tables in the room of the high priestess's mourning).²⁷
The installation of the high priestess falls on the next day.²³	v Lev 9:23	Just as for the Day of Shaving.²⁸
One ox [and six sheep^a proceed to the storm god's temple as the sacrifice of the high priestess]. The divine weapon and the high priestess follow them, while the singers walk in front.^a	w 1 Sam 1:9; 4:13	Just before evening, they seat the high priestess on her throne,^w set before her a new table from her father's house, and set bread on it.
They perform the Greater Sacrificial Homage [before the storm god]. The high priestess (herself) carries the divine weapon for the sacrificial homage.	x Ezek 16:12 y Gen 24:22; 41:42; Ezek 16:11, 42	They put on her ears two gold earrings^x from her father's house, put on her right hand the storm god's gold ring,^y and wrap her head with a red wool headdress.
After [they finish the sacrificial homage], they purify the ... and bring (the priestess) into the storm god's temple.	z Judg 11:40; Jer 9:16, 19; Ezek 32:16	They offer fragrant oil for the storm god.
[They sacrifice] the one ox and the six sheep [to the storm god, and ...].	aa Lev 8:33- 35; 9:1, 23	They put in the diviner's hand a ten-shekel silver coil.²⁹
The high priestess travels in procession with the divine weapon and the singers.		Two of her brothers³⁰ carry her on their shoulders as she proceeds to the house of her father.
[They enter the House of Trust, and (provide) one lamb] for Adammatara.²⁴		The town elders fall at her feet and present her a seven-shekel silver clasp as her (official) gift. Her brothers likewise present her lavish gifts. The divine axe follows her, while the singers walk in front.^a
After they leave the House of Trust they go to the House of Fortune.ⁱ (There,) they [sacrifice one lamb to the storm god] and one lamb for the upright stone of Hebat.²⁵		Then once she has entered her father's house, they set the divine axe on NINKUR for seven days.
The high priestess pours fragrant oil on the top of Hebat's upright stone.^u On that day (the stone) enters the House of Fortune, but (the high priestess) must not do so.^u		On the same day, they offer one standard loaf each, one standard vessel of barley-beer each, thick bread, and the meat of NINKUR's ox,³¹ and distribute them among all the gods of Emar.
They return, and at the storm god's temple they set before him the ritual portions of the ox and of the six sheep.²⁶		On the third day of the high priestess' ... festival, the wailing woman gives forth her cry.³²
They set before the storm god seven standard		Days 3-9: The Seven-Day Feast (lines 49-58) For seven days^{aa} they sacrifice daily two sheep to the gods on behalf of Hebat in the (temple) room (of the high priestess).³³

²² The *parisu* is a large dry measure, translated roughly as "bushel," without intending equivalent size.

²³ The word translated "installation" is *malluku*, lit. "to make rule." This use of the common Semitic root neither assumes kingship as in West Semitic nor counsel as in East Semitic Akkadian. It should be noted that enthronement is central to the installation (lines 40, 51, 84), a possible point of contact with kingship.

²⁴ The *bīl nukli* is associated with the domain of the city-god NINURTA and may serve some administrative function.

²⁵ The "House of Fortune" is the *bīl Gadda*, a term that may anticipate the Gad from Roman Syria. Hebat's stone is a *sikkānu*, also attested at Ugarit and elsewhere in early Syria.

²⁶ Text B diverges through the sacrificial homage and the processions to the House of Trust and the House of Fortune. Essentially, B reverses the homage and the processions, which allows the homage to serve as direct preparation for sacrifice, as it did on the Day of Shaving.

²⁷ Text B repeats "the room of the high priestess" from the Day of Shaving, but text A adds a further detail, *bīl bukki* NIN.DINGIR, where *bukki* might be understood as "weeping," in reference to mourning for the previous priestess. The priestess's room in the temple is still given to mourning until the end of the festival transition, when the new priestess takes up residence.

²⁸ This abbreviation indicates completion of the feast according to the pattern above.

²⁹ Or in text B, two gold *lamassu*-figurines of one gold shekel weight. The *lamassu* is a Mesopotamian protective spirit.

³⁰ Brothers may allow a wider range of male kin, as would the sister below.

³¹ Texts B and D mention oils and cedar.

³² This installation day does represent the third day of the festival counted so far, but the term *datnātu* (*tadnātu*?) remains obscure; perhaps, from *nadānu*, "to give?"

³³ Lit., this line reads, "to the gods to her house to Hebat." The translation offered here locates the offering in the priestess's room, and conceives sacrifice divided between the primary recipient Hebat and the collective gods, as is performed for the storm god and the gods, above.

Every day they set before the gods a ritual portion of the meat and the two heads of the sheep.⁷

For seven days^{aa} they offer daily at the storm god's temple the heart and the lungs of one sheep, one large standard loaf, one dried cake with fruit, one pot of barley-beer, and one presentation vessel of wine.

When the high priestess is enthroned at her feast, she must present to the storm god and Hebat two gold figurines of one shekel weight.

They sacrifice one lamb to Šaḫru.^{bb}

The seven and seven Hamša^cu-men^{cc} eat and drink for two days in the room of the high priestess, and give her one bushel of barley-flour each with one jug of malt beer.³⁴

In addition, the men of the consecration-gift(?) eat and drink for seven days in her room, receiving seven standard loaves and seven standard vessels of barley-beer each.

The previous high priestess, the high priestess of Dagan Lord of Šumi, the war-priestess, the king of the land of Emar, and the king of Šatappi — their tables, together with beef, mutton, seven dried cakes with fruit, seven pots of barley-beer, and (seven) presentation vessels of barley-beer supply the seven days.

The haunch is for the (past) high priestess of the storm god.

The hock is for the high priestess of Dagan Lord of Šumi.

The boiled meat^{dd} is for the war-priestess.

The kidney^{ee} is for the king of the land of Emar.

The kidney is (also) for the king of Šatappi.

Day 9: The Final Day (lines 59-75)

[Text disturbed at lower edge of tablet.]³⁵

... They raise up NINKUR and send NINKUR's red wool vestment back to her temple along with bread and beer.

When the high priestess leaves the (family) house, they cover her head like a bride^{ff} with a bright sash from her father's house.

Her two maids^{gg} embrace her like a bride.^{hh}

bb Isa 14:12

cc 1 Sam 8:12;
cf. 2 Kgs 1:9

dd Num 6:19

ee Lev 3:4-5,
etc.

ff Gen 24:65

gg Judg
11:37;
Ps 45:15;

hh Isa 49:18;
61:10

ii Gen 15:17

jj 2 Kgs 4:10

kk Gen 47:31

ll Gen 19:2;
1 Sam 25:41;
2 Sam 11:8

Just before evening, one ox, seven sheep, three lambs, along with a torchⁱⁱ and the singers proceed in front of her, while the divine axe follows behind.

She enters the House of Trust to sacrifice one lamb for Adammatera.

After she leaves the House of Trust she proceeds to NINKUR's temple. (There,) she sacrifices one lamb to NINKUR and sets out three standard loaves for the gods.

After she leaves NINKUR's temple she proceeds to the temple of the storm god.

(There,) she sacrifices one lamb to the storm god, sets seven standard loaves before the gods, and fills goblets with wine.^k

The men of the consecration-gift(?) and the town elders follow, to eat and drink at the storm god's temple.^l

They send back to the house of the clan head^{mm} the above ox and seven sheep which proceeded in front of the high priestess.

After the town elders have eaten and drunk, they give one fine robe as her garment, as well as one bed, one chair, and one footstool.ⁿⁿ

On this bed they spread one Akkadian blanket from her sacred wardrobe.³⁶

They set up Hulelu's table at the entrance to its head³⁷ ^{kk} and set on this table three standard loaves each, one dried cake with fruit, one standard vessel of wine, and a woven garment. The singers chant for Hulelu and perform the rites of this table.³⁸

Then her sister washes her feet,^{oo} and they place one silver ring of half-shekel weight in the water that washed her feet, which her sister receives. The high priestess ascends her bed to lie down.

Administration (lines 76-94)

On the seventh day, the men of the consecration-gift(?) slaughter at her father's house the one ox that proceeded in front of the high priestess and divide it among themselves.³⁹

The representative of the king of the land receives the kidneys of the ox plus his share.⁴⁰

³⁴ The Hamša^cu-men remain obscure; the root *ḥmš* recalls the leaders of "fifty" in the Bible, as well as the Old Assyrian *ḥamištum*, an administrative body — though Emar ritual excludes the possibility of five members. The "jug" is called *anatu*, and may be sizeable, to match the large volume of barley.

³⁵ Text B mentions a "last day" (*āmi arki*), and this entire section deals with a single closing day. Line 59 combines broken elements of separate idioms: offering, filling chalices, and feasting, without clear sense. Line 60 resumes the legible text.

³⁶ Lit., "of the pure house/room of her bed."

³⁷ This picture might envision a bed with a screen, which would have an opening.

³⁸ The idiom *parṣṭ leqū* can mean "to perform a ritual." Otherwise, the statement could be translated, "and receive the ritual portion of this table." See also Dagan's *kissu* festival, *Emar* 385:23 (text 1.126) below.

³⁹ This number seven counts the days of the feast, so that the seventh day is the final day of the last procession, when the ox was still left alive. Text C reads "eight," either counting the Day of Shaving or locating this slaughter one day after the proper end of the festival in line 75, unless the scribe was simply in error.

⁴⁰ Text A has "the man of the king" rather than the king directly.

The diviner receives the half-cut⁴¹ plus his share, the head, the intestines, the fat, and the hide.

The singers receive the lungs plus their share. The men of the consecration-gift(?) eat half of its intestines.

Among the four tables which they set up for the gods, two of them are pure tables and two impure.

The diviner and the singers divide among themselves (as follows):

The diviner and the singers also divide among themselves the hides of all the sheep.^{mm}

The diviner receives the three ox hides.

For the seven days, the diviner and the singers receive one standard loaf and one pot of barley-beer each.

The diviner receives the half-cut of the oxen and the sheep for all the days.

The singers receive the lungs of all the oxen and the sheep.

They distribute the meat of the ox sacrifice among the gods.

When the high priestess is enthroned at her ban-

mm Lev 4:11;
Exod 29:14

quet, five shekels are the gift for the diviner and one shekel is the gift for the singers.

In a good year, they give her from the House of Trust thirty bushels of barley. In a bad year, she receives fifteen bushels of barley.

From the House of the Gods they give her six hundred (shekels) of wool, two jars of oil, one juglet of oil, four hundred (shekels) of aromatics, five store-jars of wine,⁴² two racks of grapes, two racks of apples, two racks of apricots, one pot of milk, one large (pot) of soured milk, one bushel of emmer, one bushel of aromatics, three quart jars of malt beer, two pairs of sandals, two pairs of boots, two gazelles, two fish, and four pigeons — per annum.

When the high priestess goes to her fate,⁴³ they slaughter one ox and one sheep at the temple.⁴⁴

They offer to Šahrū⁴⁵ one sheep, one juglet of oil, a standard vessel, and two ...

The diviner receives the hide of the above ox. One sheep ...

These items belong to the house of her father. The town (gets) nothing.

⁴¹ The meat *ḥaštu* might be related to the Hebrew words for "half."

⁴² "Store-jars" translates *hubu*, probably a larger vessel for wine.

⁴³ That is, she dies.

⁴⁴ It is not certain which location is in view; the larger temple would be the appropriate place of sacrifice, rather than the residence ("room") of the priestess.

THE ZUKRU FESTIVAL (1.123) ¹

In a culture that generally observed two axes in the turn of the year, at spring and autumn, the term "new year" is often too loosely applied. Nevertheless, the Israelite feasts of Unleavened Bread and Booths and the Mesopotamian *akītu* festival do occupy these key turning points in the annual cycle, with special significance for public religious commitments. Emar's *zukru* festival provides a first early Syrian representative of this practice, attested in one primary tablet, with a badly broken alternative text, and various related fragments of indeterminate relation to these two tablets.

The shorter, broken *zukru* tablet displays a simpler, perhaps older annual event, which the large tablet translated here has magnified into by far the most lavish rite in the Emar collection. In this expanded form the *zukru* is celebrated every seventh year, with one year's preparation, under a "festival" rubric omitted from the short text. This *zukru* festival is divided into two parts, one focused on offering and the second focused on procession. They repeat the same calendar, which allows restoration of missing dates. Whereas the shorter form shows provision only from "town" supplies evidently administered outside the palace, the long *zukru* festival introduces extensive royal sponsorship. In spite of this evidence of the king's ambition, the festival itself gives him no active role, and the event preserves an ancient dedication of the town to its chief god Dagan at a shrine of stones outside the city walls that recalls Dagan's rule before construction of the town and its temples.

This large *zukru* tablet is composed in four columns, neatly inscribed.

¹ See Emar 373.

Part I, Offerings (lines 1-173)

Column I

First Month of 6th Year (lines 1-6)[8-10 lines missing at top]²

... one pure lamb ...

... from its midst ...

24th Day of Niquali (Second Month), 6th Year
(lines 7-13)[During the month of Niquali] on the 24th day, they distribute to all the gods from the king one(?) gallon of barley bread, two store jugs of ...³They enclose [one sheep for Dagan Lord of the] Firstborn:⁴

likewise one sheep for the storm god, one sheep for the Sun, [one sheep for Dagan,⁴ one] sheep for Ea, one sheep for the Moon,⁵ one sheep for NINURTA,⁶ [one sheep for Nergal] Lord of Trade, one sheep for the Lord of the Horns,⁷ one sheep for NINKUR,⁸ [one sheep for Bēlet-ekalli], one sheep for Astart of the Warrior — these sheep ... they enclose.⁹

25th Day of Niquali, 6th Year (lines 14-34)[During the month of Niquali on] the 25th [day], all the gods and the Šaššabēyānātu-spirits [go out (in procession).]¹⁰

... Dagan Lord of the Brickwork goes out, his face covered.

Two calves and six sheep from the king, with [two(?) sheep] from the town, proceed in front of Dagan.

a 1 Sam 6:10, 14

b Ezek 46:4, 6; Neh 5:18

They offer to Dagan from the king one gallon and one quart of (barley-)mash bread, [one quart] of barley bread, one flagon and one bowl(?) of wine.¹¹ (Additionally,) one gallon and one quart of (barley-)mash bread, [one quart] of barley bread, one flagon, and one jar are provided by the House of the Gods.

One gallon of (barley-)mash bread, four gallons of [barley bread, and four] store jugs are provided for the people.

They sacrifice to Dagan one calf and one pure lamb.

Among them, from precious stones ...¹²

They offer to NINURTA:

two sheep from the king and one from the town;

one gallon and one quart of (barley-)mash bread, one quart of barley bread, one flagon and [one] bowl from the king;

one quart of (barley-)mash bread and one jar from the House of the Gods.

Šaššabētu of NINURTA's temple goes out (in procession) to the Gate of the Upright Stones.¹³

They offer to Šaššabētu:

one calf and six sheep^b from the king, and one sheep from the town;

one gallon and one quart of (barley-)mash bread, one quart of barley bread, one flagon and one bowl of wine from the king;

one gallon and one quart of (barley-)mash bread, one quart of barley bread, and one flagon from the House of the Gods.

² This section is almost entirely lost, with the date restored by comparison to Part II. The "first month" is written SAG.MU, "the head of the year."

³ The BÂN equals something more than a gallon, and the QA (cf. *qu'ā*, previous text, note 7 above) roughly a quart. Translation is not intended to capture precise amounts but general effect. Measures appear to derive from the grain required to produce the stated breads, so liquid measures are appropriate for the pots that served such accounting. The "store jug" is a large vessel for beer, the *pīḫu*.

⁴ The offering to "Dagan" without title should be addressed to his primary temple, distinct from the special festival cult as "Lord of the Firstborn." Identification of Syrian Dagan as the mountain Šadû (KUR) makes suggested connection with the Hebrew Šadday more attractive. Note that this offering list is restored from the near-equivalents in lines 66-78 and the god list *Emar* 378.

⁵ The moon god is written *30, and has unknown reading. Equation with Šaggar occurs in seals with Hittite hieroglyphs, but in ritual texts that god is spelled syllabically or by *ĜAR. Mesopotamian Sîn and Canaanite Yarîḫ are alternatives. The sun god is rendered *UTU, also with uncertain local reading; "Sun" and "Moon" reflect this ambiguity.

⁶ NINURTA is Emar's city god (see the installation of the storm god's high priestess, [text 1.122] above).

⁷ This title reflects another cult of Nergal.

⁸ See text 1.122, note 6 above for NINKUR.

⁹ Provision of these animals is described by the term *pa'ādu*, "to enclose," not usually used for offering. In the text for six months' rites (below), the *pa'ādu* offerings precede the principal event by one day, in some kind of preparation. Enclosure may have originally represented consignment for sacrifice rather than the slaughter itself.

¹⁰ The Šaššabēyānātu-spirits are female divine beings collectively associated with the city god NINURTA via the single goddess Šaššabētu. Both titles may derive from the verb *wašābu*, "to sit, reside," so that these are spirits separate from the pantheon of gods and perhaps inhabit the city for its care, like the later Syrian Tyche.

¹¹ This translation attempts a variety of English terms for diverse breads or confections from grains and various vessels for drink. In many cases, the true character of the item remains obscure, with only a hint of size or status. In this text the ĜA (flagon), *hubbar* (jar), and *kurkurru* (bowl) are the common vessels, entirely unlike the high priestess installation. The *hubbar* is the one vessel in this set clearly derived from Hittite ritual practice. Likewise the (barley-)mash bread (*pappāsu*) and barley bread represent a completely different set of foodstuffs.

¹² The "precious stones" occur in one other Emar fragment, not evidently for tools, monuments, or identification with divine presence. This translation guesses a smaller scale, with function entirely unclear.

¹³ One upright stone (*sikkānu*) is associated with the storm god's consort Hebat in the installation of his high priestess.

They bring out Bēlet-ekalli, and the Moon and Sun of the palace in procession to the Gate of the Upright Stones.¹⁴

One calf and ten sheep from the king proceed in front.

They offer before (these gods) three gallons and three quarts of (barley-)mash bread, three quarts of barley bread, three jars and three bowls of wine.

One gallon of (barley-)mash bread, four gallons of barley bread, and four store jugs (of drink) from the palace are provided for the people.^c

Total: four calves and forty sheep for the consecration.¹⁵

After eating and drinking they rub all the stones^d with oil and blood.^e

In front of the Battle Gate they perform a sacrificial homage^f for all the gods with a ewe,^g two pair of thick loaves made of (barley-)mash bread, and one jar from the king.

That one ewe is to be burnt for all the gods.

The breads, the beverages, and the meat go back up into the town.^h

14th Day of First Month, 7th Year (lines 35-40)

During the next year they perform the *zukru* festival.

During the First Month, on the 14th day,ⁱ they enclose for all the seventy^j gods^a of Emar seventy pure lambs from the king, ..., thick bread, oil, and three store jugs.

They give seven of those sheep to the seven sowing-men of the palace.¹⁶

They enclose one calf and one lamb for Dagan Lord of the Firstborn.^a

Also the people and the gods go out in procession a second time on the later day of the *zukru* festival.¹⁷

They enclose the same (for) the others.^{18 a}

15th Day of First Month, 7th Year — Start of *zukru* (lines 41-60)

They perform (the *zukru* festival) on the next day, the 15th^k or Šaggar-day.¹⁹

They bring out Dagan Lord of the Firstborn, NINURTA, Šaššabētu of NINURTA's temple, Bēlet-ekalli, the Moon and Sun of the palace, all the gods and the Šaššabēyānātu-spirits ... in procession to the Gate of the Upright Stones.

[(A number of calves and pure lambs)] from the

c Exod 32:6

d Gen 28:18;
31:13; 35:14

e Exod 29:21;
Lev 8:30

f 2 Chr 32:33

g Num 6:14

h Exod 9:29;
33; Josh
6:16, 20;
2 Sam 15:24-
25

i Exod 12:6;
18; Lev 23:5;
Josh 5:10;
Ezra 6:19;
2 Chr 30:15

j Exod 1:5;
24:1, 9; Num
11:16, 24;
25; 2 Kgs
10:1, 6, 7;
Ezek 8:11

k Lev 23:6;
34; 1 Kgs
12:32-33

l Exod 12:6;
Lev 23:5

king and ten lambs from the town proceed in front of Dagan.

They offer to Dagan:

[one gallon and quart] of (barley-)mash bread, one quart of barley bread, one flagon and one bowl of wine from the king;

[one gallon and one quart of (barley-)mash bread, one quart of] barley bread, and one flagon from the House of the Gods.

[One gallon of (barley-)mash bread, four gallons of barley bread,] and four store jugs from the House of the Gods are provided for the people.^c

(They offer to NINURTA:)

[(a number of calves and lambs) from] the king, and two lambs from the town;

one gallon and one quart of (barley-)mash bread, one quart of barley bread, [one flagon, and one] bowl from the king;

one quart of (barley-)mash bread and [one] jar from the House of the Gods.

They offer to Šaššabētu:

[(a number of calves and lambs)] from the king, and two lambs from the town;

[one gallon and one quart] of (barley-)mash bread, [one quart of barley bread, one] flagon and one bowl of wine from the king;

one gallon and one quart of [(barley-)mash bread], one quart of barley bread, and [one flagon] from the House of the Gods.

They offer to Bēlet-ekalli, and the Moon and Sun of the palace:¹⁴

[(a number of calves and)] lambs from the king;

three gallons and three quarts of (barley-)mash bread, [three quarts] of barley bread, three jars, and [three bowls] of wine from the king.

After eating and drinking they anoint the upright stones^d with oil and blood.^e

Just before evening,^f they bring the gods back up into the town.^h

[In front] of the Battle Gate they perform the Lesser Sacrificial Homage.^f They burn for all the gods one ewe,^g one jar, and [two] pairs of (barley-)mash breads from the king.

[The breads, the beverages], and the meat go back up [into the town].^h

¹⁴ The name Bēlet-ekalli here parallels the Moon and Sun "of the palace" as Lady of the Palace, all associated with a purely royal donation.

¹⁵ The consecration (*qaddušu*) usually occupies one day directly before a ritual event. This consecration counts the sheep for both the 24th and 25th of Nīqali, and the whole preparation is separated from the *zukru* proper by nearly a year.

¹⁶ "The men of the sowing" (so, *zir²ātu*) appear only in a ritual role, but an autumn setting might make sense of this interpretation as time for planting preparations.

¹⁷ The enclosure suggests equivalence with the sixth day of the *zukru* festival proper (line 200), not the last and seventh day.

¹⁸ The "others" appear to be the rest of the pantheon represented by the idealized figure "seventy," after Dagan is specified first.

¹⁹ Šaggar is equated with the writing "30 for the moon god in Hittite hieroglyphic seals, but Emar rituals associate Šaggar more narrowly with the full moon, and the autumn (September/October) full moon in particular.

15th-21st, First Month, 7th Year — Seven-Day
Feast (lines 61-151, 168-173)²⁰

Column II

[13-15 lines missing]

... they perform.

... of the eight sacrificial homages ...

... jar(s), pomegranates, birds from the king ...

For the seven days^m of the *zuku* festival they serve
all the gods of Emar.²¹

[They offer] to Dagan Lord of the Firstborn:

one calf and ten pure lambs, one gallon and
one quart of (barley-)mash bread, one quart of
barley bread, one [flagon], and one bowl from
the palace.

To the storm god, just as to Dagan [Lord of the
Firstborn];

To Dagan — ditto;

To Ea — ditto;

To the Moon and Sun — ditto;

To NINURTA — ditto;

To Alal [and Amaza — ditto];²²

To Nergal [Lord of Trade — ditto];

To Nergal [Lord of Horns — ditto];

To NINKUR, [Šaggar, and Halma — ditto];

To Bēlet-ekalli — [ditto];

To Aštar of the Š[ubu(?) — ditto]

To the Moon of the Palace [— ditto]

To the Sun of the Palace [— ditto]

To Dagan of the Palace [— ditto]

To Aštar of [...];

To Aštar of [...];

To Aštar of [...];

To

Five lambs from the king; one quart of (barley)-
mash bread, one quart of barley bread, and [one
flagon from the palace];

To Dagan Lord of ... — ditto;

To two Dagan Lord of Creation,²³ "two pairs —
[ditto];

To Anna of ... [— ditto];

To Dagan Lord of the Camp, just as for Dagan
Lord of ... [— ditto];

To Dagan Lord of Habitations — ditto;

m Exod 23:15;
Lev 23:6, 34,
etc.; Deut
16:3, 13, etc.

n Gen 14:19;
Exod 15:16;
Deut 32:6

o Exod 15:20;
Judg 4:4

p Ps 121:5

q Deut 32:10

To Aštar of the Abi and Yāmu, two pair — ditto;

To ...;

To Aštar of ... — ditto;

To Išhara Lady of the Town — ditto;

To Išhara of the King — ditto;

To Išhara of the Prophetesses^o [— ditto];

To Hanana of the Palace — ditto;

To Hanana of the city — ditto;

To Udha — ditto;

To Aštar — ditto;

also to all these gods, vessels....²⁴

Two lambs from the king; one quart of (barley)-
mash bread, one quart of barley bread, and one jar
[from the palace];

To the Lord of the Hill-Country — ditto;²⁵

To Dagan Lord of the Valley — ditto;²⁶

To Dagan Lord of Šumi — ditto;²⁷

To Dagan Lord of Buzqa — ditto;

To Dagan Lord of Yabur — ditto;

To Aštar of ... — ditto;

To ... of the House of Trust — ditto;

To ...;

To ...;

To two ...;

To Mu- ...;

To Šaggar ...;

To the Lord of Akka ...;²⁸

To the Lord of Imar;²⁹

To the Storm God Lord of ...;

To Gašru ...;

To the Lord of Shade and Protection^p ...;³⁰

To the Lord of Buzqa ...;

To the Lord of Yabur ...;

To the Lord of the Fortress(?)^q ...;³¹

Column III

[To the Seven Couns]elors of the Seven Gates —
ditto;³²

To ... — ditto;

To the Seven — ditto;

To Halaba — ditto;

To the Lord of Šagma — ditto;

To the Storm God of Mount Bašima — ditto;

To Nawarni — ditto;

²⁰ My revised text omits lines 152-167 based on combination of fragments from the original edition. Column IV is left to begin with line 168, by the original numbering.

²¹ The verb *palāḫū*, "to fear," is used to define obligation of service in Emar contracts, and the offerings listed here represent a similar concrete service to the gods, rather than worship or reverence simply as attitudes of the mind.

²² The beginning of this list can be restored by comparison to lines 9-12 at the opening of the *zuku* festival text (above p. 432) and to the start of the god list Emar 378.

²³ Dagan *bēl qāni* may be related to the El title "Creator of the earth" (*qn ʾrṣ*, as in the biblical citations).

²⁴ Some otherwise unattested vessel is indicated: ⁶⁶har-de-e-x.

²⁵ Bēl Gabʾa, cf. Hebrew *gibʾāʾ*?

²⁶ Bēl Amqi, cf. Hebrew *ʿameq*?

²⁷ Šumi, Buzqa, and Yabur are villages in the Emar region, attested elsewhere in the rituals and beyond.

²⁸ Cp. Emar 452:54, but the reading here is uncertain.

²⁹ This title is restored by comparison with the god list Emar 378:25, though the reading remains uncertain. Imar appears to be the older vocalization for the town of Emar, as found in the early second millennium and before.

³⁰ This name is restored by comparison with line 138, below.

³¹ Cp. line 139, below.

³² This name appears in the god list Emar 378:41.

To two pair of Baliḥ-River Deities of the Palace Garden — ditto;
 To NINURTA of the Burnt Offerings — ditto;³³
 To the Storm God Lord of Imar — ditto;
 To NINURTA Lord of ... — ditto;³⁴
 To Aštart Lady of Ani — ditto;³⁵
 To the Baliḥ-River Deities of ... — ditto;
 To NINKUR Lady of the Wadi — ditto;
 To NINKUR Lady of the Circle — [ditto];
 To Dagan Lord of Shade and Protection ^p — ditto;
 To Dagan Lord of the Fortress ^q — ditto;
 To the Baliḥ-River Deities of ... — ditto;
 To the Lord of Rabbâ — ditto;³⁶
 To NINKUR Lady of the Quiver — ditto;
 To Dagan Lord of the Quiver — ditto;
 To Dagan Lord of ... — ditto;
 To the Sarta clan deity — ditto;
 To NINKUR of the Gate of the Sarta clan — [ditto];
 To the Storm God of the House of Fortune — ditto;
 To the Upright Stone of Hebat ^d — ditto;³⁷
 To the Lord of ...;
 To ...;
 To ...;

[26-30 lines broken, to end of column]

Column IV

21st Day, First Month, 7th Year — Day 7 of Seven-Day Feast (lines 168-173)³⁸

...the wagon [of Dagan ^r passes] between [the upright] stones, his [face] uncovered.
 He proceeds [to] NINURTA, whom they have mount (the wagon) [with] him.

The divine [weapon] follows him.³⁹
 When they reach the Battle [Gate], they perform the Lesser Sacrificial Homage. ^f

They burn for all the gods [one ewe, two] pair of thick loaves, and [one] jar from the king.
 They anoint the stones ^d [with oil and blood]. ^e
 ... tamarisk to the gods ...

Part II, Procession⁴⁰

Heading (lines 174-175)

When the sons of Emar ^s give the *zuku* festival [to] Dagan Lord of the Firstborn during the seventh

^r 1 Sam 6:7, etc.; 2 Sam 6:3

^s Ezek 23:15; Joel 4:6

^t Deut 31:10; cf. Lev 25:4, etc.; Deut 15:1, etc.

^u Ps 24:7-10

year.⁴¹

15th Day, First Month, 6th Year (lines 175-184)

During the sixth year, in the First Month, on the 15th [day], ^k the Šaggar-day, they bring out Dagan Lord of the Firstborn in procession, his face uncovered.

They perform the Lesser Sacrificial Homage ^f before [him] at the Gate of the Upright Stones. ^e After they sacrifice, eat, and drink, they cover his face.

The wagon of Dagan passes between the upright stones. ^e

He proceeds to [NINURTA], whom they have mount (the wagon) with him, their faces covered.

[On] the same day, they purify all the oxen and the sheep.

On the same day, once they bring out [all the] gods, just before evening they bring out Šaggar ... from NINURTA's temple, from the House of Trust.⁴²

Also, the [breads and the meat which were before (all) the gods] go back up into the midst of Emar.⁴³

25th Day of Niquali, 6th Year (lines 185-190)

During the month of Niquali, [on the 25th day,] they bring out [Dagan] Lord of the Firstborn and all the gods in procession to the Gate of the Upright Stones.⁴⁴

His [face] is covered for both his departure and his return.

From that day, the calves, the pure lambs, ...

The wagon of Dagan passes between the upright stones.

He proceeds to NINURTA;
 also the breads and the meat which were before the gods go back up into the midst of the town.

14th and 15th Days of First Month, 7th Year (lines 191-199)

During the next year, in the First Month, on the 14th day, ⁱ they distribute the enclosed lambs ^a to the gods.

On the next day, the 15th ^k or Šaggar(-day), they

³³ NIN.URTA *ša ma-qa-li*, where the last element may be related to *maqlû*, "burning."

³⁴ Arnaud (1986) set a fragment below the main tablet from lines 151-167 to produce additional material for the list, but this fragment joins the main tablet for lines 133-151. This translation simply skips lines 152 to 167 in order to join Arnaud's enumeration at line 168, for clarity of comparison.

³⁵ Compare Eni, in the god list *Emar* 378:44.

³⁶ Rabbâ(n) is the home village of the royal family.

³⁷ The Storm God of the House of Fortune (*bēt Gadda*) and the Upright Stone (*sikkānu*) of Hebat reflect the installation of the high priestess, with the stone she anoints.

³⁸ Lines 168-173, rejoining Arnaud's lineation (1986), conclude Part I at the top of column IV.

³⁹ There is room for a word or two after this sentence, though no addition makes good sense.

⁴⁰ The impression of two distinct parts of the text is confirmed by a space of approximately 8 lines left uninscribed before resumption of what follows.

⁴¹ Compare the first line of the high priestess installation and Dagan's *kissu* festival.

⁴² Perhaps another deity is brought out with Šaggar. There is room for one name.

⁴³ This line is restored from the 25th of the month of Niquali, below.

⁴⁴ Restoration follows the parallel to Part I for the sixth year, above.

bring out Dagan Lord of the Firstborn along with all the gods and the Šaššabēyānātu-spirits in procession to the Gate of the Upright Stones.⁴⁴

Dagan's face is covered for his departure.

They give to the gods the offerings as prescribed on the tablet.

They bring out in procession Dagan the very father ' and Šaggar on the same day.

Also, the Šaggar(-day) breads for all Emar go back up.

Just before evening,¹ Dagan passes between the upright stones.⁴⁵

They cover his face.

In the Battle Gate they perform the rites just as for the consecration day.⁴⁵

The breads and the meat which were before the gods go back up into the town.

20th Day, First Month, 7th Year — Day 6 of Seven-Day Feast (lines 200-201)

On the sixth day they distribute the enclosed lambs⁴⁶ to the gods, just as (mentioned) previously.⁴⁶

21st Day, First Month, 7th Year — Day 7 of Seven-Day Feast (lines 202-209)

On the seventh day Dagan, along with all the gods

v Deut 32:6;
Isa 63:16;
64:7; Jer 3:4,
19; 31:9;
Mal 1:6;
2:10

w Gen 15:17

x Exod 20:8;
Deut 5:12;
Joel 1:14;
2:15

and the Šaššabēyānātu-spirits, goes out in procession, his face covered.

They give the ritual requirements⁴⁷ to the gods just as for the day (mentioned) previously.

All the meat and breads, everything which they eat, from the [seven] days and from between the upright stones they take up and [place] in return.⁴⁸

Nothing goes back up into the midst of the town.

After the fire,⁴⁸ just [before evening] ...

They uncover Dagan's face.

The wagon of Dagan passes between the upright stones.

He proceeds to NINURTA, [whom they have mount (the wagon) with him.]

They perform the rites just as for the day (mentioned) previously.

Part III, Administration

Heading (line 210)

... they consecrate⁴⁸ the *zuku* festival ...

[14-16 lines missing to bottom of column IV]

Summary Statement (lines 211-212)

Left edge

Total: 700 lambs, 50 calves.

Twelve calves to the gods ...

⁴⁵ This statement should refer to the description in lines 31-34 for the 25th of the month of Niquali.

⁴⁶ This reference seems to be to the last preparation day when lambs were enclosed, the 14th of the First Month.

⁴⁷ Lit., "rites."

⁴⁸ "Return," *tārtu*, is a technical term for treatment of ritual provisions at the end of the festival, not attested in this use outside Emar.

SIX MONTHS OF RITUAL SUPERVISION BY THE DIVINER (1.124) ¹

This tablet belongs to a separate type entirely from the previous two festivals. It is much smaller, especially relative to the material squeezed onto it, and is written in a cramped script with distinct sign forms. Instead of treating one ritual event, this text gathers diverse rites for unrelated cults, apparently united by involvement of the official who calls himself the diviner.

The tablet is divided into four columns. The first treats one month and the last covers four; the third touches two months, the earlier one evidently completed on the same day left at the end of column I. Although certainty remains elusive, the text most likely was created to address six months from fall to spring, one half-year between the major ritual axes of the calendar. The full moon of the first month, defined as autumn by preparation for sowing at the top of column III, dominates the text with several concurrent events, likely including a simpler annual observance of the *zuku* (lines 8-10, for Dagan).

Column I

Heading (line 1)

[Tablet of the] rites of the town.

Month of Zarati, 8th Day (lines 2-6)

[The month of Zarati:]

[On] the 8th day, ...²

... one sheep

... from ...

... at the temple ...

... they gather.

¹ See Emar 446.

² Zarati is the month for celebration of the *zuku* in annual form, rather than SAG.MU, "the head of the year," in the seventh-year festival. The unusual scribal hand of the six-month tablet matches that annual *zuku* text, and column III of this text alludes to autumn sowing and the god Šaggar, who is associated specifically with the *zuku* full moon.

Month of Zarati, 14th Day? (lines 6-7)

On the [14th] day, [they enclose a lamb for Dagan].³ ...

Month of Zarati, 15th Day (lines 8-57)⁴

On the 15th day,⁵ Dagan [goes out in procession ...]⁵

They give ... a sheep from the fire-lighters ...⁶

The ...-men [feast].⁷

On the same day, [NINURTA of the] Amit [Gate] goes out in procession.⁸

They give ... (to someone, some provision) from the House of the Gods.

... a sheep from the fire-lighters [proceeds in front of him].

The divine axe [follows him], and the whole populace ...

They place the ...

On (a day ...), they enclose (a lamb) ...

On the [same] day ...⁹

... goes into the great gate of (some god's) temple ...¹⁰

... two sheep in the temple ...

(Some participants) feast on bread and beer from the House [of the Gods].

On the day ..., they enclose⁶ [a lamb at] the temple of NINURTA.

[NINURTA] goes out in procession to the great gate.

An ox [(and sheep?)...] proceed in front of him.¹¹

...

[The diviner]¹² receives the right breast^c for ...

The hide, the head, ... belong to the diviner.

The chiefs and the men of the countryside eat [and drink] (some food).¹³

In the temple of (NINURTA or Išhara) ... they slaughter the ox.

[They give (some parts) to] NINURTA of

a Lev 23:6,
34: 1 Kgs
12:32-33

b 1 Sam 6:10,
14

c Lev 7:31,
34

d Exod 12:9

e 2 Chr 32:33

Išhara's temple.

They offer (some part).

The ...-meat and the hocks are for the leaders, and they give [the ...-meat] to the slaughterer.¹⁴

The kinsmen of Udha's temple receive (some part).

The leaders and the whole populace eat the breast before Išhara.

The diviner receives the head.^d

They place ...

The divine axe ...

Column II [40 lines, only some traces at right edge]

Column III

... they slaughter these sheep.

He offers their ..., along with the breast-meats.¹⁵

The divine axe follows them.

Also, the hides of the sacrificed (animals) belong to the diviner.

On the 15th day,^a they bring Šaggar down to the cattle barn, and (perform) sacrifice.

They slaughter one sheep at the horse stables.

On the same day,¹⁶ in the evening, they bring out (a procession).

They slaughter one sheep for the fire-lighters, one sheep for the Garden of the Storm God's Pool, and a sheep for Dagan Lord of the Seed.

The diviner casts down seed.

...-bread from the House of the Gods, cups (of drink), and the meat of the right breast belong to the diviner.

On the next day at dawn¹⁷ ... they slaughter (a sacrifice) for Dagan and perform sacrificial homages^c for lasting days(?) and difficulty(?).¹⁸

Until they finish the sacrificial homages, no one may go out to plant.¹⁹

Month of NINKUR (lines 58-74)

The month of NINKUR:

³ This speculative restoration follows the common preparation by "enclosure" through this text, sometimes one day in advance of the main rite.

⁴ The numbering system follows the first edition's count of legible lines and omits the 40 lines of column II.

⁵ This would match the time for the *zuku*, and should represent the same event.

⁶ The noun *nuppuhannu* appears to derive from a verb "to kindle." Some keepers of flocks are intended, and the tide might refer to nighttime responsibilities.

⁷ Lit., "eat." This would fit the likely function of human participants in other parts of the tablet.

⁸ The deity can be restored from the offering list *Emar* 274:6.

⁹ This does not begin a new line, and appears to represent the same day.

¹⁰ The subject is some single figure.

¹¹ Compare line 107, below.

¹² The diviner receives this portion in lines 52-53.

¹³ The leaders are "great men" (¹⁶GAL, LUM¹ GAL, see line 38), and appear to be associated with the people of the countryside.

¹⁴ Several words for sacrifice occur in the *Emar* rituals. The common western root *zbh*, "to slaughter for sacrifice," appears only in this noun.

¹⁵ "Their *nibu*-meat" represents an unknown portion.

¹⁶ Lit., "the same month," but the idiom and context indicate a day, and this should reflect scribal error.

¹⁷ This movement to the next day is not treated here as a new calendar definition, but an extension of the 15th. The statement is not set at the start of the line.

¹⁸ These are the *kubadu* ceremonies found in the installation and the *zuku* festival, above. The homages are not for gods but for some result, possibly as translated (text: *a-na uš-ma da-ri-ia u a-na da-na-ni(?)*).

¹⁹ Lit., "no planter may go out."

On the 17th day they enclose ^b a lamb for NINKUR.

On the 18th day NINKUR goes out in procession.
One fine white sheep (comes) from the fire-lighters.

Bread and beer from (some person) the men of the consecration-gift ... [eat and] drink.²⁰

Contract-bread²¹ ... ghee,

in the contract-bread ...

the diviner ...

the diviner ...

a lamb ...

[on the] 19th [day] ...²²

... [proceeds] in front.

[The divine axe follows] behind.²³

...

[5-7 lines missing]

...

... a sheep to (some god) ...

... a sheep to (another god) ...

... one sheep to ...

...

Column IV²⁴

Month of Anna (lines 77-82)

The month of Anna.²⁵

The fire-lighters, along with the Hamša²⁶u-men^f give [bread] and beer to Adammatera.²⁶

One sheep for the Abi²⁷ of the House of the Gods, one sheep for the temple of Dagan, and one sheep for the town — these sheep (come) from the fire-lighters.

The diviner receives these hides.

Month of Adamma (lines 83-85)

The month of Adamma:

The return-ceremony of Illila falls on the 7th day.²⁸

The return-ceremony for all the gods falls on the

f 1 Sam 8:12;
cf. 2 Kgs 1:9

g Jer 16:5;
Amos 6:7

h 1 Sam 20:5,
18, 24, 27,
34; cf. 2 Kgs
4:23; Isa
1:13; Hos
2:13; Amos
8:5

8th day.

Month of Marzaḥāni (lines 86-95)

The month of Marzaḥāni: ^g

The Buqaratu fall on the 14th day.²⁹

On the 16th day she goes out in procession from the crossroads.³⁰

A sheep (comes) from the town.

Also, the divine axe follows from the crossroads.

The Hunt of Aštart falls on the same day.³¹

The Hunt of the Storm God falls on the 17th day.

They burn at the Hurrian(?) temple one sheep from the fire-lighters.³²

The Marzaḥu-men ^g of the fellowship(?) bring a standard loaf to the gods.³³

Half of the one sheep belongs to the diviner.

Month of Halma (lines 96-119)

The month of Halma:

On the second day they perform sacrificial homages at the temple of Dagan.³⁴

In the evening they fill goblets with wine and burn a bird.³⁵

The New Moon^h of Dagan falls on the third day.³⁶

One sheep (comes) from the town.

The divine axe takes up residence in the temple.

The sheep's hide belongs to the diviner.

On the 8th day Halma goes out in procession.

The divine axe follows after him.

One sheep (comes) from the town.

The men of the consecration-gift(?) feast.

The bread and the beer belong to the diviner.

On the same day, they enclose^b a lamb at the temple of the Storm God.

²⁰ The broken text prevents certain determination of the relationship between these players, the sheep, and the bread and beer.

²¹ In contracts, a table is anointed and *hukku*-bread is broken. This association offers the basis for translation here, though the actual identity of *hukku*-bread is unknown.

²² The number 19 begins line 67, which would fit a sequence to another day, but no more is visible.

²³ The axe consistently follows at the back of processions.

²⁴ There are no further missing lines between the end of column III and the beginning of column IV.

²⁵ Anna appears to be the Sumerian sky god An (= Anu), like Illila for Enlil, the Sumerian pantheon head, below, note 28.

²⁶ The items offered are not certain; bread and beer would be unusual. Adammatera appears also in the installation of the storm god's high priestess.

²⁷ The *a-bi* appear repeatedly in the text for the month of Abi, which in spite of alternatives for similar ritual terms appears to be read as "fathers" at Emar, based on one spelling with double *-bb-*, *abbf*.

²⁸ This is evidently Enlil as Anna is An(u), above, both major Sumerian deities from earlier southern Mesopotamia. The return-ceremony is the *turtu*, also found on the last day of the *zuku* festival.

²⁹ The meaning of this term is unknown. But see below note 33.

³⁰ The subject of the procession is not mentioned, though the goddess Aštart is the only deity active on this day (below).

³¹ The verb *šadu* means "to roam, hunt."

³² The "Hurrian" temple is uncertain.

³³ See McLaughlin (1991) for recent treatment of evidence for this group at Ugarit. The "standard" loaf is the *naptanu*. The verb "to bring" (*wašabu*) is unique in Emar ritual, though in inheritance documents it can refer to responsibility for continued sustenance. The modifier *mi-di* appears to mean "acquaintance."

³⁴ Here the homages are rendered *kibadu*, not *kubadu*.

³⁵ Burning of birds constitutes a particularly Hurrian ritual act, performed for purification, especially for contact with the underworld or death; see Haas and Wilhelm 1974:50-54, 137-142.

³⁶ The New Moon is the *hidašu*, a word not previously attested. The climax of this annual celebration falls on the third day, once the new moon is established, rather than at first visibility as expected for this term.

On the 9th day the Storm God of Canaan ³⁷ goes out in procession. An ox and six sheep proceed to his temple. Among them, the temple of Dagan Lord ... ³⁸ ... the servers ... he receives The hides, the intestines, the fat ... belong to the diviner.	i Exod 15:15; Judg 5:19; etc.	... the kidneys ... belong to the king of the land. (Left Edge) The Hiyaru of the Storm God falls on the 18th day. ³⁹ They slaughter an ox and two sheep. The men of the consecration-gift(?) eat and drink.
--	-------------------------------------	---

³⁷ The storm god of "Kina"u" is most easily explained by reference to the coastal region to the west, which several Amarna letters render *Kinahhu*. In his pairing with the goddess Astart at Emar's western temples, the storm god is called Baal and reflects a Canaanite or western coastal association.

³⁸ This line is not clear.

³⁹ The Hiyaru is a Syrian and Hurrian rite of uncertain derivation. Durand (1988) suggests that the word is the same as the Mesopotamian month Ayaru, with both ultimately derived from the word for "donkey," as a sacrifice.

TWO MONTHS JOINED BY THE UNDERWORLD, WITH BARRING AND OPENING OF DOORS (1.125)¹

Emar's tablet of rites for the month of Abi focuses on observances at the middle and end of the moon's cycle, set in a frame of offerings through the remaining intervals. The largest section of the text addresses rites at various *abû* shrines, with a central event on the 26th day, when "they bar the doors." This act is carried out with the last visibility of the lunar crescent and has its complement in the first line of a second tablet, which begins on "the day of opening the doors." Although the second tablet does not name a month, comparison of these two tablets with the fifth and sixth of the diviner's six-month collection confirms the sequence. Rites following the opening of doors therefore belong to the New Moon celebration for Dagan which is identified in the six-month tablet during the month of Halma. Both tablets are presented together in order to display both parts of the event which links them, through the waning and then the new appearance of the moon.

First Tablet

Frame Part I (lines 1-8)

During the month of Abi on the day of declaration,² they distribute among the gods:

two gallons and two quarts of second quality flour, one store jug, ten doves, one juglet of oil, and one quart of raisins.

On the 3rd day, they offer to Astart of the Abi:
one quart of second quality flour, barley, ..., (one) flagon, and one jar from the House of the Gods;

one female kid from the fire-lighters;
... cedar oil, barley, ghee, one hundred (shekels) of aromatics, one standard vessel, one brick of figs, ten pomegranates, and raisins from the palace.³

On the same day, as the offering to Mount Šinapši:⁴

one quart of (barley-)mash, two quarts of second quality flour, (one) standard vessel, one

dove, fruit, and oil.

On the 8th day, they distribute among the gods:
two gallons and two quarts of second quality flour, one store jug, ten [doves, one] juglet of oil, and one quart of raisins.

Also on the 8th day, as the offering for Mount Šinapši:

one quart of (barley-)mash, two quarts of second quality flour, a store jug, ... [one] standard vessel, fruit, oil, and one dove.⁵

Mid-Month Observance (lines 9-26)

On the 14th day, they offer to Astart of the Šubu:
two gallons and one quart of (barley-)mash, one flagon, one standard vessel, ... [one brick of figs,] and ten pomegranates.

With bread and beer, ...

On the same day, (as the offering to ...):

one gallon and one quart of (barley-)mash, one flagon, one standard vessel ... [from the House

¹ See Emar 452 and 463.

² The noun *hussu* was encountered as a name for feasting personnel in the installation, above ("heralds(?)"). Here, it should refer to identification and perhaps accompanying proclamation of the new lunar crescent, so the first of the month.

³ In the *zukru* festival text, the given source evidently refers to the entire list that precedes, but in the initial offering of the 25th day (lines 31-32), the single source is moved forward into the middle of the list, so that it must be considered possible that only the immediately prior item is thus defined. The translation offered here preserves this ambiguity.

⁴ This location is known from Hurrian texts found at Hattuša, the Hittite capital, and is not part of the local Emar terrain.

⁵ The word for "offering" is moved ahead of the last item, the dove, an apparent scribal slip.

of the Gods(?));
 one gallon and one quart of (barley-)mash, one
 ...-vessel from the king(?);
 one gallon and one quart of (barley-)mash, one
 ... [from ...].⁶

They offer to Aštar of the Šubu:

...

During the days of the sacrificial homages, they
 offer to Aštar of the Pools:

...

They give to them:

... one gallon of breads, barley flour, and one
 flagon.

They offer to Aštar of the Abi:

... from the House of the Gods;
 one sheep from the fire-lighters.⁷

[On the 16th day,] they offer (to ...):

... one flagon, and sweet cakes.⁸

They bring in with her with wailing cries ...

They bring in ...

The Hunt is on the same day.

They bring out from the storehouse, ... the
 crossroads ...

The Hunt of Aštar is on the 16th day.⁹

[On the 17th day, (they offer ...):

... a jar, and one standard vessel from the
 House of the Gods;

...

On the same day, (they offer ...):

... one standard vessel from the House of the
 Gods.

They bring out the divine weapon ...

They make offering behind the temple of
 NINURTA.

They perform ...

Frame Part 2 (lines 27-30)

[On the 19th] day, [... gallons and ... quarts] of
 (barley-)mash, three standard vessels, one brick of
 figs, ten pomegranates, and one hundred (shekels)
 of aromatics — on the 19th day these go out in
 procession.¹⁰

a 2 Chr 32:33

b Deut 26:14;
 Isa 38:10;
 65:4

c Mal 1:10;
 Neh 6:10;
 7:3; 13:19;
 2 Chr 28:24

On the 20th day they offer them.

... offering ...

They offer to Mount Šuparatu:¹¹

... sheep from the king;

two quarts of (barley-)mash, two quarts of
 second quality flour, one gallon of barley flour,
 and one store jug from the House of the Gods;
 one sheep from the fire-lighters;
 one [quart(?)] of *ablušu*-flour.¹²

On the 20th day, as the offering for Mount Šinapši:

one quart of (barley-)mash, one quart of second
 quality flour, one standard vessel, one dove,
 fruit, and oils.

Barring the Doors at the Last Lunar Crescent (lines
 31-52)

On the 25th day, they offer to the *abû* of the House
 of Trust:

one half gallon of (barley-)mash, two gallons
 of barley flour, one store jug from the House
 of the Gods;
 one standard vessel, one brick of figs, ten
 pomegranates, one sheep from the fire-lighters,
 and one dove.

On the same day, they give to the *abû* of
 NINKUR's temple:

two grasping loaves,¹³ second quality flour, one
 dove, and fruit.

On the same day, they perform the Greater
 Sacrificial Homage ^a at the Cemetery Gate, ^b with:

one gallon of barley flour, two quarts of
 second quality flour, one flagon, two sheep
 from the king, one standard vessel, and twenty-
 five Hurrian(?) birds.¹⁴

On the 26th day, up to the time of barring the
 doors ^c of the Gate¹⁵ they offer to all the gods:

two gallons of barley flour, two store jugs,
 twelve sheep from the fire-lighters, five sheep
 from the shepherds,¹⁶ and one juglet of oil.

Then they bar the doors.^c

On the same day, they offer to the *abû* of the
 palace:

one gallon and one quart of (barley-)mash, one

⁶ The tablet preserves less and less at the left edge, until it breaks off after this last line. Based on the proportions of the tablet, however, there should be only one line missing at most.

⁷ It is not clear whether the above lines belong to the 14th day or move to the full moon (15th). Comparison with the text for six months suggests this may still belong to the 14th day, called there the Buqaratu. Full moon rites are only attested at Emar for the first month, SAG.MU ("The Head of the Year") or Zarati.

⁸ This line begins a new section separated by a horizontal line, and comparison with the text for six months indicates location on day 16.

⁹ See the month of Marzaḥāni in the text for six months for the same event, one indication that Abi and Marzaḥāni are equivalent months.

¹⁰ The repeated day references appear to be redundant.

¹¹ This location is not known, but like Mount Šinapši may be at some distance from Emar and the Euphrates River.

¹² This word is unique at Emar, as well as unknown elsewhere.

¹³ This attempts to derive the *šabbutu* bread from the verb *šabātu*, "to grasp, hold." This action describes manipulation of lots before the storm god in confirmation of the high priestess selection.

¹⁴ The MUŠEN *ḥur-ri* may be understood as Hurrian, in connection to Hurrian practice of offering birds for purification in contacts with death and the underworld; see Haas and Wilhelm 1974:50-54, 137-142.

¹⁵ The "Gate" may be the Cemetery Gate ("gate of the grave") mentioned at the end of day 25.

¹⁶ The "shepherds" appear only here at Emar, lit., "men of the sheep."

gallon of second quality flour, two gallons of barley flour, two store jugs, and one standard vessel of wine from the palace;
one ox, one sheep, one gazelle, one bird, honey, oil, ghee, and fruit.

On the same day,
for the *abû* of Dagan's temple: two grasping breads, second quality flour, one dove, and fruit;
for Alal's temple: two grasping breads, second quality flour, one dove, and fruit;
for (Dagan) Lord of Habitations: two grasping breads, one dove, and fruit;
for Išhara's temple: two grasping breads, second quality flour, and one bird.

On the 27th day, they offer the Lesser Sacrificial Homage ^a before the *abû* of Dagan's temple, with:
one gallon and one quart of (barley-)mash, a jar, one presentation vessel of barley beer, one presentation vessel of wine, one sheep, one dove, honey, oil, ghee, beef, venison, fish, apricots, soured milk, figs, all kinds of fruits, and four Hurrian birds.

For the *abû* of the temple of ...:
one half gallon of (barley-)mash, one half gallon of second quality flour, ... gallon of barley flour, and two store jugs from the House of the Gods.

They perform the song of the gods.

On the same day,
for the *abû* of Alal's temple: one gallon and one quart of (barley-)mash, one [jar, one] presentation vessel of barley beer, one presentation vessel of wine, honey, oil, ghee, one dove, beef, venison, one lamb, and all kinds of fruits.

On the same day,
they give to the *abû* of the House of Trust, for the *abû* from ...: honey, oil, ghee, beef, venison, fish, and all kinds of fruits.

Frame Part 3 (lines 53-55)

At the head of the month, on the day of (the moon's) disappearance (until?) ... it shines (again), they purify the city.^d

They offer to the Lord of Akka:
one half quart of barley flour, one jar from the House of the Gods, and ... sheep from the fire-lighters.

They bring out Latarek for three days.¹⁷

d Neh 12:30

e 1 Sam 3:15;
2 Chr 29:3

Second Tablet

The New Moon of Dagan (lines 1-14)¹⁸

On the day of opening the doors,^e
they distribute among the gods: one sheep, one gallon of ...
one quart of barley flour, one standard vessel of wine, one ...-vessel ... from the king are provided for Dagan.
One dove ...

On the next day, [they perform] the Greater Sacrificial Homage ^a for ...

They distribute among the gods:
one hundred thick breads, two store jugs, one ...-vessel, ..., and seventy doves.

In the evening, they sacrifice one dove to Dagan.
They fill chalices from the city.

At night, they burn one water-bird, honey, and ghee.

One gallon of (barley-)mash is for the chalices.
One <quart> of (barley-)mash is for the breads.

One quart of [(barley-)mash] is for the thick breads.

(Also,) one sheep and one standard vessel of wine.

On the same day, after the sun is lit,
One sheep is from the fire-lighters.
One gallon of (barley-)mash, one quart of (barley-)mash, three standard vessels for the chalices, ten [figs], pomegranates, and the breads and the beers are from the House of the Gods.

[break]

Celebration for Halma (lines 15-18)¹⁹

...
... they offer oil ... on the day of the Hiyaru,²⁰ to Halma.

The Hiyaru of the Storm God (lines 19-25)

On the 18th day,
for the Hiyaru of the storm god: two sheep from the king, one for(?) the *ambašši*,²¹ two birds, one calf from the town ... of ... of the *ambašši*, one ox and one sheep from the town ..., beer, one gallon and one quart of barley flour, one ...-vessel, one standard vessel of wine, one quart of (barley-)mash, and one jar from the House of the Gods.
The breads and the beers are from the ...-men.

¹⁷ Latarek is a Mesopotamian god associated with Ištar. The Lord of Akka is not otherwise known.

¹⁸ This title is taken from the rite for six months, where it covers the second and third days of the month of Halma. The procedure for the second day of this tablet corresponds to that for the six-month collection.

¹⁹ The divine name reads *Hal-ba*, but Emar displays frequent interchange of /b/ and /m/ in the place name Halab (Aleppo), from which the divine name may derive. Rites for Halma occur on the 8th day of the month named for him in the text for six months.

²⁰ See the note for the last two lines of the text for six months, p. 439, note 39 (above).

²¹ Hurrian *ambašši* refers to some kind of cult place or object; see Laroche 1976-77:46.

Celebration for the Storm God and Hebat (lines 26-30)

On the 20th day, (they offer):
to the Storm God: one (ox);
to Hebat: one ox and one sheep.
[They offer] to Hebat one gallon and three

quarts of (barley-)mash and one quart of barley flour.

They distribute among the gods: ... from the king, one quart of barley flour, two flagons, a juglet, and ...

TWO KISSU FESTIVALS (1.126)¹

The most often copied ritual texts from the diviner's collection are also among the most mysterious. Emar's *kissu* festivals serve a cluster of deities at the nearby village of Šatappi, though the language and procedure share the common stock of the larger center, especially of the installations for the storm god's high priestess and for the *maš²artu*. The festivals are found in several combinations on individual tablets, gathered once as a full set for Dagan, EREŠKIGAL, Ea, Išhara and NINURTA, and a final rite for all *kissu*'s. No further gods are addressed in the separate fragments.

In their simplest form (EREŠKIGAL, Ea, Išhara and NINURTA), the *kissu* festivals do no more than devote one day to offering and feasting for a single god (or pair). Association of a *kissu* rite with the *maš²artu* priestess installation shows that this act of devotion may even be piggy-backed onto another event. The word *kissu* itself represents some local form, most easily accounted for as "throne," elsewhere *kussu* and *kissu* at Emar. A *kissu* would perhaps then celebrate the dominion of each god over his or her proper sphere.

Two of the most interesting *kissu* festivals are presented here. The rite for Išhara and NINURTA includes a new attestation of personnel called *nābū*, evidently related to the Hebrew word for "prophet."

Dagan²

Heading for all Šatappi kissu rites (line 1)

Tablet of rites for the *kissu* festival of Šatappi.

The Consecration Day (lines 2-9)

When the sons of Šatappi^a perform the *kissu*^b festival for Dagan,

on the consecration day of aromatics before the tables³ they consecrate the gods of the town with bread and beer.⁴

They lay NINKUR in (Dagan's) temple, (and) sacrifice one ox and one sheep to NINKUR.

The wailing woman gives forth her cry.^d

They set before NINKUR the ritual portion of the ox and of the sheep.

They set four tables.^e Among them,

they set one table for Dagan,

one table for Išhara and NINURTA,

(and) two tables on the ground for Alal and Amaza.⁵

The Festival Proper (lines 10-20)

On the next day, they offer meats and thick breads,

^a Ezek 23:15;
Joel 4:6

^b 1 Kgs 22:19;
Isa 6:1; Jer
3:17; 17:12;
Ezek 1:26;
10:1; 43:7;
Ps 11:4

^c Deut 32:51;
Isa 30:29

^d Judg 11:40;
Jer 9:16, 19;
Ezek 32:16

^e Exod 25:23,
etc.; Isa
65:11

^f 1 Sam 20:5,
25, 29

^g Exod 12:6;
Lev 23:5

and distribute one standard loaf each to the (aforesaid) gods of Šatappi.

They sacrifice two sheep to ...⁶ and set before the gods their ritual portion.

The men of the consecration-gift(?) eat and drink for three days in his temple. Also, they sacrifice two sheep regularly for each of the aforesaid three days. The high priestess of the storm god,⁷ the high priestess of Šumi, (and) the high priestess of Šatappi ... their tables^f receive regularly one presentation vessel ...

Also, daily they set before the gods four standard loaves and four dried cakes with fruit.

They regularly set one standard loaf and one dried cake with fruit (for each god).⁸

Day 4: The Final Day (lines 21-24)

On the fourth day they raise up NINKUR. In the evening^g they send the two brides (who) gave gifts on the second day back to the temple of Udḥa along with bread and beer.⁹

The singers enter and chant for Šuwala and Ugur,

¹ See Emar 385 and 387.

² Dagan's *kissu* festival is found on six separate tablets, and possibly a seventh small fragment (tablets A - G). These attest the following combinations: A (Dagan and EREŠKIGAL), B (Dagan — a splinter), C (Dagan and EREŠKIGAL), D (Dagan), E (Dagan), F (Dagan, EREŠKIGAL, Ea, Išhara and NINURTA, all *kissu*'s), G (Dagan, another rite). Lineation here follows text A, which is by far most complete.

³ This qualification for the consecration day is unique and awkward. The text may be corrupt.

⁴ The broken tablets D and E specify particular types of bread. Text E adds an obscure reference to the diviner and (chief) scribe.

⁵ Tablet E lists various breads for the tables, but the broken tablet prevents full reading.

⁶ The text of A is confused, while tablet E introduces the goddess Šašābētu, encountered in the *zuku* festival (above Text 1.123 and note 10).

⁷ This is the same figure known from the installation festival (above, Text 1.122).

⁸ These offerings appear to recall the four tables set for four gods on the consecration day.

⁹ Comparing the last day of the installation for the storm god's high priestess, this act should somehow relate to raising up the goddess NINKUR. Unlike that text, however, the objects of the return are not described earlier. It appears that either these two "brides" (not clear whose) or their gifts are intended. Since no gifts are specified, the girls seem the more likely, though both their role and their evident origin in the temple

and perform their rites.¹⁰

The musicians of the gods enter to perform.¹¹

Administration (lines 25-27)

Also, the officials who give the consecration-gift(?) receive three standard loaves each.

The king of the land, the diviner, and the chief scribe consecrate them (the gods) with contract-bread and a pot of barley beer.¹²

They give thirty *gurtu* of silver to EREŠKIGAL.¹³

Išhara and NINURTA¹⁴

The Consecration Day (lines 1-8)

On the consecration day of the festival, they consecrate Išhara and NINURTA with contract-bread, a dried cake with fruit, and a pot of barley beer.¹⁵

They bathe them, and then they bake seventeen bushels of fine flour for the contract-bread, and bake fifteen bushels of bright(?) flour for the bread-rings.¹⁶

They beat with their hands all thirty-two bushels of flour together.

They give to Išhara and NINURTA a bucket of bitter flavor,^h a sweet bucket,ⁱ a bucket of barley-beer, an offering of two sheep, two ewes(?) — that is(?) two *sirtu*-sheep.¹⁷

h Exod 12:8;
Num 9:11

i Neh 8:10

j 1 Sam 10:5,
10; 19:20;
1 Kgs 20:35;
2 Kgs 2:3

The Festival Proper (lines 9-14)

[On the next] day, they sacrifice those two sheep to Išhara and NINURTA at the house of the Nābū.¹⁸

They set out for the gods the ritual portion of the sheep.

They set out one dried cake with fruit and one rack of bread for Išhara and one rack of bread for NINURTA.

[They set out] two standard loaves and one pot of barley beer for Išhara [and NINURTA].¹⁹

Administration (lines 15-21)

Also, each and every man and woman of the town receives a due portion²⁰ from the loaves (baked from) the above thirty bushels of flour and from the buckets.

Also, they confine²¹ a slave-woman so as to have her bake with the sweet (bucket).²²

She receives the contract-bread and the pots of barley beer.

Also, the officials who give the consecration-gift(?) eat and drink [in the temple of Dagan/Išhara(?)].²³

They take away the pure bread from the tables. [They ...] Išhara and NINURTA in Dagan's temple.²⁴

of a local god Udḫa are obscure.

¹⁰ See Emar 369:73, on the last day of the high priestess installation (above, p. 430).

¹¹ It is not clear what difference in performance distinguishes the *zammārū* (verb *zamāru*) from the (collective) *ḫarrūta* (verb *ḫarāru*), here translated "singers" and "musicians" respectively.

¹² This administrative description evidently displays who provides the consecration offerings which begin the festival; see Fleming 1992:158-160, and above.

¹³ The term *gur-tu*, represents an alternative to the expected shekel measure.

¹⁴ This festival is attested in only two copies: the full *kissu* set of tablet F, and a second tablet J. Lineation follows F, which offers a longer text.

¹⁵ Text J does not mention the deities, but only "the consecration."

¹⁶ Emar *zarḫu* is uncertain, and this translation compares Hebrew *zrḥ*, "to be bright." The *kakkaru* is a round loaf. Consider also *ṣarḫu*, "roasted flour" (Akk. *ṣarāḫū*).

¹⁷ Text J mentions only Išhara.

¹⁸ A second new attestation of this plural noun at Mari indicates that they are indeed identified with prophecy; see for complete discussion of the data, Fleming (1993a, 1993b). Text J sacrifices only to Išhara and locates the event at "the temple of Išhara." In text F, all the *kissu* festivals take place in Dagan's temple, and "the house of the *nābū*" seems to provide a comparable setting within this alternative temple site. The connection with Išhara's cult is nevertheless preserved.

¹⁹ Only text F contains this last offering.

²⁰ Lit., "before him."

²¹ Lit., "seize."

²² The verb appears to be *epū*, "to bake," but the form is not expected Akk. for an evident causative meaning.

²³ One expects the feast to take place in the same location as the main offering. Dagan's temple appears in Ea's *kissu* festival, however, and serves as a general center for the set. Perhaps this is the temple of Dagan in text F and of Išhara in J.

²⁴ This appears only in text F.

REFERENCES

Arnaud 1986; Dietrich 1989; Durand 1988; Fleming 1990; 1992; 1993a; 1993b; Haas and Wilhelm 1974; Laroche 1976-77; McLaughlin 1991.

A PSEPHOMANCY RITUAL FROM ASSUR (1.127)
(LKA 137)

Victor Hurowitz

This text was found by the German excavations at Assur.¹ It is an incantation recited while performing a ritual for divination by use of black (hematite) and white (alabaster) stones (psephomancy). The ritualist, while pronouncing the liturgy, tells which cultic manipulations he is performing, thus permitting the reader to follow his actions. The type of divination described has general similarities to other types of divination practiced in Mesopotamia. But it may provide a specific parallel to the enigmatic Urim and Thumim, the only type of mechanical divination legitimized by the Bible in general and by the Priestly source (P) in particular.^{2 a}

Invocation (lines 1-2)

- (1) Incantation: I have called upon you O Shamash³ [...]
- (2) In the midst of the [pure (?)] heavens [...]

Description of Ritual (lines 3-8)

- (3) I am carrying a star; [...] you (?) [...]
- (4) I am carrying a star; I am touching my head [...]
- (5) x [...] offering, *mashatu*-flour ... [...]
- (6) The pure grain, in its body, a stone [...]
- (7) I offer bread, pure water, fine oil.
- (8) There is a star. According to the written tablet I incant.

Performance of Psephomancy and Request for Oracle (lines 9-28)

- (9) Judgement is nigh, O pu[re] Shamash,
- (10) The word hastens, hear the ut[terance] of my mouth(?).
- (11) You will judge me, O Bel. Reveal to me secrets!
- (12) Day and night [show] me secret lore.
- (13) [broken]
- (14) In the hem of my garment [...],
- (15) In the pure hem of my garment [...],
- (16) "Draw on the ground (the names of) seven god[s] ...]
- (17) Sin, Shamash, Adad, Marduk, Urash-g[ub-ba],
- (18) Dagan and Nab[u]."
- (19) I have drawn them, and now I am lifting up a st[one(?)].
- (20) If (your) judgement is nigh, and my plea is accepted,
- (21) If, Bel, in your heart, there is judge[ment].
- (22) If, Shamash, in your heart, there is revela[tion],
- (23) May a stone of desire jump up and may the hands cat[ch (it)].

a Exod 28:30;
Lev 8:8;
Num 27:21;
Deut 33:8;
1 Sam 14:4
(LXX);
1 Sam 28:6;
Ezra 2:67;
Neh 7:65

- (24) If (your) judgement is not nigh, (and my) plea is not accepted,
- (25) (If) Bel, in your heart, there is no judg[ment],
- (26) (If) Shamash, in your heart, there is no revela[tion],
- (27) May a stone of no desire jump up and may the hands cat[ch it].
- (28) A second time for judgement, a third time for decis[ion].

Title (line 29)

- (29) Incantation for (achieving) oracular decisions with alabaster⁴ and hematite.⁵

Reverse

- (1) Its ritual: On an appropriate day, you draw these [seven] gods on the ground and you intone the incantation ["I have called upon you O Shamash ...] in the midst of the pure heaven" [three] times, over the white and black stones. Afterwards, you shall inquire of the gods and it (the answer) will be reliable.

Diagram [Here are the names of seven deities (ll. 17-18) written perpendicular to the direction of writing of the text.]

- (5) [t]his[xxx]

Colophon

- (1) According to the long tablet of Nabu- [...]
- (2) ... like the old one.
- (3) An excerpt tablet of Kisir-[Assur, the exorcist of the Assur temple,]
- (4) son of Nabu-bessunu, the exorcist [of the Assur temple,]
- (5) son of Baba-shuma-ibni, the *zabar[dabbu]*⁶ official of Esharra.]

¹ For an edition, commentary and discussion of this text see Horowitz and Hurowitz 1992; Finkel 1995.

² For the identification see Reiner 1960; Lipiński 1970; Horowitz and Hurowitz 1992. Reservations are expressed by Milgrom 1991 and Finkel 1995.

³ Shamash, the sun god, is the Mesopotamian deity responsible for divination and oracles. As purveyor of divine decisions he is also referred to as the judge of the gods.

⁴ The Akk. word for alabaster, *gišnugallu*, means "great lamp" and corresponds with a possible meaning of 'urim.

⁵ An Akk. nickname of hematite is "truth stone," corresponding with a possible meaning of *thumim*.

⁶ Lit., "bearer of the bronze implements." The function of this official is totally obscure.

REFERENCES

LKA 137; Finkel 1995; Horowitz and Hurowitz 1992; Lipiński 1970; Milgrom 1991:507-511; Reiner 1960b; Van Dam 1993.

6. LOVE POEMS

LOVE LYRICS OF NABU AND TASHMETU (1.128)

Alasdair Livingstone

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(1) Let anyone trust in whom he trusts; as for us we trust in Nabu, are filled with awe by Tashmetu!</p> <p>(4) What belongs to us is ours; Nabu is our lord and Tashmetu the mountain of our trust! Ditto.</p> <p>(6) Say to the one of the wall, to the one of the wall, to Tashmetu: "Grant safety from disaster! Settle down in the cella!"</p> <p>(8) Let the pure scent of juniper incense circulate in the sanctuary! Ditto.</p> <p>(9) O the shade of the cedar, the shade of the cedar, the shelter of kings! O the cypress shade of the magnates! The shade of a sprig of juniper is shelter for my darling Nabu and for my fun and games! Ditto.</p> <p>(12) Tashmetu dangles a golden ... in the lap of Nabu. Ditto.</p> <p>(13) My lord, put an earring on me and I'll give you pleasure in the garden!</p> <p>(15) [Nabu], my lord, put an earring on me and I'll make you rejoice in the Edubba!</p> <p>(17) O my [Tashmetu], I will put bracelets of carnelian on you!</p> <p>(18) [...] your bracelets of carnelian!</p> <p>(19) I will open [...]. Ditto.</p> <p>(20) [...] out came the goddess.</p> <p>(21) [...] like a mural crown</p> <p>(22) [...] ... [...] them</p> <p>(23) [...] Ditto.</p> <p>(At this point there is a lacuna of several lines in the text, followed by three poorly preserved lines.)</p> <p><i>Reverse</i></p> <p>(4) Let me give you a new chariot [...]!</p> <p>(5) Ditto, [whose] thighs are a gazelle in the plain! [Refrain.]¹</p> <p>Ditto, [whose] ankle bones are an apple of the month of Siman! [Refrain.]</p> <p>Ditto, whose heels are obsidian! [Refrain.]</p> <p>Ditto, any part of whom is as fine as a tablet of lapis lazuli. Refrain.</p> | <p style="text-align: right;">a Cant 6:11;
7:13</p> <p>Looking blossoming, Tashmetu entered the nuptial chamber.</p> <p>(10) She shut the door, putting in place the lapis lazuli lock.</p> <p>She rinsed herself, climbed up, got onto the bed. Refrain.</p> <p>Into a bowl of lapis lazuli, into a bowl of lapis lazuli, her tears flow. Refrain.</p> <p>With a flock of scarlet wool he wipes away her tears. Refrain.</p> <p>Thither ask, ask, question, question! Refrain.</p> <p>(15) "Why, O why are you adorned, O my own Tashmetu?"</p> <p>"So that I may [go] to the garden with you, my Nabu! ^a</p> <p>Let me go the the garden and [to the lord! Refrain].</p> <p>Let me go alone to the most exceedingly beautiful garden! Refrain.</p> <p>They did not place my throne among the counsellors. Refrain.</p> <p>(20) May my eyes see the plucking of your fruit! Refrain.</p> <p>May my ears hear the twittering of your birds! Refrain.</p> <p>Bind and harness thither! Refrain.</p> <p>Bind your days to the garden and to the lord! Refrain.</p> <p>Bind your nights to the beautiful garden! Refrain.</p> <p>(25) Let my own Tashmetu come with me to the garden! Refrain.</p> <p>Among the counsellors, her throne is foremost! Refrain.²</p> <p>(At this point there is a lacuna of three lines after which the text continues on the edge of the tablet.)</p> <p>(30) May her eyes behold the plucking of my fruit! [Refrain.]</p> <p>May her ears listen to the twittering of my birds! [Refrain].</p> <p>May her eyes behold, her ears listen! [Refrain.]</p> |
|--|---|

¹ The imagery here is of a type well known in both Sumerian and Babylonian poetry. The subject and what it is to be compared with are simply juxtaposed in a nominal sentence, rather than being construed in the manner of a simile.

² The point is that she is not accompanied by her ladies in waiting; cf. line 19, which draws attention to the fact that this is not a day for temple business.

(A colophon concludes the tablet, but does not give any information apart from the name of the scribe, Budilu, and his	title LÜ.A.BA.)
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REFERENCES

Matsushima 1987:143-149; Livingstone 1989:35-37; Foster *BM* 2:902-904.

B. ROYAL FOCUS

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1. EPIC

THE ADAPA STORY (1.129)

Benjamin R. Foster

In Mesopotamian tradition, Adapa was the first of the semi-divine sages (*apkallu*) who served as counselors (*ummānu*) to the ante-diluvian kings, bringing the arts of civilization to humanity. In a late formulation of this tradition, each of these kings had his own counselor, and Adapa served Alulim, the first king. He was identified as Oannes in the Greek version of the tradition as preserved by Josephus in the name of Berossos. In addition, Adapa was the protagonist of a myth known from a tablet found at El Amarna in Egypt and dating to the 14th century BCE, as well as from first millennium exemplars found in the royal libraries of Nineveh. This myth provides an aetiology of death and thus a parallel to the story of Adam in the Bible. [WWH]

Anu's messenger reached him,
 "Adapa, who fractured the wing of the south
 wind,
 Send him to me!"
 (45) He brought him along the [ro]ad to heaven,
 He went up to heaven.
 When he went up to heaven,
 And drew near Anu's door,
 Tammuz and Gizzida were standing at Anu's door.¹
 (50) When they saw Adapa, they cried, "(Heaven)
 help (us)!
 "Fellow, for whom are you like this?
 Adapa, why are you dressed in mourning?"
 "Two gods have disappeared from the land,
 So I am dressed in mourning."
 (55) "Who are the two gods who have disappeared
 from the land?"
 "Tammuz and Gizzida."
 They looked at each other and laughed and laugh-
 ed.
 When Adapa made his approach to Anu the king,
 Anu saw him and cried,
 (60) "Come now, Adapa, why did you fracture the
 wing of the south wind?"
 Adapa answered Anu,
 "My Lord, I was fishing in the depths of the sea,
 For my master's temple."²

a Gen 2:16

The sea was like a mirror,
 (65) Then the south wind blew upon me and capsized
 me.
 I spent the rest of the day in the home of the fish.
 In my fury, I cursed the [win]d."
 There spoke up for [him Tammuz] and Gizzida,
 Saying a favorable word about him to Anu.
 (70) His heart grew calm, he became quiet.
 "Why did Ea disclose what pertains to heaven and
 earth
 To an uncouth mortal,
 And give him a violent temper?
 Since he has so treated him,
 (75) What, for our part, shall we do for him?
 Bring him food of life, let him eat."³ a
 They brought him food of life, he did not eat.
 They brought him waters of life, he did not drink.
 They brought him a garment, he put it on.
 (80) They brought him oil, he anointed himself.
 Anu stared and burst out laughing at him,
 "Come now, Adapa, why did you not eat or drink?
 Won't you live? Are not people to be im[mor]tal?"
 Ea my lord told me,
 'You must not eat, you must not drink.'³
 (85) "Let them take him and [ret]urn him to his
 earth."

¹ Tammuz (Sum. Durnuzi) and (Nin-)gizzida (lit., "lord of the right-hand tree") here serve as doorkeepers of heaven. There are indications that deceased kings ascended to heaven to serve as stand-ins for these divine doorkeepers for seven days; see below, text 1.132 and n. 3.

² His master is Ea (Sum. Enki), on whose advice he refuses the proffered food and water, thus forfeiting once and for all the chance to make humanity immortal.

³ Like the divine command to Adam to eat from all the trees of the garden of Eden including, implicitly, the tree of (eternal) life (Gen 2:16), the offer of the food of life (and the waters of life) to Adapa implied an offer of eternal life. See Buccellati 1973; differently Michalowski 1980.

REFERENCES

Text: BRM 4:3 and duplicates. Translations and studies: Picchioni 1981; Dalley 1989:182-188; Foster *BM* 1:429-434; *FDD* 97-101.

ATRA-HASIS (1.130)

Benjamin R. Foster

The "primeval history" of humanity, which occupies the first eleven chapters of Genesis, also exercised the Mesopotamian imagination. In Akkadian, the Epic of Atra-hasis constitutes its earliest and most systematic formulation. This epic explains the creation of man as intended to relieve the (lesser) deities of their toil, and the attempted destruction of humanity as divine response to the noise of the expanding human population which threatened the very rest that their creation had sought to provide for the gods. This destruction, decreed by Enlil, took several successive forms, culminating in the Deluge but, as in other flood-stories, its purpose was frustrated by the survival of the flood-hero, here called Atra-hasis ("exceeding wise"), through the intervention of Ea, the divine friend of humanity. The problem of over-population is resolved by other means in a concluding aetiology. The composition is nearly complete in a Late Old Babylonian recension in three tablets (chapters), and is known as well in various fragmentary later recensions. [WWH]

(1) When gods were man,¹
They did forced labor, they bore drudgery.
Great indeed was the drudgery of the gods,
The forced labor was heavy, the misery too much:
(5) The seven(?) great Anunna-gods were burden-
ing

The Igigi-gods with forced labor.

...

[The gods] were digging watercourses,
[Canals they opened, the] life of the land.
[The Igigi-gods] were digging watercourses,
[Canals they opened, the] life of the land.
(25) [The Igigi-gods dug the Ti]gris river,
[And the Euphrates there]after.
[Springs they opened up from] the depths,
[Wells ...] they established.²

...

[They heaped up] all the mountains.
[]

[] years] of drudgery,
(35) [] the vast marsh.

They [cou]nted years of drudgery,
[] and] forty years, too much!
[] forced labor they bore night and day.

[They were com]plaining, denouncing,
(40) [Mut]tering down in the ditch:

"Let us face up to our [foreman] the prefect,
He must take off (this) our [he]avy burden upon us!
[], counsellor of the gods, the warrior,
Come, let us remove (him) from his dwelling;
(45) Enlil, counsellor of the gods, the warrior,
Come, let us remove (him) from his dwelling!"

...

"Now then, call for battle!
Battle let us join, warfare!"

The gods heard his words:

They set fire to their tools,

(65) They put fire to their spaces,
And flame to their workbaskets.²

Off they went, one and all,

^a Gen 4:5f.

To the gate of the warrior Enlil's abode.

[]

(70) It was night, half-way through the watch,
The house was surrounded, but the god did not
know.

It was night, half-way through the watch,
Ekur³ was surrounded, but Enlil did not know!

(The gods awake, convene and send a messenger to the rebels.)

[Nusku opened] his gate,
[Took his weapons] and w[ent] ... Enlil.

[In the assembly of a]ll the gods,
(135) [He knelt, s]tood up, expounded the c[om-
m]and,

"Anu, your father,
[Your counsellor, the] warrior Enlil,
[Your prefect], Ninurta,
And [your bailiff] Ennugi [have sent me (to say)]:

(140) 'Who is [instigator of] battle?
Who is [instigator of] hostilities?

Who [declared] war,
[(That) battle has run up to the gate of Enlil]?
In []

(145) He trans[gressed the command of] Enlil.'
"Every [one of us gods has declared] war;

...

We have set [] in the e[xcavation].
[Excessive] drudgery [has killed us],

(150) [Our] forced labor was heavy, [the misery too
much]!

Now, every [one of us gods]
Has resolved on [a reckoning(?)] with Enlil."

...

(When the gods learn the reason, they decide to create man to
relieve them from labor.)

(a) Ea made ready to speak,
And said to the gods [his brothers]:
"What calumny do we lay to their charge?
Their forced labor was heavy, [their misery too

¹ The opening line of the epic has sparked a lengthy debate as to its each meaning; see Lambert 1969a.

² In effect, the first work stoppage in world history, or at least in world literature; see Komoróczy 1976.

³ Enlil's temple in Nippur; later, any temple.

much]!

(e) Every day []
The outcry [was loud, we could hear the clamor].
There is []
[Belet-ili, the midwife], is present.
Let her create, then, a hum[an, a man],
(j) Let him bear the yoke [],
Let him bear the yoke []!
[Let man assume the drudgery of god ..."
"[Belet-ili, the midwife], is present,
(190) Let the midwife create a human being,
Let man assume the drudgery of god."
They summoned and asked the goddess,
The midwife of the gods, wise Mami:
"Will you be the birth goddess, creatress of man-kind?
(195) Create a human being that he bear the yoke,
Let him bear the yoke, the task of Enlil,
Let man assume the drudgery of god."
Nintu⁴ made ready to speak,
And said to the great gods:
(200) "It is not for me to do it,
The task is Enki's.
He it is that cleanses all,
Let him provide me the clay so I can do the making."
Enki made ready to speak,
(205) And said to the great gods:
"On the first, seventh, and fifteenth days of the month,⁵ b
Let me establish a purification, a bath.
Let one god be slaughtered,
Then let the gods be cleansed by immersion.
(210) Let Nintu mix clay with his flesh and blood.
Let that same god and man be thoroughly mixed in the clay.
Let us hear the drum for the rest of time,
(215) From the flesh of the god let a spirit remain,
Let it make the living know its sign,
Lest he be allowed to be forgotten, let the spirit remain."
The great Anunna-gods, who administer destinies,
(220) Answered "yes!" in the assembly.
On the first, seventh, and fifteenth days of the month,
He established a purification, a bath.
They slaughtered Aw-ilu, who had the inspiration,
in their assembly.
(225) Nintu mixed clay with his flesh and blood.
<That same god and man were thoroughly mixed in the clay.>

b 2 Kgs 4:23;
Isa 1:13;
66:23

For the rest [of time they would hear the drum],
From the flesh of the god [the] apt[rit remained].
It would make the living know its sign,
(230) Lest he be allowed to be forgotten, [the] spirit remained.
After she had mixed that clay,
She summoned the Anunna, the great gods.
The Igigi, the great gods, spat upon the clay.
(235) Mami made ready to speak,
And said to the great gods:
"You ordered me the task and I have completed (it)!"
You have slaughtered the god, along with his inspiration.
(240) I have done away with your heavy forced labor,
I have imposed your drudgery on man.
You have bestowed(?) clamor upon mankind.
I have released the yoke, I have [made] restoration."
They heard this speech of hers,
(245) They ran, free of care, and kissed her feet, (saying):
"Formerly [we used to call] you Mami,
Now let your n[am]e be "Mistress-of-All-the Gods (Belet-kala-ili)"
[The population increases until their noise disturbs the gods. They try to reduce humanity with disease and starvation, but Enki saves the human race through advising a wise man, Atrahasis, what to do. The gods resolve on a flood to wipe out all humans. Enki warns Atrahasis in a dream.]
(35) E[nlil] committed an evil deed against the peoples.
Atrahasis made ready to speak,
And said to his lord:
"Make me know the meaning [of the dream],
[] let me know, that I may look out for its consequence."
(15) [Enki] made ready to speak,
And said to his servant:
"You might say, 'Am I to be looking out while in the bedroom?'
Do you pay attention to message that I speak for you:
(20) 'Wall, listen to me!
Reed wall, pay attention to all my words!
Flee the house, build a boat,
Forsake possessions, and save life.'⁶
(25) The boat which you build,
[] be equal []

⁴ Nin-tu, whose very name means "lady who gives birth," is the mother-goddess par excellence. Belit-ili, "the mistress of the gods," Mami, "the mother?" and Aruru are other manifestations of the same goddess.

⁵ I.e., the new moon, the first quarter, and the full moon, the principal lunar festivals of Old Babylonian times. The last was called *šapattu* in Akk., and it is possible that the original meaning of Heb. *šabbat* was the same; see Hallo 1977 and Epic of Creation (above, text 1.111) V 14-18 and n. 10.

⁶ For the play on words involved, see Gilgamesh Epic XI (below, text 1.132) 24-26 and n. 2.

[gap]

Roof her over like the depth,
 (30) So that the sun shall not see inside her,
 Let her be roofed over fore and aft.
 The gear should be very strong,
 The pitch should be firm, and so give (the boat)
 strength.

I will shower down upon you later
 (35) A windfall of birds, a spate(?) of fishes.⁷
 He opened the water clock⁷ and filled it,
 He told it of the coming of the seven-day deluge.⁸

Atrahasis received the command,
 He assembled the elders at his gate.

(40) Atrahasis made ready to speak,
 And said to the elders:

"My god [does not agree] with your god,
 Enki and [Enlil] are constantly angry with each
 other.

They have expelled me from [the land(?)].

(45) Since I have always revered [Enki],
 [He told me] this.

I can[not] live in []

Nor can I [set my feet on] the earth of Enlil.

[I will dwell(?)] with <my> god in(?) the
 depths."

(50) "[This] he told me [] ..."

[gap of four or five lines]

(ii)

[gap]

(ii 10) The elders []

The carpenter [carried his axe],

The reed-worker [carried his stone].

[The rich man? carried] the pitch,

The poor man [brought the materials needed].

[gap]

Atrahasis []

[gap]

Bringing []

(ii 30) Whatever he [had]

Whatever he had []

Pure (animals) he sl[ughtered, cattle] ...

Fat (animals) [he killed, sheep(?)] ...

He chose t[and brought on] board.

(ii 35) The [birds] flying in the heavens,

The cattle(?) [and of the cat]tle god,

The [creatures(?)] of the steppe,

[] he brought on board

[] ...

(ii 40) [] he invited his people

c Gen 7:4,
 10

[] to a feast.

[] his family he brought on board.

While one was eating and another was drinking,
 (ii 45) He went in and out; he could not sit, could
 not kneel,

For his heart was broken, he was retching gall.

The outlook of the weather changed,

Adad began to roar in the clouds.

(ii 50) The god they heard, his clamor.

He brought pitch to seal his door.

By the time he had bolted his door,

Adad was roaring in the clouds.

The winds were furious as he set forth,

(ii 55) He cut the mooring rope and released the
 boat.

[four lines lost]

(iii 5) [] the storm

[] were yoked

[Anzu rent] the sky with his talons,

[He] the land

(iii 10) And broke its clamor [like a pot].

[] the flood [came forth],

Its power came upon the peoples [like a battle].

One person did [not] see another,

They could [not] recognize each other in the
 catastrophe.

(iii 15) [The deluge] bellowed like a bull,

The wind [resound]ed like a screaming eagle.

The darkness [was dense], the sun was gone,

[] ... like flies⁸

(iii 20) [] the clamor(?) of the deluge

[The gods regret their hasty action when they find themselves
 hungry and thirsty. When they find that Atrahasis has survived,
 they agree to a proposal that certain classes of humanity not
 reproduce.]

(iii 45) [Enki] made ready to speak,

And [said to] Nintu the birth goddess:

"[You], birth goddess, creatress of destinies,

[Establish death] for all peoples!

...

(1) "Now then, let there be a third (woman) among
 the people,

Among the people are the woman who has borne
 and the woman who has not borne.

Let there be (also) among the people the (she) —
 demon,

(5) Let her snatch the baby from the lap of her who
 bore it,

Establish high priestesses and priestesses,⁹

Let them be taboo, and so cut down childbirth.

⁷ For the water clock in Mesopotamia, see Neugebauer 1947.

⁸ For the role of the flies in the aftermath of the Deluge, cf. Gilgamesh Epic XI (below, text 1.132) 161-163 and n. 6.

⁹ The high priestess and certain other classes of priestesses were forbidden to have children (except perhaps by the king). See below, 1.133 and note 2.

REFERENCES

Text: Lambert and Millard 1969. Translations and studies: Dalley 1989:1-38; Foster *BM* 1:160-185; *FDD* 52-77.

ETANA (1.131)

Stephanie Dalley

The story centers on a king of Kish who is attested in the Sumerian king list as a quasi-historical character. Presumably the legend had its origin in Kish, although the patron deities of Kish, Zababa and Ishtar, play no part, for the sun-god Shamash alone is involved. The length and ending of the story are still disputed; if it was a three-tablet composition in its "Standard" form, it should consist of about 450 lines in all.

Tablets of the Old Babylonian version come from Susa in Elam and from Tell Harmal; a Middle Assyrian version comes from Assur, and the "Standard" version from Nineveh, to which may be added unprovenanced tablets in museum collections. But the story is certainly much older, for Lu-Nanna, the demi-sage of Shulgi, king of Ur (21st century), is credited as the author, and the ascent of Etana on an eagle's back is shown on cylinder seals of the Akkadian period (ca. 23rd century). The late version omits some episodes which are quite crucial to the understanding of the story although in other ways the versions seem close, with mainly rephrasing of individual lines or passages.

The bare motif, of a man's ascent to heaven on an eagle's back, is also found in the Greek myth of Ganymede; it was incorporated into the Alexander Romance, and is also found in Iranian stories and Islamic legends. The motif of a tree inhabited by a snake and a bird also occurs in the Sumerian text *Gilgamesh and the Halub Tree*, (see Dalley 1989:134, n. 147).

Etana is the only Mesopotamian tale to have been identified unequivocally on ancient cylinder seals (see Baudot 1982).

The different versions were almost certainly divided into tablets at different points in the text. SBV is followed here.

(SBV) (Tablet I)

[The great gods, the Igigi] designed a city,
[The Igigi] laid its foundation.
[The Anunnaki] designed the city of Kish,
[The Anunnaki] laid its foundation,
The Igigi made its brickwork firm
[].

"Let [] be their shepherd []
Let Etana be their builder (?) [] the staff of
[]."

The great Anunnaki who decree destinies
Sat and conferred their counsel on the land.

(10) They were creating the four quarters (of the
world) and establishing the form (of it).

The Igigi [] decreed names (?) for them
all.¹

They had not established a king over all the teeming
people.²

At that time the headband and crown had not been
put together,³

And the lapis lazuli sceptre had not been brandished
(?),⁴

At the same time (?) the throne-dais had not been
made.⁵

The Sebitti barred the gates against armies (?),
[The] barred them against (other) settled
peoples.

The Igigi would patrol the city [].⁶

(20) Ishtar [was looking for] a shepherd
And searching high and low for a king.

Inninna [was looking for] a shepherd
And searching high and low for a king.

Ellil was looking for a throne-dais for Etana.

"The young man for whom Ishtar [is looking so
diligently]

And searches endlessly [].

A king is hereby affirmed for the land, and in
Kish [it is established (?)]"

He brought kingship []

[]

The gods of the lands []⁷

(about 120 lines missing)

¹ OBV has "festival" for "names(?)."

² "Teeming," *apātu*, used to be translated "beclouded" owing to an incorrect etymology.

³ Early crowns consisted of two parts: a rigid conical or high oval cap, and a band encircling its edge.

⁴ Taking the verb as *šabāru* II, not *šapāru*. Alternatively, "The sceptre had not been inlaid with lapis lazuli."

⁵ This line is taken from OBV, since it connects with a subsequent line, eight lines later.

⁶ OBV adds: "Sceptre and crown, headband and staffs, Were set before Anum in heaven. There was no advice for its people, (Until) kingship came down from heaven."

(Tablet II)

He named him []-man []⁸
 He built a fort (?) []⁹
 In the shade of that throne-dais a poplar sprouted
 []

On its crown an eagle crouched, [and a serpent lay
 at its base].

Every day they would keep watch [for their
 prey (?)].

The eagle made its voice heard and said to the ser-
 pent,

"Come, let us be friends,

Let us be comrades, you and I."

(10) The serpent made its voice heard and spoke to
 the eagle,

"[You are not fit for] friendship [in the sight of
 Shamash!]

You are wicked and you have grieved his heart.

You have done unforgivable deeds, an abomina-
 tion to the gods.¹⁰

(But) come, let us stand up and [make a
 pledge (?)]"¹¹

In the presence of Shamash the warrior they swore
 an oath,

"Whoever oversteps the limit set by Shamash,

Shamash shall deliver into the hands of the
 Smiter for harm.¹²

Whoever oversteps the limit set by Shamash,

(20) May the mountain keep its pass far away
 from him,

May the prowling weapon make straight for him,

May the snares (on which) the oath to Shamash
 (is sworn) overturn him and ensnare him!"¹³

When they had sworn the oath on [the net of Sha-
 mash (?)],

They stood up (?) and went up the mountain.¹⁴

Each day they kept watch [for their prey (?).]

The eagle would catch a wild bull or wild ass,

And the serpent would eat, (then) turn away so that
 its young could eat.

(30) The serpent would catch mountain goats or
 gazelles,¹⁵

And the eagle would eat, (then) turn away so that
 its young could eat.

The eagle would catch wild boar and wild sheep.

And the serpent would eat, (then) turn away so that

its young could eat.

The serpent would catch cattle from the plains and
 wild beasts from the countryside,

And the eagle would eat, (then) turn away so that
 its young could eat.

The young of the serpent [had an abundance] of
 food.

The eagle's young grew large and flourished.

When the eagle's young had grown large and
 flourished,

The eagle plotted evil in its heart,

And in its heart it plotted evil,

And made up its mind to eat its friend's young
 ones.

(40) The eagle made its voice heard and spoke to its
 young,

"I am going to eat the serpent's young ones,

The serpent [is sure to be an]gry

So I shall go up and abide in the sky.

I shall come down from the tree top only to eat
 the fruit!"

A small fledgling, especially wise, addressed its
 words to the eagle, its father,

"Father, don't eat! The net of Shamash will en-
 snare you.

The snares (on which) the oath of Shamash (is
 sworn) will overturn you and ensnare you.

(Remember:) Whoever oversteps the limit set by
 Shamash,

Shamash shall deliver into the hands of the
 Smiter for harm."

(50) It would not listen to them, and would not
 listen to the word of its sons.

It went down and ate the serpent's young.

In the evening at the close of day,

The serpent came and was carrying its load,

Laid the meat down at the entrance to its nest,

Stared, for its nest was not there.

Morning came (?), but [the eagle] did not [appear]

For with its talons it had [clawed at] the ground,

And its dust cloud [covered] the heavens on high.

The serpent lay down and wept,

(60) Its tears flowed before Shamash.

"I trusted in you, Shamash the warrior.

And I was helpful (?) to the eagle who lives on
 the branches.¹⁶

⁷ In the following gap, Kinnier Wilson inserted a fragment that may better be placed in Tablet III. It is too fragmentary for translation here.

⁸ Perhaps "They" instead of "He."

⁹ "Throne-dais" may be used here to mean a whole shrine.

¹⁰ "You have done ... an abomination": lit., "You ate *asakku*-food." When pacts were made, ritual food was eaten which would "turn against" the one who broke the pact.

¹¹ Oaths were sworn while touching an appurtenance or symbol of a deity, which then could act as a weapon enforcing retribution upon a perjurer. The net thus may be referred to as a "prowling weapon" six lines later.

¹² Or, "hunter" rather than "smiter."

¹³ MAV adds: "May Shamash lift his head for the slaughterer, May Shamash deliver the evil one into the hands of the smiter, May he station an evil *gallu*-demon over him."

¹⁴ OBV inserts a perfunctory line: "All conceived, all gave birth," which MAV elaborates to: "In the crown of the tree the Eagle gave birth, And at the base of the poplar the serpent gave birth. In the shade of that poplar The Eagle and the Serpent became friends, They swore an oath together, they were partners, They confided their worries to each other."

¹⁵ OBV has: "The serpent would catch a leopard (or) a tiger."

¹⁶ Reading: *ana erī tumant anāku ašrum* (SMD).

Now the serpent's nest [is grief-stricken].¹⁷
 My own nest is not there, while its nest is safe.
 My young ones are scattered and its young ones
 are safe.
 It came down and ate my young ones!
 You know the wrong which it has done me, Shamash!
 Truly, O Shamash, your net is as wide as earth,
 Your snare is as broad as the sky!
 (70) The eagle should not escape from your net,
 As criminal as Anzu, who wronged his comrade."¹⁸
 [When he heard] the serpent's plea,
 Shamash made his voice heard and spoke to the serpent,
 "Go along the path, cross the mountain
 Where a wild bull [] has been bound for you."¹⁹
 Open up its innards, slit open its stomach,
 Make a place to sit inside its stomach.
 All kinds of birds will come down from the sky
 and eat the flesh.
 The eagle too [will come down] with them.
 (80) [Since] it will not be aware of danger to itself,
 It will search out the tenderest morsels, will
 comb the area (?),
 Penetrate to the lining of the innards.
 When it enters the innards, you must seize it by
 the wing,
 Cut its wings, feather and pinion,
 Pluck it and throw it into a bottomless pit,
 Let it die there of hunger and thirst!"
 At the command of the warrior Shamash,
 The serpent went, it crossed the mountain.
 The serpent came upon the wild bull,
 (90) And opened up its innards and slit open its stomach,
 And made a place to sit inside its stomach.
 All kinds of birds came down from the sky and
 began to eat the flesh.
 But the eagle was aware of the danger to itself
 And would not eat the flesh with the other birds.
 The eagle made its voice heard and spoke to its son,
 "Come, let us go down and let us eat the flesh
 of this wild bull!"
 But the young fledgling was exceptionally wise,
 and said to the eagle its father,
 "Don't go down, father; perhaps the serpent is
 lying in wait inside this wild bull!"

The eagle reasoned thus to itself:
 (100) "If the birds felt any fear,
 How would they be eating the flesh so peacefully?"
 It did not pay heed to them, did not listen to the words of its sons,
 Came down and stood upon the wild bull.
 The eagle inspected the flesh,
 But kept scanning ahead of it and behind it.
 It inspected the flesh again,
 But kept scanning ahead of it and behind it.
 It kept going further in (?) until it penetrated to the lining of the innards.
 As it went right in, the serpent seized it by the wing.
 (110) "You robbed (?) my nest, you robbed my nest!"²⁰
 The eagle made its voice heard and began to speak to the serpent,
 "Spare me, and I shall give you, as one betrothed, a *nudunnû*-payment."²¹
 The serpent made its voice heard and spoke to the eagle,
 "If I were to free you, how would I answer Shamash the Most High?
 The punishment due to you would revert to me,
 The punishment that I now inflict on you!"
 It cut its wings, pinion and feather,
 Plucked it and threw it into a pit,
 To die of hunger and thirst.
 (120) [The eagle]
 Every day it prayed repeatedly to Shamash,
 "Am I to die in the pit?
 Who realizes that it is your punishment I bear?
 Save my life for me, the eagle,
 So that I may broadcast your fame for eternity!"
 Shamash made his voice heard and spoke to the eagle,
 "You are wicked, and you have grieved my heart.
 You did an unforgivable deed, an abomination to the gods.
 You were under oath, and I shall not go near you!
 (130) But a man, whom I am sending to you, is coming — let him help you."
 Every day, Etana prayed repeatedly to Shamash,
 "O Shamash, you have enjoyed the best cuts of my sheep,
 Earth has drunk the blood of my lambs,
 I have honored the gods and respected the spirits

¹⁷ Restored from OBV.

¹⁸ As it stands in SBV, this line alludes to Anzu's betrayal of Ellil while acting as his trusted doorkeeper. However, MAV has the similar-sounding word *anzillu*, "abomination," at the same point, so the allusion to Anzu may derive from a corrupt text. Cf. also Erra and Ishum, note 39 Text 1.113 above.

¹⁹ Or, "Where [Shakkan] has bound a wild bull for you" or: "Where [I, Shamash,] have bound a wild bull for you."

²⁰ Very uncertain; von Soden reads as: "you entered and changed my nest"; Kinnier Wilson "You entered upon my nestlings." Edzard 1986:137 suggests a serpentine tongue-twister.

²¹ The word implies payment to a bride before marriage which ensured her livelihood after her husband's death.

of the dead.

The dream-interpreters have made full use of my incense.

The gods have made full use of my lambs at the slaughter.

O Lord, let the word go forth from your mouth
And give me the plant of birth,

Show me the plant of birth,

(140) Remove my shame and provide me with a son!"²²

Shamash made his voice heard and spoke to Etana,

"Go along the road, cross the mountain,

Find a pit and look carefully at what is inside it.

An eagle is abandoned down there.

It will show you the plant of birth."

At the command of Shamash the warrior,

Etana went, crossed the mountain,

Found the pit and looked at what was inside it.

An eagle was abandoned down there.

(150) The eagle raised itself up at once.

(Tablet III)

(LV) The eagle made its voice heard and spoke to Shamash,²³

"O Lord, []

The offspring (?) of a bird []

I am []

Whatever he says []

Whatever I say, []."

At the command of Shamash, []

The offspring (?) of the bird [].

The eagle made its voice heard and spoke to Etana,

"Why have you come to me? Tell me!"

Etana made his voice heard and spoke to the eagle,

"O my friend, give me the plant of birth,

Show me the plant of birth!

Remove my shame and provide me with a son!

Leave [...]

When you get out (?) [...]

Then the eagle said [to Etana (?)],

"All alone I shall [search the mountains (?)]."²⁴

Let me bring [the plant of birth (?)] to you."

(MAV) When Etana heard this,²⁵

He covered the front of the pit with juniper,

Made for it and threw down [...]

And kept [...]

Thus he kept (?) the eagle alive in the pit.

He began to teach it to fly again.

For one [month], then a second [month]

He kept (?) the eagle alive in the pit

And began to teach it to fly again.

For a third [month], then a fourth mo[nth]

He kept (?) the eagle alive in the pit

And began to teach it to fly again.

(OBV) [Etana] helped it for seven months.

In the eighth month he helped it out of its pit.²⁶

The eagle, now well fed, was as strong as a fierce lion.

The eagle made its voice heard and spoke to Etana,

"My friend, we really are friends, you and I!

Tell me what you wish from me, that I may give it to you."

Etana made his voice heard and spoke to the eagle,

"Change my destiny (?) and disclose what is concealed!"

(Gap of about 6 lines?)

(SBV) Etana (?) went and [helped the eagle out (?)].²⁷

The eagle hunted around [in the mountains (?)]

But [the plant of birth] was not [to be found there].

"Come, my friend, let me carry you up [to the sky],

[Let us meet] with Ishtar, the mistress [of birth].

Beside Ishtar the mistress [of birth let us].

Put your arms over my sides,

Put your hands over the quills of my wings."

He put his arms over its sides,

Put his hands over the quills of its wings.

[The eagle] took him upwards for a mile.

"My friend, look at the country! How does it seem ?"

"The affairs of the country buzz (?) [like flies (?)]"²⁸

And the wide sea is no bigger than a sheepfold!"

[The eagle took him] up a second mile,

"My friend, look at the country! How does it seem ?"

"The country has turned into a garden [...],

And the wide sea is no bigger than a bucket!"

It took him up a third mile.

"My friend, look at the country! How does it seem ?"

"I am looking for the country, but I can't see it! And my eyes cannot even pick out the wide sea!

My friend, I cannot go any further towards heaven.

²² Reading *piltu* (from *pištu*) rather than *biltu*, "load, burden," which is the traditional translation, but inappropriate (SMD).

²³ Kinnier Wilson's IV c (p. 112) is taken here as a better-preserved variant of III A (p. 104) in his edition. His fragment III/B on p. 106 may not belong to this myth. I am indebted to Dr. Jeremy Hughes for the observation that Kinnier Wilson and others had assigned obverse and reverse to his Text M (plates 24-25) incorrectly (collated).

²⁴ Restorations are based on line endings preserved in III A, p. 104 of Kinnier Wilson's edition.

²⁵ The translation differs from that of Kinnier Wilson here, rejecting the restoration of a ladder with rungs, and taking the phrase *šabābu + kappu* in its attested sense of "to teach to fly."

²⁶ Taking the verb as *šadu*.

²⁷ Kinnier Wilson would place this episode in a hypothetical fourth table (see his IV/A on p. 108). The present reconstruction supposes that line 8 of OBV in Kinnier Wilson p. 40 is a version of line 13 of SBV on p. 114, but this is far from certain.

²⁸ Reading *ihambuba* instead of *ihammuš*.

Retrace the way, and let me go back to my city!"
 The eagle shrugged him off for one mile,
 Then dropped down and retrieved him on its wings.
 The eagle shrugged him off for a second mile,
 Then dropped down and retrieved him on its wings.
 The eagle shrugged him off for a third mile,
 Then dropped down and retrieved him on its wings.
 A metre from the ground, the eagle shrugged him off,
 Then dropped down and retrieved him on its wings.
 (Gap of uncertain length)

(They go back to Kish. Etana has a series of three (?) dreams which encourage him to make a second attempt to reach heaven.)

Etana said to the eagle,
 "[My friend, I saw a first (?) dream.]
 The city of Kish was sobbing [...]
 Within it [the people were in mourning (?)]
 I sang [a song of lamentation (?)].
 'O Kish, giver of life!
 Etana [cannot give you an heir (?)]
 O Kish, giver of life,
 [...]
 Etana [cannot give you an heir (?)] ..."
 (Gap of uncertain length)

His wife said to Etana,²⁹
 "[The god] showed me a dream.
 Like Etana my husband [I have had a dream (?)],
 Like you [the god has shown me a dream (?)].
 Etana was king [of Kish for x years (?)]
 And his ghost []
 (Gap of uncertain length)

(Tablet IV)

Etana opened his mouth and spoke to the eagle,
 "My friend, that god showed me [another dream (?)].³⁰
 We were going through the entrance of the gate of Anu, Ellil, and Ea.
 We bowed down together, you and I.
 We were going through the entrance of the gate of Sin, Shamash, Adad, and Ishtar,
 We bowed down together, you and I.

I saw a house with a window that was not sealed.
 I pushed it open and went inside.
 Sitting in there was a girl
 (10) Adorned with a crown, fair of face.
 A throne was set in place, and [...]
 Beneath the throne crouched snarling lions.
 I came up and the lions sprang at me.
 I woke up terrified."
 The eagle said to Etana,
 "My friend, [the significance of the dreams] is quite clear!
 Come, let me carry you up to the heaven of Anu.
 Put your chest over my breast,
 Put your hands over the quills of my wings.
 (20) Put your arms over my sides."
 He put his chest over its breast,
 Put his hands over its feathers,
 Put his arms over its sides.
 The eagle tied its load on securely,
 Took him up a mile
 And spoke to him, to Etana,
 "See, my friend, how the country seems!
 Inspect the sea, look carefully for its features!
 The country is only the edge (?) of (?) a mountain!
 (30) And whatever has become of the sea?"³¹
 The eagle took him up a second mile
 And spoke to Etana,
 "See, my friend, how the country seems!
 Whatever [has become of (?)] the country?"
 The eagle took him up a third mile
 And spoke to Etana,
 "See, my friend, how the country seems!
 The sea has turned into a gardener's ditch!"
 When they came up to the heaven of Anu,
 They went through the gate of Anu, Ellil, and Ea.
 (40) The eagle and Etana bowed down together.
 They went through the gate of Sin, Shamash, Adad, and Ishtar.³²
 The eagle and Etana bowed down together.
 [...]
 He pushed it open [and went inside].
 (The rest of the text is missing)
 (According to the Sumerian King List, Etana was succeeded by his son Balih.)

²⁹ This fragment, given by Kinnier Wilson, p. 125 as LV, V, may come as the second in the preceding sequence of three dreams. Both in Etana and in Gilgamesh the reconstructions given here allow for a sequence of threes for confirmation. The dream may have indicated that Etana would have a son to carry out his funerary rites.

³⁰ For the phrase *ana mimme tudru* see AHw, s.v. *mimmu* B₂ (SMD).

³¹ The text has "ditto" at the repetitions.

³² The text has "ditto" at the repetitions.

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GILGAMESH (1.132)

Benjamin R. Foster

The Gilgamesh Epic is deservedly the most famous literary relic of ancient Mesopotamia. Its evolution can be traced from episodic Sumerian beginnings ("The Tale of Ziusudra") through successive Akkadian translations and adaptations to a final canonical version in twelve tablets (chapters) (see Tigay 1982), and serves as an empirical model for testing hypotheses about the evolution of the Biblical canon (Tigay 1985). Its recovery began early and helped spark interest in the further exploration of Assyria and, later, of Babylonia; the recovery is still not complete, and new discoveries continue to complete our knowledge of the text in its successive recensions. The overall theme of the integrated epic is the (doomed) quest for eternal life and the "consolation-prize" of enduring fame which, in the case of Gilgamesh, has actually been achieved. Of the many translations into English, those of Speiser in *ANET* (1956), Gallery Kovacs (1989) and Dalley (1989) can be singled out for accuracy, that of Gardner and Maier (1984) for its poetry. Note also two important new translations into French by Bottéro (1992) and Tournay and Shaffer (1994) respectively.

Of the many Biblical parallels featured in the Epic, none are more numerous or more familiar than those of Tablet XI with its version of the Mesopotamian story of the Deluge. It is the most elaborate version of a story that had been told in briefer compass already in other contexts, both Sumerian and Akkadian. Here it is put into the mouth of the Flood-hero himself, known in different versions by different names but here as Utnapishtim, (Uta-napishtam, "I have/he has found life"). At one stage of its evolution, Tablet XI was the last tablet of the epic, and concluded with the return of Gilgamesh to Uruk (omitted here). Subsequently a twelfth tablet was added by straight translation from a Sumerian prototype; it included a vision of the netherworld over which Gilgamesh presided as a deity. [WWH]

Gilgamesh said to him, to Utnapishtim the far-off,
 "As I look upon you, Utnapishtim,
 Your limbs are not strange, you are just as I am,
 You are not strange at all, you are just as I am!
 I imagined you ready for battle,
 Yet my arm [] and you lie on your back.
 [Tell me], how did you join the ranks of the gods
 when you sought life?"
 Utnapishtim said to him, to Gilgamesh,
 "Let me reveal to you, O Gilgamesh, a hidden
 matter,
 And a secret of the gods let me tell you.
 Shuruppak, a city you know of,
 [And which on] Euphrates [bank] is situate,
 That city was ancient and the gods were within it.
 The great gods resolved to send the deluge.¹
 They [sw]ore their father Anu,
 Their counsellor the warrior Enlil,
 Their throne-bearer Ninurta,
 Their canal-officer Ennugi,
 The leader Ea was under oath with them.
 He repeated their plans to the reed hut,
 'Reed hut, reed hut, wall, wall!
 Listen reed hut, be mindful, wall!
 Man of Shuruppak, son of Ubartutu,
 Destroy this house, build a ship,
 Forsake possessions, seek life,
 Build an ark and save life.²
 Take aboard ship seed of all living things.

The ship which you shall build,
 Let her dimensions be measured off.
 Let her width and length be equal,
 Roof her over like a hidden depth.
 I understood full well, I said to Ea my lord,
 '[Your command], my lord, which you spoke just
 so,
 I shall faithfully execute.
 What shall I answer to the city, the multitude, and
 the elders?'
 Ea made ready to speak,
 Saying to me, his servant,
 "Young man, do you speak to them thus,
 'It seems that Enlil dislikes me,
 I cannot dwell in your city,
 I may not set my foot on the dry land of Enlil,
 I shall go down to the depths and dwell with my
 lord Ea.
 [Upon] you shall he shower down in abundance,
 [] of birds, a surprise of fishes,
 [], harvest riches,
 [In the morning] spate of cakes,
 [In the evening] rain of grain.
 [With the fir]st glimmer of dawn in the land,
 The land was assembling [around me].
 The carpenter carried his ax[e],
 The [reedcutter] carried his kn[ife],
 [] the workmen [],
 The houses [made rope],

¹ Akk. *abūbu*. But in Sum., the word for flood is *amaru* (*amatu*, *marru*) and a near homonym with the native name for the Amorites who overran the lower valley of Tigris and Euphrates early in the third millennium, probably by descending the river courses "like a flood." It can therefore be suggested that, for the Sumerians, the "flood" was a metaphor for the Amorite incursions while the Akkadians and Akkadian-speaking Amorites who succeeded them in the rule of Mesopotamia "resolved" the metaphor by treating it literally; see Hallo 1990:194-197.

² There is a double-entendre in the original, for the words for "ship" and "possessions" are virtual homonyms in Akk.; for the corresponding passage in Atra-hasis, see above, Text 1.130 I 23-25 and note 6; for both see Hoffner 1976. For the alleged Janus parallelism of the passage (i.e. looking both forwards and backwards) see Noegel 1991.

The wealthy carried the pitch,
 The poor brought ... what was needful.
 On the fifth day I laid her framework,
 One full acre was her floorspace,
 Ten dozen cubits each was the height of her walls,
 Ten dozen cubits each were the edges around her.
 I laid out her contours, I sketched out her lines,
 I decked her in six,
 I divided her in seven,
 Her interior I divided nine ways.
 I drove the waterplugs into her,
 I saw to the spars and laid in what was needful.
 Thrice 3600 measures of pitch I poured in the oven,
 Thrice 3600 measures of tar did [I pour out] inside her.
 Thrice 3600 measures of oil for the workers who carried the baskets,
 Aside from the 300 measures of oil that the caulking consumed,
 And twice 3600 measures of oil that the boatmen stored away.
 For the [builders] bullocks were slaughtered,
 And I killed sheep every day,
 Fine beer, [grape] wine, oil and date wine,
 [Did I give] the workers [to drink] like drinking water,
 They made a feast as on New Year's Day.
 [I opened(?) ointment, dispensed (it) with my own hand.
 On the seventh day(?) the ship was completed,^{3 a}
 [] were very difficult.
 They brought on gang planks(?), fore and aft,
 [They ca]me [up] her (side?) two thirds (of her height?).
 [Whatever I had] I loaded upon her:
 What silver I had I loaded upon her,
 What gold I had I loaded upon her,
 What living creatures I had I loaded upon her.
 I made go aboard all my family and kin,
 Beasts of the steppe, wild animals of the steppe,
 all skilled craftsmen I made go on board.
 Shamash set for me an appointed time:
 'In the morning when it spates in cakes,
 In the evening when it rains in grain,
 Go into your ship, batten the door!'
 That appointed time arrived,
 In the morning spates in cakes,
 In the evening rain in grain,
 I gazed upon the appearance of the storm,
 The storm was frightful to behold!
 I went into the ship and battened my door,
 To the caulker of the ship, to Puzur-Amurri, the boatman,

a Gen 7:4,
 10

b Gen 3:19

I gave (away my) palace, with all its possessions.
 At the first glimmer of dawn,
 A black cloud rose up from the horizon,
 Inside [the cloud] Adad was thundering.⁴
 While Shullat and Hanish went on before,
 Moving as a retinue over hill and plain,
 Erragal tore out the dike posts,
 Ninurta came and brought with him the dikes.
 The Anunna-gods held torches aloft,
 Setting the land ablaze with their glow.
 Adad's awesome power passed over the heavens,
 Whatever was light he turned into darkness.
 [He smote ...] the land, it shattered like a pot!
 For one day the storm wind [],
 Swiftly it blew, [the flood cam]e forth,
 It was passing over the people like a battle.
 No one could see his neighbor,
 Nor could the people see each other in the down-pour.
 The gods became frightened of the deluge,
 They shrank back and went up to Anu's highest heaven.
 The gods cowered like dogs, crouching outside,
 Ishtar screamed like a woman in childbirth,
 And sweet-voiced Belet-[ili] moaned aloud:
 'Would that day had turned to nought,
 When I spoke up for evil in the assembly of the gods!'
 'How could I have spoken up for evil in the assembly of the gods,
 'And spoken up for an assault to the death against my people?
 It was I myself who bore my people!
 (Now) like fish spawn they choke up the sea!'
 The Anunna-gods were weeping with her,
 The gods sat where they were(?), weeping.
 Their lips were parched(?), taking on a crust.
 Six days and [seven] nights
 The wind continued, the deluge and windstorm levelled the land.
 When the seventh day arrived, the windstorm and deluge left off their assault,
 Which they had launched, like a fight to the death.
 The sea grew calm, the tempest grew still, the deluge ceased.
 I looked at the weather, stillness reigned,
 And all of mankind had turned into clay.^b
 The landscape was flat as a terrace.
 I opened the hatch, daylight fell upon my face.
 Crumpling over, I sat down and wept,
 Tears running down my face.
 I beheld the edges of the world, bordering the sea,
 At twelve times sixty leagues a mountain rose up.
 The boat rested on Mount Nimush,

³ For the significance of the seven-day motif in the various versions of the Flood-story, see Hallo 1991a:178-181.

⁴ Adad represented the storm, while the other deities mentioned in the next five lines represented other natural phenomena.

Mount Nimush held the boat fast, not allowing it to move. ^{5 c}	c Gen 8:4	struction!'
One day, a second day Mount Nimush held the boat fast, not allowing it to move.	d Gen 8:6-12	Ninurta made ready to speak, and said to the warrior Enlil,
A third day, a fourth day Mount Nimush held the boat fast, not allowing it to move.	e Gen 8:21	'Who but Ea could devise such a thing?
A fifth day, a sixth day Mount Nimush held the boat fast, not allowing it to move.		For Ea alone knows every craft.'
When the seventh day arrived,		Ea made ready to speak, and said to the warrior Enlil,
I released a dove to go free,		'You, O warrior, are the sage of the gods,
The dove went and returned,		How could you, unreasoning, have brought on the deluge?
No landing place came to view, it turned back.		Impose punishment on the sinner for his sin,
I released a swallow to go free,		On the transgressor for his transgression,
The swallow went and returned,		(But) be lenient, lest he be cut off, bear with him,
No landing place came to view, it turned back.		lest he fall.
I sent a raven to go free,		Instead of your bringing on the flood, would a lion
The raven went forth, saw the ebbing of the waters,		had risen up to diminish mankind!
It ate, circled, left droppings, did not turn back. ^d		Instead of your bringing on the flood, would a wolf
I released (all) to the four cardinal points,		had risen up to diminish mankind!
I set up an offering stand on the top of the mountain.		Instead of your bringing on the flood, would a famine
Seven and seven cult vessels I set out,		had risen up for the land to undergo,
I heaped reeds, cedar, and myrtle in their bowls.		Instead of your bringing on the flood, would pestilence
The gods smelled the savor,		had risen up for mankind to undergo!
The gods smelled the sweet savor, ^e		I was not the one who disclosed the secret of the great gods,
The gods crowded around the sacrificer like flies.		I made Atra-hasis see a dream, he heard a secret of the gods. ^g
As soon as Belet-ili arrived,		Now then, make some plan for him.'
She held up the great fly-ornaments that Anu had made her in his infatuation, ^f		Then Enlil came up into the ship,
'O these gods here, as surely as I shall not forget this lapis on my neck, ⁷		Leading me by the hand, he brought me up too.
I shall be mindful of these days, and not forget, forever!		He took my wife up and made her kneel beside me,
Let the gods come to the offering,		He touched our brows, stood between us and blessed us,
But Enlil must not come to the offering,		"Hitherto Utnapishtim has been a human being,
For he, unreasoning, brought on the deluge,		Now Utnapishtim and his wife shall become like us gods,
And reckoned my people for destruction!'		Utnapishtim shall dwell afar-off at the source of the rivers."
Suddenly, as Enlil arrived,		Thus it was they took me afar-off and made me dwell at the source of the rivers.
He saw the boat, Enlil became angry,		
He was filled with fury at the gods.		
'Who came out alive? No man was to survive de-		

⁵ Others read Nisir. The mountain is elsewhere located "in the land of Gutium," presumably somewhere in the Zagros highlands east of the Tigris not, as in the Bible, in Urartu (Ararat, i.e., eastern Turkey); see Hallo 1971b:718f.

⁶ The fly-ornaments may have been suggested by the simile of line 161 (or vice versa); for their significance see Kilmer 1987. For flies in the Atra-hasis version of the flood-story, see above, Text 1.130 III 19 and n. 9.

⁷ The reference may be to a cylinder-seal made of lapis and typically mounted on a pin attached to a necklace worn around the neck; see Hallo 1985.

⁸ Atra-hasis is the hero of an earlier version of the Flood-story in which famine and pestilence actually precede the Deluge as a means of stemming the growth of population; see above, Text 1.130.

REFERENCES

Text: Borger *BAL*² 1:105-111, 2:344-350. Translations and studies: see introductory note.

THE BIRTH LEGEND OF SARGON OF AKKAD (1.133)

Benjamin R. Foster

Sargon of Akkad erected the first world empire on Asiatic soil around 2300 BCE, and his exploits almost immediately became the stuff of legend. His (throne) name, in Akkadian *šarru-ken(u)*, means "the king is legitimate," "the legitimate king," and served to make up for his usurpation of the claims of the ancient dynasty of Kish. The name was assumed again by an early king of Assyria (Sargon I, 20th century BCE) and by the more famous Sargon II (8th century BCE). "Sargon" is the biblical rendering of the last-named king (Isa 20:1). It was presumably also this king who commissioned a number of texts intended to glorify his old namesake, including the following legend of the latter's birth and rise to power, which shares features with the Moses narrative and with later treatments of the theme of the hero exposed at birth who nevertheless grows up to claim his birthright including, in this case, kingship. [WWH]

I am Sargon the great king, king of Agade.^{1 a}
 My mother was a high priestess, I did not know
 my father.
 My father's brothers dwell in the uplands.
 My city is Azupiranu, which lies on Euphrates
 bank.
 My mother, the high priestess, conceived me, she
 bore me in secret.²
 She placed me in a reed basket, she sealed my
 hatch with pitch.
 She left me to the river, whence I could not come
 up.^b
 The river carried me off, it brought me to Aqqi,
 drawer of water.
 Aqqi, drawer of water, brought me up as he dipped
 his bucket.
 Aqqi, drawer of water, raised me as his adopted
 son.
 Aqqi, drawer of water, set (me) to his orchard
 work.
 During my orchard work, Ishtar loved me,³
 Fifty-five years I ruled as king.

a Gen 10:10

b Exod 2:2f.

I became lord over and ruled the black-headed folk,
 I ... [] hard mountains with picks of copper,
 I was wont to ascend high mountains,
 I was wont to cross over low mountains.
 The [la]nd of the sea I sieged three times,
 I conquered Dilmun.
 I went up to great Der, I [],
 I destroyed [Ka]zallu and [].
 Whatsoever king who shall arise after me,
 [Let him rule as king fifty-five years],
 Let him become lo[rd over and rule] the black-
 headed folk.
 Let him [] hard mountains with picks [of
 copper].
 Let him be wont to ascend high mountains,
 [Let him be wont to cross over low mountains].
 Let him siege the [la]nd of the sea three times,
 [Let him conquer Dilmun].
 Let him go up [to] great Der and [].
 ... from my city Agade
 [breaks off]

¹ Agade, the capital newly constructed by Sargon, also known as Akkad after its spelling in the Biblical "Table of Nations" (Gen 10), where it is associated with the semi-legendary Nimrod, perhaps a reflex of Naram-Sin, the grandson of Sargon; see Hallo 1971a.

² As explained at the end of the Atra-hasis Epic (above, Text 1.130 and n. 9), the high priestess (*entu*) was forbidden to bear children perhaps, on one theory, because her child-bearing capacities were reserved for the king.

³ The infatuation between Ishtar (or her Sum. equivalent Inanna) and a gardener, or vice versa, is the theme of several myths; see Hallo 1980a; Abusch 1985:161-173.

REFERENCES

Text: CT 13:42f. and duplicates. Translations and studies: ANET 119; Lewis 1980; Hallo 1991b:130f.; Foster BM 2:803-804; FDD 165-166.

2. HISTORIOGRAPHY

BABYLONIAN KING LISTS (1.134)

Alan Millard

Lists of rulers with lengths of reign were needed by scribes for calculating how long ago legal deeds had been concluded. They also enabled kings to learn when their predecessors had built temples or palaces which they were rebuilding. For a royal family they could supply a genealogy and justification for kingship although in Babylonia there were many changes of dynasty, in contrast to Assyria (compare the continuity of David's line contrasted with the changes in Israel). Lists of kings were read in religious ceremonies commemorating the dead. It is likely that they were also used in historical discussion; see the Weidner Chronicle (Text 1.138).

There are several lists of Babylonian kings. Two tablets give the lengths of reign and names of the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur and the Dynasty of Isin, from ca. 2112 to about 1812 BCE, when they were written (Ur-Isin King List). Another tablet, clearly a practice or note tablet, lists kings of the Dynasty of Larsa, ca. 2025-1738 BCE twice (Larsa King List). A similar one gives the Second Dynasty of Isin, ca. 1157-1069 BCE (King List C). Kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon and the Dynasty of the Sea-Land, ca. 1894-1500 BCE, are listed on another of Neo-Babylonian date (King List B). The "Genealogy of the Hammurabi Dynasty" was created for a funerary cult at which the spirits of the dead were pacified with offerings and the recitation of their names in order to prevent them from harming the living. This tablet lists nineteen names, then the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon (Hammurabi Dynasty, ca. 1894-1595 BCE), titled "Dynasty of the Amorites," followed by references to other ruling families and an attempt to ensure that all the dead were covered; see Finkelstein 1966, Lambert 1968. The principal Babylonian King List (A) gives all the rulers from the First Dynasty of Babylon until the end of Assyrian rule, with a note identifying each dynasty (*palû*), the number of its kings and its span. Regrettably, the tablet is damaged. Another composition, which is known in Akkadian and in bilingual Akkadian and Sumerian versions, begins in parallel with the Sumerian King List at the institution of monarchy and continues to the mid-eighth century BCE, with narrative passages that have led to its being called the "Dynastic Chronicle." Two texts, both incomplete, cover later periods, one commencing with Kandalanu and reaching to Seleucus II, ca. 647-226 BCE (Uruk King List), the other running from Alexander to Demetrius II, ca. 330-125 BCE, with each entry set beside the appropriate year of the Seleucid era (Seleucid King List). Each of these texts was drawn from more extensive sources. All the texts, except the Genealogy of the Hammurabi Dynasty, are set out by Grayson 1980.

Genealogy of the Hammurabi Dynasty

Arammadara, Tubtiyamuta, Yamquzuhalamma, Heana, Namzû, Ditana, Zummabu, Namhû,¹ Amnanu, Yahrurum, Iptiyamuta, Buzahum, Sumalika, Ashmadu, Abiyamuta, Abiditan, Mam[], Shu[], Dad[b]a[nâ], Sum[uabum],² Sumula[el], Zabium, Apil-Sin, Sin-muballit, Hammurabi, Samsuiluna, Abieshuh, Ammidita[na];

dynasty of Amorites, dynasty of Haneans, dynasty of Gutium;
any dynasty which is not written on this tablet and
any soldier who fell in his master's service;
royal sons, royal daughters, all mankind from
sunrise to sunset,
who have no one to care for them or celebrate
them,
come, eat this, drink this,
bless Ammisaduqa, king of Babylon!

King List A (col. iv)

[] Nabu-shum-ishkun, [his son]

[] Nabu-na[sir]³

2 years Nabu-nadin-zeri, his son

a2Kgs 15:19;
1 Chr 5:26

1 month, 13 days Nabu-shum-ishkun, his son

22⁷ dynasty of Babylon

b2Kgs 17:3;
18:9

3 years Ukin-zer, dynasty of Shapi⁴

2 Pulu⁵ ^a

5 Ululayu, ^b ⁶ dynasty of Ashur

12 Marduk-apla-iddin, ⁷ ^c dynasty of the Sea-Land

5 Sargon^d

2 Sennacherib, ^e dynasty of Habigal⁸

1 month Marduk-zakir-shumi, son of Ardu

9 months Marduk-apla-iddin, Habi soldier⁹

3 years Bel-ibni, dynasty of Babylon

6 Ashur-nadin-shumi, dynasty of Habigal

1 Nergal-ushezib

5 Mushezib-Marduk, dynasty of Babylon

8 Sennacherib¹⁰

[] Esarha¹¹ ^f

[] Shamash-shum¹²

[] Kandal¹³

f2Kgs 19:37;
Isa 37:38;
Ezra 4:2

5 Mushezib-Marduk, dynasty of Babylon

8 Sennacherib¹⁰

[] Esarha¹¹ ^f

[] Shamash-shum¹²

[] Kandal¹³

Seleucid King List

[] Alexander (III, the Great) [], Philip (III),
brother of Alexander []. For [x]1 years there

¹ The names up to this one have some similarities with the first entries in the Assyrian King List (see below text 1.135) and may reflect a common tradition; see Finkelstein 1966; Malamat 1968; Hallo 1978; Glassner 1993:88-89; Chavalas 1994.

² Sumuabum was the first king of the First Dynasty of Babylon, ca. 1894-1881 BCE.

³ Nabu-nasir: known from Greek sources as Nabonassar.

⁴ Shapi is probably an abbreviation for Shapi-Bel, a stronghold in south-east Babylonia.

⁵ Pulu: apparently a short name for Tiglath-pileser III, not found in documents contemporary with him, but in this King List, in 2 Kgs 15:19; 1 Chr 5:26 (where it is equated with Tiglath-pileser) and in Hellenistic Greek sources; see Brinkman 1968:61-62, 240-241.

⁶ Ululaya: apparently the private name of Shalmaneser V (2 Kgs 17:3; 18:9), found also in the Assur Ostrakon of the mid-seventh century BCE and in the Ptolemaic Canon of Babylonian kings; see Brinkman 1968:62, 243.

⁷ Marduk-apla-iddin: biblical Merodach-baladan, see text 1.137, n. 4. He occurs twice because for a time he was chased from his throne by Sargon II.

⁸ Habigal: probably a form of Hanigalbat, a term for Upper Mesopotamia current from the mid-second millennium BCE.

⁹ Habi soldier: the meaning is unknown.

¹⁰ Sennacherib occurs twice because the upheavals in Babylonia brought a number of short-lived rulers to the throne, both local and Assyrian nominees, before he finally brought the city under his direct control.

¹¹ Esarha: an abbreviation for Esarhaddon.

¹² Shamash-shum: an abbreviation for Shamash-shum-ukin, 667-648 BCE.

¹³ Kandal: an abbreviation for Kandalanu, 647-627 BCE.

was no king in the land; Antigonus (the One-eyed), the general, was in control]. Alexander (IV) son of Alexander (III), [ruled until] year 6 (of the Seleucid Era). Year 7 is the year Seleucus became king; he ruled for 25 years. Year 31, month of Elul, king Seleucus was killed in the north-west. ...

[Year] 90, Antiochus (III, the Great) became king; he ruled for 35 [years. From year] 102 to year 119 Antiochus [] and Antiochus sons of the king. Year 125, month of Siwan, it was heard in Babylon that Antiochus (III) was killed on the 25th in Elam.

8 Dan 8:9-14; 11:21-45

The same year Seleucus (IV, Philipator), his son, became king; he ruled for 12 years. Year 137, month of Elul, 10th day, king Seleucus died x x. The same month Antiochus (IV),¹⁴ his son, became king; he ruled for 11 years. The sa[me year], in Arabsamna, Antiochus and Antiochus, his son, became kings. [Year 1]42, in Ab, king Antiochus, son of Antiochus, was executed at the command of king Antiochus (IV). [Year 14]3, Antiochus was king alone. [Year 148] in Kislev, it was reported that king Antiochus [had died]. ...

¹⁴ Antiochus IV, Epiphanes (175-164 BCE), the "little horn" of Daniel 8:9-14, the "despicable creature" of 11:21-45; cf. 1 Macc 1-6; 2 Macc 4-9.

REFERENCES

ANET 271 (King List B), 272 (King List A), 566-567 ("Seleucid" King List); Studies: Chavalas 1994; Finkelstein 1966; Glassner 1993:145-146; Grayson 1980; Hallo 1978; Lambert 1968; Malamat 1968.

ASSYRIAN KING LISTS (1.135)

Alan Millard

Lists of Assyrian kings have been found at Assur, Nineveh and Dur-Sharrukin (Khorsabad). The 'Assyrian King List' is known in five copies, none complete, two being only small fragments; there are slight variants between them. It begins with names of nomadic kings who lived about 2000 BCE, which some scholars think may be names of tribes rather than persons because there are similarities between them and names in the Genealogy of the Hammurabi Dynasty (see Babylonian King Lists, Text 1.134 above); however, tribes may also be named after their progenitors (cf. the tribes of Israel). The scheme of the List is simple: royal name, father's name, length of reign; each entry is separated from the next by a ruling. All copies share various short narrative passages and these are clearly part of the composition, not insertions by later hands, although it is clear that the opening sections were drawn from different sources. The purpose of the List was apparently to show continuity by collecting the names of all known rulers of Asshur considered to be "kings" (at least one is known today who is absent from the List; see Grayson *ARI* 1:29-30) and to supply relationships between them as far as possible. While there are evident links with the Eponym Canon (Text 1.136 below), the King List contains extra information, implying the existence of a more extensive record. Variant numbers of years and damage to the texts prevent construction of a complete chronology for Assyrian kings. There are small textual variations, given as alternatives in the translation, or mentioned in the footnotes. Two of the tablets, at least, had a tab at the top, pierced horizontally so that they could be fixed to a wall in such a way that someone could read the front, then lift up the tablet to read the back.

Fragments of two slightly different versions of the King List were found at Assur, and also five pieces of Synchronistic King Lists which set the names of the kings of Assyria in parallel with the kings of Babylon and vice-versa (cf. the synchronisms in Kings and Chronicles, e.g. 1 Kgs 15:1,9), one adding the names of the viziers (*ummānu*) who served many of the kings (ANET 272-274). All the Assyrian King Lists are set out by Grayson 1980.

Tudiya, Adamu, Yangi, Suhlamu, Harharu, Mandaru, Imsu, Harsu, Didanu, Hanu, Zuabu, Nuabu,¹ Abazu, Belu, Azarah, Ushpia, Apiashal.

Total: 17 kings who lived in tents.

Aminu was son of Ilu-kabkabu, Ilu-kabkabu of Yazkur-el, Yazkur-el of Yakmeni, Yakmeni of Yakmesi, Yakmesi of Ilu-Mer, Ilu-Mer of Hayani, Hayani of Samani, Samani of Hale, Hale of Apia-

shal, Apiashal of Ushpia.²

Total: 10 kings who are their ancestors³.

Sulili son of Aminu; Kikkiya; Akiya; Puzur-Ashur (I); Shalim-ahhe; Ilu-shuma.³

Total: 6 kings [named⁷ on] brick, whose [number⁷] of eponyms is [unknown⁷].

Erishu (I), son of Ilu-shuma, [whose x⁷], ruled for

¹ The occurrence of similar sounding names may be compared with examples in Gen 36: 21,35; 46:21; etc.

² The names in this section are in reverse order and may have been taken from a ritual text for commemorating dead ancestors, cf. the King List of Ugarit (Text 1.104).

30/40 years.

Ikunu, son of Erishu, ruled for [x years].

Sargon (I), son of Ikunu, ruled for [x years].

Puzur-Ashur (II), son of Sargon, ruled for [x years].

Naram-Sin, son of Puzur-Ashur, ruled for [x]4 years.

Erishu (II), son of Naram-Sin, ruled for [x] years.

Shamshi-Adad (I), son of Ilu-kabkabu,⁴ went to Karduniash⁵ [in the time of Naram-Sin. In the eponymate of Ibni-Adad, [Shamshi]-Adad [went up] from Karduniash. He took Ekallatum where he stayed three years. In the eponymate of Atamar-Ishtar, Shamshi-Adad went up from Ekallatum. He ousted Erishu (II), son of Naram-Sin, from the throne and took it. He ruled for 33 years.

Ishme-Dagan (I), son of Shamshi-Adad, ruled for 40 years.

Ashur-dugul, of no lineage, who had no title to the throne, ruled for 6 years.

In the time of Ashur-dugul, of no lineage, Ashur-apla-idi, Nasir-Sin, Sin-namir, Ipqi-Ishtar, Adad-salulu, Adasi, six kings of no lineage, ruled briefly.⁶

Bel-bani, son of Adasi,⁷ ruled for 10 years.

Libaya, son of Bel-bani, ruled for 17 years.

Sharma-Adad (I), son of Libaya, ruled for 12 years.

Iptar-Sin, son of Sharma-Adad, ruled for 12 years.

Bazaya, son of Iptar-Sin, ruled for 28 years.

Lullaya, of no lineage, ruled for 6 years.

Shu-Ninua, son of Bazaya, ruled for 14 years.

Sharma-Adad (II), son of Shu-Ninua, ruled for 3 years.

Erishu (III), son of Shu-Ninua, ruled for 13 years.

Shamshi-Adad (II), son of Erishu, ruled for 6 years.

Ishme-Dagan (II), son of Shamshi-Adad, ruled for 16 years.

a1 Kgs 15:11, etc.

Shamshi-Adad (III), son of Ishme-Dagan, brother of Sharma-Adad, son of Shu-Ninua, ruled for 16 years.

Ashur-nerari (I), son of Ishme-Dagan, ruled for 26 years.

Puzur-Ashur (III), son of Ashur-nerari, ruled for 24/14 years.

Enlil-nasir (I), son of Puzur-Ashur, ruled for 13 years.

Nur-ili, son of Enlil-nasir, ruled for 12 years.

Ashur-shaduni, son of Nur-ili, ruled for 1 month.

Ashur-rabi (I), son of Enlil-nasir, ousted [Ashur-shaduni], seized the throne; [he ruled for x years.]

Ashur-nadin-ahhe (I), son of Ashur-rabi, [ruled for x years.]

Enlil-nasir (II), his brother, [ousted] him; he ruled for 6 years.

Ashur-nerari (II), son of Enlil-nasir, ruled for 7 years.

Ashur-bel-nisheshu, son of Ashur-nerari, ruled for 9 years.

Ashur-rem-nisheshu, son of Ashur-bel-nisheshu, ruled for 8 years.

Ashur-nadin-ahhe (II), son of Ashur-rem-nisheshu, ruled for 10 years.

Eriba-Adad (I), son of Ashur-bel-nisheshu⁸, ruled for 27 years.

Ashur-uballit (I), son of Eriba-Adad, ruled for 36 years.

Enlil-nerari, son of Ashur-uballit, ruled for 10 years.

Arik-den-ili, son of Enlil-nerari, ruled for 12 years.

Adad-nerari (I), son⁹ of Arik-den-ili, ruled for 32 years.

Shalmaneser (I), son of Adad-nerari, ruled for 30 years.

Tukulti-Ninurta (I), son of Shalmaneser, ruled for 37 years.

Tukulti-Ninurta.... Ashur-nadin¹⁰-apli, his son, seized the throne and ruled for 3/4 years.

³ Contemporary inscriptions name Shalim-ahu son of Puzur-Ashur and Ilu-shumma son of Shalim-ahu (see Grayson *ARI* 1:6-8); assuming these are the rulers named here, each of the names in this section may be set in a father-son relationship.

⁴ If this is the Ilu-kabkabu listed earlier as father of Aminu, he was more likely the ancestor rather than father of Shamshi-Adad, given the number of generations and lengths of reign intervening, a recognised use of the word "father" (cf. 1 Kgs 15:11, etc.).

⁵ Karduniash is a name for Babylon current from the fifteenth century BCE onwards.

⁶ The meaning of the Akk. word translated "briefly," *tuppišu*, is uncertain; it seems to denote a very short period.

⁷ Esarhaddon (680-669 BCE) claimed descent from Bel-bani, evincing belief in the line of descent traced for over one thousand years (cf. the line of David); see Borger 1956:35, etc.

⁸ One copy has Ashur-rem-nisheshu, but Eriba-Adad's own inscriptions prove that to be an error; see Grayson *ARI* 1:41.

⁹ Two copies have "brother," again proved erroneous by Adad-nerari's own inscriptions; see Grayson *ARI* 1:78.

¹⁰ In both cases there are variant readings Ashur-nasir-apli, but contemporary texts show they are mistaken; see Grayson *ARI* 1:136, 138.

Ashur-nerari (III), son of Ashur-nadin¹⁰-apli, ruled for 6 years.

Enlil-kudurri-usur, son of Tukulti-Ninurta, ruled for 5 years.

Ninurta-apil-Ekur, son of Ili-hadda, a descendant of Eriba-Adad, went to Karduniash. He came up from Karduniash, seized the throne and ruled for 3/13 years.

Ashur-dan (I), son of Ninurta-apil-Ekur, ruled for 46 years.

Ninurta-tukulti-Ashur, son of Ashur-dan, ruled briefly.⁶

Mutakkil-Nusku, his brother, fought him and took him to Karduniash. Mutakkil-Nusku held the throne briefly,⁶ then died.

Ashur-resh-ishi (I), son of Mutakkil-Nusku, ruled for 18 years.

Tiglath-pileser (I), son of Ashur-resh-ishi, ruled for 39 years.

Ashared-apil-Ekur, son of Tiglath-pileser, ruled for 2 years.

Ashur-bel-kala, son of Tiglath-pileser, ruled for 18 years.

Eriba-Adad (II), son of Ashur-bel-kala, ruled for 2 years.

Shamshi-Adad (IV), son of Tiglath-pileser, came up from Karduniash. He ousted Eriba-Adad, son of Ashur-bel-kala, seized the throne and ruled for 4 years.

Ashur[nasirpal (I), son of] Shamshi-Adad, ruled for 19 years.

Shalmaneser (II), son of Ashurnasirpal, ruled for [x]2 years.¹¹

b Hos 10:14

c 2 Kgs 15:29
et passim

d 2 Kgs 17:3;
18:9

Ashur-nerari (IV), son of Shalmaneser, ruled for 6 years.

Ashur-rabi (II), son of Ashurnasirpal, ruled for 41 years.

Ashur-resh-ishi (II), son of Ashur-rabi, ruled for 5 years.

Tiglath-pileser (II), son of Ashur-resh-ishi, ruled for 32 years.

Ashur-dan (II), son of Tiglath-pileser, ruled for 23 years.

Adad-nerari (II), son of Ashur-dan, ruled for 21 years.

Tukulti-Ninurta (II), son of Adad-nerari, ruled for 7 years.

Ashurnasirpal (II), son of Tukulti-Ninurta, ruled for 25 years.

Shalmaneser (III), son of Ashurnasirpal, ruled for 35 years.⁶

Shamshi-Adad (V), son of Shalmaneser, ruled for 13 years.

Adad-nerari (III), son of Shamshi-Adad, ruled for 28 years.

Shalmaneser (IV), son of Adad-nerari, ruled for 10 years.

Ashur-dan (III), brother of Shalmaneser, ruled for 18 years.

Ashur-nerari (V), son of Adad-nerari, ruled for 10 years.

Tiglath-pileser (III), son of Ashur-nerari, ruled for 18 years.^c

Shalmaneser (V), son of Tiglath-pileser, ruled for 5 years.^d

¹¹ One of the two copies available at this point omits this entry.

REFERENCES

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ASSYRIAN EPONYM CANON (1.136)

Alan Millard

From the nineteenth century BCE onwards, Assyrian documents bear dates in the form "day X, month Y, *limu* Personal Name." The *limu*, "eponym," was an official who gave his name to the year. Little is known about the operation of the system before the first millennium BCE and nothing of its origin. (It may be compared with the systems of *archons* in Greece and *consuls* in Rome.) For the system to operate, scribes had to have lists of the officials in their sequence in order to be able to calculate how long ago a deed of loan, for example, had been written. No simple lists from the earliest period have been found, but from Mari has come an "Eponym Chronicle" in five fragmentary copies, listing over sixty names with a note of a significant event beside many of them, for the years about 1850-1775 BCE (for translation see Glassner 1993:157-160). This anticipates by a thousand years the

Eponym Chronicle for the Neo-Assyrian period. Whatever the purpose of these chronicles was — and, as for the Babylonian Chronicles (text 1.137), it is unknown — they prove a concern for recording precisely the dates of important happenings and so give a basis for exploring the past. From Assur there is a damaged list of eponyms' names which began about 1200 BCE, but the sequence can only be restored completely from 910 down to 649, thanks to the Eponym Lists, simple lists of the names from Assur, Nineveh and Sultantepe, and the Eponym Chronicles from Nineveh and Sultantepe. The kings in the later period held the office in the second full year of their reigns, until Sennacherib broke the custom, their appearances in the sequence giving a helpful link with the King Lists (texts 1.134 and 1.135). The key date in the Eponym Chronicle is the entry for 763 BCE, reporting a solar eclipse. The eponym dates were used to pin-point when military campaigns were undertaken and royal monuments erected, and so provide invaluable aid in computing the chronologies of various surrounding states whose records are meagre or imprecise and, in particular, the chronology of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. The texts covering 910-612 BCE are edited in Millard 1994. Extracts only are given here.

805 BCE	In the eponymate of Ashur-taklak, chamberlain, against Arpad. ^a	a2 Kgs 18:34, 19:13 (= Isa 36:19, 37:13); Isa 10:9; Jer 49:23	745 BCE	In the eponymate of Nabu-bel-usur, of Arrapha, in Ayar on the 13th day, Tiglath-pileser (III) sat himself on the throne ⁶ ; in Teshrit he went to the land at the river's bend. ⁷
804 BCE	In the eponymate of Ilu-issiya, governor of Assur, against Hazaz. ¹			
803 BCE	In the eponymate of Nergal-eresh, governor of Rasappa, ^b against Ba'al. ²	b2 Kgs 19:12 (= Isa 37:12)	743 BCE	In the eponymate of Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, against Arpad, ⁸ defeat inflicted on Urartu.
773 BCE	In the eponymate of Mannu-ki-Adad, governor of Raqmat, against Damascus. ³	c Zech 9:1	742 BCE	In the eponymate of Nabu-da ²² inanni, commander in chief, ^{9 d} against Arpad.
765 BCE	In the eponymate of Ninurta-mukin-nishi, of Habruri, against Hatarikka ^c ; plague.	d2 Kgs 18:17; Isa 20:1	741 BCE	In the eponymate of Bel-Harran-bel-usur, palace herald, ^{10 e} against Arpad, conquered after 3 years.
763 BCE	In the eponymate of Bur-sagale, of Guzan, revolt in the citadel of Assur; in the month of Siwan there was an eclipse of the sun. ⁴	e 2 Sam 8:16; 20:24; 1 Kgs 4:3; 2 Kgs 18:18, 37 (= Isa 36:3, 22); 1 Chr 18:15; 2 Chr 34:8	738 BCE	In the eponymate of Adad-bel-ka ²² in, governor of Ashur, Kullani ^f conquered.
755 BCE	In the eponymate of Iqisu, of Shibhish, against Hatarikka.	f Isa 10:9; Amos 6:2	734 BCE	In the eponymate of Bel-dan, of Kalah, against Philistia. ¹¹
754 BCE	In the eponymate of Ninurta-shezibanni, of Talmush, against Arpad; ⁵ return from Assur.	g 2 Kgs 16:5-9; Isa 7:1-9	733 BCE	In the eponymate of Ashur-da ²² inanni, of Mazamua, against Damascus. ^{12 g}
			732 BCE	In the eponymate of Nabu-bel-usur, of Si ² mê, against Damascus.

¹ Hazaz, modern Azaz, lies north of Arpad.

² The place Ba'al has been identified with Ba'ali-rasi, the promontory south of Tyre, but is more likely to be Ba'al-saphon, Mount Casius, on the Syrian coast, north of Ugarit.

³ This campaign against Damascus, when its king Hadianu paid tribute to Assyria, may have led to the weakening of the kingdom which allowed Jeroboam II of Israel to extend his realm; see 2 Kgs 14:25-28.

⁴ The eclipse is dated astronomically 15th-16th June, 763 BCE. Setting out the names for each year before and after that date yields good equations with Babylonian and Greek records.

⁵ A fragmentary treaty, found at Nineveh, was imposed upon Mati'el, king of Arpad, by Ashur-nirari V (754-745 BCE) at this time (see COS volume 2).

⁶ Tiglath-pileser's accession was irregular in some way. His three predecessors were all sons of Adad-nirari III (810-783 BCE) and he may have been a member of the royal family who gained power in the revolt the Eponym Chronicle reports for the previous year. His name as written in Hebrew reflects accurately the Assyrian pronunciation of his day (Millard 1976).

⁷ The Akk. term *bīrit nāri* seems to mean "land at the bend of the river" and is comparable with Heb. Aram-naharaim and Greek Meso-potamia; see Finkelstein 1962.

⁸ The determined campaign against Arpad may have resulted from the local king, Mati'el, breaking the oath of loyalty he swore to the Assyrian Ashur-nirari V and making promises to a different overlord, recorded in the Aram. Sefire treaty texts (see COS volume 2).

⁹ The commander in chief (*turtānu*) usually held office as eponym immediately after the king, emphasizing his high position, corresponding to the position "over the army" in Israel (2 Sam 8:16; 17:25; 1 Kgs 4:4 etc.).

¹⁰ The palace herald was also one of the highest officials in the court and may be compared with the biblical *mazkir*; see Mettinger 1971:52-62.

¹¹ This Assyrian attack probably aimed to secure the route to Egypt's frontier, making the local kings vassals, an activity which had to be continued in following years.

¹² The major campaign against Damascus reduced it to a provincial capital. During the fighting, one of Tiglath-pileser's loyal vassals was killed, as the vassal's son recorded with pride (see the inscription of Bar-Rakib, COS volume 2). The assault on Damascus owed part of its impetus to Ahaz of Judah's plea to Tiglath-pileser for help against his enemies, Rezin of Damascus and Pekah of Samaria.

REFERENCES

THE BABYLONIAN CHRONICLE (1.137)

Alan Millard

The series of cuneiform tablets known as The Babylonian Chronicle covers the years from 745 BCE into the late Seleucid period (2nd century BCE). Entries follow a chronological order, introduced by the year of reign of the king of Babylon, although not every year is included. Warfare is the most common topic, within Babylonia and beyond, the accessions and deaths of kings are noted, the celebration or lapse of the New Year Festival in Babylon and a variety of other subjects. Some years have single, short entries, some longer, more detailed ones, or reports of several events. All the Babylonian Chronicle tablets appear to be excerpts from more extensive compositions, for where some overlap they do not give identical information. Perhaps a form of diary^a was kept on wax-covered wooden writing boards (Millard 1980). Although this type of chronicle is only known from the 6th century and later in Babylonia, some tablets report events from earlier centuries, indicating that older records remained available (cf. Assyrian Eponym Canon 1.136 above). One, commencing at the start of history, notes the burial places of various kings^b from about 1000 BCE, another lists market prices in various reigns. Most of the texts were re-edited by Grayson *ABC*, whose numbering is followed here. All known examples were translated by Glassner 1993. Extracts only are given here.

(Chronicle 1 i 27-32)

727 BCE On 27th Tebet Shalmaneser (V)¹ c ascended the throne in Assyria and Babylonia. He shattered Samaria (*šá-ma-ra-in*).² d

722 BCE Year 5: Shalmaneser died in Tebet. Five years Shalmaneser ruled Babylonia and Assyria. On 12th Tebet Sargon³ e ascended the throne in Assyria. In Nisan Merodach-baladan⁴ f ascended the throne in Babylon.

(Chronicle 1 iii 34-38)

681 BCE On 20th Tebet Sennacherib⁵ g king of Assyria - his son killed him in a revolt.⁶ h For [24] years Sennacherib ruled over Assyria. From 20th Tebet

a Esth 2:21-

23; 6:1, 2

b 1 Kgs 2:10;

11:43; 14:20,

31, etc.

c 2 Kgs 17:3-

6; 18:9

d 2 Kgs 18:9-

12

e Isa 20:1

f 2 Kgs 20:12;

Isa 39:1

g 2 Kgs 18:13;

19:9, 16, 20,

36; 2 Chr

32:1, 2, 9,

10, 16, 22;

Isa 36:1;

37:9, 17, 21,

37

h 2 Kgs 19:37;

Isa 37:38

j 2 Kgs 19:37; Isa 37:38

k Jer 21:2 etc.; 2 Kgs 24:1 etc.

l 2 Chr 35:20; Jer 46:2

until 2nd Adar the revolt continued in Assyria. On [1/2]8th Adar Esarhaddon⁷ j, his son, ascended the throne of Assyria.

(Chronicle 5 1-11)

605 BCE [Year 21:] the king of Babylon⁸ was in his country. Nebuchadnezzar⁹ k, his eldest son, the crown prince, [called] out the [army of Babylon], took the van and went to Carchemish¹⁰ l on the bank of the Euphrates. He crossed the river [to face the army of Egypt] which was camped at Carchemish. [...] they fought together and the army of Egypt fled

¹ The reign of Shalmaneser V (727-722 BCE) is little known as no monuments of his survive. The Babylonian Chronicle, damaged entries in the Eponym Canon, a few references in other texts and the biblical verses are the only sources.

² The reading of the place name has been disputed because the signs for *ba* and *ma* are very similar in the cuneiform script; however, identification with Samaria is now accepted (Tadmor 1958:39).

³ Sargon, king of Assyria 721-705 BCE, was not in the direct line of succession, hence his throne name, meaning "legitimate king." (The Heb. form in Isa 20:1 reflects the name accurately as it appeared in the Assyrian dialect of his time, see Millard 1976:8.) The death of Shalmaneser was the signal for a general revolt by subject states, including recently conquered Samaria, but Sargon quickly re-asserted control in the west.

⁴ Merodach-baladan was a Chaldaean from Bit-Yakin in southern Babylonia whose family sought to control the country. He ruled from Babylon until Sargon took the city in 710 BCE, thereafter constantly fighting Assyria, regaining the throne in 703 but losing it after nine months and eventually being ousted from Babylonia to die in exile in Elam (Brinkman 1964; 1991). His embassy to Hezekiah of Judah is to be set in 703. The Heb. form of his name reflects well the Babylonian Marduk-apla-iddina (Millard 1976).

⁵ Sennacherib, 704-681 BCE, son of Sargon, acceded upon his father's death in battle in 705 and, like him, faced revolt around the edges of the empire, the most famous being Judah's, led by Hezekiah, but the Chronicle does not mention that. For the Heb. rendering of his name see Millard 1976:8, 13.

⁶ The Bible names two assassins, Adrammelech and Sharezer in 2 Kgs 19:37; Isa 37:38, and Esarhaddon reports that "his brothers went mad" (see ANET 289). Their identity is uncertain (Pappola, 1980). The dreadful deed was remembered in Assyria by Ashurbanipal, over a century later in Babylonia by Nabonidus, and echoed by Berossus and Josephus (Grayson 1991:120, n. 73).

⁷ Esarhaddon, 680-669 BCE, defeated his brothers to gain the throne his father had promised to him and strengthened Assyrian power, even penetrating Egypt. The Assyrian form of his name, "Ashur has given a brother," is well-rendered in Heb., Millard 1976.

⁸ The king is Nabopolassar, a Chaldaean, perhaps a descendant of Merodach-baladan, who wrested control of Babylon from the Assyrians in 626 BCE. At this time he was elderly or ill, hence the campaign was led by his son.

⁹ The famous Nebuchadnezzar ruled for forty-three years (605-562 BCE), but only the first eleven years are covered in surviving tablets of the Chronicle and there are few other Babylonian historical accounts from his reign to set beside the biblical and Greek sources.

¹⁰ The forces of Necho II of Egypt had made their way through Israel and Syria and camped at Carchemish, the major crossing of the Euphrates, in league with the last remnants of Assyrian power. Nabopolassar advanced into the area in 607, but retreated in 606, then in 605 Nebuchadnezzar routed the Egyptians as described here.

	before him. He defeated them utterly. The rest of the army of [Egypt, which] had escaped from the defeat and which the army of Babylon had not conquered, the army defeated in the district of Hamath so that [not] a single man [returned] to his country. At that time Nebuchadrezzar conquered the whole of Hamath. Nabopolassar ruled Babylon for 21 years. On 8th Ab he died. In Elul Nebuchadrezzar returned to Babylon and on 1st Elul he ascended the throne in Babylon.	<i>m</i> 2 Kgs 23:33; Jer 29:2 <i>n</i> 2 Kgs 24:17; 2 Chr 36:10 <i>o</i> 2 Kgs 24:13; 2 Chr 36:10 <i>p</i> Dan 5:30; 6:28	he took the city and captured the king.¹² ^m He appointed a king of his choosing there^a, took heavy tribute^o and returned to Babylon. (Chronicle 7 iii 12-16) 539 BCE In Tishri when Cyrus¹³ fought with the army of Babylon at Opis on the bank of the Tigris, the people of Babylon retreated. He took booty and killed people. On 14th Sippar was taken without battle. Nabonidus fled. On 16th Ugharu, governor of Gutium, and the army of Cyrus entered Babylon without battle. Afterwards, after Nabonidus had retreated, he was taken in Babylon. (Chronicle 7 iii 18) 539 BCE On 3rd Marcheswan Cyrus entered Babylon.¹⁴ ^p
(rev. 11-13) 598/597 BCE	Year 7: in Kislev the king of Babylonia called out his army and marched to Hattu.¹¹ He set his camp against the city of Judah [<i>Ya-a-hu-du</i>] and on 2nd Adar		

¹¹ Hattu is a general term for the west in the Chronicle.

¹² Biblical sources make it clear the king captured was Jehoiachin, who ruled only three months in Jerusalem and spent most of his life in prison in Babylon.

¹³ After becoming king of Persia in 559 BCE, Cyrus gradually built up his power, conquering Media (550), Lydia (547) and finally Babylon. There he continued many of the old customs, restoring the traditional cults neglected by Nabonidus.

¹⁴ All the Babylonian sources make it clear that Cyrus was the conqueror of Babylon, so Darius the Mede of Dan 5:30; 6:28 is a mystery. Unless dismissed as an error or fiction, he may be identified with Ugharu, mentioned here, who became governor of Babylon, see Whitcomb 1959, or with Cyrus himself under a Median name as Wiseman proposed 1965.

REFERENCES

ANET 301-307; Brinkman 1964; 1991; Glassner 1993:179-204; Grayson ABC 8-126; 1991; Millard 1976; 1980; Parpola 1980; Tadmor 1958; Whitcomb 1959; Wiseman 1965:9-16.

THE WEIDNER CHRONICLE (1.138)

Alan Millard

Excavations at Ashur yielded a damaged tablet which was announced by E. F. Weidner in 1926 and so is called after him. Since then four smaller pieces of other copies have been identified and recently an almost complete tablet was recovered from Sippar, adding greatly to the interpretation of the text, although many uncertainties and gaps remain. The composition is set in the form of a letter from a king of Babylon to a king of Isin in the 19th century BCE, but probably composed centuries later. The propagandist aim is clear from the outset: the offerings for the god Marduk in his temple Esagila in Babylon were decreed by the gods, so the writer recounts the fate of various kings who brought, or failed to bring, offerings to Esagila or respect for it. Thus their attitudes to the god affected his treatment of the kings.

"Say to [Apil-S]in¹, ki[ng of Babyl]on², thus says Damiq-ilishu³, king of Isin:

'[] like [] his reign. I [mys]elf have written to you a matter to be pondered, a matter [], but you have not considered them. You have not listened or paid attention to the advice I gave you, nor heeded the special advice that [], you have been looking for something else. To do you a good turn [I have] you, but it is not in your mind. For your own good I have advised you to reinforce the train-

ing⁴ of your army, but you have not put your hand to it. His sh[rines] where I sought advice [] has ceased. Now I shall tell you my experience [] learn from it speedily!

I offered a sacrifice to my lady Ninkarrak,¹ mistress of Egalmah; I prayed and implored her, I told her the matter that I was constantly considering, and I spoke like this: "Entrust to me the people of Sumer and Akkad [] all the lands.

¹ Ninkarak was a title of Gula, goddess of healing, whose temple, Egalmah, stood in Isin.

Let the people of the Upper and the Lower lands bring their weighty tribute into Egalmah." In the night-time, holy Gula, the exalted lady, stood before me, she heard my speech, spoke to me clearly and blessed me. "You shall set a place in the underground water, in the ocean beneath the earth, [] you shall raise the top to the distant sky, in x [] above, a state of privilege. [Aft]erwards, Marduk, the king of the gods, who [] the whole of heaven and earth, [will the peop]le of Sumer and Akkad to his city Babylon x x x. He went quickly to his father, Ea, the craftsman, the counsellor of heaven and earth. "[May Bab]ylon, the city chosen in my heart, be exalted among all people! May Esagila, the majestic shrine, be [] to the limits of heaven and earth! May the lord of lords, who dwells in the shrine, from east to west, x x x x! May he shepherd human beings like sheep! May the city be famous x x x!" The lord Nudimud² [carried out] all he had said. Throughout heaven he honored him [].

Then Anu and Enlil, the great gods, favored him and [decreed?]. "May he be the leader of the Upper and the Lower lands. May the great gods of heaven and earth tremble before his shrine. Raise up to the sky the top of Esagila, of Ekua, the palace of heaven and earth []. May its foundation be fixed like sky and earth forever! By your sacrifice I understood what you said and [I have given to you?] long life []. Apart from the order announced in the dream, good advice for []. For the gods of that city, the great gods of heaven and earth, x x for daily, monthly and yearly purification/ renewal of life³ x x x no god shall oppose it x x whose mind x x x at his command they are bound, the hostile gods clad in dirty clothes x x x whoever sins against the gods of that city, his star shall not stand in the sky x x x his kingship will end, his scepter will be taken away, his treasury will become a heap of [ruins] x x x his x x and the king of the whole of heaven and earth (said) thus⁴, "The gods of heaven and earth x [] the behavior of each former king of which I hear to x x x [].

Akka, son of Enmebaragesi x x x x []. Enmekar, king of Uruk, destroyed the people x x x x. The sage Adapa, son of x x x heard in his holy sanctuary and cursed Enmekar. [] he/I gave to him rule over all lands and his rites [] he/I beautified like the heavenly writing (the constellations) and in

a2Kgs 15:3-6

b2Kgs 17:26

Esagila the king who controls the whole of heaven and earth for his 3,020 years x x x. In the reign of Puzur-Nirah, king of Akshak, the freshwater fishermen of Esagila [] were catching fish for the meal of the great lord Marduk; the officers of the king took away the fish. The fisherman was fishing when 7/8 days had passed [] in the house of Kubaba, the tavern-keeper, x x x they brought to [Esag]ila. (At that time BROKEN⁵ anew for Esagila x x x) Kubaba gave bread to the fisherman and gave water, she [made him offer?] the fish to Esagila. Marduk, the king, prince of the Apsû,⁶ favored her and said, "Let it be so!" He entrusted to Kubaba, the tavern-keeper, sovereignty over the whole world. Ur-Zababa [ordered] Sargon, his cup-bearer, to change the wine libations of Esagila. Sargon did not change but was careful to offer [] quickly to Esagila. Marduk, king of the world/ son of the prince of the Apsu, favored him and gave him rule of the four corners of the world. He took care of Esagila. Everyone who sat on a throne [brought] his tribute to Babylon. Yet he [ignored] the command Bel had given him.⁷ He dug soil from its pit and in front of Akkad he built a city which he named Babylon.⁸ Enlil changed the order he had given and from east to west (people) opposed him. He could not sleep. Naram-Sin destroyed the people of Babylon, so twice (Marduk) summoned the forces of Gutium⁶ against him. They [mal-treated?] his people with a goad. He (Marduk) gave his kingship to the Gutian force. The Gutians were unhappy people unaware how to revere the gods, ignorant of the right cultic practices.⁶ Utu-hegal, the fisherman, caught a fish at the edge of the sea for an offering. That fish should not be offered to another god until it had been offered to Marduk, but the Gutu took the boiled fish from his hand before it was offered, so by his august command, he (Marduk) removed the Gutu force from the rule of his land and gave (it) to Utu-hegal. Utu-hegal, the fisherman, carried out criminal acts against his (Marduk's) city, so the river carried off his corpse.⁷ Then he (Marduk) gave sovereignty over the whole world to Shulgi, son of Ur-Nammu, but he did not perform his rites to the letter, he defiled his purification rituals and his sin x x body² x [was s]et⁷. Amar-Sin, his son, changed the offerings of large ox[en] and sheep of the New Year festival in Esagila. It was foretold (he would die) from goring by an ox, but he died from the "bite" of his shoe.⁸ Shu-Sin made Esagila like the constellations for his

² Nudimud was a name or title of Ea.

³ This translates an ancient copyist's note indicating that his exemplar was damaged.

⁴ Apsu was the freshwater ocean beneath the earth, source of rivers and wells, ruled by Ea and so home to his son Marduk.

⁵ Sargon's sin was, apparently, to treat Babylon as a conquered city, taking soil to symbolize his rule over it in his new capital, Akkad. His action is reported in other Babylonian traditions. One copy reverses the names.

⁶ The Gutu were mountain people from the east, a long-term threat to the urban settlements of lower Mesopotamia.

⁷ Another tradition reports that Utu-hegal, king of Uruk about 2100 BCE, who re-established Babylonian rule after the Gutu, was drowned while inspecting a dam.

well-being. BROKEN what Shulgi did, his sin his son, Ibbi-Sin,⁹ []. BROKEN a former king who preceded x x x your desire and over his father Ea, the heaven and earth x x he did not create. Anu and Ishtar x x his majestic son, the great lord Marduk, [king?] of the gods, whom the gods x x, his (Ea's) grandson Nabu, who x x x he will name

the king.

To his descendant Sumu-la-EI,¹⁰ the king, whose name Anu pro[nounced], for your well-being and x x all of it a pea[ceful?] dwelling place, a lasting rule⁷ in your hand.

⁸ The fate of Amar-Sin of Ur (ca. 2046-2038 BCE), also known from other sources, may have been gangrene resulting from too tight a shoe, seen as a reflection of an ominous forecast that an ox would gore him.

⁹ Ibbi-Sin, the last king of Ur (ca. 2028-2004 BCE), was captured by the Elamites who sacked his city.

¹⁰ Sumu-la-EI was second king of the First Dynasty of Babylon (ca. 1880-1845 BCE).

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Al-Rawi 1990; Arnold 1994; Glassner 1993:215-218; Grayson *ABC*, 43-45, 147-151.

3. ROYAL HYMNS

A HYMN CELEBRATING ASSURNASIRPAL II'S CAMPAIGNS TO THE WEST (I.139) (LKA 64)

Victor Hurowitz

This text was found by the German excavations at Assur in the house of a *nargallu* (chief singer).¹ It begins as a hymn to Enlil (Assur),² but then praises Assurnasirpal II (883-859 BCE) for his campaigns to the mountains in the west and for contributing to various temples the wood taken on the campaigns. It ends with a blessing of the king.³ The events referred to are described in detail in the king's annals and mentioned briefly in his royal titles.⁴

Invocation (obv. lines 1-3)

I⁵ will sing to the king of the ends of the earth
the prince of the gods may I praise;⁶
Of Enlil⁷ who dwells in Esharra,⁸
may I glorify his divinity.

a Ps 140:12

the desire of the great gods;¹⁰
(5) The son of Tukulti-Ninurta,
in fame is glorified.¹¹
By the lances(?) of his battle,
(he is) king of the huntsmen,
(who) knocks over all foreign rulers.¹² ^a

Presentation of King Assurnasirpal II (obv. lines 4-6)
Aššur-nāšir-apli the obstinate,⁹

¹ See Pedersén 1986:38 text 24. For the library of the *nargallu* see Pedersén 1986:34-41. Groneberg 1987:189-190 states that LKA 64 mentions Assurnasirpal I, son of Tiglathpileser I. This remark is unexplainable and obviously a total error.

² Schramm, *EAK* 2:58 calls it "Ein Loblied auf Enlil und Anp." CAD *passim* cites the text as a "NA hymn to Assurnasirpal."

³ For other Assyrian hymns poetically relating individual military campaigns described in prose in the royal inscriptions see Livingstone 1989:43-53; Reade 1989; Hurowitz and Westenholz 1992.

⁴ See *AKA* iii 56-91 = *ANET* 276 = *ARI* 2 para. 584-586 = *RIMA* 2:216-219 column 3 lines 56-91; Schramm *EAK* 2 58 11; Ikeda 1984-1985. Brinkman *PHPKB* 393-394, Schramm, *EAK* 2:58, di Filippi 1977:27-30, and Conradie 1989 discuss the number and extent of Assurnasirpal's campaigns to the west but make no mention of LKA 64 or its content. In fact, the author of LKA 64 seems to be of the opinion that there was more than one campaign but he lumps them all together as a trip to the Lebanon. If the sea was mentioned explicitly, it would have been in the broken lines.

⁵ See Groneberg 1987:114.

⁶ See Groneberg 1987:113.

⁷ BAD/BE, read Enlil, is the chief of the traditional Mesopotamian pantheon. By this time he has been syncretistically assimilated to Assur so that the name is simply a synonym for the chief god of Assyria. Groneberg 1987:190 identifies the god as Bēl, following a neo-Assyrian practice (cf. Parpola, *Iraq* 34 [1972] 25). This identification disregards the fact that the god in question resides in Esharra, which was Assur's temple and not Marduk's.

⁸ The god Assur's temple in the city Assur.

⁹ See Lambert 1957-58:43 n. 35 for the reading and meaning of the title *par-ri-ku*. Seux *ER* 221 translates "chef(?)" and *AHW* s.v. *parriku* gives "eigenwillig." Groneberg 1987:44 "KN der widersetzliche, Wunsch der grossen Götter." The title is obviously to be understood positively.

¹⁰ Seux *ER* 104 s.v. *ḫiṣḫtu* translates "réclamé par les grands dieux."

¹¹ Taking *šurruḫ* to be a D stative of *šarāḫu*. It may, however, be an imperative, in which case the line is addressed to Assur and means "of the son of Tukulti-Ninurta, glorify (his) fame!" Cf. *AHW* 1318b s.v. *tanattu*.

¹² Following CAD N 1:7 s.v. *na'āpu*, taking the verb as derived from *da'āpu*, "to knock down." The line is a tricolon, with AB//BA parallelism in the second and third cola: *šar bajjar* // *utta'ipu kal mālik*. For the combination of *bajjaru* (to hunt) and *da'āpu* (to knock down) cp. Ps 140:12 "... as for a wicked man of violence — they shall hunt him down in fall-pits (*yšūdennū l'madhēpōt*)."

<i>The Campaign to Lebanon</i> (obv. line 7 - rev. line 11) He left¹³ the city of Kalhu,¹⁴ b to the mountain of Lebanon he took the road. To wage his war, (10) the city of Carchemish he approached — which is in the land of Hatti.¹⁵ In order to (show the) strength of my rule,¹⁶ the possessions of his¹⁷ palace I plundered;¹⁸ A valuable image of my likeness,¹⁹ for his temples I glorified.²⁰ The Kummuheans²¹ and Patinians,²² radiance overwhelmed them.²³ (15) [They brought]²⁴ to him possessions, ebony²⁵ and lapis lazuli he constantly received.²⁶ The daughter of the king of the [Pat]inians²⁷ for making merry are your [...]. All the [en]ds of the earth I roamed,²⁸ (20) to the Amanus mountains²⁹ I ascended over and over again.³⁰ [Tw]o times³¹ [...] pure sacrifices to [the gods] [I sacrificed] to [...]	b Gen 10:11, 12 c 2 Kgs 19:23; Isa 14:8; 37:24	<i>Reverse</i> (rev. lines 1-6)³² [...] ... [...] his [...] all the land [of ...] [...] ... [...] [...] wood [...] [...] (5) ... the land (?) of Ha-ra-³³ [...] sacrifices [...] ... [...] <i>Presentation of the Wood in the Temples</i> (rev. lines 7-12) Beams of cedar from the Aman[us...] c [he carried off] and took to Eshar[ra]³⁴ [to the temple, the shr]i[ne, to the temple of happiness, to the temple of Sin] and Shamash [great/holy gods.] They entered into Esharra; [verb] by the lifting of his eyes.³⁵ <i>Divine Blessing for Assurnasirpal</i> (rev. lines 13-14) "The king is beloved of my heart, Aššur-nāšir-apli the governor."³⁶ <i>Colophon</i> (rev. line 15) (15) Acc[ording] to Sukuja it was written.³⁷
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¹³ The copy seems to show a slightly broken and unintelligible IZ TA(?) ZIZ. The translation given here assumes the regular expression *GN itamūš* ... *harran GN išbat* as found in the parallel passage in the annals which reads TA URU kal-ḫi at-ta-muš, "I set forth from Kalhu" (*RIMA* 2:219 column 3 line 56). Collation is necessary.

¹⁴ Gen 10:11, 12. Present day Nimrud.

¹⁵ Cf. Groneberg 1987:114 "um (seinen Kampf) zu führen, prüfte er (die Stadt)." But see the annals, *RIMA* 2:216 line 57; 217 line 65. *issiniqi* in *LKA* 64 is a synonym of *iqterib* in the annals. Cf. de Filippi 1977:151:101.

¹⁶ The poem continues here in the voice of the king.

¹⁷ The possessive pronominal suffix has no antecedent.

¹⁸ See *CAD* N 1:233 s.v. *namkūru* d).

¹⁹ Groneberg 1987:44 *ma-aq-ru*, "die kostbare Abbildung meiner Gestalt." See *CAD* A 2:209 s.v. *aqru* c 5' and *CAD* M 1:47 s.v. *magru* d) for *magru* = (w)aqru.

²⁰ Placing a royal statue in temples, including those of conquered peoples, was a common practice. See *CAD* S 80b s.v. *šalmu* a2' a'-c'.

²¹ The Kummuheans are not mentioned in the annals' account of the western campaigns (*RIMA* 2:216-219 column 3 lines 56-92). They do occur, however, in the next campaign (*RIMA* 2:216 column 3 line 96).

²² I.e., people of Patina, formerly read Hattina. For Kummuheans and Patinians see Hawkins 1972-1975, 1980-1983.

²³ See *CAD* S 33a s.v. *šāḫpu* 1e).

²⁴ Restoring [i-šu]-tu-ni, "they brought," from *šātu*.

²⁵ See annals *RIMA* 2:219 column 3 line 88 for receipt of ebony.

²⁶ Cf. *CAD* N 1:233 s.v. *namkūru* d).

²⁷ See annals *RIMA* 2:218 column 3 line 76 where the king receives the daughter of the brother of Labarna, king of Patinu, along with her rich dowry.

²⁸ See *CAD* A 1:324-325 s.v. *alāku* 6 (Gtn) for other uses of this verb. It is frequent in Assurnasirpal's inscriptions as well as in some epic texts and texts of Sargon I.

²⁹ *Ha-ma-nu* is the Amanus range in western Syria and not the Amanah of the Bible (2 Kgs 5:12; Song 4:6) which is parallel to Akk. Ammananum (Anti-Lebanon.) See Cogan 1984.

³⁰ See annals *RIMA* 2:219 column 3 line 88. *e-ta-ta-li* is Gtn perfect of *elū* (*AHW* 208a s.v. *elū* Gtn 1a); cf. Sargon Birth Legend lines 16, 26 (see text 1.133 above). The verbs used here and in the next line indicate numerous campaigns.

³¹ Line 21 begins [x]-ū KAM, probably to be restored [2]-ū KAM, "twice."

³² The upper right corner of the tablet is destroyed and many of the preserved lines are effaced, making continuous translation impossible.

³³ Harran would be a possible restoration geographically and orthographically (cf. KUR KASKAL-ni in Tiglath-pileser I's annals: *RIMA* 1:26 line 71) but it is not otherwise mentioned in Assurnasirpal II's inscriptions.

³⁴ Reverse lines 7-11 are restored according to the annals *RIMA* 2:219 column 3 line 90. The restoration is meant to be suggestive of content rather than an exact reconstruction of the text.

³⁵ See *CAD* N 2:295a s.v. *nīšu* B 3a1' for *nīš* *ni* meaning "look, glance, chosen person or object, choice, discretion."

³⁶ See *AHW* 1140a s.v. *šakkanakkum*; *CAD* Š 1:175b s.v. *šakkanaku* 2c).

³⁷ See Hunger *BAK* 262.

REFERENCES

Text *LKA* 64. No previous editions, translations or studies. Brinkman 1968:393-394; Cogan 1984; Conradie 1989; de Filippi 1977; Groneberg 1987; Hawkins 1972-1975; 1980-1983. Hurowitz and Westenholz 1992; Ikeda 1978; 1984-1985; Lambert 1957-58:43; Livingstone 1989; Pedersén 1986; Reade 1989.

A PRAYER FROM A CORONATION RITUAL OF
THE TIME OF TUKULTI-NINURTA I (1.140)

Alasdair Livingstone

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|--|--|
| <p>(1) May Assur and Ninlil, the lords of your crown, set your crown on your head for a hundred years!</p> <p>(3) May your foot in Ekur and your hands stretched toward the breast of Assur, your god, be agreeable!</p> | <p>(4) May your priesthood and the priesthood of your sons be agreeable to Assur, your god! With your straight scepter widen your land! May Assur give you authority, obedience, concord, justice and peace!</p> |
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REFERENCES

Müller 1937:4-89 and obv. col. ii.30-36.

A HYMN TO NANAYA WITH A BLESSING FOR SARGON II (1.141)

Alasdair Livingstone

Obverse

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| <p>I.1' [... <i>she grasps in her hand</i>] the naked sword, [the emblem of Nergal], and the pointed axe,
appropriate to the [Pleiades].
Right and left, battle is set in lines.</p> <p>I.5' She is the foremost of the gods, whose play is combat, she who leads the coalition of the seven demons.
Musicians of wide repertoire are seated before her, performers on the lyre, the harpsichord, the clappers, the flute, the oboe, the long pipes.</p> <p>I.10' The jesters calm her heart with spindles, whiplashes and with sweet [...]s.
[...] ... of loveliness of ...
They wear armbands ... [...]
[...] a bunch of grapes [...].</p> <p>I.15' [their] hands are weighed down with [...] of the finest gold
[...] their noses [...].
Their [...]</p> <p>II.1' [...] Nanaya [...].
The daughter-in-law of Esagil ... [...], the wife of Muati, the darling of Bel, [his] father, whom Belet-ili honored among the goddesses.</p> <p>II.3' Go forth, depart, female warrior of the goddesses, capable one who adorns the function of the warrior,</p> <p>II.7' [...] of the unmerciful, belligerent heart(?),</p> <p>II.8' [...] to the end of days perform their [...].</p> <p><i>Reverse</i></p> <p>I.3' [O world, hearken to the praise of the queen], Nanaya!</p> | <p style="text-align: right; font-size: small;">a 1 Sam 2:8;
Ps 113:7</p> <p>[Exalt the beautiful one, magnify the] resonant one!</p> <p>I.5' [Extol the exalted one, adore with praise] the powerful one!
[Beseech her and pray to her constantly!]</p> <p>II.1' Even a capable [...] whom [she does not guide], [...] a gift [...];
The bridal gift of an open [...] , whom she [does not guide], is [...].</p> <p>II.5' Even a wise exorcist, whom she does not guide, where is his expertise? His perambulations [...]
The hand of even an erudite physician, whom she does not guide, is powerless before his patients!
Without her, who can achieve anything?</p> <p>II.10' Journey far, hasten, learn how she is praised!
Honor the merciful one monthly, for ever, she who can make rich the destitute, bring abundance to the poor! "
Hear, O world, the praise of the queen, Nanaya!
Exalt the beautiful one, magnify the resonant one!</p> <p>II.15' Extol the exalted one, adore with praise the powerful one!
Beseech and pray to her constantly!</p> <p>Calm down, daughter of Sin, settle in your sanctuary!</p> <p>Bless Sargon, who holds fast to the hem of your garment, the shepherd of Assyria, who walks behind you!</p> <p>II.20' Decree for him as his fate a life of long days! Make firm the foundations of his throne, prolong his reign!</p> |
|--|--|

Protect the stallions harnessed to [his] yoke! Keep affliction and weakness distant from his body!		offerings of god and goddess, — Enlil listens to you, Tutu obeys you — may it (the grasshopper) be counted as nought!
II.24' The evil locust which ravages the grain, the malignant grasshopper which dries up the orchards, which would cut off the regular		The genie and protective spirit which stand before you [...]
	II.30'	[...] plains, mountains [...]

REFERENCES

Foster *BM* 709-711; Livingstone 1989:13-16; Martin 1903:196ff.; MacMillan 1906:564.

ASSURBANIPAL'S CORONATION HYMN (1.142)

Alasdair Livingstone

This text should be read together with the Middle Assyrian Coronation Ritual Prayer and the Late Piece of Constructed Mythology (see text 1.146 below).

(1) May Shamash, king of heaven and earth, raise you to shepherdship over the four regions! May Assur, who gave you the [scepter], pro- long your days and years! Spread your land wide at your feet! May Sherua extol your name to your per- sonal god! ¹		May his reign be renewed and may they firmly establish his royal throne for ever! Daily, monthly and yearly may they bless him and guard his reign!
(5) Just as grain and silver, oil, the cattle of Shakan ² and the salt of Bariku ³ are good, so may Assurbanipal be favored by the gods of his land! May eloquence, understanding, truth and jus- tice be granted him as a gift!	(20)	During his years may rains from heaven and floods from the underground source be steady! Give our lord, Assurbanipal, long [days], copious years, great strength, a long reign, years of abundance, good repute and fame, health and well-being, a pro- pitious oracle and leadership over other kings!
(9) May the [population] of Assur buy thirty kor of grain for one shekel of silver! May the [population] of Assur buy three seah of oil for one shekel of silver! May the [popula- tion] of Assur buy thirty minas of wool for one shekel of silver!		<i>At this point there is the following instruction to a priest:</i>
(12) May the lesser speak and the [greater] listen! May the greater speak and the [lesser] listen! May concord and peace be estab- lished in Assyria!		<i>Reverse</i>
(15) Assur is king — indeed Assur is king! As- surbanipal is the [representative] of Assur, the creation of his hands! May the great gods make his reign firmly established! May they guard the life of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria! May they give him a straight scepter to widen his land and peoples!	(3)	Having pronounced this blessing, he turns round and pronounces a further blessing at the opening of the censer in front of Shamash:
	(5)	Anu gave his crown, ⁴ Enlil his throne; Ni- nurta gave his weapon; Nergal gave his awesome luminance. Nusku made a depu- tation and placed advisers before him.
	(9)	Anyone who speaks with the king deceitfully or falsely, if a notable, will be killed with a weapon, if a rich man, will become im- poverished. As for him who privately plots evil against the king, Erra will call him to account with murderous plague.

¹ By personal god is meant Assur and the idea is that Assurbanipal intercedes through the medium of the god's consort Sherua.

² God of cattle; cf. in a hemerology "On the first of the month Kislim he should libate water before the returning herds; he should prostrate himself before Shakan!" (CT 51 161 // STT 302).

³ A locality famed for its salt.

⁴ The donations agree with the character and symbolism of the gods. Cf. the reference to a crown of "Anu-ship" in a Late Babylonian New Year's festival text, where the donning of the tiara of Anu is brought into a logical relationship with the taking over of the "kingship of Anu" (SBH VIII obv. col. i 24-25).

He who privately utters malicious talk against the king, his property is wind and his garment hem litter. (15) Gather round, all gods of heaven and earth, and bless Assurbanipal, the circumspect		king! Place in his hand the weapon of combat and battle and give him the black-headed peo- ple, that he may rule as their shepherd!
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REFERENCES

Foster *BM* 2:713-714; Livingstone 1989:26-27; Weidner 1939-41:210ff.

AN ASSURBANIPAL HYMN FOR SHAMASH (1.143)

Alasdair Livingstone

(1) Light of the great gods, resplendent illumina- tor of the universe, Lofty judge, shepherd of the celestial and earthly regions, As if they were cuneiform signs you watch over all lands with your light! You are one who does not become tired by divination, daily making the decisions for the denizens of heaven and earth! (5) At your coming out, blazing fire, all the stars of heaven become invisible! You alone are supremely brilliant, no one among the gods can rival with you! You consult with Šin, your father, and then give instructions. Anu and Enlil cannot give counsel without you! Ea, who decides cases, looks up to you from the Apsu! (10) All the gods pay attention at your bright ap- pearance! They smell the incense and accept the pure offerings! Beneath you [kneel] the exorcists, to avert omens of evil! The diviners stand at attention before you, to make their hands fit to receive oracular commands! [I am] your [servant], Assurbanipal, whom by means of divination you commanded to exercise kingship, (15) who praises your bright divinity, honors the symbol of your divinity, [who proclaims] your greatness, makes man-		ifest your praise to the far-flung peoples! <i>Reverse</i> (1) Judge his case, make the decision for him for well-being! May it be appointed for him, that he walk safely in the light of your rising! May he constantly shepherd over your peoples, whom you gave him, in justice. [In the temple] which he set up — and in which he caused you to dwell in joyous- ness — ¹ (5) may his heart be elated, his spirit rejoice, be sated with life! Whoever gives praise, sings this, and names the name of Assurbanipal, may he shepherd the peoples of Enlil in abundance and justice! Whoever learns this text by heart and ho- nors the judge of the gods, Shamash, may he bring into esteem his [words], make good his command over the people! (10) Whoever should nullify this song, or not praise Shamash, the light of the great gods, or who should change the name of Assur- banipal, whom by means of divination Shamash appointed to exercise his kingship, or who names the name of another king, (13) may his string music be painful to those who listen, his exultation as the thorn of a bush.
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¹ This line brings the hymn into a definite relationship with actual building activities of Assurbanipal, whether in Assur or elsewhere.

REFERENCES

SAHG 5; *ANET* 386; Foster, *BM* 2:725f.

AN ASSURBANIPAL PRAYER FOR MULLISSU (1.144)

Alasdair Livingstone

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|--|---|
| <p>(1) [.....] ... [.....]
[...] she provides [.....]
[...] ... she is in authority, does not ... [...]
[...], who grants scepter, throne, and a long reign,
(5) [who makes] their offspring abundant, fashions totality,
[...]. at its mention the Igigi tremble.
[At its ...] who made the Anunnaki tremble.
[Humanity], — mankind, the black-headed people, beseech you for their lives!
Merciful, sparing [sovereign], who grants clemency,
(10) [who makes joyful] the wandering vagrant, takes the hand of the one in extremity, [who looks to] the wronged and the one in mortal danger, who restores life to the one on his deathbed,
she who can alter the status of the weak and the lowly,
that is you, queen, lady of clemency and peace!
You establish clemency, cause peace to come into being!
(15) Mullissu is the one who give peace and life to whoever enters her shrine!
I am your servant, Assurbanipal, whom your hands created,
whom without father and mother you brought up and raised to greatness.
Your [...] ... you blossom constantly with life, and you protected my life!
[...] I recite your glorification, I rejoice in your concord!
(20) [.....] greatly, one who values [...]...
[.....] her [...] is praised.</p> <p><i>Reverse</i></p> <p>(1) [.....] lady of kind deeds, the city [...] [.....] and you made me rejoice!
[Mullissu, lady] of the gods, it is to you that</p> | <p>I have turned!
You know both to [save from disaster] and to spare; I have seized the hem of your garment!¹
(5) I have been enduring [...], I cannot bear it! [Through a misdeed] which I am or am not aware of, I have become weak!
[Through an offense, which] I am or am not aware of, may I not come to an end, lady! [Through any crime] which I may have committed since the time of my youth [or] the mentioning of a god, whether knowingly or unknowingly, I express great regret!
(10) May evil be driven away daily, lady! May your pleasant [breeze] waft and the darkness be illuminated!
In the distress and extremity which oppress me, take my hand!
May any detractor of mine who exults over me not prosper!
[May I have life and prosperity], that I may constantly praise the deeds of your divinity!
(15) [...] a spontaneous wish, a prayer for Mullissu, the merciful queen, by one who stands attentively before her.</p> <p><i>(Colophon)</i></p> <p>(i) [Palace] of Assurbanipal, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Esarhad-don, king of Assyria, grandson of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, who trusts in Assur and Mullissu. [He who] trusts in you will not come to shame, O Assur, king of the gods!
(v) [He who erases my written name or the name of my favorite brother] by any devious action, [...] or they destroy, are hostile to his land, [may Assur] and Mullissu [with rage and fury overthrow him]!</p> |
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¹ The fact that the hem of a garment could be used for sealing documents with statements under oath gives greater force to this metaphor.

REFERENCES

OECT 6:pl. xiii 72ff.

DIALOGUE BETWEEN ASSURBANIPAL AND NABU (1.145)

Alasdair Livingstone

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| <p>(1) In the assembly of the great gods [I constantly] speak in your adulation, Nabu!
May the [assembly] of my detractors not</p> | <p>take control of me!
(3) [In the temple of the Queen of] Nineveh I approach you, hero among the gods, his</p> |
|--|---|

gods, his brothers. You are the eternal trust of Assurbanipal! (5) [Since I was a small] child I have lain at the feet of Nabu! Nabu, do not leave me to the assembly of my detractors! (7) Please listen, Assurbanipal! I am Nabu! Until the end of time your feet shall not falter nor your hands tremble. Your lips shall not tire in praying to me, nor your tongue be twisted on your lips, for I shall give you pleasant speech. I will raise your head and give you great stature in É.MAŠ.MAŠ.¹ (13) Nabu continues to speak: Your pleasant mouth, which prays ever to Ishtar of Uruk! Your figure, which I created, prays for ever to me in É.MAŠ.MAŠ! (16) Your fate, which I created, prays ever to me thus: "Bring order into É.GAŠAN.KALAM.MA!"² "The breath of your life prays ever to me: 'Give long life to Assurbanipal!'" (19) Assurbanipal is kneeling on his knees and prays ever to Nabu, his lord: "Listen please, do not leave me! My life is spelt out before you, my soul safe kept in the lap of Mullissu. Listen please, mighty Nabu, do not leave me amongst my detractors!" (23) There answered a dream god from the presence of Nabu, his lord: "Fear not, Assur-		banipal, I will give you long life! I will entrust favorable winds with the breath of your life! My pleasant mouth shall ever bless you in the assembly of the great gods!" <i>Reverse</i> (1) Assurbanipal opened his fists, ever praying to Nabu, his lord: "May he who grasps the feet of the Queen of Nineveh not come to shame in the assembly of the great gods! May he who kneels by the hem of Ishtar of Uruk not come to shame in the assembly of his detractors. Do not leave me in the assembly of my detractors, O Nabu! Do not leave the breath of my life to the assembly of those who would take issue against me!" (6) "You were a child, Assurbanipal, when I left you with the Queen of Nineveh; you were a baby, Assurbanipal, when you sat on the lap of the Queen of Nineveh! Her four teats were placed in your mouth: two you would suckle and two you would milk before you!" (9) Your detractors, Assurbanipal, will fly away like pollen(?) on the surface of the water! They will be squashed before your feet like fat spring insects! You, Assurbanipal, will stand before the great gods and praise Nabu!
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¹ É.MAŠ.MAŠ was the Ishtar temple at Nineveh. Its history reaches back to the Akkad period and major building activity was carried out around 1800 BCE by Shamshi-Adad I. The temple was given attention by Hammurabi who claimed in the prologue to his code of laws (CH iv 61) to have promulgated the rites of Ishtar in É.MAŠ.MAŠ. Its fabric and cult was enhanced by numerous Assyrian kings, not least Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. In the late period, due to religious syncretism, Ninlil or Mullissu was also worshipped in this temple.

² É.GAŠAN.KALAM.MA was the temple of Ishtar at Arbela. For an edition and translation of and commentary on a tablet describing its cult see *MMEW* p. 116ff.

REFERENCES

Livingstone 1989:13; *SAHG* 39:292.

A LATE PIECE OF CONSTRUCTED MYTHOLOGY RELEVANT TO THE NEO-ASSYRIAN
AND MIDDLE ASSYRIAN CORONATION HYMN AND PRAYER (1.146)

Alasdair Livingstone

(1) [...] ... [...] Their faces were turned away [...] Bēlet-ilī, their lady, was frightened by their silence; she spoke out to Ea, the exorcist: (5) "The toil of the gods has become wearisome to them! ... [...] . belt . [...]"		Their faces are turned away, and enmity has broken out! Let us create a figure of clay and impose the toil on it and relieve them from their exertions for ever." (10) Ea began to speak, addressing Bēlet-ilī: "You are Bēlet-ilī, the lady of the great
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gods. [...] ... later [...] [...] ... his hands." Bēlet-ilī pinched off clay for him. (15) Craftily she made clever things. [...] she purified and mixed clay to create him. [...] she decorated his body, [...] his whole stature. She put a ... [...] (20) She put a ... [...] She put a ... [...] [...] she placed on [his] body. Enlil, hero of the great gods, [...] [as soon as he saw him] his own features beamed! (25) [...] took a comprehensive view of [...] in the assembly of the great gods. his [...], he gave final perfection to the created being. Enlil, the hero of the great gods [...] Let me determine his name as [<i>lullū</i>-man],¹ and gave the order to make him bear the toil	of the gods. (30) Ea began to speak, addressing Bēlet-ilī:² "You are Bēlet-ilī, lady of the great gods! It is you who have created <i>lullū</i>-man, now create a king, a man to be in control! Encircle the whole of his body with something fine. (35) Finish perfectly his appearance, make his body beautiful! So Bēlet-ilī created the king, the man to be in control. The great gods gave to the king the power of battle. Anu gave his crown, Enlil his [throne].³ Nergal gave his weapons, Ninurta his [terrifying splendor]. (40) Bēlet-ilī gave [his] beautiful countenance. Nusku gave directions, gave counsel and stood in service [before him]. Anyone who speaks with the king [deceitfully or falsely], if a notable [...]
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¹ This word *lullū* is used in the Epic of Atrahasis to describe the first human created by the mother goddess from clay and spittle. It is used in the Babylonian Epic of Creation (*Enuma Elish*) to describe the first human before he is given the name "man" (*amēlu*), while in the Epic of Gilgamesh it describes Enkidu before he is initiated into the habits of civilization.

² Up to this point the mythological story line agrees closely with that in the Epic of Atrahasis and similar stories or poems of creation. What follows, however, adds a completely new dimension. After man had been created to free the gods from toil, a king is to be created to organize them. Textually, the material in this latter section is evidently based on the Assurbanipal Coronation Hymn or, as is far more likely, on other older material on which this part of the Assurbanipal Coronation Hymn itself was based.

³ The donations made by the individual gods agree broadly with their known attributes and iconography; see the corresponding section in the Coronation Hymn (text 1.142 and note 4).

REFERENCES

Mayer 1987:55ff.

4. FICTIONAL ROYAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY

THE ADAD-GUPPI AUTOBIOGRAPHY (1.147)

Tremper Longman III

In 1906 H. Pognon discovered a much-broken stela at Eski Harran (Nab. H 1, A). The text left many questions unanswered but was identified as composed for either the mother or grandmother of Nabonidus. Happily, D. S. Rice discovered a duplicate in the pavement steps of the northern entrance to the Great Mosque at Harran (Nab. H 2, A). Both texts had been used to construct the steps leading to the mosque. The text has been transliterated and translated by Gadd, but no copy has yet been made.

Introduction (Column I, lines 1-5)

I am ^a Adad-guppi, mother of Nabunaid, king of Babylon, a worshipper¹ of Sin, Ningal, Nusku, and

^a Prov 8:12;
Ecc 1:12

Sadarnunna, my gods, for whose divinity I have cared since my youth.

¹ Akk. *pālīhtu* is a lay term, cf. von Voightlander 1964:222-223.

Autobiographical Narrative (Column I, line 5 to column III, line 43' [the following extract is through Column II, line 11])

Whereas² in the sixteenth year of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, Sin, the king of the gods, became angry with his city and his house, and went up to heaven (with the result that) the city and its people were transformed into a ruin.³ During that time I cared for the sanctuaries of Sin, Ningal, Nusku, and Sadarnunna, since I revered their deity. Sin, the king of the gods,⁴ I was constantly⁵ beseeching. I daily, without fail, cared for his great deity. I was a worshipper of Sin, Shamash, Ishtar, and Adad all of my life (whether) in heaven or on earth. My fine possessions that they gave to me,⁶ I gave back to them, daily, nightly, monthly, yearly. I was continually beseeching Sin. Gazing at him⁷ prayerfully and in humility, I knelt before them.⁸ Thus (I said): "May your return to your city take place.⁹ May the black-headed people worship your great divinity." In order to appease the heart of my god and my goddess, I did not put on a garment of excellent wool,¹⁰ silver, gold, a fresh garment; I did not allow perfumes (or) fine oil to touch my body. I was clothed in a torn garment. My fabric was sackcloth.⁷ I proclaimed their praises.⁸ The fame of my god and goddess were set (firmly) in my heart. I stood their watch.⁸ I served them food.⁸

From the twentieth year of Assurbanipal, king of Assur, in which I was born, until the forty-second year of Assurbanipal, the third year of Assur-etillili, his son, the twenty-first year of Nabopolassar, the forty-third year of Nebuchadnezzar,⁷ the second year of Awel-Marduk,⁸ the fourth year of Neriglissar — for ninety-five years I cared for Sin, the king of the gods of heaven and earth,¹ and for the sanctuaries of his great divinity. He looked upon me and my good deeds with joy. Having heard my prayers⁹ and agreeing to my request, the wrath of

b Lam 2:4-8

c Ps 95:3

d Ps 22:30;
95:6

e 1 Sam 6:1-7:1

f Isa 22:12;
32:11; Ps
35:13; 69:12

g Gen 29:35;
Exod 15:2;
Deut 10:21;
Ps 48:2

h Ps 63:6;
119:148

i Lev 21:6,8,
17,22; Ps
50:12-15

j 2 Kgs 24:1ff;
Dan 1:1,18,
etc.

k 2 Kgs 25:27;
Jer 52:31

l Ps 115:15;
121:2

m Ps 34:7;
66:19

n 1 Kgs 11:34;
Ps 78:70

o Lev 9:22;
Ps 141:2

p Ps 5:8

q Ps 124:1-5

r Ps 42:5;
68:25;
118:27

his heart calmed. He was reconciled with Ehulhul, Sin's house, located in the midst of Harran, his favorite dwelling.

Sin, the king of the gods, looked upon me. He called Nabunaid, my only son, my offspring, to kingship.⁹ He personally delivered⁹ the kingship of Sumer and Akkad, from the border of Egypt and the upper sea, to the lower sea, all the land.

I lifted my hands to Sin,⁹ the king of the gods, reverently in prayer:⁹ [Thus (I said): "Nabunaid is (my) son, my offspring, beloved of his mother]. II:1 You are the one who called him to kingship and have spoken his name by your own divine utterance. (Now) may the great gods go at his side.⁹ May they fell his enemies. Do not forget Ehulhul but complete and restore its rites."

When, in my dream, Sin, the king of the gods, had set his hands (on me), he said thus: "Through you I will bring about the return of the gods (to) the dwelling in Harran, by means of Nabunaid your son. He will construct Ehulhul; he will complete its work. He will complete the city Harran greater than it was before and restore it. He will bring Sin, Ningal, Nusku, and Sadarnunna in procession⁹ back into¹⁰ the Ehulhul."

The narrative continues with only minor breaks. The text concludes with an exhortation to observe the worship of Sin.

Final Exhortation (Column III:44'-56')

[Whoever] you are — whether king, prince [] in the land. [Continually stand watch] for Sin, the king [of the gods], the lord of the gods of heaven and earth, his great divinity and reverence [the divinities of heaven and] earth who [] dwell in Esagil and Ehulhul and pray (to the divinities) in heaven and earth and [] the command of Sin and Ishtar who saves [] keep your seed safe forever and ever.

² The use of the relative pronoun *ša* at the beginning of the Adad-guppi text is difficult. Cf. CT 34, 27:41ff.; see Moran 1959:135-136.

³ Idiomatic rendering of *māši u urra*; lit., "night and day."

⁴ Taking the second *-nu* as a first person singular possessive suffix; cf. von Soden, GAG 42 j and k.

⁵ Lit., "my two eyes were with him."

⁶ According to Oppenheim, however, this is "wool of a specific color," ANET 311, n. 3.

⁷ Contra Gadd who translates "my goings-out were noiseless," see CAD M 2:245 for *mušû* as a type of woven fabric. This translation more clearly fits into the context which is a description of Adad-guppi's mourning the departure of the gods from Harran.

⁸ For feeding the gods, see Oppenheim 1964:183-198.

⁹ "Personally deliver" translates the idiomatic expression *mullû qātussu*, lit., "fill into his hand"; cf. CAD M 1:187. Also, cf. Moran 1959:136: "G(odd)'s *u-rāk-la-a* is morphologically very difficult, conventional idiom demands some form of *mullû*, and epigraphically there is no difficulty with *mal*..."

¹⁰ Akk. *šarubu* is a technical term for bringing the divine statue into a temple.

REFERENCES

Gadd 1958; Longman 1991:97-103, 225-228.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF IDRIMI (1.148)

Tremper Longman III

The text is preserved on a statue of Idrimi, discovered by Sir Leonard Woolley in 1939 during his excavations at Tell Atshana (Alalah). Although found in the debris of Level IB (ca. 1200 BCE), the statue was dated by most scholars back to Level IV (1500 BCE). Presently, the statue is housed at the British Museum.

The short statue (1.07 m) represents the king sitting on a throne (which has since been found). It was fashioned from magnesite and dolorite and covered on the front by an inscription of 104 lines. The last few lines run down Idrimi's cheek to his mouth, giving the impression that these words were uttered by the figure represented by the statue.

Introduction (lines 1-2)

(1) I am Idrimi,^a the son of Ilmilimma, the servant of Adad,^b Hepat, and Ishtar, the lady of Alalah, my ladies.

Personal Narration (lines 3-91)

(3) An act of hostility occurred in Aleppo, my ancestral home, and we fled to the people of Emar, my mother's relatives, and we lived in Emar.^c My older brothers lived (there) with me, but none of them were thinking of the matters of which I was thinking.

(10) Thus I (said): "Whoever possesses his father's house is indeed the foremost heir and whoever [does not] is a servant of the citizens of Emar." I [to]ok my horse, my chariot, and my groom and I went into the desert.^d I [en]tered into the midst of Sutean warriors. I spent the night with him (?) in the midst of ...

(17b) I set out the next day. I went to the land of Canaan. The town of Ammiya is situated in the land of Canaan. In the town of Ammiya lived citizens of Halab, Mukiš, Niya, and Amae. (When) they saw that I was their lord's son, they gathered around me. "I have become chief; I have been appointed."¹

(27b) I dwelt in the midst of the Hapiru warriors for seven years. I released birds and examined sheep entrails. The weather god turned to me in the seventh year and I built ships. Soldiers ...² I caused them to board the ships and proceed by sea to the land of Mukiš. I landed at Mount Hazi. I went up, and my land heard of me. They brought oxen and sheep before me. In one day, like one man, Niya, Amae, Mukiš, and Alalah, my city, turned to me. My allies heard and came before me. When they made a treaty with me,³ I established them as my

^a Prov 8:12;
Eccl 1:12

^b Deut 12:7;
2 Sam 7:5;
Job 42:5

^c 1 Sam 22:3-4

^d Judg 11:1-11; 1 Sam 20:30 [David's wilderness wandering]

^e Gen 21:32;
Jos 9:15

^f Gen 21:31; 24:7; 50:5;
Jos 6:26;
Neh 5:12

^g Judg 9:5;
Ps 57:1;
63:7; 91:1;
Isa 51:16;
Lam 4:20

^h Num 21:29;
Ps 68:18;
Jer 40:1;
Ezek 12:11

allies.

(42b) Now for seven years Barrattarna, the strong king, the king of the Hurrian troops, was hostile toward me. In the seventh year I sent (a message) to Barrattarna, the king of the Umman-manda, and I informed (him) of the vassal service of my ancestors when my ancestors made a treaty with them. And our words were pleasing to the (former) kings of the Hurrian troops and a strong agreement existed between them. The mighty king heard of the vassal service of our predecessors and the agreement between them, and he had respect for the oath because of the words of the agreement and because of our vassal service. My greeting he accepted and I increased the sacrifices and returned to him his lost estate. I swore a binding oath⁴ to him concerning my position as a loyal vassal and I was king in Alalah.

(59) Kings on my right and left rose up against me. And like them ...⁴ which my ancestors piled up on the ground and I also heaped up on the ground. Thus I put an end to their warfare.

(64) I took troops and went against Hatti. I destroyed cities under their sovereignty,⁵ (including) Paššahe, Damrut-rē⁶i, Hulahhan, Zise, Ie, Uluzila, and Zarana, these cities were (under) their treaty protection. The land of Hatti did not assemble and come against me. So I did as I pleased: I took them as captives; I took their goods, their possessions and their valuables and divided (them) among my auxiliaries. I took my brothers and my comrades together with them and returned to Mukiš. I entered my city Alalah with captives.⁴

(79) I constructed a house with the property, goods, possessions, and valuables that I had brought down from Hatti. I made my throne like the throne of

¹ This line is extremely difficult. All suggestions are subject to problems. Detailed discussions of this line may be found in Oller 1977a:36-38 and Greenstein and Marcus 1976:75-77.

² The text is not broken, but the word(s) is/are so problematical that it is best to leave the rest of the sentence untranslated. For discussion and suggestions, see Oller 1977a:45-47 and Greenstein and Marcus 1976:79-80.

³ *Innaḫū* from *nāḫū*. This is difficult because the N of *nāḫū* only occurs once. For this reason Greenstein and Marcus posit an "orthographic doubling of the n," and regard the form as a G. Oller's translation based on an N of *anāḫū* ("My brothers labored with me") is a possible alternative. Dietrich and Loretz (1981:215) assert that it is an N ptc 3rd pl. from *aḫū* II, a denominative verb. If true, this would be (along with line 48) the only occurrence of the N form.

⁴ This is the most difficult line in the whole composition. Greenstein and Marcus argue for a reading *ku-um-ta el ku-fuk]-ma-ti-su-nu*, but Oller's collation does not substantiate their transliteration. We leave it untranslated.

⁵ *Šalutu* (*šulutu*) may signify (like the biblical *šet*) the protection offered a vassal by a sovereign in a treaty arrangement.

kings. I made my brothers like the brothers of kings, my sons like their sons and my friends like their friends. I made my inhabitants who were in the midst of my land dwell in better dwellings. Those who (formerly) did not dwell in dwellings, I made them dwell (so). I established my land. I made my cities as they were previously with our fathers. (In accord with?) the signs that the gods of Alalah established and the sacrifices of our father who repeatedly performed them, I repeatedly performed them. I performed them and entrusted them to my son Adad-nirari.

Blessing/Curse Formulas (lines 92-104)

(92) Whoever...this my statue, may his progeny be destroyed. May the heaven-god curse him.⁶ May

i Deut 4:2;
12:32; Prov
30:6; Ezra
6:11-12

the earth below destroy his progeny. May the gods of heaven and earth measure out his kingdom. Whoever changes it..., may IM the lord of heaven and earth and the great gods extirpate his name, his seed in his land.

(98b) Šarruwa is the scribe, the servant of IM, UTU, Kušuh, and ANŠUR.⁶ Šarruwa is the scribe who inscribed this statue. May the gods of heaven and earth give him good health, protect him, and favor him. May Shamash, the lord of the upper and lower worlds, the lord of the spirits, give him life.

(102) I reigned as king for 30 years. I have inscribed my labors on a statue. Let one look on them and continually bless me.⁷

⁶ See the translation and the discussion of these lines in Sasson 1981:310ff.

⁷ See Oller 1977b.

REFERENCES

Dietrich and Loretz 1981; Greenstein and Marcus 1976; Kempinski and Na'aman 1973; Longman 1991:60-66, 216-218; Oller 1977a; 1977b; Sasson 1981; Smith 1949.

THE MARDUK PROPHECY (1.149)

Tremper Longman III

The Marduk Prophecy is the most complete and clearest example of fictional autobiography which ends with a prophecy. R. Borger has provided a copy, transliteration, translation into German, and commentary on the text.

(i 1) O Ḫarḫarum, Ḫayyašum,¹ Anum, Enlil, Nudim[mud], Ea, [Muati], Nabium! Let the great gods learn my secrets.² After I gird my loins, I will give my speech.

(i 7) I am Marduk^b the Great Lord. I am always watching,² walking watchfully over the mountains, I watch, a watchman^c roaming the lands. I am he, who in all the lands — from sunrise to sunset — am constantly roaming.

(i 13) I gave the command that I go to Hatti.^d I inquired into Hatti. I set up the throne of my Anu-power in its midst. I dwelt in its midst for [24] years. I established [the trade of the citizens of Babylon [in] its midst. I oversaw its [...], its goods, and its valuables [in] Sippar, Nippur, [and Baby]-lon.

(i 23) [A king of Babylon] arose^e and [led me] ^{3 f} [to] Babylon. [...] were in order (?). Fair was the processional way^g of Ba[bylon.] [...] the crown of my Anu-power [...] and the statue [...] water,

a Deut 29:29;
Ps 44:21; Isa
45:19; 48:16

b Prov 8:12;
Ecc 1:12

c Hos 9:8

d 1 Sam 4:1b-
11

e Dan 11:7

f Gen 19:16

g Ps 42:4;
68:24

h Exod 19:4;
Ps 55:6

i Job 20:29;
21:17

j Jer 23:33-
40

winds [...]. Three days [...] the crown of my Anu-power [...] and statue [...] to my body [did I ...] I went home. [With reference to Babylon, I said:] "Bring [your tribute, O you] la[nds, to Babylon ...]."

[gap]

(i 1') [...] Assur was good [...] Ekur, Assur [...]. [Make its temples shine] like a *zaldqu*-stone. Abounding [...] I gave [it. Monthly, daily, and yearly [I blessed it]. I girded [the loins] of the people of Enlil with it. I gave [it] wings like a bird.^h I filled all [the lands]. I filled [...]. I blessed Assur. I gave it fates [...]. I gave it strong approval [...]. I went home. With reference to Babylon I said: "Bring your tribute, O you lands, to Babylon [...]."

(i 18') I am Marduk, the great prince. I am Lord of fateⁱ and oracle.^j Who has undertaken this campaign? As I have gone away, I will come back — I have commanded it. I went to Elam — all the

¹ Two rarely mentioned gods. It is surprising that the Marduk text begins with an invocation to such rarely attested deities.

² LAL.MEŠ is translated as a Gtn of *ḫātu* (*aḫtanatta*); see CAD H 159b. Cf. Borger who translates LAL.MEŠ as "der Wanderer," connecting LAL with the root *šūd*. The *tan* form is translated as iterative. The use of logograms is frequent in the Marduk Prophecy and imparts an esoteric cast to the composition.

³ Lit., "grasped my hand," which is an idiom for leading the god's statue (*šalmu*) back to the temple.

gods went — I commanded it. I myself cut off the *nindabû*-offering of the temples. Shakkan and Nisaba⁴ I caused to go away to heaven. (ii 1) Sirish⁵ made the midst of the land sick.⁶ The corpses of the people block the gates.⁷ Brother consumes brother. Friend strikes his friend with a weapon. Aristocrats stretch out their hands (to beg) from the commoner. The scepter grows short.⁸ Evil lies across the land. [...] kings diminish the land. Lions block off the way.^m Dogs go mad and bite people.ⁿ 'As many as¹ they bite do not live; they die.⁹ I fulfilled my 'days'; I fulfilled my years. Then I carried myself back to my city Babylon and to the Ekur-sagil.^o I called all the goddesses together. I commanded: "Bring your tribute, O you lands, to Babylon [...]."

(ii 19) A king of Babylon will arise,^p and he will renew the house of announcement, the Ekur-sagil. He will draw the plans of heaven and earth in the Ekur-sagil. He will change its height. He will establish tax exemptions for my city Babylon. He will lead me and bring me into my city Babylon and the Ekur-sagil forever. He will renew the ship Matush. He will inlay its rudder with *šariru*-metal. He will [cover] its walls with *pašallu*-metal. He will let sailors who serve on it embark on it. They will face each other on the 'right' and left. 'A

k Joel 1:9

l Nah 3:3

m 1 Kgs
13:24-28;
Prov 26:23n Pss 22:16;
59:6, 14o 1 Sam 6:1-
7:2

p Dan 11:7

q Ezek 47:9,
10r Pss 67:6;
85:12

s Exod 20:12

king¹ who like (?) the star (?) of the Ekur-sagil [...].

[gap, then some fragmentary lines]

(iii 1') [gap, some fragmentary signs] 'Ningirsu¹ will rule. The rivers will carry fish.^q The fields and plains will be full of yield. The grass of winter (will last) to summer. The grass of summer will last to winter. The harvest of the land will thrive.^r The marketplace will prosper. He will set evil aright. He will clear up the disturbed. He will illumine evil. The clouds will be continually present. Brother will love his brother. A son will fear his father as if he were a god.^s Mother [...] daughter. The bride will marry. She will fear her husband. He will be compassionate toward the people. The man will regularly pay his taxes. That prince will [rule all] the lands.

(iii 21') And I, the god of all, will befriend him. He will destroy Elam. He will destroy its cities. The city and its swamps he will turn away. He causes the great king of Der to arise in his doorframe. He will change its deathly silence. His evil [...]. His hand he will seize. He will ever cause him to enter Der and the Ugal-kalama.

[Break]

⁴ These are gods of cattle and grain respectively, thus the reference is to famine.

⁵ A beer goddess.

⁶ The verbs in this section are explicitly present/future when they are not written in logograms. Borger translates them in the past and wonders why they are written in the present. It may be a case of the "historical" present utilized in order to make the description more vivid.

⁷ The following section describes a situation of total social disorder. A similar theme is found in the Shulgi Prophecy IV, 9' ff.

⁸ See Borger, *BiOr* 14 (1957) 120b for *hattu* with *araku*. *Hattu* "scepter" is a metonym for "reign."

⁹ Dogs were vicious in Near Eastern towns, and during times of calamity were major problems. Thus the motif of dogs wandering the streets became a literary motif, see "The Curse of Agade."

REFERENCES

Borger 1971; Foster *BM* 1:304-307; Longman 1991:132-142; 233-235.

THE DYNASTIC PROPHECY (1.150)

Tremper Longman III

The Dynastic Prophecy is the most recent addition to the growing corpus of Akkadian prophecy texts. A. K. Grayson provided an edition of the text in 1975. The text is in a poor state of preservation, not having a single complete line. The Dynastic Prophecy has only one certain exemplar although, as Grayson points out, BM 34903 (= CT 51:122) could possibly be part of the text. The following excerpt excludes the fragmentary introduction which preserves indications of first-person speech. It also omits the fragmentary fourth column. Generically and stylistically, this prophecy bears close resemblance to Daniel 11:2-45.

[Break]¹

i 1' [...] me. [...] me.² [...] left. [...] great. [...]

seed. [...] he sees.

(i 7') [...] a later day. [...] will be overthrown. [...]

¹ There is a lacuna of uncertain length before the first line.

² Lines 1 and 2 end []-in-n[i] and []-ni-in-ni respectively. The interpretation adopted in this translation is that they are ventive endings on verbs. This is an indication that the complete Dynastic Prophecy would have begun with an autobiographical introduction, see Longman 1991:151-152.

will be annihilated. [...] Assyria. [...] silver (?) and [...] will attack and [...] Babylon, will attack and [...] will be overthrown. [...] will lift up and [...] will come/go [...] will seize [...] he will destroy [...] will shroud [...] he will bring ext[ensive booty]^a into Babylon. [...] he will decorate the Esagil and the Ezida.^b [...] he will build the palace of Babylon. [...] Nippur to Babylon. He will exercise kingship [for x year]s.

[Break]

(ii 1') [...] he will go up. [...] he will overthrow [...]. [He will exercise kingship] for three years. Borders and [...]. For his people [...]. After him his son will [sit] on the throne. [...] not [...].

(ii 11') A [rebel] prince will arise.^c [He will establish] the dynasty of Harran. [He will exercise kingship] for seventeen years. He will oppress the land and [he will cancel?] the festival of [Esagil]. [He will build] a fortress in Babylon. He will plot evil against Akkad.³

(ii 17') A king of Elam will arise. The scepter [...]. He will remove him from his throne [...]. He will

^a Gen 34:29;
Exod 3:22;
Deut 13:16;
Jer 20:5;
Dan 11:24

^b 1 Kgs 7:13-51

^c Dan 11:7

^d Judg 3:15-18; 2 Sam 8:2; 2 Kgs 17:3

^e Exod 15:3; 2 Sam 5:22-25

seize the throne and the king who arose from the throne [...]. The king of Elam will change his place [...]. He will cause him to dwell in another land [...]. That king will oppress the land and [...]. All the lands [will bring] tribute [to him].^d During his reign Akkad [will not enjoy] a peaceful abode.⁴

(iii 1) [...] kings [...] of his father [...]. [He will exercise kingship] for two years. A eunuch [will murder] that king. Any prince [will arise]. He will attack and [will seize the throne]. He will [exercise kingship] for five years. [...] army of the Hanaeans [...] will attack [...]. His army [...] will plunder and ro[b him]. Afterward [his ar]my will regroup and [raise] their weapons.^e Enlil, Shamash, and [Marduk] will go at the side of his ar[my]. He will bring about the overthrow of the Hanaean army. He will [carry] off his extensive booty [and bring] it into his palace. The people who had ex[perienced] misfortune [will enjoy] well-being. The mood of the land [...] tax exemption [...].⁵

[Break]

³ This section clearly alludes to Nabonidus (Harran).

⁴ This section alludes to the Achaemenids (Elam).

⁵ This section alludes to the Greeks (Hanaeans; cf. Ionians).

REFERENCES

Grayson 1975:24-37; Longman 1991:149-152; 239-240.

C. INDIVIDUAL FOCUS

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1. JUST SUFFERER COMPOSITIONS

DIALOGUE BETWEEN A MAN AND HIS GOD (1.151)

Benjamin R. Foster

This is the earliest Akkadian treatment of the problem of theodicy, the theme of the just sufferer that reaches a literary climax of sorts in the biblical book of Job. The present treatment is known from a single text of Old Babylonian date. Like later ones, it is primarily concerned with suffering in the form of illness, assumed to be punishment for sins known or unknown, and it concludes with restoration to divine favor, i.e., to health. [WWH]

(i) A young man was imploring his god as a friend, He was constantly supplicating, he was [praying to(?)] him. His heart was seared, he was sickened with his burden, His feelings were sombre from misery. He weakened, fell to the ground, prostrated him- self. His burden had grown too heavy for him, he drew near to weep. He was moaning like a donkey foal separated (from its mother).^a He cried out before his god, his master. His mouth a wild bull, his clamor two mourners, [His] lips bear a lament to his lord. (ii) He recounts the burdens he suffered to his lord, The young man expounds the misery he is suffer- ing: "My Lord, I have debated with myself, and in my feelings [...] of heart: the wrong I did I do not know! ^b Have I [...] a vile forbidden act? Brother does not de[sp]ise his brother, Friend is not calumniator of his friend!" The [...] does not [...] [large gap] (iv) [4 lines lost or fragmentary] "[From] when I was a child until I grew up, (the days?) have been long, when [...]? How much you have been kind to me, how much I have blasphemed you, I have not forgotten. In[stead(?)] of good you revealed evil, O my lord, you made glow ... My bad repute is grown excessive, it ...to (my) feet. It [rains] blows on my skull(?). Its [...] turned my mouth ... to gall."	^a 1 Sam 6:12 ^b Job 9:20f.; 13:23 ^c Prov 25:21 ^d Ps 107:18; Job 38:17	[large gap] (vii) [4 lines lost] [...] he brought him to earth, [...] he has anointed him with medicinal oil, [...] food, and covered his blotch, He attended him and gladdened his heart, He ordered the restoration of his good health to him: (viii) "Your disease is under control, let your heart not be despondent! The years and days you were filled with misery are over. Were you not ordered to live, How could you have lasted the whole of this griev- ous illness? You have seen distress, ... is (now) held back. You have borne its massive load to the end. They have you, (but) the way is open to you, The path is straight for you, mercy is granted you. You must never, till the end of time, forget [your] god Your creator, now that you are favored." (ix) "I am your god, your creator, your trust, My guardians are strong and alert on your behalf. The field will open [to you] its refuge. I will see to it that you have long life. So, without qualms, do you anoint the parched, Feed the hungry, water the thirsty,^c But he who sits there with burning e[yes], Let him look upon your food, melt, flow down, and dis[solve]. The gate of life and well-being is open to you! ^d Going away(?), drawing near, coming in, going out: may you be well!" Make straight his way, open his path: May your servant's supplication reach your heart!
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REFERENCES

Text: Nougayrol 1952. Translations and studies: Nougayrol 1952; Lambert 1987; Foster *BM* 1:75-77, *FDD* 295-297.

A SUFFERER'S SALVATION (1.152)

Benjamin R. Foster

This treatment of the theme of theodicy bridges the gap between the Old Babylonian ones (in Sumerian and Akkadian) and those of neo-Assyrian date. It comes from Ugarit, where scribal schools adopted and adapted the Mesopotamian curriculum in the Late Bronze Age. It is preserved in a single fragmentary exemplar. [WWH]

[Gap of about 15 lines]

(1') Evil [portents?] were continually set against me [...]

My omens were obscure, they became like [...]

The diviner could not reach a ruling concerning me,

The "Judge" would give no sign.

(5') The omens were confused the oracles mixed up.

Dream interpreters used up the incense, diviners the lambs,

Learned men debated the tablets (about my case),

They could not say when my affliction would run its course.^a

My family gathered round to bend over me before my time,

(10') My next of kin stood by ready for the wake.

My brothers were bathed in blood like men possessed,

My sisters sprinkled me with fine(?) oil from the press.

Until the Lord raised my head,

And brought me back to life from the dead,

(15') Until Marduk raised my head

And brought me back to life from the dead,

I could eat scant bread,

I took for my] drink bilge(?) and salt pools.

[When I lay down], sleep would not overcome me,

(20') [I would lie awake my whole night through.

My heart [...] me, my(!) mind ...,

I was wasting away(?) from the sickness I suffered.

[... I] was made most anxious [...]

^a 1 Sam 28:6, 15

^b Pss 42:4, 80:6

^c Ps 113:5f.

My [te]ars [had to serve] as my sustenance.^b

(25') [Lest] Marduk be forgotten,

That Marduk be praised:

Were it not for Marduk, breath had gone from me,

Would not (?) [the mour]ner have cried out 'alas for him!'

I praise, I praise, what the lord Marduk has done I praise!

(30') [I praise, I praise], what the angry (personal) god [has done] I praise!

[I praise, I praise], what the (personal) goddess [has done] I praise!

Praise, praise, do not be bashful, but praise!

[He it] is, Marduk, I entreat(?) him, I entreat(?) him,

[He it] was who smote me, then was merciful to me.

(35') He scuttled(?) me, then moored me,

He dashed me down, then grabbed me (as I fell),

He scattered me wide, then garnered me,

He thrust me away, then gathered me in,

He threw me down, then lifted me high.^c

(40') He snatched the jaw of death,

He raised me up from hell.

He smashed my smiter's weapon,

He wrested the shovel from the digger of my grave.

He opened my shrouded eyes,

(45') He made my [sp]eech intelligible,

He [...] my ears.

(Text breaks off)

REFERENCES

Text: Nougayrol *Ugaritica* 5:435 No. 162. Translations and studies: Nougayrol 1968:265-273; Dietrich 1993; Foster *BM* 1:324f., *FDD* 314f.

THE POEM OF THE RIGHTEOUS SUFFERER (1.153)

Benjamin R. Foster

This is the most elaborate treatment of the theme of theodicy. It includes a veritable thesaurus of medical symptoms (Tablet II) and their cure (Tablet III). Because the sufferer protests not so much innocence as ignorance of his sins, his modern designation could well be "pious sufferer" rather than "just sufferer."¹ He is identified by name in the text (Tablet III, line 43) and was possibly its author. The ancient name of the composition is, as usual, taken from its opening words or incipit.² When complete, the poem had four tablets (chapters) of presumably 120 lines each, for a total of 480 lines. [WWH]

¹ Mattingly 1990.

² *Ludlul bel nemeqi*, "I will praise the lord of wisdom," sometimes further abbreviated to *Ludlul*.

Tablet I

I will praise the lord of wisdom, solicitous god,³
 [Fur]ious in the night, growing in the day:
 Marduk! lord of wisdom, solicitous god,
 [Fur]ious in the night, growing in the day:
 Whose anger is like a raging tempest,
 But whose breeze is sweet as the breath of morn.
 In his fury not to be withstood, his rage the deluge,
 Merciful in his feelings, his emotions relenting.
 The skies cannot sustain the weight of his hand,
 His gentle palm rescues the moribund.
 Marduk! The skies cannot sustain the weight of his
 hand,
 His gentle palm rescues the moribund.
 He it is, in brunt of whose anger, graves are dug,
 At the same moment, raised the fallen from
 disaster.
 He glowers, protective spirits take flight,
 He regards, the one whose god forsook him
 returns.
 His severe punishment is harsh and speedy,
 He stops short and quickly returns to his natural
 state.
 He is bull-headed in his love of mercy,
 Like a cow with a calf, he keeps turning around
 watchfully.
 His scourge is barbed and punctures the body,
 His bandages are soothing, they heal the doomed.
 He speaks and makes one incur many sins,
 On the day of his justice sin and guilt are dispelled.
 He is the one who afflicts with demons of shaking-
 disease,
 Through his sacral spell chills and shivering are
 driven away.
 Who ... the flood of Adad, the blow of Erra,
 Who reconciles the wrathful god [and god]dess,
 The lord divines the gods' inmost thoughts,
 (But) no [god] understands his behavior.
 Marduk divines the gods' inmost thoughts,
 Which god understands his mind?
 As heavy his hand, so compassionate his heart,
 As brutal his weapons, so life-sustaining his feel-
 ings.
 Without his consent, who could cure his blow?
 Against his will, who could sin and [escape]?
 I, who touched bottom like a fish, will proclaim his
 anger,
 He quickly granted me favor, as if reviving the
 dead.
 I will teach the people that his kindness is nigh,
 May his favorable thought take away their [guilt?].
 From the day the Lord punished me,
 And the warrior Marduk became furious with me,
 My own god threw me over(?) and disap[peared],
 My goddess broke rank and vanished.

He cut off the benevolent angel who (walked) be-
 side [me],
 My protecting spirit was frightened off, to seek out
 someone else.
 My vigor was taken away, my manly appearance
 became gloomy,
 My dignity escaped and lit on the roof.
 Terrifying signs beset me:
 I was forced out of my house, I wandered outside.
 My omens were confused, they were contradictory
 every day,
 The prognostication of diviner and dream inter-
 preter could not explain what I was
 undergoing.
 What was said in the street portended ill for me,
 When I lay down at night, my dream was terrify-
 ing.
 The king, incarnation of the gods, sun of his peo-
 ples,
 His heart hardened against me and appeasing him
 was impossible.
 Courtiers were plotting hostile action against me,
 They gathered themselves to instigate base deeds:
 If the first "I will make him end his life"
 Says the second "I ousted (him) from his com-
 mand!"
 So likewise the third "I will get my hands on his
 post!"
 "I'll come into property!" vows the fourth
 As the fifth subverts the mind of fifty,
 Sixth and seventh follow on his heels!
 The clique of seven have massed their forces,
 Merciless as fiends, the likeness to demons.
 So one is their body, (but seven) their mouths.
 Their hearts fulminate against me, ablaze like fire.
 Slander and lies they try to lend credence against
 me.
 My eloquent mouth they checked, as with reins,
 My lips, which used to discourse, became those of
 a deaf man.
 My resounding call struck dumb,
 My proud head bent earthward,
 My stout heart turned feeble for terror,
 My broad breast brushed aside by a novice,
 My far-reaching arms pinned by my clothing,
 I, who walked proudly, learned slinking,
 I, so grand, became servile.
 To my vast family I became a loner,
 As I went through the streets, I was pointed at,
 I would enter the palace, eyes would squint at me,
 My city was glowering at me like an enemy,
 Belligerent and hostile would seem my land!
 My brother became my foe,
 My friend became a malignant demon,
 My comrade would denounce me savagely,

³ I.e., Marduk (line 3). Withholding the precise identity of the (human or divine) protagonist until the second or a subsequent line is a traditional device taken over from Sumerian poetry.

My colleague kept the taint to(?) his weapons for bloodshed,
 My best friend made my life an aspersion.
 My slave cursed me openly in the assembly (of gentlefolk),
 My slave girl defamed me before the rabble.
 An acquaintance would see me and make himself scarce,
 My family disowned me.
 A pit awaited anyone speaking well of me,
 While he who was uttering defamation of me forged ahead.
 One who relayed base things about me had a god for his help,
 For the one who said "What a pity about him!" death came early,
 The one of no help, his life became charmed,
 I had no one to go at my side, nor saw I a champion.
 They parceled my possessions among the riffraff,
 The sources of my watercourses they blocked with muck,
 They chased the harvest song from my fields,
 They left my community deathly still, like that of a (ravaged) foe.
 They let another assume my duties,
 And appointed an outsider to my prerogatives.
 By day sighing, by night lamentation,
 Monthly, trepidation, despair the year.
 I moaned like a dove all my days,
 Like a singer, I moan out my dirge.
 My eyes endure(?) constant crying,
 My cheeks scald from tears, as if eroded(?).
 My face is darkened from the apprehensions of my heart,
 Terror and panic have jaundiced my face.
 The wellsprings of my heart quaked for unremitting anxiety,
 I was changeable(?) as a flickering fire,
 Prayer was disorder, like an exploding flame,
 My entreaty was like the fracas of a brawl.
 My sweet-lipped discourse was murky, obscure,
 When I turned a biting comment, my gambit was stifled.
 "Surely in daylight good will come upon me!
 The new moon will appear, the sun will shine!"

Tablet II

One whole year to the next! The (normal) time passed.
 As I turned around, it was more and more terrible.
 My ill luck was on the increase, I could find no good fortune.
 I called to my god, he did not show his face,
 I prayed to my goddess, she did not raise her head.

a 1 Sam 28:6, 15

b Ex 20:7; Deut 5:11

c Ps 68:25

d Deut 30:11-14

The diviner with his inspection did not get to the bottom of it,
 Nor did the dream interpreter with his incense clear up my case,
 I beseeched a dream spirit, but it did not enlighten me,
 The exorcist with his ritual did not appease divine wrath.^a
 What bizarre actions everywhere!
 I looked behind: persecution, harassment!
 Like one who had not made libations to his god,
 Nor invoked his goddess with a food offering,
 Who was not wont to prostrate, nor seen to bow down,
 From whose mouth supplication and prayer were wanting,
 Who skipped holy days, despised festivals,
 Who was neglectful, omitted the gods' rites,
 Who had not taught his people reverence and worship,
 Who did not invoke his god, but ate his food offering,
 Who snubbed his goddess, brought (her) no flour offering,
 Like one possessed(?), who forgot his lord,
 Who casually swore a solemn oath by his god:^b
 I, indeed, seemed (such a one)!
 I, for my part, was mindful of supplication and prayer,
 Prayer to me was the natural recourse, sacrifice my rule.
 The day for reverencing the gods was a source of satisfaction to me,
 The goddess's procession day was my profit and return.^c
 Praying for the king, that was my joy,
 His sennet was as if for (my own) good omen.
 I instructed my land to observe the god's rites,
 The goddess's name did I drill my people to esteem.
 I made my praises of the king like a god's,
 And taught the populace reverence for the palace.
 I wish I knew that these things were pleasing to a god!
 What seems good to one's self could be an offense to a god,
 What in one's own heart seems abominable could be good to one's god!^d
 Who could learn the reasoning of the gods in heaven?
 Who could grasp the intentions of the gods of the depths?
 Where might human beings have learned the way of a god?^e ^d
 He who lived by (his) brawn died in confinement.

^a This couplet sums up the dilemma posed by the poet.

^b Contrast the biblical view as expressed, e.g., in Deut 30:11-14.

Suddenly one is downcast, in a trice full of cheer,
 One moment he sings in exaltation,
 In a trice he groans like a professional mourner.
 People's motivations change in a twinkling!
 Starving, they become like corpses,
 Full, they would rival their gods.
 In good times, they speak of scaling heaven,
 When it goes badly, they complain of going down
 to hell.

I have ponde[red] these things; I have made no
 sense of them.

But as for me, in despair, a whirlwind is driving(?)
 me!

Debilitating disease is let loose upon me:

An evil vapor has blown against me [from the]
 ends of the earth,

Head pain has surged up upon me from the breast
 of hell,

A malignant spectre has come forth from its hidden
 depth,

A relentless [ghost] came out of its dwelling place.
 [A she-demon came] down from the mountain,

Ague set forth [with the] flood [and sea?],
 Debility broke through the ground with the plants.

[They assembled] their host, together they came
 upon me:

[They struck my he]ad, they closed around my
 pate,

[My features] were gloomy, my eyes ran a flood,
 They wrenched my muscles, made my neck limp,

They thwacked [my chest], pounded(?) my breast,
 They affected my flesh, threw (me) into convul-

sions,

They kindled a fire in my epigastrium,

They churned up my bowels, they tw[isted] my en-
 trails(?),

Coughing and hacking infected my lungs,
 They infected(?) my limbs, made my flesh pasty,

My lofty stature they toppled like a wall,
 My robust figure they flattened like a bulrush,

I was dropped like a dried fig, I was tossed on my
 face.

A demon has clothed himself in my body for a gar-
 ment,

Drowsiness smothers me like a net,

My eyes stare, they cannot see,

My ears prick up, they cannot hear.

Numbness has spread over my whole body,

Paralysis has fallen upon my flesh.

Stiffness has seized my arms,

Debility has fallen upon my loins,

My feet forgot how to move.

[A stroke] has overcome me, I choke like one fal-
 len,

Signs of death have shrouded my face!

[If someone th]inks of me, I can't respond to the
 inquirer,

"[Ala]s!" they weep, I have lost consciousness.

A snare is laid on my mouth,

And a bolt bars my lips.

My way in is barred, my point of slaking blocked,

My hunger is chronic, my gullet is constricted.

If it be of grain, I choke it down like stink weed,

Beer, the sustenance of mankind, is sickening to
 me.

Indeed, the malady drags on!

For lack of food my features are unrecognizable,

My flesh is waste, my blood has run dry,

My bones are loose, covered (only) with skin,

My tissues are inflamed, afflicted with gangrene(?).

I took to bed, confined, going out was exhaustion,

My house turned into my prison.

My flesh was a shackle, my arms being useless,

My person was a fetter, my feet having given way.

My afflictions were grievous, the blow was severe!

(ii 100) A scourge full of barbs thrashed me,

A crop lacerated me, cruel with thorns.

All day long tormentor would torment [me],

Nor at night would he let me breathe freely a
 moment.

From writhing, my joints were separated,

My limbs were splayed and thrust apart.

I spent the night in my dung like an ox,

I wallowed in my excrement like a sheep.

The exorcist recoiled from my symptoms,

While my omens have perplexed the diviner.

The exorcist did not clarify the nature of my com-
 plaint,

While the diviner put no time limit on my illness.

No god came to the rescue, nor lent me a hand,

No goddess took pity on me, nor went at my side.

My grave was open, my funerary goods ready,

Before I had died, lamentation for me was done.

All my country said, "How wretched he was!"

When my ill-wisher heard, his face lit up,

When the tidings reached her, my ill-wisher, her
 mood became radiant.

The day grew dim for my whole family,

For those who knew me, their sun grew dark.

Tablet III

Heavy was his hand upon me, I could not bear it!

Dread of him was oppressive, it [] me].

His fierce [pun]ishment [], the deluge,

His stride was ..., it ... [].

[Ha]rsh, severe illness does not ... [] my per-
 son,

I lost sight of [aler]tness, [] make my mind
 stray.

I gro[an] day and night alike,

Dreaming and waking [I am] equally wretched.

A remarkable young man of extraordinary physi-
 que,

Magnificent in body, clothed in new garments,

Because I was only half awake, his features lacked
 form.

He was clad in splendor, robed in dread —
 He came in upon me, he stood over me.⁶
 [When I saw him, my] flesh grew numb.
 [] "The Lady(?) has sent [me],
 [] ."
 [] I tried to tell [my people],
 "[] sent [] for me."
 They were silent and did not [speak],
 They heard me [in silence and did not answer].
 A second time [I saw a dream].
 In the dream I saw [at night],
 A remarkable purifier [].
 Holding in his hand a tamarisk rod of purification,
 "Laluralimma, resident of Nippur,
 Has sent me to cleanse you."
 He was carrying water, he po[ured it] over me,
 He pronounced the resuscitating incantation, he
 massaged [my] bo[dy].
 A third time I saw a dream.
 In my dream I saw at night:
 A remarkable young woman of shining counten-
 ance,
 Clothed like a person(?), being li[ke] a god,
 A queen among peoples [],
 She entered upon me and [sat down] ... []
 She ordered my deliverance []
 "Fear not!" she said, I [will]
 Whatever one sees(?) of a dream [].
 She ordered my deliverance, "Most wre[tched] in-
 deed is he,
 Whoever he might be, the one who saw the vision
 at night."
 In the dream (was) Ur-Nindinugga, a Babylonian(?)
 A bearded young man wearing a tiara,
 He was an exorcist, carrying a tablet,
 "Marduk has sent me!
 To Shubshi-meshre-Shakkan I have brought a sw[a-
 the],
 From his pure hands I have brought a sw[athe]."
 He has entru[sted] me into the hands of my mini-
 strant.
 [In] waking hours he sent a message,
 He reve[aled] his favorable sign to my people.
 I was awake in my sickness, a (healing) serpent
 slithered by.
 My illness was quickly over, [my fetters] were
 broken.
 After my lord's heart had quiet[ed],
 (And) the feelings of merciful Marduk were ap-
 [peased],
 [And he had] accepted my prayers [],
 His sweet [relen]ting [],
 [He ordered] my deliverance!: "He is g[reatly
 trie]d!"
 [] to extol []
 [] to worship and []

[] my guilt []
 [] my iniquity []
 [] my transgression []
 He made the wind bear away my offenses.
 [The exact placement of the following lines is unknown.]
 [He applied] to me his spell which binds [debilitat-
 ing disease],
 [He drove] back the evil vapor to the ends of the
 earth,
 He bore off [the head pain] to the breast of hell,
 [He sent] down the malignant spectre to its hidden
 depth,
 The relentless ghost he returned [to] its dwelling,
 He overthrew the she-demon, sending it off to a
 mountain,
 He replaced the ague in flood and sea.
 He eradicated debility like a plant,
 Uneasy sleep, excessive drowsiness,
 He dissipated like smoke filling the sky.
 The turning towards people(?) with "woe!" and
 "alas!" he drove away like a cloud, earth ...
 []
 The tenacious disease in the head, which was
 [heavy] as a [mill]stone,
 He raised like dew of night, he removed it from
 me.
 My beclouded eyes, which were wrapped in the
 shroud of death,
 He drove (the cloud) a thousand leagues away, he
 brightened [my] vision,
 My ears, which were stopped and clogged like a
 deaf man's,
 He removed their blockage, he opened my hearing.
 My nose, whose [bre]athing was choked by symp-
 toms of fever,
 He soothed its affliction so I could breathe [freely].
 My babbling lips, which had taken on a h[ard
 crust?],
 He wiped away their distress(?) and und[id] their
 deformation.
 My mouth, which was muffled, so that proper
 speech was diffi[cult],
 He scoured like copper and r[emoved] its filth.
 My teeth, which were clenched and locked together
 firmly,
 [He op]ened their fastening, fre[ed?] the jaws(?).
 My tongue, which was tied and [could] not con-
 verse,
 [He] wiped off its coating and [its] speech became
 fluent(?).
 My windpipe, which was tight and choking, as
 though on a gobbet,
 He made well and let it si[ng] its songs like a
 flute.
 My [gul]let, which was swollen so it could not take

⁶ This is the typical form in which dream reports are cast in cuneiform literature; see Oppenheim 1956:187-190, 250. The allusion may be to the dream-god himself, called Zaqr. See Kutscher 1988.

[food],

Its swelling went down and he opened its blockage.

My [], which []

[] above []

[which] was darkened like []

[three damaged lines, then gap]

[The following lines are known only from the ancient commentary, but must go in the gap here, in sequence but not necessarily seriatim.]

- (a) My intestine, which was ever empty for want, and was coiled (tight) like basketry,
- (b) Accepts nourishment, holds drink.
- (c) My neck, which was limp and twisted at the base,
- (d) He shored up, a hillock, he planted upright like a tree(?).
- (e) He made my body that of a perfect athlete.
- (f) He pared my nails as if to drive out a "vengeance."
- (g) He drove out their illness and made their upper parts well.
- (h) My knees, which were tied and bound like a ... bird's
- (i) The shape of my body [he made] remarkable(?)
- (j) He wiped off the grime, he cleansed its filth
- (k) My gloomy mien began to glow (=120?)

Tablet IV (Episode A)

The Lord [] me,

The Lord took hold of me,

The Lord set me on my feet,

The Lord revived me,

He rescued me [from the p]it,

He summoned me [from destruc]tion,

[] he pulled me from the river of death.

[] he took my hand.

[He who] smote me,

Marduk, he restored me!

He smote the hand of my smiter,

It was Marduk who made him drop his weapon.

[He] the attack of my foe,

It was Marduk who []

[Two fragmentary lines, then gap. Insert here, perhaps, two lines known only from the ancient commentary]:

- (l) At the place of the river ordeal, where people's fates are decided,
- (m) I was struck on the forehead, my slave mark removed.

(Fragment B)

[] which in my prayers []

[With] prostration and supplication [] to Esagila

[]

[I who went] down to the grave have returned to the "Gate of [Sunrise]."

[In the] "Gate of Prosperity" prosperity was [given me].

[In the] "Gate of the Guardian Spirit" a guardian spirit [drew nigh to me].

[In the] "Gate of Well-being" I beheld well-being.

In the "Gate of Life" I was granted life.

In the "Gate of Sunrise" I was reckoned among the living.

In the "Gate of Splendid Wonderment" my signs were plain to see.

In the "Gate of Release from Guilt"⁷

I was released from my bond.

In the "Gate of Praise(?)" my mouth made inquiry.

In the "Gate of Release from Sighing" my sighs were released.

In the "Gate of Pure Water" I was sprinkled with purifying water.

In the "Gate of Conciliation" I appeared with Marduk,

In the "Gate of Joy" I kissed the foot of Sarpanitum.

I was consistent in supplication and prayer before them,

I placed fragrant incense before them,

An offering, a gift, sundry donations I presented,

Many fatted oxen I slaughtered, butchered many [sheep?].⁸

Honey-sweet beer and pure wine I repeatedly libated.

The protecting genius, the guardian spirit, divine attendants of the fabric of Esagila,⁹

I made their feelings glow with libation,

I made them exultant [with] lavish [meals].

[To the threshold, the bolt] socket, the bolt, the doors

[I offered] oil, butterfat, and choicest grain.¹⁰

[] the rites of the temple.

[large gap]

[insert here?]

- (o) I proceeded along Kunush-kadru Street in a state of redemption.

- (p) He who has done wrong by Esagil, let him learn from me.

- (q) It was Marduk who put a muzzle on the mouth of the lion that was devouring me.

- (r) Marduk took away the sling of my pursuer and deflected his slingstone.

(Fragment C)

[] golden grain []

⁷ For a similarly designated gate in a Sum. letter-prayer, see Hallo 1968:86:49.

⁸ This topos, or literary cliché, goes back to Sum. precedent and recurs in the Akk. Gilgamesh Epic (above Text 1.132, lines 70f.).

⁹ *E-sag-ila*, lit., "house that lifts the head (i.e. to heaven)," the great temple tower (ziggurat) of Marduk at Babylon.

¹⁰ For archival texts recording offerings to temple gates see Levine and Hallo 1967.

[He?] anointed himself with sweet cedar perfume, upon him [] A feast for the Babylonian(s?) [] His tomb he(?) had made [was set up] for a feast! The Babylonians saw how [Marduk] can restore to life, And all mouths proclaimed [his] greatness, "Who (would have) said he would see his sun? Who (would have) imagined that he would pass through his street? Who but Marduk revived him as was dying? Besides Sarpanitum, which goddess bestowed his breath of life? Marduk can restore to life from the grave,¹¹ Sarpanitum knows how to rescue from annihilation. Wherever earth is founded, heavens are stretched wide,	Wherever sun shines, fire blazes, Wherever water runs, wind blows, Those whose bits of clay Aruru pinched off (to form them),¹² Those endowed with life, who walk upright, [Tee]ming mankind, as many as they be, give praise to Marduk! [] those who can speak, [] may he rule all the peoples [] shepherd of all habi[tations] [] floods from the deep [] the gods [] [] the extent of heaven and nether- world, [] [] was getting darker and darker for him."
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¹¹ Sarpanitum (or Zer-banitum), the consort of Marduk.

¹² Aruru, (a manifestation of) the mother goddess, who created humankind from clay.

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Text: Lambert *BWL* pls. 1-18 and duplicates. Translations and studies: Lambert *BWL* 21-62; *ANET* 596-600; Foster *BM* 1:306-323, *FDD* 298-313.

THE BABYLONIAN THEODICY (1.154)

Benjamin R. Foster

Formally, this classic statement of the theme of theodicy comes closest to the biblical book of Job, for it is cast in the form of a dialogue, albeit the sufferer has only one "friend" to put up with as interlocutor, and that friend is unnamed. A further formal parallel to biblical poetry in general is provided by the strophic structure which, like Ps. 119, features successive stanzas of equal length whose initial signs spell out a message of their own.¹ In the biblical case, such "acrostics" are exclusively alphabetic, i.e., they list the letters of the alphabet in their traditional order.² Babylonian acrostics cannot be alphabetic, since Mesopotamian cuneiform is involved. The present acrostic reveals (or conceals) the name of the author and his protestation of religious and political correctness — as if to head off any criticism of the rather daring views expressed in his poem.³ [WWH]

I. Sufferer

O sage, [...], come, [let] me speak to you,
[...], let me recount to you,
[...],
[I ...], who have suffered greatly, let me always
praise you,
Where is one whose reflective capacity is as great
as yours?
Who is he whose knowledge could rival yours?
Wh[ere] is the counsellor to whom I can tell of
woe?
I am without recourse, heartache has come upon
me.
I was the youngest child when fate claimed (my)
father,
My mother who bore me departed to the land of no

return,

My father and mother left me, and with no one my
guardian!

II. Friend

Considerate friend, what you tell is a sorrowful
tale,
My dear friend, you have let your mind harbor ill.
You make your estimable discretion feeble-minded,
You alter your bright expression to a scowl.
Of course our fathers pay passage to go death's
way,
I too will cross the river of the dead,
as is commanded from of old.
When you survey teeming mankind all together,
The poor man's son advanced, someone helped him
get rich,

¹ On the assumption of 27 stanzas of 11 lines each, the composition when complete comprised a total of 297 lines.

² On this order see above, text 1.107 (abecedaries) and Brug 1990.

³ He says in effect: "I am Saggil-kinam-ubbib the exorcist, a worshipper of god and king." For this individual see Finkel 1988:144f.

Who did favors for the sleek and wealthy?
He who looks to his god has a protector,
The humble man who reveres his goddess will
 garner wealth.

III. *Sufferer*

My friend, your mind is a wellspring of depth unplumbed,
The upsurging swell of the ocean that brooks no inadequacy.

To you, then, let me pose a question, learn [what I would say].

Hearken to me but for a moment, hear my declaration.

My body is shrouded, craving wears me do[wn],
My assets have vanished, my res[ources?] dwindled.
My energies have turned feeble, my prosperity is
 at a standstill,

Moaning and woe have clouded [my] features.

The grain of my mead is nowhere near satisfying [me].

Beer, the sustenance of mankind, is far from being enough.

Can a happy life be a certainty? I wish I knew how that might come about!

IV. *Friend*

My well-thought-out speech is the ultimate in good advice,

But you [make?] your well-ordered insight [sound] like babble.

You force [your ...] to be [scatter]-brained, irrational,

You render your choicest offerings without conviction.

As to your [ever]lasting, unremitting desire [...],

The [fore]most protection [...] in prayer:

The reconciled goddess returns to [...]

The re[conciled gods] will take pity on the fool(?), the wrong-doer.

Seek constantly after the [rites?] of justice.

Your mighty [...] will surely show kindness,

[...] ... will surely grant mercy.

V. *Sufferer*

I bow down before you, my [comrade],

 I apprehend your w[isdom],^a

[...] what you say.

Come, let me [tell you],

The on[ager], the wild ass, that had its fill of [...],

Did it pay attention [to] ca[r]ry out? a god's intentions?

The savage lion that devoured the choicest meat,

Did it bring its offerings to appease a goddess's anger?

The parvenu who multiplies his wealth,

Did he weigh out precious gold to the mother goddess for a family?

[Have I] withheld my offerings? I prayed to my

a Job 12:2
etc.

b Job 21:7-16
etc.

god,

[I] said the blessing over my goddess, my speech [...].

VI. *Friend*

O date palm, wealth-giving tree, my precious brother,

Perfect in all wisdom, O gem of wis[dom],

You are a mere child, the purpose of the gods is remote as the netherworld.

Consider that magnificent wild ass on the [plain],
The arrow will gash that headstrong trampler of the leas!

Come, look at that lion you called to mind, the enemy of livestock,

For the atrocity that lion committed, the pit yawns for him.

The well-heeled parvenu who treasured up possessions,

The king will put him to the flames before his time.

Would you wish to go the way these have gone?
Seek after the lasting reward of (your) god.

VII. *Sufferer*

Your reasoning is a cool breeze, a breath of fresh air for mankind,

Most particular friend, your advice is e[xc]cellent].

Let me [put] but one matter before you:

Those who seek not after a god can go the road of favor,^b

Those who pray to a goddess have grown poor and destitute.

Indeed, in my youth I tried to find out the will of (my) god,

With prayer and supplication I besought my goddess.

I bore a yoke of profitless servitude:

(My) god decreed (for me) poverty instead of wealth.

A cripple rises above me, a fool is ahead of me,

Rogues are in the ascendant, I am demoted.

VIII. *Friend*

O just, knowledgeable one, your logic is perverse,
You have cast off justice, you have scorned divine design.

In your emotional state you have an urge to disregard divine ordinances,

[...] the sound rules of your goddess.

The strategy of a god is [as remote as] innermost heaven,

The command of a goddess cannot be dr[awn out].

Teeming humanity well understands trouble,

[fragmentary lines, then large gap]

XIII. *Sufferer*

I will forsake home [...]

I will crave no property [...]

I will ignore (my) god's regulations, [I will] trample on his rites.

I will slaughter a calf, I will [...] the food,
I will go on the road, I will learn my way around distant places.

I will open a well, I will let loose a flood?,
I will roam about the far outdoors like a bandit.
I will stave off hunger by forcing entry into one house after another,

I will prowl the streets, casting about, ravenous.
Like a beggar I will [...] inside [...],
Good fortune lies afar off [...].

XIV. *Friend*

My friend, [you have] resolved [upon ...]
The transactions of mankind, which you had no urge to [...],
[...] are in your mind,
Your discretion has forsaken [you ...]

[fragmentary lines]

XV. *Sufferer*

[four lines lost]

Daughter says [unjust words] to her mother,
The fowler who casts [his net] is fallen (into it):
All in all, which one [will find] profit?
Many are the wild creatures that [...],
Which among them has gotten [...]?
Shall I seek son and daughter [...]?
Shall I not leave behind what I find [...]?

XVI. *Friend*

O modest, submissive one, who [...] all [...],
Your mind is always receptive, most precious one [...],

[fragmentary lines, then gap]

XVII. *Sufferer*

The son of a king is clad [in rags?],
The son of the destitute and naked is dressed in [fine raiment?].
The maltster [can pay in] finest gold,
While he who counted red gold bears a [debt?].
He who made do with vegetables [sates himself] at a princely banquet,
While the son of the eminent and wealthy (has only) carob to eat.
The man of substance is fallen, [his income] is removed.

[fragmentary lines, gap]

XX. *Friend*

You have let your subtle mind wander,
[...] you have overthrown wisdom.
You have spurned propriety, you have besmirched (every) code.
Far will be the workman's basket from him who ...
[...] is established as a person of importance,
[...] he is called a scholar,

c Deut 30:11-14

He is well served, he gets what he wants.
Follow in the way of a god, observe his rites,
[...] be ready for good fortune!

[gap]

XXII. *Friend*

As for the rascal whose good will you wanted,
The ... of his feet will soon disappear.
The godless swindler who acquires wealth,
A deadly weapon is in pursuit of him.
Unless you serve the will of a god, what will be your profit?
He who bears a god's yoke shall never want for food, though it may be meager.
Seek after the favorable breeze of the gods,
What you lost for a year you will recoup in a moment.

XXIII. *Sufferer*

I have looked around in society, indications are the contrary:
God does not block the progress of a demon.
A father hauls a boat up a channel,
While his first-born sprawls in bed.
The eldest son makes his way like a lion,
The second son is content to drive a donkey.
The heir struts the street like a peddler,
The younger son makes provision for the destitute.
What has it profited me that I knelt before my god?
It is I who must (now) bow before my inferior!
The riffraff despise me as much as the rich and proud.

XXIV. *Friend*

Adept scholar, master of erudition,
You blaspheme in the anguish of your thoughts.
Divine purpose is as remote as innermost heaven,
It is too difficult to understand, people cannot understand it.
Among all creatures the birth goddess formed,
Why should offspring be completely unmatched(?)?
The cow's first calf is inferior,
Her subsequent offspring is twice as big.
The first child is born a weakling,
The second is called a capable warrior.
Even if one (tries to) apprehend divine intention, people cannot understand it.

XXV. *Sufferer*

Pay attention, my friend, learn my (next) parry,
Consider the well-chosen diction of my speech.
They extol the words of an important man who is accomplished in murder,
They denigrate the powerless who has committed no crime.
They esteem truthful the wicked to whom truth is abhorrent,
They reject the truthful man who heeds the will of god.

They fill the oppressor's st[rongroom] with refined gold,
They empty the beggar's larder of [his] provisions.
They shore up the tyrant whose all is crime,
They ruin the weak, they oppress the powerless.
And as for me, without means, a parvenu harasses me.

XXVI. *Friend*

Enlil, king of the gods, who created teeming mankind,

Majestic Ea, who pinched off their clay,
The queen who fashioned them, mistress Mami,
Gave twisted words to the human race,
They endowed them in perpetuity with lies and falsehood.

Solemnly they speak well of a rich man,
"He's the king," they say, "he has much wealth."
They malign a poor man as a thief,
They lavish mischief upon him, they conspire to kill him.

They make him suffer every evil because he has no

wherewithal(?).

They bring him to a horrible end, they snuff him out like an ember.

XXVII. *Sufferer*

You are sympathetic, my friend, be considerate of (my) misfortune.

Help me, see (my) distress, you should be cognizant of it.

Though I am humble, learned, suppliant,

I have not seen help or succor for an instant.

I would pass unobtrusively through the streets of my city,

My voice was not raised, I kept my speaking low.

I did not hold my head high, I would look at the ground.

I was not given to servile praise among my associates.

May the god who has cast me off grant help,

May the goddess who has [forsaken me] take pity,

The shepherd Shamash will past[ure] people as a god should.

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Text: Lambert *BWL* pls. 19-26. Translations and studies: Lambert *BWL* 63-89; *ANET* 438-440, 601-604; Foster *BM* 2:790-798, *FDD* 316-323.

2. DIALOGUE

DIALOGUE OF PESSIMISM OR THE OBLIGING SLAVE (1.155)

Alasdair Livingstone

(1) ["Slave, oblige me again!"] "Here, master! Here!"

["Get a move on and get ready] the chariot and harness up so I can go driving to the palace!"

["Go driving, master, go driving!] You'll achieve your goal!"

["...] will show you preference!"

(5) ["No, slave,] I will not go driving to the palace!"

["Do not go driving, master, do not go driving!"]

[The palace n]otable will send you off on his business

and will make you take a [route] you don't know;

day and night he'll expose you to miseries."

(10) "Slave, [oblige] me [again]! "Here, master! Here!"

"Get a move on and get ready for me some hand abluion water and give it to me so I can sup!"

"Sup, master, sup! Having supper regularly

makes one content.

[Even ...]. the supper of his god; Shamash approves of clean hands."

"No [slave], I definitely won't sup."

(15) "Don't sup, master, don't sup!"

To be hungry, or to eat, to be thirsty, or to drink, are but human."

"Slave, oblige me again! "Here, master! Here!"

"Get a move on and get ready the chariot and harness it up so I can drive off to the steppe!"

"Drive off master, drive off! The roving man has a full stomach.

(20) Even a prowling dog has a bone to crunch, and the roving raven finds a place to nest. The roaming wild ass finds its fill in the steppe."

"No, slave I will definitely not [drive off] to the steppe."

"Do not drive off, master, do not drive off!"

(25) The roving man may become insane, the prowling dog may break its teeth, as for the dwelling of the raven, it is but in

the [crack] of a wall,
while the roaming wild ass has its resting
place in the wastes."

"Slave, oblige me again!" ["Here, master!
Here!"]

- (30) "I want to build a [house] and found a family!"

"Found one, [master], found one. [The man
who builds] a house [...].

(Lines 32 to 38 contain textual disorder and substantial lacunae)

"Slave, oblige me again!" "Here, master!
Here!"

- (40) "See here, I'll go in for skulduggery!" "So go
in for it, master, go in for it!

If you don't go in for skulduggery, what will
be your finery?

Who will just give you handouts so you can
fill your stomach?"

"No, slave, I will definitely not go in for
skulduggery!"

"The man who goes in for skulduggery is killed,
flayed,

- (45) blinded, arrested or thrown in jail."

"Slave, oblige me again!" "Here, master!
Here!"

"I'm going to fall in love with a woman!"

"Fall in love, master, fall in love!

The man who falls in love with a woman
forgets depression and melancholy."

"No way, slave, I will not fall in love with a
woman."

- (50) "Don't fall in love, master, don't fall in love.
Woman is a well, she's a well, a pit, a hole.
Woman is a whetted iron dagger that cuts the
throat of a fine man."

"Slave, oblige me again!" "Here, master!
Here!"

"Get a move on and get water for my hands
and give it to me

- (55) so that I can make a sacrifice to my personal
god!" "Make a sacrifice, master, make a
sacrifice!

A man who makes a sacrifice to his personal
god will be content.

On trust he is making loan upon loan."

"No way, slave. I will not make a sacrifice to
my personal god."

"Don't do it, master, don't do it.

- (60) Can you teach your personal god to run after
you like a dog?

He'll just demand of you rites, a votive statue,
and many other things."

"Slave, oblige me again!" "Here, master!
Here!"

"I will act as a guarantor!" "So act as one,
master, act as one!

The man who acts as a guarantor: his grain
remains his grain but his
return is manifold."

- (65) "No way, slave, I will not act as a guarantor."

"Do not make loans, master, do not make
loans.

The giving is like love-making, but the return
is like childbirth.

They will eat your grain while cursing you
again and again

and then make you do without the interest on
your grain."

- (70) "Slave, oblige me again!" "Here, master!
Here!"

"I will carry out a good service for my
country!" "So carry one out, master,
carry one out.

The man who carries out a good service for
his country,

his deeds are placed in the carrying basket of
Marduk."

"No way, slave, I will not carry out a good
service for my country."

- (75) "Don't carry one out, master, don't carry one
out.

Go up onto the ancient ruin heaps and walk
about!

Search out the skulls of high and low!

Which was a crook and which did good
services?"

"Slave, oblige me again!" "Here, master!
Here!"

- (80) "Now then, what is good?"

"What's good is to break my neck and your
neck

and to be thrown in the river.

Who is tall enough to ascend to the heavens?

Who is broad enough to encompass the
earth?"

- (85) "No way, slave, I'll kill you and send you in
advance."

"But my master wouldn't even survive me
three days!"

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3. HUMOROUS TEXTS

"AT THE CLEANERS" (1.156)

Alasdair Livingstone

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(1) "Come on fuller, let me give you instructions!
Wash my garment!
Don't ignore my instructions and
don't carry out your own methods!
You should set the hem and the lining in
place;
(5) you should stitch the front to the inside;
you should pick the thread of the border;
you should soak the thin part in beer;
you should carry out a filtering operation with
a sieve;
you should loosen the hem of the lining;
(10) you should ... it in clean water;
you should purify it as if it were a fine cloth.
To the part ... like ...
to the edge bit ...
You should mix alkali and gypsum ...
(15) You should slap it on a washing-board.
You should stir it in a beer jug and you should
...
Yes indeed, you should stretch it over a ...,
you ... it and you should comb it out.
You should tap it with a wand of hardwood.
You should ... the fleecy part which has be-
come flattened nap.
(20) The web, the work with the needle ...
You should squeeze the hem ... and let it cool
down.
In the early evening, when the web has not yet
become dry, you should take it and place it in</p> | <p>a receptacle, in a container.
(25) Then let it cool down! Carry this out and I'll
reward you right away!
You will bring it to the house and ten liters of
grain will be poured in your lap!"
The fuller answers him: "By Ea, Lord of
Wisdom, who keeps me alive!
Cut it out! Not me. As to all you say, it's only
the guys who lend me money and collect
my taxes
that have a nerve like you! And
(30) there's no-one whose hand can achieve the
work.
What you instructed me I cannot even repeat,
speak,
say, or reiterate.
Come, somewhere upstream from the city, at
the outskirts of the city,
let me show you a washing place. And then
(35) carry out yourself the great exertions which
are on you hands!
But dinnertime mustn't go by! Go on in and
undo all the many threads done by the fuller!
If you don't compose yourself
there's no fuller who'll pay attention to you!
(40) They'll have contempt for you, you'll get
all heated up and
give yourself a fit!"</p> |
|--|---|

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SUMERIAN CANONICAL COMPOSITIONS

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A. DIVINE FOCUS

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1. MYTHS

THE SONG OF THE HOE (1.157)

Gertrud Farber

The ancient scribe seemingly had a humorous purpose in mind when composing this text. It should probably be categorized as a satirical school text composed for use in the Edubba (= school) and for other learned people.¹ The composition has no coherent topic or theme. The thread winding through the whole text is the syllable /al/ which is a Sumerian logogram meaning hoe but which also occurs as part of other words or as a grammatical element. Thus the text contains sections in which the hoe is the main topic: a mythological section on creation, a hymnical praise of the hoe, or the description of the hoe's use in agriculture or when building temples. These sections are only loosely connected as if they had been examples of scholastic exercises. In addition to that, however, /al/ has been abstracted as a syllable and is used throughout the composition in quite imaginative alliterations and puns, some of which still resist all our attempts of understanding. Such poetic devices unfortunately get completely lost when translated literally. The following translation will try therefore to mark them by adding short explanations in parentheses or in the notes, and by marking all words which contain the syllable /al/ (or sometimes /ar/) with an asterisk.

The text has 109 lines of which 92 have been included here. (....) marks abridged text. So far this text has been preserved in 70 copies from Nippur, 6 from Ur and 13 from other cities. About 12 originally contained the complete composition; all others are excerpts. All sources are from the Old Babylonian period. The exact date of the origin of the text is not known.² But the presence of the goddess Nininsina points to the Isin period and the clearly astral aspect of the god Shulpaca³ does not allow an earlier date.⁴

Creation of the World (lines 1-7)

Not only did the lord who never *changes his promises for the future make the world appear in its correct form,

— Enlil who will make the seed of *mankind rise from the earth —

not only did he hasten to separate heaven from earth,

(....) and earth from heaven,

but, in order to make it possible for humans to grow "where the flesh sprouts,"

he first affixed the axis of the world in Duranki.⁵

Introducing the Hoe (lines 8-17)

He did this with the help of the *hoe and (as a result) daylight *broke forth.

By distributing the shares of duty he established daily tasks

and for the *hoe and the (carrying) basket even wages were *established.⁶

Then Enlil praised his *hoe:

his *hoe, wrought in gold,⁷ with a top inlaid with lapis lazuli,

his *hoe whose blade was tied (to the handle) with a string, which was adorned with silver and gold, whose blade was like a battering ram standing up against a *wall.

The lord evaluated the *hoe. (....)

Creation of Mankind (lines 18-27)

Here, "where the flesh sprouts," he set this very *hoe to work:

he had it place the first model of mankind in the brickmold.⁸

And (according to this model) his *people started to break through the soil towards Enlil,⁹

¹ For the humorous aspect of this text, see Wilcke 1972:37, and Farber forthcoming, with additional bibliography.

² See Wilcke 1972:37. Wilcke compares the irregularities and the many variants of the grammatical elements with those of compositions which are known from older periods. I rather think that the arbitrary use of grammatical elements as well as the high sophistication of the text suggests a later date. It is quite clear, however, that the poet was mainly thinking in the Sum. language, even though some puns and allusions rather fit Akk. words, a fact that also would date this composition into a period after the collapse of the Sum. empire.

³ Falkenstein 1963:21, 33.

⁴ No complete edition of the text has been published yet. For the sources see *HKL* 1:155; 2:84 ad *TCL* 16:72. For partial translations and discussion of the text see Kramer 1944:51-53; Jacobsen 1946:134; Civil 1969:70; Wilcke 1972:36-38; Pettinato 1971:82-85.

⁵ "Where the flesh sprouts" is the name of a sacred site in Nippur. Duranki is located in the middle of Enlil's temple complex in Nippur.

⁶ Hoe and basket are tools used for brick making and processing. The hoe stirs the clay and puts it in brick molds. The dried bricks are carried in baskets; see lines 35-58 and line 98.

⁷ The ordinary hoe was made of wood, even with a wooden blade. What is described here is Enlil's hoe.

⁸ The hoe works here (creation) just as it does in brick making; see lines 10 and 96.

⁹ Two different traditions of creation are intertwined here, the creation from seeds where mankind grows like a weed and breaks through the

and he looked approvingly at his "blackheaded people."¹⁰

Now the Anuna-gods¹¹ stepped up to him: (....) they wanted to demand the "blackheaded people" from him.

The lady who (once upon a time) had given birth to the ruler, who had given birth to the king, Ninmena now *set the human reproduction going.

Assignment of Tasks to the Human Race (lines 28-34)
The foremost of heaven and earth, the lord Nunamnir (= Enlil),

named the strong and *important leaders (....) and recruited them for the gods to provide (for them).

Now Enki praised (Enlil's) *hoe, and the girl Nidaba was made responsible for (keeping a record of) the decision.

And so (the people) *took the shining *hoes, the pure *hoes into their hands (and started to work):

Building of Temples (lines 35-58)¹²

(The Ekur in Nippur: 35-41; the Abzu in Eridu: 42-45; Ninhursaga's temple in Kesh: 46-48; the Eanna in Uruk: 49-51; Inanna's temple in Zabalam: 52-55; Nidaba's "equal temple": 56-58)

The Ekur, the temple of Enlil, was founded with the hoe,

during the day it *was building, during the night it *caused (the temple) to grow.

Into Nippur, the well founded, (....)

into the innermost chamber of the *Tummal entered the hero Ninurta

with regular food deliveries into the presence of Enlil, (....)

and so did the pure Nininsina with black kids and fruit offerings for the lord.

(Next comes) the Abzu, the one with the lion face (= its gate), where the divine offices *may not be claimed:¹³

The *hoe wielder (= builder), (....), the lord Nudimmud (= Enki),

*was building the Abzu, Eridu having been chosen as a *construction site.

The mother of the gods, Ninhursaga, had the *"mighty light of the lord" live with her in Kesh,

had Shulpaea indeed help her with the *construction work.

The temple Eanna was cleaned up by the *hoe.

— (For) the lady of Eanna (= Inanna), the noble *cow,

the *hoe stands for (cleaning up) ruins; the *hoe means (removing) weeds. —

Concerning the city of *Zabalam the *hoe is Inanna's work force. (....)

With (her) *building project Utu was ready to help her.

(....)

The lady with the *intelligent mind, Nidaba, ordered the measuring of the Eanna as (part of) a *construction project

and (according to the result) designed (her own) "Equal Temple" for *construction.

Other Gods and their Relationship with the Hoe or the Syllable /al/ (lines 59-70)

The *king who has measured (or: counted) the *hoe(s), who has *spent the day in the tracks (made by the hoe),

the hero Ninurta has introduced working with the *hoe in the *rebellious land:

he *subdues¹⁴ the city that does not obey (its) lord.

Towards heaven he *roars like a storm,

earthwards he *strikes like a *dragon.

Shara sat down on Enlil's knees,¹⁵

and (Enlil) gave him what he had *desired:

mace, weapon, arrow, quiver, and the *hoe he had mentioned.

Dumuzi is the one who makes the "upper land" *fertile.

Gibil made his *hoe lift its head towards heaven, the *hoe, the pure one indeed, he had refined with fire.

The Anuna were *rejoicing.

The Syllable /al/ Occurs in Sumerian Words in all Aspects of Life (lines 71-93)

The temple of Geshitinanna resembled an *alġarsur-instrument,

(....) which had a beautiful sound.

The lord (= Enlil) bellowed at his *hoe like a bull.¹⁶

(Concerning) the *grave: the *hoe buries people, but the dead body is also brought up from the earth by the *hoe.¹⁷

The hero honored by An, the younger brother of *Nergal,

soil, and the creation through the molding of a clay model.

¹⁰ The blackheaded people are the Sumerians.

¹¹ Anuna gods refers to all senior gods, here excluding Enlil who is the highest Anuna.

¹² As explained above, see note 6, the hoe was an important tool in the brick making process and therefore was used in the building of temples.

¹³ This refers to the composition "Inanna and Enki" (see text 1.161 below), in which the goddess Inanna takes the ME (= divine offices) from Enki, in front of the lion gate of the Abzu.

¹⁴ The hoe is here used either as a weapon (see also line 97), or as a stirring tool (see note 6), thus creating chaos in the enemy country.

¹⁵ This denotes a begging position.

¹⁶ Enlil's bellowing must be understood as affectionate.

¹⁷ Digging up a dead body may refer to the composition "Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Netherworld" where the shadow of the dead Enkidu is brought up through a hole to bring news about the underworld, see Civil 1969:70.

the warrior Gilgamesh: with the *hoe he is (as powerful as) a hunting net.

The son of Ninsun: with the *oars he is foremost, with the hoe he is the great *barber of the river.¹⁸
(....)

In the sky (/al/) is the *ALTRIKU-bird, the bird of the god,

for the earth (/al/) is the *hoe, in the canebrake it is a *dog, in the forest it is a *dragon.

On the battle field it is the *DURALLUL-ax.

At the city wall it is the *warfare net.

At the dining table it is the *maltum-bowl.

At the carriage it is the *majaltum-sledge.

In the donkey stable it is the *ARGIBIL-structure.

It is the *hoe! Its name (= the sound of this word) which is sweet, also *occurs in the mountains:

the wood of the mountains is the *allānum-oak,

the fragrance of the mountains is the *argānum-balm,

the rock of the mountains is the *ALGAMEŠUM-steatite.

The Practical Use of the Hoe (lines 94-106)

The *hoe makes (everything) prosper, the *hoe makes (everything) grow lush, the *hoe (means) good barley, the *hoe (works like) a hunting net.¹⁹

The *hoe (has to do with) the brickmold, the *hoe has made mankind *appear.²⁰

It is the *hoe that is the arm of young manhood.²¹

The *hoe and the basket are the tools for building cities.²²

It *builds the right kind of house, it *cultivates the right kind of field.

You (oh hoe!) are the one who *makes the good field fertile.

The field that has *rebelled against its *owner, the field that has not submitted to its *owner, the *hoe makes it subdue to its *master: it smashes off the heads from the halfa-grass, at its roots it extracts it, it tears off its stalks, the *hoe (also) *subdues the HURIN-weed.

Doxology to the Hoe and Nidaba Follows.

¹⁸ This refers to the cutting of weeds in the waterways for better boating.

¹⁹ The hoe is compared to the net as a means of chasing birds away from the crop.

²⁰ For this see notes 6 and 8.

²¹ Is the hoe thought of as a weapon in this case? See note 14.

²² See note 6.

REFERENCES

HLK 1:155; 2:84 ad TCL 16:72 = de Genouillac 1930; Civil 1969; Falkenstein 1963; Farber forthcoming; Jacobsen 1946; Kramer 1944:51-53; Pettinato 1971:82-85; Wilcke 1972.

THE ERIDU GENESIS (1.158)

Thorkild Jacobsen

The fragment here translated was written at some time around 1600 B.C. It constitutes the lower third of a six-column tablet, the upper part of which, containing roughly some 36 lines per column, is lost. The content of the lost sections can be restored to some extent from other versions of the same tradition, most of which are of later date. By the time of the Assyrian Empire the tradition in somewhat shortened form had been included in the so-called Babylonian Chronicle (cf. Text 1.137 above), heading it.

The story, which has a structure much like that of the biblical stories in Genesis, dealt with the creation of men and animals, the antediluvian cities and their rulers, and finally the Deluge, paralleling in order the creation, the antediluvian patriarchs, and the story of the Deluge in the Bible. It may conceivably have served as model or inspiration for the biblical account.

(long lacuna)

Mother Goddess Pities the Nomad Existence of Man
[Nintur¹] was paying [attention:]

"Let me bethink myself of my humankind,
(all) forgotten as they are;

and mind[ful] of mine, Nintur's, creatures

let me bring them back,

let me lead the people back from their trails."

"May they come and build cities and cult places,
that I may cool myself in their shade;

may they lay the bricks for the cult cities

in pure spots, and

may they found places for divination

in pure spots!"

She gave directions for purification, and cries for clemency, the things that cool (divine) wrath,

¹ Goddess of birth and creatrix of man.

(10') perfected the divine service and the august offices,
said to the (surrounding) regions: "Let me institute peace there!"

When An, Enlil, Enki, and Ninhursaga² fashioned the dark-headed (people),³ they had made the small animals (that come up) from (out of) the earth come from the earth in abundance and had let there be, as befits (it), gazelles, (wild) donkeys, and four-footed beasts in the desert.

[...]

(Lost account of first attempt at city-building failing for lack of leadership[?])

Mother Goddess Institutes Kingship

["..."] and let me have [h]im [a]dvise;
let me have him overse[e] their [la]bor,
and let him [teach] the nation to follow along unerringly like [cat]tle!"

When the royal [sce]pter was com[ing] down from heaven,

the august [cr]own and the royal [th]rone being already down from heaven,

he (the king) [regularly] performed to perfection the august divine services and offices,

laid [the bricks] of those cities [in pure spots.]

(40') They were [n]amed by name and [allotted] [ha]lf-bushel baskets.⁴

First Cities

The firstling of those cities, Eridu,

she gave to the leader Nudimmud,⁵

the second, Bad-Tibira,⁶ she gave to the prince and

the sacred one⁷

the third, Larak, she gave to Pahilsag,⁸

the fourth, Sippar, she gave to the gallant, Utu.⁹

the fifth, Shuruppak, she gave to Ansud.¹⁰

These cities, which had been named by names,

and had been allotted half-bushel baskets,

dredged the canals, which were blocked with purplish

(wind-borne) clay, and they carried water.

Their cleaning of the smaller canals

established abundant growth.

[...]

(Lost account of the antediluvian rulers,¹¹ and of how human noises vexed the chief god Enlil so much that he persuaded the divine assembly to vote the destruction of man by the deluge.)

That day Nin[tur] wept over her creatures

and holy Inanna¹² [was full] of grief over their people;

but Enki to[ok] counsel with his own heart.

An, Enlil, Enki,¹³ and Ninhursaga

had the gods of heaven and earth [swear¹⁴] by the names An and Enlil.

Ziusudra's Vision of the Gods Assembling

At that time Ziusudra was king

and lustration priest.

He fashioned, being a seer,

the god of giddiness¹⁵

and [stood] in awe beside it, wording his wishes humbly.

[As he] stood there regularly day after day

(90') something that was not a dream was appearing: conversa[tion]

² The triad An, Enlil, and Ninhursaga constituted originally the highest deities. Ninhursaga, "mistress of the foothills," who was normally considered identical with Nintur, is here apparently seen as a different goddess.

³ A standing epithet for mankind, specifically for the Sumerians themselves.

⁴ Half-bushel baskets seem to have been used to pay workers the grain rations that constituted their wages. Apparently they serve here as symbols of the major centers of the economy. The word for them was also used to denote a standard measure used as a check.

⁵ A name for Enki.

⁶ The present mound Medinah.

⁷ "The prince" is presumably the god Dumuzi. "The sacred one" is an epithet of Inanna's.

⁸ Larak has not yet been located. Its city god Pabilsag is a god of trees.

⁹ Sippar is the present mound of Abu-Habba. Its city god, Utu — Akkadian Shamash — was god of the sun and of righteousness.

¹⁰ Shuruppak is the present mound Fara. Its city goddess Sud or Ansud "the lush ear of grain" was a grain goddess. As consort of Enlil she was known as Ninlil.

¹¹ The list as found in parallel accounts differs on minor points. The form in which it appeared in the Dynastic Chronicle probably read "in Eridu Ahulim reigned 36,000 years, Alagar ruled 10,800 years. Two kings reigned 46,000 years, Eridu's term. Eridu's term was commuted. In Bad-Tibira Enmenluanna reigned 46,800 years, Enmengalanna reigned 64,800 years. Dumuzi, the shepherd, reigned 36,000 years. Three kings reigned 147,600 years, Bad-Tibira's term. Bad-Tibira's term was commuted. In Sippar Enmeduranki reigned 64,800 years. One king reigned 64,800 years. Sippar's term. Sippar's term was commuted. In Larak Ensipadzianna reigned 36,000 years. One king reigned 36,000 years, Larak's term. Larak's term was commuted. In Shuruppak Ubaratutu reigned 28,800 years. Ziusudra reigned 64,800 years. Two kings reigned 93,600 years, Shuruppak's term. Five individual cities, nine kings reigned 352,800 years, their terms. Enlil took a dislike to mankind, the clamor they made kept him sleepless."

The reigns were extraordinarily long. A similar feature is the long life of the biblical antediluvian patriarchs. For Mesopotamia, a document called "The Lagash King List" indicates that these early people were thought to have developed very slowly. The idea is also found in Greece, where the childhood of the people of Hesiod's silver age lasted a hundred years.

¹² A many-sided deity, among other things goddess of love and war.

¹³ God of the waters in rivers and marshes and god of practical wisdom.

¹⁴ The oath was one of abiding by the decisions of the assembly.

¹⁵ Ecstasy was apparently induced — as in the modern dancing dervishes — by giddiness, which was why Ziusudra made a statue of the god inducing it. The ancient rulers combined administrative, military, and priestly functions. To the last mentioned belonged divination, because it

a swearing (of) oaths by heaven and earth,
[a touching of throats]¹⁶
and the gods [bringing their] thwar[ts] (up) to
[K]iur.¹⁷

Enki's Advice

And as Ziusudra stood there beside it, he [went on
he]aring:

"Step up to the wall to my left and listen!
Let me speak a word to you at the wall
[and may you grasp] what [I] say,
May you he[ed] my advice!
By our hand a flood will sweep over
(the cities of) the half-bushel bas[kets, and the
country;]
[the decision,] that mankind is to be destroyed,
has been made.
a verdict, a command of the assemb[ly
cannot be revoked,]
(100') an order of An and En[lil is not known
ever to have been countermanded,]
their kingship, their term, [has been uprooted
they must bethink themselves of that]

Now [...]

What I ha[ve to say to you ..."]

[...]

(Lost account of Enki's advice to build a boat and load it with
pairs of living things and Ziusudra's compliance.)

The Deluge

All the evil winds, all stormy winds gathered into
one and with them, then, the Flood was sweeping
over (the cities of)
the half-bushel baskets
for seven days and seven nights.
After the flood had swept over the country,
after the evil wind had tossed the big boat about on
the great waters,
the sun came out spreading light over heaven and
earth.

Ziusudra's Offering at End of Flood

All the evil winds, all stormy winds gathered into
one
and with them, then, the Flood was sweeping over
(the cities of)
the half-bushel baskets
for seven days and seven nights.
After the flood had swept over the country,
after the evil wind had tossed the big boat

about on the great waters,
the sun came out spreading light
over heaven and earth.

Ziusudra's Offering at End of Flood

Ziusudra then drilled an opening in the big boat.
and the gallant Utu sent his light
into the interior of the big boat.

(140') Ziusudra, being the king,
stepped up before Utu kissing the ground (before
him).

The king was butchering oxen, was being lavish
with the sheep

[barley cak]es, crescents together with [...]

[...] he was crumbling for him

[...]

[juniper, the pure plant of the
mountains] he filled [on the fire]

and with a [...] clasped to

[the breast he ...]

[...]

(Lost account of Enlil's wrath at finding survivors and his
mollification by Enki.)

End of Enki's Speech

"You here have sworn

by the life's breath of heaven

the life's breath of earth

that he verily is allied with you yourself;

you there, An and Enlil,

have sworn by the life's breath of heaven,

the life's breath of earth,

that he is allied with all of you.

He will disembark the small animals

that come up from the earth!"

Ziusudra Rewarded

Ziusudra, being king,

stepped up before An and Enlil

kissing the ground,

And An and Enlil after hono[r]ing him]

(180') were granting him life like a god's,

were making lasting breath of life, like a god's,
descend into him.

That day they made Ziusudra,

preserver, as king, of the name of the small

animals and the seed of mankind,

live toward the east over the mountains

in Mount Dilmun.¹⁸

was essential for a ruler to know the will of the gods and to act in conformity to it.

¹⁶ The touching of the throat symbolized a wish that it be cut if the person doing it broke his or her oath.

¹⁷ Kiur (KI-UR) was the forecourt of Enlil's temple in Nippur. The divine assembly met in a corner of it called Ubshu³ukkinna. The gods would arrive by boat on a canal flowing close by.

¹⁸ Dilmun was the present Bahrain. Here in the tale it seems to have been considered a faraway, half-mythical place.

REFERENCES

ENKI AND NINMAH (1.159)

Jacob Klein

This archaic and still partly incomprehensible myth praises Enki, the god of the subterranean fresh waters, wisdom and magic, for having planned and directed the creation of mankind and for having devised ways in which the physically handicapped could adjust to society. The myth seems to consist of two originally independent stories. The first part tells the story of the creation of man rather briefly (lines 1-43). Man was created from pieces of clay, placed in the womb of the mother-goddesses where he obtained his form and was given birth. He was created for the purpose of relieving the gods from their hard labor, and especially from digging canals for irrigation agriculture. The second part (lines 44-139) tells of a contest between the mother-goddess Ninmah and Enki during a feast celebrating man's creation. At first Ninmah creates a number of crippled and handicapped human beings, challenging Enki to solve their problem. Enki cleverly "decrees their fate," assigning them a function in society whereby they earn their living in an honorable way. When Ninmah gives up, it is Enki's turn to create an abnormal creature. Enki creates a human wreck, whose nature cannot be precisely determined (either an aborted fetus or an old man),¹ and with which Ninmah is unable to cope. The end of the second part is damaged and obscure, but it is clear that Enki prevails over Ninmah in the contest. The myth concludes with the following statement (lines 140-141): "Ninmah did not equal the great lord Enki/ Father Enki, your praise is sweet." In spite of its fragmentary state of preservation, the myth is highly important from the point of view of the history of religion because it is the earliest composition dealing with the theme of man's creation, and as such it is a forerunner to the First Tablet of the Babylonian Story of the Flood (see text 1.130), as well as to the two parallel stories of creation of man in the Bible (Gen 1-2).²

Genesis and the Labor of the Gods (lines 1-11)

In those days, in the days
when heaven and earth were [created],
In those nights, in the nights
when heaven and earth were [created],^a
In those [years], in the years
when the fates [were decreed],³
When the Anunna-gods⁴ were born,
(5) When the goddesses⁵ were taken
in marriage,
When the goddesses were distributed
in heaven and earth,
When the goddesses were inseminated,
became pregnant and gave birth,⁶
The gods who baked their daily-bread,
(and) set therewith their tables —
The senior gods did oversee the work,
while the minor gods were bearing the toil.⁶
(10) The gods were digging the canals,

^a Gen 1:1;

2:4

^b Gen 6:1-4^c Gen 2:5^d 1 Kgs 18:27-29; Ps 44:24; Ps 121:4^e Gen 3:20were piling up their silt in Harali;⁷The gods were dredging the clay,
they were complaining about their (hard) life.^{8 c}*Rebellion of the Gods Against Enki* (lines 12-23)

At that time, the one of immense wisdom,
the creator of all the senior gods,
Enki,⁹ in the deep E-engura,¹⁰
in the flowing water, a place
whose inside no god has ever seen,
Lay on his bed, would not arise
from (his) sleep.^d
(15) The gods were weeping and were saying:
"He brought about this misery!"
To the sleeping one who lay at rest,
(to him who) would not arise from his sleep,
Nammu,¹¹ the primeval mother,
the bearer of the senior gods,^e
Brought the tears of the gods to her son:

¹ This creature, which is totally unable to function, is called U₄-MU-UL ("the-day-was-far-off" or "my-day-is-far-off"). The name may refer to a prematurely born baby or to a very old man, born long ago. See generally Kilmer 1976.

² The following translation of the two most comprehensible episodes from this myth is based on Benito's critical edition (1969). Benito's renderings were considerably modified in the light of Jacobsen's translation of the myth (1987a:151-166) and of further study of the text.

³ "In those days" etc., i.e., in days of yore etc.

⁴ The Anunna-gods (Sum. 'A-NUN-NA-KE₄-NE) usually refer to the gods of the universe, and occasionally to the gods of a local pantheon.

⁵ In lines 5-7, the text uses for "goddess" the rare and somewhat obscure term *amalu* (= AMA.⁴INANNA), which was translated into Akk. *amalu(k)tu* and *istaritu* (see Steinkeller, JCS 32 [1980]:30, note 38). Jacobsen translates "goddess-mothers." The term is used here to avoid ambiguity as to the sex of these divine beings, since the regular Sum. word for "god" (DINGIR) refers to both male and female deities.

⁶ Reading DU-LUM (for normal DU-LUM) "suffering," "toil."

⁷ Originally probably a remote country, from where gold was imported to Sumer (cf. Enki and Ninhursag, 51a). Later it was mythologized and regarded as the dwelling place of the gods before they created man (cf. G. Komoróczy, *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 26 [1972] 113-123; *Iraq* 39 [1977] 67-68).

⁸ Engaged in irrigation agriculture, the gods had to clean the rivers and canals of accumulated silt — a rather strenuous task.

⁹ The god of the subterranean sweet waters, wisdom and magic, creator of mankind.

¹⁰ E-ENGUR (literally: "The-House-the-Watery-Deep") was the name of Enki's temple in Eridu (cf. Å. Sjöberg, TCS III 54-55). Here it is a cosmic location beneath the earth in days of yore.

¹¹ Elsewhere, Nammu, the primeval mother, is called "The Bearer (birthgiver) of Heaven and Earth." This goddess seems to be the personification of the subterranean depths, the source of the sweet waters, the dwelling of Enki. Accordingly, her name is written with the logogram for Engur "subterranean (sweet) water."

"You are verily slumbering(?),
 you are verily sleeping,
 (20) [You(?)] of(?) yourself(?)
 would [not(?)] arise;
 The gods, your 'handiwork,'
 are smashing their equipment(?)!
 My son, arise from your bed;
 and when you have searched out wise
 counsel with your ingenuity,
 When you have fashioned a worker
 comparable(?) to the gods,
 may they relax from their toil!"^f

Enki's Plan as to the Creation of Man (lines 24-37)
 Enki, at the word of his mother,
 Nammu, arose from his bed,
 (25) In Ḫalankug,¹² his room of taking counsel,
 he smote(?) his thigh,¹³
 The wise and intelligent one,
 the custodian of heaven(?) and earth(?),
 the-fashioner-of-the-forms of every being,
 created two(?) birth-goddesses.¹⁴
 Enki stationed them at his side,
 examining them carefully.
 And when Enki, the-fashioner-of-the-forms,
 pondered by himself their nature,¹⁵
 He said to his mother, Nammu:
 (30) "My mother, the creature which you named(?),
 will verily exist; impose (on him)
 the burden¹⁶ of the gods!¹⁸
 When you have mixed the 'heart' of

f Gen 2:5,
 15; 3:17-19

g Gen 1:28-
 30; 2:15;
 3:17-19

h Gen 1:27;
 3:19;
 Pss 30:10;
 103:14;
 Job 10:9;
 Eccl 3:20

i Gen 1:27;
 2:21-23

j Gen 1:28;
 2:23-24; 4:1;
 Jer 30:6

k Ezek 16:4,
 9

the clay on top of the Abzu,¹⁷
 The two(?) birth-goddesses shall nip off
 pieces of clay.¹⁸ When you yourself
 have given (it) form,¹⁹ h
 Let Ninmah serve as your helper.²⁰
 And let Ninimma, Shuzianna, Ninmada, Ninbara,
 (35) Ninmug, Musardu and Ningunna
 Assist you²¹ as you activate birthgiving.²²
 My mother, after you decree his fate,
 let Ninmah impose on him the burden.²³

Creation of Man according to Enki's Plan
 (lines 38-43)
 [Thus(?)] she created mankind
 ma[le and female(?)]ⁱ
 By the male inseminating [the female(?)],
 mankind [will beget(?)] an offspring,²⁴
 (40) [After(?) nine(?) months(?) of(?)] pregnancy(?)
 a man(?) will be [born(?)]²⁵ j ...
 she placed it on alfa-grass,
 purified its delivery.²⁶ k

Ninmah Challenges Enki during a Banquet
 (lines 52-57)

Enki and Ninmah were drinking beer,
 and their heart became elated.
 Ninmah said to Enki:
 "What(ever) makes the form of man good or
 bad — it is within my power;
 (55) As my heart prompts me, I can make
 (its) 'fate' good or bad!"²⁷

¹² HAL-AN-KUG is equated with *apsūm* "deep" in an OB school-tablet. In the godlist An-Anum, it is an epithet of both Enki and his wife, Damgalnunna (Green 1975:205).

¹³ A gesture of deep distress and pondering.

¹⁴ Lit., "he caused the SIG₇-EN-SIG₇-DU₁₀ to emerge." The Sum. compound SIG₇-EN-SIG₇-DU₁₀ appears also in line 32, where the late bilingual version replaces it with SA-TUR (= Akk. *šassūru*) "womb(s)." Our text refers probably to a pair of birth-goddesses (i.e., divine wombs, matrices), wherein two male and female clay figures were planted, developed and given birth. These correspond to the fourteen (seven and seven) *šassūratum* of the OB Atra-ḫasis myth, which produced seven males and seven females (Tablet I 277; S iii 9-10; see Lambert and Millard 1969:62) when man was created. Jacobsen (1987a:156, n. 7) reads the Sum. compound IMMA-EN and IMMA-ŠAR, seeing in these two names, personifications of the female ovaries (see also nn. 20, 22 and 27 below).

¹⁵ Or "its (= the project's) nature."

¹⁶ So Benito and Kramer, who assume that the hapax ZUB-SIG is a Sum. form of the Akk. *tupšikku* "earth-basket," "mortar-board," "corvée." Jacobsen takes ZUB-SIG to mean "birth-chair."

¹⁷ The subterranean sweet water ocean (see n. 10 above).

¹⁸ Jacobsen translates: "Imma-en and Imma-sar can make the foetus bigger."

¹⁹ Jacobsen: "And when you have put limbs on it."

²⁰ Ninmah ("The Lofty Lady") is one of the epithets or manifestations of the Sum. birth-goddess par excellence, Nintu. She acts here as the midwife, assisting Nammu in giving birth/creating man. In the second part of this myth, she competes with Enki and creates a number of crippled human beings.

²¹ The minor goddesses listed in lines 34-35 seem not to be connected to birth-giving or midwifery as such. Possibly they represent friends and neighbors of the woman in labor who come to help the midwife in her task (see further Jacobsen 1987a:157, n. 10).

²² Nammu's role in this myth seems to be that of the chief-midwife, who activated and assisted the "birth-goddesses" in giving birth to Man. Others assume that Nammu actually gave birth to man, translating the Sum. phrase TU-TU-A-ZU "at your giving birth."

²³ See line 30 and n. 16 above.

²⁴ The restoration of these two lines is highly conjectural. Jacobsen assumes that these lines express the idea that Nammu gave birth to primeval man without the need for a male sperm. He translates accordingly: "And when, [without any m]ale, you have built it up in it, [may you give birth] to manki[nd]!" [Without] the sperm of a ma[le] she gave [birth] to offspr[ing], to the [em]bryo of mankind." However, in view of the Atra-ḫasis myth, which reports the creation of seven males and seven females (see n. 14 above) and Gen 1:27 ("male and female created He them"), our reconstruction of the story seems to be preferable.

²⁵ It is assumed here that lines 39-40 are anthropological observations by the mythographer as to the nature of mankind in general (for similar notes cf. Atra-ḫasis I 271-276; S iii 15-21; Lambert and Millard 1969:62). For a radically different interpretation of these lines, see Jacobsen.

²⁶ First man was created pure, amidst purification rites (cf. Atra-ḫasis I 204-207; Lambert and Millard 1969:56).

²⁷ As the mother-goddess par excellence, who represents all females in whose wombs the embryo develops and takes its form, Ninmah boasts that she can give birth to any form of human being. The empirical fact that all human beings, including cripples and deformed ones, are formed

Enki answered Ninmah:

"Let me counterbalance the 'fate',
desired by your heart — good or bad!"

*Contest Between Ninmah and Enki: The Creation of
Cripples and their Social Status* (lines 58-78)

Ninmah took in her hand clay
from the top of the Abzu;²⁸

She fashioned from it the first man:
one (who) could not bend his stiffened(?)
hands to reach out (for anything).²⁹

(60) Enki — upon seeing the first man
(who) could not bend his stiffened(?)
hands to reach out (for anything),

Decreed its fate: he made him stand
in attention at the head of the king.

Second — she fashioned from it one
'deprived of light,' a blind(?) man.³⁰

Enki — upon seeing the one 'deprived
of light,' the blind(?) man,

Decreed its fate: he allotted
to it the musical art,

(65) And seated it (as) chief-[musician]³¹
in a place of honor,³² before the king.

Third — [she fashioned from it one] lame
as to [both feet],³³ crippled of feet.

Enki — [upon seeing the one lame
as to both feet, crippled of feet,

He taught(?) it³⁴ the work of [the metal-caster]
and silver-smith, his

Fourth — she fashioned from it

1 Lev 21:18;
2 Sam 5:6-8

11 2 Sam 9:13

n Lev 15:2 et
passim

o Gen 11:30;
1 Sam 2:5;
Isa 54:1

p Gen 40:2;
1 Kgs 22:9;
2 Kgs 20:18;
Isa 56:4-5;
Jer 38:7;
Esa 1:10

a man discharging semen.³⁵

(70) Enki — upon seeing the man
discharging semen,

Bathed him in water (blessed) with incantation,
and removed Death³⁶ from his body.

Fifth — she fashioned from it a woman
who could not give birth.

Enki — upon seeing the woman
who could not give birth,^o

Decreed her fate, he assigned her
to do work in the Women's Quarter.³⁷

(75) Sixth — she fashioned from it a man,
in whose body neither male organ
nor female organ was placed.

Enki — upon seeing the man
in whose body neither male organ
nor female organ was placed,³⁸

He called him: "Nippurean(?)—the-courtier,"³⁹

And decreed him as his fate to stand
in attendance before the king.^p

Ninmah threw the pinch of clay
in her hand on the ground,
and a great silence fell.

(80) The great lord, Enki, said to Ninmah:

"I have decreed the fate for those
whom you have fashioned,
and given them (their daily) bread.

Now come, let me fashion (one) for you;
and do you decree the fate of that newborn!"

in the female's womb is reflected here.

²⁸ See n. 17 above.

²⁹ Reading with Kramer: ŠU ŠU-ŠU ŠA-ŠA-DE NU-GAM. For a radically different rendering of this line, see Jacobsen 1987a:159.

³⁰ Lit., perhaps: "a seeing man," possibly a euphemism for blindness.

³¹ Restoring [NAR]-GAL.

³² For ZA-GU-LA, lit., "the great side," see Sjöberg 1960:63, n. 3.

³³ Restoring [GIR-MIN H]UM, lit., "two feet broken" (see Jacobsen 1987a:160; Hallo 1969).

³⁴ Restoring MI-NI-IN-Z[U](?).

³⁵ Or "a man leaking urine" (Jacobsen).

³⁶ Lit., "Fate" (a demon of fatal sickness).

³⁷ Lit., "The Women's House," normally the queen's household, but according to another version, the reference is to the work of weaving.

"The Women's House" could also refer to the royal harem (cf. Esth 2:3 et passim).

³⁸ The text refers to a eunuch.

³⁹ So Jacobsen. By a slight emendation of the text one can render: "Enki(?) called his name: 'courtier.'"

REFERENCES

Benito 1969:1-81; Green 1975:170-174; Jacobsen 1987a:151-166; Kramer 1989:188-198; Lambert and Millard 1969:42-70; Pettinato 1971; Sauren 1993.

THE EXALTATION OF INANNA (1.160)

William W. Hallo

This is one of three hymns to the goddess Inanna attributed to Enheduanna in its own text. All three are listed together at the beginning of a literary catalogue, with this composition last (Cohen 1976:131f.). The cycle is a counterpart to The Collection of the Temple Hymns, another cycle attributed to the same author (Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969). If the latter reflects on Sargon, the author's father, founder of the first documented empire in Asia, at peace, the former cycle describes him at war. But it does so in highly metaphoric terms, crediting the victories

of the Sargonic dynasty to Inanna, its patron deity. Enheduanna emerges from these and other works (Westenholz 1989) as a genuine creative talent, a poetess as well as a princess, a priestess and a prophetess. She is, in fact, the first non-anonymous and non-legendary author in history. As such she has found her way into contemporary anthologies, especially of women's literature (Barnstone and Barnstone 1980:1-8; Kilmer in Bankier and Lashgari 1983:111-117).

A. Exordium¹

(i) *Inanna and the divine attributes*

Lady of all the divine attributes,²
resplendent light,
Righteous woman clothed in radiance,
beloved of Heaven and Earth,
Hierodule of An,
(you) of all the great ornaments,
Enamored of the appropriate tiara,
suitable for the high-priesthood,
(5) Whose hand has attained
(all) the "seven" divine attributes,³
Oh my lady, you are the guardian
of all the great divine attributes!
You have picked up the divine attributes,
you have hung the divine attributes on your
hand,
You have gathered up the divine attributes,
you have clasped the divine attributes to your
breast.

(ii) *Inanna and An (Heaven)*

Like a dragon you have deposited venom on the
foreign land.
(10) When you roar at the earth like Thunder,
no vegetation can stand up to you.
A flood descending from its mountain,
Oh foremost one, you are the Inanna of heaven and
earth!
Raining the flaming fire down upon the nation,
Endowed with divine attributes by An,
lady mounted on a beast,
(15) Who makes decisions at the holy command of
An.
(You) of all the great rites,
who can fathom what is yours?

(iii) *Inanna and Enlil*

Devastatrix of the lands,
you are lent wings by the storm.
Beloved of Enlil,
you fly about in the nation.
You are at the service of the decrees of An.

α Gen 4:24 et
passim

(20) Oh my lady, at the sound of you
you make the foreign lands bow down.
At (your) tempestuous radiance, mankind
In fear and trembling
when it comes before you,
Receives from you its just deserts.
A song of lamentation it begins for you.
(25) It walks toward you along the path
of the house of all the great sighs.

(iv) *Inanna and Ishkur⁴*

In the van of battle
everything is struck down by you.
Oh my lady, (propelled) on your own wings,
you peck away (at the land).⁵
In the guise of a charging storm you charge
With a roaring storm you roar.
(30) With Thunder you continually thunder.
With all the evil winds you snort.
Your feet are filled with restlessness.
To (the accompaniment of) the harp of sighs
you give vent to a dirge.

(v) *Inanna and the Anunna⁶*

Oh my lady, the Anunna, the great gods,
(35) Fluttering like bats
Fly off from before you to the clefts,
They who dare not walk in your terrible glance,
Who dare not proceed before your terrible
countenance.
Who can temper your raging heart?
Your malevolent heart is beyond tempering.
(40) Lady (who) soothes the reins, lady (who)
gladdens the heart,
Whose rage is not tempered,
oh great daughter of Suen!
Lady supreme over the foreign land,
who has (ever) denied (you) homage?

(vi) *Inanna and Mt. Ebih⁷*

In the mountain where homage is withheld from
you
vegetation is accursed.
Its grand entrance you have reduced to ashes.

¹ The rhetorical and other structural divisions imposed on the text are in part modern constructs; they are defended in Hallo and van Dijk 1968, chs. 4-5, and in Hallo 1996, ch. V/3. They are reflected in the current translation as far as possible; for further details see Hallo and van Dijk 1968, ch. 2.

² Or: "essences" (ME), from the Sum. verb "to be." They are thought of in physical terms as symbols to be worn or carried. The myth of Inanna and Enki (Text 1.161 below) lists over 125 of them, including many of the "arts of civilization"; it may well be alluded to in this stanza.

³ "Seven" is here used in the sense of a large, round number, as frequently in BH.

⁴ Storm god and embodiment of thunder (cf. above, line 10).

⁵ For the winged Inanna in other texts and in art, cf. already lines 17f. (differently Heimpel 1971:233) and Hallo and van Dijk 1968:51.

⁶ The deities in general, later conceived as subordinate or chthonic (netherworld) deities in particular.

⁷ Presumably this stanza refers to the mountain range marking the northern border of Sumer and Akkad, and later of Babylonia, identified with the Jebel Hamrin, and subject of another of Enheduanna's hymns to Inanna, alluding to Sargonic triumphs on this frontier.

(45) Blood rises in its rivers for you,
its people have nought to drink.
It leads its army captive before you of its own
accord.⁸
It disbands its regiments before you of its own
accord.⁸
It makes its able-bodied young men parade before
you of their own accord.⁸
A tempest has filled the dancing places of its city.
(50) It drives its young adults before you as
captives,

(vii) *Inanna and Uruk(?)*

Because the city has not declared
"The land is yours,"
Because they have not declared
"It is your father's, your begetter's,"⁹
You have spoken your holy command,
have verily turned it back from your path,
Have verily removed your foot from out of its
byre.
(55) Its woman no longer speaks of love with her
husband.
At night they no longer have intercourse.
She no longer reveals to him her inmost treasures.
Impetuous wild cow, great daughter of Suen,
Lady supreme over An,
who has (ever) denied (you) homage?

(viii) *Invocation of Inanna*

(60) You of the appropriate divine attributes,
great lady of ladies,
Issued from the holy womb,
supreme over the mother who bore you,
Omniscient sage, lady of all the foreign lands,
Sustenance of the multitudes,
I have verily recited your sacred song!
True goddess, fit for the divine attributes,
it is exalting to acclaim you.
(65) Merciful one, brilliant, righteous woman,
I have verily recited your divine attributes for
you!

B. The Argument

(ix) *The Banishment from Ur*

Verily I had entered my holy cloister¹⁰ at your
behest,
I, the high-priestess, I, Enheduanna!

I carried the ritual basket, I intoned the acclaim.
(But now) one has placed me in the leper's ward,¹¹
I, even I, can no longer live with you!
(70) They approach the light of day,
the light is obscured about me,
The shadows approach the light of day,
it is covered (as) with a (sand)storm.
My mellifluous mouth is cast into confusion.
My choices features are turned to dust.

(x) *The Appeal to Inanna(?)*

My fate — it concerns Suen and Lugalanne — ¹²
(75) Report it to An! May An release me!
Say but to An "Now!" and An will release me
(saying):
"This woman will carry off the fate of Lugalanne.
Mountain (and) flood lie at her feet.
That woman is as exalted (as he) —
she will make the city abandon him."
(80) Surely she will assuage her heartfelt rage for
me.
Let me, Enheduanna, recite a prayer to her.
My tears like sweet drink
Let me give free vent to for the holy Inanna,
Let me say "Hail!" to her!

(xi) *The Indictment of Lugalanne(?)*

I cannot appease Ashimbabbar.¹³
(85) He (Lugalanne?) has altered the lustrations of
holy An and all his (rites) whatsoever.
He has verily carried off from An (his temple)
Eanna.
He has not stood in awe of King An.
That sanctuary whose attractions are irresistible,
whose beauty is endless,
That sanctuary he has verily brought to destruction.

(90) When he began to enter there,
he became jealous of him.¹⁴
Oh my divine impetuous wild cow, drive out this
man, capture this man!

(xii) *The Curse of Uruk¹⁵*

In the "Place of Sustenance" what am I, even I?
(Uruk) is a malevolent rebel against your Nanna —
may An make it surrender!¹⁶
This city — may it be sundered by An!
(95) May it be cursed by Enlil!
May its plaintive child not be placated by his

⁸ Or: "one by one, one after the other"; cf. B. L. Eichler, *JAOS* 103 (1983) 97 and n. 19.

⁹ Translating with D. O. Edzard, *ZA* 66 (1976) 47, n. 190.

¹⁰ I.e., the *gip̄aru*, the residence of the high-priestess.

¹¹ Variant: "in a good place" (euphemism?). Note that "grave" uses the same logogram (plus "house").

¹² Enheduanna is the first of a long line of princesses appointed by their royal fathers as high-priestesses of Nanna, the moon-god at Ur, equated with the Akk. Suen. Lugalanne is a rebel against Sargonic rule and a pretender to the rule of Uruk, known also from other sources. The translation follows Wilcke 1976a:88.

¹³ Another manifestation of the moon-god.

¹⁴ For TAB-KU, cf. *CAD* S s.v. *šurrū*. The second half of the line follows Civil 1990b.

¹⁵ For Uruk as the "Place of Sustenance" see Hallo and van Dijk 1968:58 and n. 52. Other cities may share this epithet; see e.g. Shulgi B 41 (Castellino 1972:34f.).

¹⁶ Against the astral reinterpretation of this line by B. Alster, cf. Hallo, *JNES* 37 (1978) 273.

mother!
 Oh lady, the (harp of) mourning is placed on the
 ground.
 One had verily beached your ship of mourning
 on a hostile shore.
 At (the sound of) my sacred song
 I am are ready to die.

(xiii) *The Indictment of Nanna*

(100) As for me, my Nanna takes no heed of me.
 In murderous straits,
 he has verily given me over to destruction.
 Ashimbabbar has not pronounced my judgment.
 Had he pronounced it: what is it to me?
 Had he not pronounced it: what is it to me?
 (Me) who once sat triumphant
 he has driven out of the sanctuary.
 (105) Like a swallow he made me fly from the
 window, my life is consumed.
 In the bramble of the mountain he made me walk.
 The crown appropriate for the high-priesthood
 he carried off from me.
 He gave me dagger and sword —
 "it becomes you," he said to me.

(xiv) *Second(?) Appeal to Inanna*

Most precious lady, beloved of An,
 (110) Your holy heart is lofty,
 may it be assuaged on my behalf!
 Beloved bride of Ushungal-anna¹⁷
 Of the heavenly foundations and zenith
 you are the "senior" queen.
 The Anunna have submitted to you.
 From birth on you were the "junior" queen.
 (115) Over the great gods, the Anunna,
 how supreme you are!
 The Anunna with their lips
 kiss the ground (in obeisance) to you.
 (But) my own sentence is not concluded,
 a hostile judgment appears before my eyes as
 my judgment.
 (My) hands are no longer folded on the ritual
 couch.
 The pronouncements of Ningal
 I may no longer reveal to man.¹⁸
 (120) (Yet) I am the brilliant high-priestess of
 Nanna,
 Oh my lady beloved of An,
 may your heart take pity on me!
 (xv) *The Exaltation of Inanna*¹⁹
 That one has not recited as a "Known! Be it
 known!" of Nanna,

that one has recited as a "Tis Thine!":

"That you are lofty as Heaven (An) —
 be it known!
 That you are broad as Earth —
 be it known!
 (125) That you devastate the rebellious land —
 be it known!
 (125a) That you roar at the land —
 be it known!
 That you smite the heads —
 be it known!
 That you devour cadavers like a dog —
 be it known!
 That your glance is terrible —
 be it known!
 That you lift your terrible glance —
 be it known!
 (130) That your glance is flashing —
 be it known!
 That you are ill-disposed toward the defiant —²⁰
 be it known!"
 That one has not recited (this) of Nanna,
 that one has recited it as a "Tis Thine!" —
 (That,) oh my lady, has made you great,
 you alone are exalted!
 (135) Oh my lady beloved of An,
 I have verily recounted your fury!

C. Peroration

(xvi) *The Composition of the Hymn*

One has heaped up the coals (in the censer),
 prepared the lustration.
 The nuptial chamber awaits you,
 let your heart be appeased!
 With "It is enough for me, it is too much for me!"
 I have given birth, oh exalted lady,
 to (this song) for you.
 That which I recited to you at (mid)night
 (140) May the singer repeat it to you at noon!
 (Only) on account of your captive spouse,
 on account of your captive child,
 Your rage is increased,
 your heart unassuaged.

(xvii) *The Restoration of Enheduanna*

The first lady, the reliance of the throne-room,
 Has accepted her offerings.
 Inanna's heart has been restored.
 The day was favorable for her,
 she was clothed sumptuously,
 she was garbed in womanly beauty.

¹⁷ Short form of Ama-ushungal-anna, a manifestation of Dumuzi.

¹⁸ Ningal is the consort of the Moon-god at Ur, and a patroness of dream-interpretation (oneiromancy). In her prophetic function, Enheduanna was apparently an oneiromancer (ENS = *ša'iltu*).

¹⁹ In this "magnificat," the Argument reaches its climax as the crucial divine attributes are attributed to Inanna, not Nanna. Her triumph is signalled similarly in another hymn by Enheduanna, and in the historiographic tradition about Sargon's defeat of the great rebellion in his old age. Note that after its opening couplet (lines 123f.), the remainder of the magnificat has a different (i.e., indifferent) sequence of lines in every exemplar.

²⁰ Cf. CAD s.v. *šapsu*.

Like the light of the rising moon,
 how she was sumptuously attired!
 When Nanna (Moon) appeared in proper view,
 They (all) blessed her (Inanna's) mother Ningal.
 (150) The heavenly doorsill called "Hail!"

(xviii) *Doxology*

For that her (Enheduanna's) speaking to the Hiero-

dule (Inanna)
 was exalted —
 (To) the devastatrix of the foreign lands,
 endowed with divine attributes from An,
 (To) my lady wrapped in beauty,
 (to) Inanna: Praise!

REFERENCES

Texts: numerous whole or partial duplicates as listed in Hallo and van Dijk 1968:36f. and subsequent reviews. Translations and studies: Barnstone and Barnstone 1980; Hallo and van Dijk 1968; Heimpel 1971; Kilmer 1983; Kramer *ANET* 579-582; Römer 1972; Sauren 1970; Westenholz 1989; Wilcke 1976a.

INANNA AND ENKI (1.161)

Gertrud Farber

The exact date of the origin of this composition is unknown. It has come down to us in only very few sources, all of which stem from the Old Babylonian scribal school of Nippur.¹

The main topic of the myth is the love goddess Inanna's attempt to increase her city Uruk's and her own power and influence. She therefore wants to bring into her possession the ME, the cultural norms which are the basis of Sumerian civilization and all aspects of life.² These cultural norms are stored like concrete objects in Enki's underwater temple in Eridu. During Inanna's visit to Eridu, Enki, the god of wisdom, bestows the ME on her, while he is drunk. She manages to escape with them and securely brings them to her hometown Uruk despite several attempts by Enki to stop her. Unfortunately, the last lines of the text are poorly preserved, and it is still unclear how the conflict between Inanna and Enki is settled.³

The importance of "Inanna and Enki" lies in the detailed listing of the ME, which gives us some insight into Sumerian thinking — how they looked on life and how they understood the world.

The composition originally had some 820 lines. Repetitions and unclear lines are not included in the following translation; (...) marks abridged text.

Introduction: Inanna's praise of her sex appeal and her plan to visit Enki in order to increase her power (Tablet I i and SLTNi 32+)

[.... Inanna] placed the ŠUGURRA, the crown of the steppe, on her head.

As she went outside to the shepherd, to the sheepfold,

[....] was bent down, her vulva was to be wondered at,

[....] was righteously bent down, her vulva was to be admired.⁴

Rejoicing at her wonderful vulva, she started to praise herself.

" (....)

When I will have directed my foot towards god Enki and the Abzu and Eridu,
 I will speak coaxingly to Enki, to the Abzu and Eridu. (....)

I, the lady, I, the queen of heaven, I want to go to the Abzu,

to the lord Enki I shall speak a prayer.

Like the sweet oil of the cedar [....]

(....).

On that day, the maid Inanna

directed her step all by herself

towards Enki's Abzu in Eridu.

On that day, the one who has overpowering knowledge, who knows the divine decrees in

¹ For the first identification of the text see Kramer 1944:64-68. For a complete edition see Farber 1973. For collations and new text material see Waetzoldt 1975 and Farber 1995. Other important studies include Alster 1974a and Kramer 1989:57-68, 222-225, with a new translation. The free rendering of the myth by Wolkstein and Kramer 1983:11-27 is not true to the Sum. text and should not be regarded as a scholarly translation.

² For a discussion of the ME see Farber 1973:116-213 and Farber 1990:610-613. In some instances in this volume translated "divine attributes," "divine powers," "divine offices."

³ I still support my original interpretation which is based on grammatical forms and the structure of the dialogue, that Inanna has to give the cultural norms back to Enki. For different and in my opinion grammatically problematic interpretations see Alster 1974a:26, who assumes that although the ME remain in Uruk, both Inanna and her city are severely punished by Enki, and Kramer 1989:68 who thinks that Enki accepts the fact that the ME are no longer in his possession and that everybody is rejoicing.

⁴ She is probably having sex with her lover, the shepherd-god Dumuzi.

heaven and earth,
 who just from his dwelling knows about the plans
 of the gods,
 knew everything (about the plot)
 even before the radiant Inanna had approached the
 temple in Eridu by a mile.

*Inanna's visit in Eridu and her acquisition of the
 cultural norms, the ME (SLTNi 32+ and Tablet I ii - iii)*

So Enki, the king of the Abzu,
 spoke to his man and gave him instructions:
 "Come here, man, listen to my word!
 When the young girl Inanna has entered the Abzu
 and Eridu,
 have her eat butter-cake,
 let her be served cool water which refreshes the
 soul,
 at the lion gate⁵ pour beer for her,
 treat her like a friend and a colleague.
 At the pure table, at the table of An,
 you shall greet the radiant Inanna."
 According to these instructions
 Isimud, the vizier, follows his king's commands.
 He allows the maid Inanna to enter the Abzu and
 Eridu,

(...)

where she gets butter-cake to eat.
 Cool water, refreshing to the soul, is poured for
 her,
 at the lion gate she is served beer.
 He treats her like a friend and a colleague.
 At the pure table, the table of An,
 he greets her.
 Enki and Inanna drink beer together in the Abzu,
 enjoy the taste of sweet wine.
 The bronze AGA-vessels are filled to the rim,
 they have a competition, (drinking from the) bronze
 vessels of Uraš.

[Break of 35 to 40 lines]

Enki apparently gets drunk and presents all the divine
 norms, or ME, which are stored in his care in the
 Abzu to his daughter Inanna. The presentation of
 several items at a time, follows the pattern:

"In the name of my power, in the name of my
 Abzu,

I will give them all to my daughter, the radiant
 Inanna, and (this) shall not be [contested]."

The ... (5 to 8 items each time)

the radiant Inanna accepted.

This pattern is repeated fifteen times, of which only
 six, containing the ME no. 53-94, are preserved. The
 final listing seems to have more items. The main 94
 ME are:

I (1-5) EN-ship, LAGAL-priesthood, godship, the
 mighty legitimate crown, the throne of

kingship,

II (6-10) the noble scepter, staff and rein, the noble
 dress, shepherdship, kingship,

III (11-15) EGIZI-priestess-ship, NINDINGIR-pries-
 tess-ship, IŠIB-priesthood, LUMAḤ-priesthood,
 GUDU-priesthood,

IV (16-21) truth, ..., ..., descending into the
 Netherworld, having ascended from the Nether-
 world, the KURĜARRA-priest,

V (22-27) sword and club, the temple servant SAĜ-
 URSAG, the black dress, the colorful dress, the
 ... hair, the ... hair,

VI (28-34) [7 mainly broken ME]

VII (35-40) the standard, the quiver, love making,
 kissing, prostitution, running (?),

VIII (41-46) speech, slander, cajoling, ..., the cult-
 prostitute, the pure tavern,

IX (47-52) the holy NIGINĜAR shrine, ..., the
 hierodule of heaven, the resounding lute, the
 art of singing, the (wise) state of old age,

X (53-59) heroism, possession of power, dishonesty,
 righteousness, plundering of cities, singing of
 lamentations, rejoicing,

XI (60-64) deceit, the rebellious land, kindness,
 traveling around, the permanent home,

XII (65-72) the craft of the carpenter, the craft of
 the copper-smith, the art of the scribe, the craft
 of the smith, the craft of the leather-worker,
 the craft of the fuller, the craft of the builder,
 the craft of the mat-weaver,

XIII (73-81) understanding, knowledge, purifying
 washing rites, the house of the shepherd (?),
 heaping up of coals, the sheepfold, fear, awe,
 reverent silence,

XIV (82-88) the bitter toothed ..., kindling of fire,
 extinguishing of fire, hard work, ..., the
 assembled family, descendants,

XV (89-94) dispute, triumph, counseling, delibera-
 tion, jurisdiction, decision-making.

[Break of approximately 80 lines]

*Inanna's departure by boat and Enki's regret (Tablet
 I iv - vi)*

After having received the ME from Enki, Inanna
 leaves the Abzu while Enki seems to have fallen
 asleep. While she is (apparently) loading the ME on to
 her ship, she is listing them again, one by one,
 following the pattern:

"... he has given to me."

In this section the ME no. 56-91 are preserved. It
 seems that she is explaining her behavior to somebody
 who may have objected that she removed the ME from
 the Abzu.⁶

[Break of approximately 35 lines]

Enki has woken up and gradually becomes sober again.

[Enki now addresses his vizier Isimud:]

⁵ This may refer to the lion dating from the Ur III period which has been excavated in Eridu.

⁶ Alster has suggested that this may have been the mysterious frog guarding the entrance to the Abzu who occurs in I vi, 4; 6, see Alster 1974a:24.

["My vizier Isimud, my sweet name of heaven!"]
 ["My king,] Enki! I am at your service, what is your wish?"

"If she has not yet left for Uruk and Kulab, if she has not yet left for the place (...) where the sun rises,

I need to get hold of her, because of what I have said."⁷

"The radiant Inanna has already gathered up all the ME, she has boarded the 'boat of heaven,' and the 'boat of heaven' has left the quay."

When the one who had drunk beer, who had drunk (too much) beer, had thrown up all the beer, when father Enki, the one who had drunk (too much) beer, had thrown up the beer, the great lord Enki gave all his attention to [...]. The lord (now) looks thoroughly at his Abzu and then speaks to his vizier Isimud:

"My vizier Isimud, my sweet name of heaven!"

"My king Enki, I am at your service, what is your wish?"

The sobered Enki now asks Isimud where all his ME have disappeared to. He names them all in groups, following the pattern:

"The ..., where are they?"

Nine of the groups are preserved, listing ME no. 1-52.

[Break of approximately 35 lines]

The 20 poorly preserved lines of column vi can still not be restored properly. They tell about a frog sitting at the entrance door of Enki's temple. Perhaps the frog is being blamed for having let Inanna escape through the door with all her presents.⁸

[Break of 10 to 15 lines]

Enki's futile attempts to retrieve the ME (Tablet II i-iv 17)

The prince speaks to his vizier Isimud,

Enki addresses his "sweet name of heaven":

"My vizier Isimud, my sweet name of heaven!"

"My king Enki, I am at your service, what is your wish?"

"The 'boat of heaven,' how far has it traveled?"

"Right now, it has reached the [...] quay."

"Go! The Enkum shall seize the boat from her!"

The vizier Isimud speaks to the radiant Inanna:

"My lady, your father has sent me to you.

What your father has said is sublime,

what Enki has remarked is sublime.

His important words may not be disregarded."

To this the radiant Inanna answers:

"What did my father say to you? What did he remark to you?"

Why may his important speech not be disregarded?"

"My king has said to me,

Enki has instructed me:

'Inanna shall return to Uruk, but you, escort the 'boat of heaven' to Eridu!'"

The radiant Inanna answers the vizier Isimud:

"Why has my father changed his word to me?

Why has he overturned his honest speech to me?

Why has he disgraced his important words to me?

My father has spoken dishonestly to me, he has spoken insincerely to me.

Untruthfully he has made his promises in the name of his power and in the name of his Abzu,

cheatingly he has sent you to me as a messenger!"

Hardly has she finished this speech,

when the Enkum try to seize the "boat of heaven."

The radiant Inanna now says to her vizier Ninshubura:

"Come here, my faithful vizier of the Eanna,

my vizier of good tidings,

my messenger of truthful words!

Water has not touched your hand, water has not touched your foot."⁹

After Inanna has thus saved the ME which had been given to her, and the "boat of heaven,"

the prince speaks to his vizier Isimud a second time,

Enki addresses his "sweet name of heaven."

(...)

In the next 170 lines Enki tries five more times to retrieve the "boat of heaven" loaded with the ME. At the pure [...] the 50 "Giants of Eridu" shall seize the boat, at the hill ULMA the 50 "LAHAMA-demons of the Ocean" fail to capture the boat. At the hill "Field" all "Big Fish" are sent out to get the boat. At the [...] the "Guardians of Uruk" are unsuccessful, and at the Iurungal River the "[...] of the Iurungal" fail once more. And so Inanna arrives safely in Uruk, bringing the ME with her.

Inanna's Arrival in Uruk and the Ensuing Celebration (Tablet II iv 18 - 58)

[11 lines mostly destroyed]

Ninshubura does something concerning the "boat of heaven" with her foot and her [hand], then something happens for the seventh time, while Inanna "completes something else to perfection."

Her vizier Ninshubura

[addresses] the radiant Inanna:

"My lady, on the day you [bring] the 'boat of heaven' to the gate ['Joy,' to Uruk-Kulab], our city will [revel] in abundance,

⁷ I think that Enki wants to prevent her from leaving, but Kramer assumed that Enki, being still drunk, was actually assisting her in her departure; see Kramer 1989:64.

⁸ For this interpretation see Alster 1974a:24; see also n. 6.

⁹ Unfortunately we do not understand the magic procedure used by Ninshubura to save the boat.

(...),

on our [canals] cargo-boats [will ...]."

To that the radiant Inanna answers her:

"On the day I [bring] the 'boat of heaven' to the gate 'Joy,' to Uruk-Kulab,

it shall pass along the [street] magnificently.

[The people] shall stand in the street full of awe.¹⁰

(...)

The old men [shall receive] prudence,

the old women [shall receive] wise counsel,

to the young men [I will give] the strength [of weapons],

the little children [shall be happy!]

[Break of 6 lines]

[...] the 'boat of heaven,' [there shall be a] festival!

The king shall slaughter oxen, [many sheep he shall bring],

beer he shall pour into the cups.

May he [sound] the drums and timpani,

may he skilfully [play] the sweet TIGI-instruments.

All the lands shall [proclaim] my sublimity,

my people shall praise my glory!"

On the day she brought the "boat of heaven" to the gate "Joy," to Uruk-Kulab,

it passed along the streets magnificently [...].

It reached the house of the maid, and [she determined] its place.

[It passed] the pure well, her main well.

Inanna had the ME which had been bestowed on her and the "boat of heaven" [land] at the gate of the ĠIPAR,

she had them [...] at the entrance of the AGRUN (a divine dwelling).¹¹

Shining brightly, the radiant Inanna then [blessed] the place [where] the "boat of heaven" [had docked].

The narrative moves back to Eridu.

The prince now [says] to his vizier Isimud,

Enki [addresses] his "sweet name of heaven":

"My vizier Isimud, my sweet name [of heaven]!"

"My king Enki, I am at your service, [what is your wish]?"

"The 'boat of heaven,' how far has it traveled?"

"It has arrived at the 'White Quay.'"

"Go! admiration shall be [...],

[...] admire the 'boat of heaven.'"

[Break of approximately 5 lines]

The Unloading of the ME in Uruk (Tablet II iv 59 - vi 50)

Isimud has apparently arrived in Uruk at

the "White Quay" and is taking part in the festivities. Inanna now starts unloading the ME, and it may be Isimud who lists them individually (line by line)¹² as she takes them from the "boat of heaven," following the pattern:

"The ... you have brought with you."

Following this enumeration of the 94 cultural norms are 16 more items which are only partly preserved.

They can either be additional ME or represent a more general description of the goods¹³ brought home by Inanna.

"To place [...] on the ground, the charm of all women you have brought with you.

[The ability (?) to use the ME correctly, you have brought.

[Two lines or items broken.]

The holy percussion instruments TIGI, LILIS, UB, MEZE, and ALA, [and six more items] of An you have brought,

[...] the magnificent [...], as many as there are, while he was preparing beer,¹⁴ you have brought with you."

[Break of 8 lines]

Full of joy, the woman gave the [...]

the name "the house of the Netherworld has been built."

Like the merchant who had said "fifty shekel," then brought them, and there were less,¹⁵

the place (where this happened) she called "potsherd and rubbish."

The place where the boat had (almost) been turned around

she called "(his) mind has changed."

The place where the boat had docked

she called "the white quay."

The place where she had unloaded [the ME], one by one,

she called "the lapis lazuli quay."

The Settling of the Conflict between Enki and Inanna, perhaps by Enlil (Tablet II vi 51 - 67)

In the meantime Enki has arrived in Uruk. But it seems from the way Enki and Inanna are talking that they are addressing a third person, someone else who has arrived as a *deus ex machina* to settle the conflict. The only arbiter both gods might accept would probably be Enlil.¹⁶

Enki addresses the radiant Inanna:

"In the name of my power, in the name of my Abzu,

for this woman (here he addresses somebody else, not Inanna) I will place [...] in my Abzu."

¹⁰ Kramer's interpretation of "high waters sweeping over the street" makes little sense and is grammatically untenable, see Kramer 1989:67.

¹¹ For AGRUN as the entrance to a private place see Alster 1972:354 and 1973:102.

¹² For this interpretation see Alster 1974a:25 with n. 7.

¹³ See Green 1976:284.

¹⁴ Does this refer to Enki?

¹⁵ The merchant seemingly had been cheating. Is this an allusion to Enki's breach of promise?

¹⁶ For this interpretation, see Farber 1973:94-95; for other interpretations see the discussion in n. 3.

¹⁷ The word missing here might have been crucial for the interpretation of the end of the story.

"Why has this man (Inanna talks about an intruder, not about Enki) now entered here, [...] taking the ME from me?"

Enlil (?) answers by giving orders including some punishment like the crushing of some women's vulvas. But he also creates a festival.

[7 lines are largely destroyed]

Enlil (?) continues:

"At the gate of the ĜIPAR [your people shall] spend

their days,

[at the entrance to the AGRUN], the inhabitants of your city, the inhabitants of Uruk shall live (happily).

And concerning you (addressing Enki), to your city Eridu she has already added [the ME (?)], she has indeed returned them to their original location."

REFERENCES

Alster 1972; 1973; 1974a; Farber 1973; 1990; 1995; Green 1976; Kramer 1944; Kramer and Maier 1989; Waetzoldt 1975; Wolkstein and Kramer 1983.

2. HYMNS

TO NANSHE (1.162)

Wolfgang Heimpel

Is it not the city, is it not the city, are its divine powers not proclaimed?	...
Is it not the city Nina, are its divine powers not proclaimed?	20 She knows the orphan, she knows the widow. She knows that person oppresses person. A mother for the orphan,
Is it not the city, the pure city, are its divine powers not proclaimed?	Nanshe, a caretaker for the widow, finding a way for houses in debt,
Is it not a mountain carried above water, the city, are its divine powers not proclaimed?	the lady shelters the abducted person, ³
5 Does not the day of the good house appear, has not its destiny been determined?	25 seeks a place for the weak, swells him his collecting basket, ⁴
Does not propriety shine in the city?	(and) makes his collecting vat profitable.
Are not the rites ¹ of mother Nanshe organized?	For an honest maid who seized her feet
Is not its lady, the child born in Eridu,	Nanshe counts a man of good means;
Nanshe, the lady of precious divine powers, restoring (them)?	30 (and) it is the widow that Nanshe endows with an unmarried person
10 The mother — is it not resin? —, the mother — is it not yeast? —,	(who is for her) like a roof in a good house.
Is not Nanshe mother of great things?	Does not propriety shine in presence of the lady?
In the living quarters of the land heavy (things) exist in her presence.	Did not Nanshe — in her presence "hands" are tripled in plenty in Lagash —
In the stores honey ... like resin. ²	call the lord to the holy heart? ⁵
Vases with everflowing water stood before her.	35 The lion of Nanshe, the beloved lord of Lagash, filled the dais in her presence. ⁶
15 Boxes with the storables of the land covered like silt, the thing of the river, the ground before Nanshe.	She gave the shepherd the mighty scepter. She perfected Gudea with her precious powers.

¹ PA.AN in line 65 is spelled syllabically *bi-lu-da* in line 65 and elsewhere. It is an old loan from Akk. *bēlātum*. The context of lines 123 and 125 relates it with the expectations of Nanshe of certain priests, and seems to designate the rule of Nanshe and the rules by which her priests act. In line 65, where the context is incompatible with the meaning "rule," and "rite," Jacobsen's translation is used. This meaning is confirmed by the logogram PA.AN "executive + divinity."

² Cf. ELS 718-720.

³ My old translation and Jacobsen's "fugitive" would be LÚ-ZAH. KAR = *ekēmu* = "to take by force, to abduct," generally in war.

⁴ ŠU-DU = *kašūsum*. OB Nīg-gur₁₁ *makkāru* 152 (MSL 13, 119).

⁵ The particular title of the lord of Nanshe here and elsewhere is *šennu*.

⁶ So after Jacobsen. Cf. H. Steible FAOS 9/2 (1991) 51:1.

Her shepherd, whom she had called to the holy heart, Gudea, governor of Lagash, 40 set (the lyre) Cow Plenty among the drums, set the silver drum at its side. While holy songs, harmonious songs, were performed for her, small copper sickles praise the house. The chief musician plays her the ibex horn. 45 The "Has not the house been granted divine powers from Abzu?"⁷ was performed through princely powers of the holy songs of house Sirara. The dream interpreter⁸ brought her the (utensils) of the first fruit (festival);⁹ held the glittering silver cups out to her. The temple cook []; 50 hot and cold things he brings straight before her. He brought the ... of the oven before her. [] the great shovel resounds before her. When meat cuts were brought in large bowls, when cool water was brought from the Sirara river, 55 when the festival trappings were brought from (the city) Lagash,⁹ when liquor was brought from the countryside, her large oven which matches the large hall, Nanshe's sanctuary of bread distribution,¹⁰ hums. The lady, the elder woman of Enlil, 60 Nanshe, the lady who lives in plenty in the land, ..., the child of Enki, places a person, a good woman for a good house. After she placed a person, a good woman for a good house, the daily provisions of the house came straight from the Bursag.¹¹ 65 For these rites the barley does not suffice.	^a Num 28:26, etc.	The vases were empty, poured no water. The person who helped with its regular provisions does not receive extra. What was distributed over and above food and water, what was left of the regular provisions, what was not used by the house, 70 what was expended as first item of fish of the tax,¹² allowing a measure of one acre¹³ of canebrake for each of its (the house's) servants, what was received in nuts and green plants within the garden, after it (the above) passed (to the house) no mouth¹⁴ touches it. Bread of the neighborhood shrines are not carried as bread distribution. 75 (Before,) a person came for a gift of prime beer: (now) he did not collect¹⁵ cool water. Its (the house's) established first fruit (festival) is reorganized, (so as) not to cease (again). There was (now) indeed a fat carrier who passes fat to the house. There was (now) indeed a cheese carrier who passes cheese to the house, (and) a courier with fish, a person of daily assignment. 82 Standing in the corners (or) on the sides (instead of helping) 80 when the firewood carrier passed by with what he brought from the steppe 81 to the house of his lady; 83 concealing something,¹⁶ saying something else (will not be effective): Entering the house of Nanshe from the outside (means) not leaving it from inside. 85 The caretaker of the house of Nanshe, the child born by Utu, lord Hendursaga ...
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⁷ The same as line 232. Both times the title of a composition (incipit) may be involved.

⁸ A. L. Oppenheim, *AOS* 32 C 14, quoted *TUT* 256 which records the receipt of barley by Nin-sal-la ensi; that a dream interpreter should be female agrees with the fact that Nanshe herself was the "dream interpreter of the gods" and actually interpreted Gudea's dream (Cyl. A II 1-VI 13). For the translation of ne-sag cf. *NABU* 1994 4:72f. No. 83.

⁹ In Ur III, Nina and Lagash lie on opposite ends of the district Kinunir-Nina of the province of Lagash. It is conceivable that Ganumdu was joined by the gods along the route to Nina, i.e., Lugal-URUXGANA-tené, Dumuzi-Abzu, and Lugal-Dara, and that the New Year was celebrated in Nina for the whole district.

¹⁰ LSU 31: URI₅ EŠ NIDBA-GAL-GAL-LA. NIDBA and *nindabū* designate offerings. According to the etymology, it means "bread distribution." I assume that it was a kind of offering which was prepared in large quantities and redistributed.

¹¹ The BUR-SAG was a storage-house, or possibly a brewery (Á-SIKIL); see PSD s. vv. [WWH]

¹² In BBVO 10 (1990) 185f., R. Englund pointed to a fish tax which was collected by the enku (ZĀ.HA) for the provincial administration of Umma of which 10% was deducted and sent to Nippur as nisag. It is conceivable that similarly fishes were deducted for the nisag of Nanshe within the district Kinunir-Nina.

¹³ The Sumerian IKU was a little smaller than the English acre.

¹⁴ ELS 374 s.v. "du₁₁-ge," referring to W. H. Ph. Römer, reads KA-GE "mouth" + agentive.

¹⁵ See note 4 above.

¹⁶ For EME-TA ĜĀL-LA cf. the description of Sargon concealing something: "he made it known to his heart, does not let it be on his tongue (EME-NA NU-ĜĀ-ĜĀ), does not talk about it with anyone (*JAOS* 103 [1983]). INIM-KÜR-DI "saying something different" (KÜR = loan translation of Akk. *nakāru*). References and discussion ELS 590-593.

The king recognized that which is said (with) good (intention),¹⁷ recognized that which is said (with) bad (intention);
 Hendursaga recognized that which is said (with) good (intention), recognized that which is said (with) bad (intention).
 Those [] ... which (could) be obstructed by evil ones he planted her (firmly as) a tree.
 90 Ningublaga, heroic child of noble Sin, plants it for Nanshe (straight as) a reed in (the face of potential) destructive claims (against) it.
 May the lady of right utterance and inalienable divine powers,
 may Nanshe be praised in all lands!
 On the edge¹⁸ of the year, the day of rites,
 95 the lady poured water in the holy outside.
 On the day when the bowls of allotments are inspected
 Nanshe inspects the reviewing of servants.
 Did not her chief scribe Nisaba place precious tablets on (her) knees?
 100 She took the gold stylus in hand.
 For Nanshe she organized the servants in single file.
 The skin-clad enters before her according to his skin;
 the linen-clad passes before her according to his linen.
 A skin-clad does not enter before her according to his skin,
 105 a linen-clad does not pass before her according to his linen,
 a person, registered and ... hired,
 about whom eye or ear witnesses,
 witnesses of his having disappeared from the house, have spoken,
 is terminated in his position at 'the first (stroke) of the drum.'¹⁹
 110 The king who inquires about the good servants,

Haya, man of tablets,
 puts on clay the good servant of his lady who was mentioned,
 deletes from clay the maid of his lady who was not mentioned.
 Vases not pouring water, 'feet not proceeding straight,'
 troughs of dough not cleaned,
 115 fire having gone out in the house of night,
 spells interrupted in the house of day — her prebendary²⁰ who serves his term (and is responsible for these functions) is terminated in his position.
 When to a prebendary²¹ serving his term as person of food allotments against whom a complaint was lodged,
 120 or to a bishop who while living in the house (of Nanshe) did not let the holy song and her concerns shine,
 when to him — he may acknowledge it, he may not acknowledge it — further allotting is denied,
 then the rules of mother Nanshe are made to appear brightly.
 No more than this word of words will be established,
 125 nor added to this rule.
 No one will superimpose any divine power on this divine power;
 No one shall superimpose anything on it.
 Superimposing will not enter the house of Nanshe.²²
 ...
 130 The ordeal river in the house of Nanshe clears a person.
 After the decision has emerged from the holy song, the word of Abzu,
 ...²³
 (Even) a casually spoken (word), set in excess

¹⁷ Or perhaps: "he kept track of these matters."

¹⁸ ZĀ-MU (*zagmukku*) means "side," or "edge," or "border of the year." It is supposed to designate the New Year. Note, however, that grain rations of the "edge of the year" (ŠE-BA ZĀ-MU-KA) were recorded in Ur III Umma in months I (TPTS 1, 262), V (TENUS 390), VI (SET 175), VII (often, e.g. MVN 13, 191), VIII (SET 169), IX (TENUS 266), X (SET 170), XI (MVN 14, 195), XII (TENUS 372), XIII (Hirose Collection 357). As noted by M. E. Cohen, *The Cultic Calendars of the Near East* (1993) 17, and *KKU* 1:237, offerings for the festival of the 4th month, ITI-NISAG "First Fruit month," are designated as ŠĀ-DU₁₁, ZĀ-MU "ŠĀRA" "regular offerings (of) the 'side of the year' (of) Shara" (SNAT 409). The administrative year of Umma in the Ur III period started with the harvest month (ITI ŠE-GUR₁₀-KU₃), yet several texts indeed mark off the year between the 3rd and the 4th month (e.g. YOS 4, 207). Considering the name First Fruit month, the local start of the year seems to have fallen between month III and IV, i.e. in July, so that in this case the "edge of the year" may indeed have been the New Year. The "edge of the year" in Nina is mentioned in the Hendursag hymn (D. O. Edzard and C. I. Wilcke, *Studies Kramer* 144, 28), as here without clue to its timing.

¹⁹ This translation of BALAG is not secure. Cf. also line 41.

²⁰ The prebendary has the title ŠITA-AB-A.

²¹ This prebendary has the title SUSBU (Akk. *susbū*).

²² The transliteration in JCS 33 is inaccurate. The line should read as follows:

M [x x x x] UN-DIB-BA
 T KAR-RA [x] LÚ MU-UN-X-BÉ
 U [x x x L] MU-UN-DIB-[x]
 W KAR x x L[0] MU-U[N-x-x]

²³ D. Charpin, *Clergé* 389: "ENKUM et NINKUM choisissent les rites de purification."

on the lips,
 135 will not be added to this word of words.²⁴
 Refusal and threats did not arise.²⁵
 A rapacious hand, stretching out a forceful
 hand,²⁶
 a hand that keeps up with the mouth,²⁷ committing
 violence,
 (the case) that (someone) overturned an established
 line, (the incidence of) an altered
 demarcation,^{28 b}
 140 going ahead²⁹ (when one should not) to a place
 of oath,
 a first (loaf?) of 2 peck bread which was levied
 as tax, (of) 2 peck bread that had been
 distributed,³⁰
 (the case) that Small Stone lifted the hand for
 Larger Stone,^c
 that Small Peck lifted the hand for Larger
 Peck,^{31 c}
 that (someone) wants bread who has bread,
 145 that (someone) who just ate does not state "I
 ate,"
 that (someone) who just drank does not state "I
 drank,"
 (prompting one to say) "let me set a bowl
 before you, let me filter beer for you,"

b Deut 19:14;
 27:17

c Lev 19:35;
 Deut 25:13-
 16; Amos 8:5;
 Mic 6:10;
 Prov 11:1;
 20:10

a maid of the deity who was lazy, (and)
 rebuked (for it) by the house,³²
 an untrustworthy (person) who ... while living
 in the house,
 150 when (a person responsible for any of the
 above) said "serve (me)! I want to eat,"
 said "serve (me)! I want to drink,"
 153 Nanshe does not allow the person to eat³³
 152 from bread of fat and white eggs because of the
 violation.
 154 If the violator was allowed to eat he/(Nanshe)
 will not 'carry the word about it.'
 155 With ... eyes, paralyzed mouth, shuffling feet,³⁴
 he does not fit in, he is no match:
 the powerful one [] over a person,
 the rich one in a reed hut by the street,
 one with wife [gave] away his wife for a
 widow,
 160 who laughed one day in his rage,
 makes fun another day of his calamity.
 Before the lady he cannot raise his ... word.
 The lady, caretaker of the provinces,
 Innin, mother Nanshe, sees into their hearts.
 165 Getting the better³⁵ of an orphan, ... a widow,
 placing a homeless man below a rich man,

²⁴ Cf. Gudea Cyl. A VII 3 according to which Nanshe, having instructed Gudea what do do on behalf of Ningirsu, predicts: TUR DU₁₁-GA-ZU MAH DU₁₁-GA-AM ŠU BA-A-ŠI-IB-TI "he will accept from you your 'small uttered' (word) as a 'large uttered' (word)," which means possibly that Gudea may say anything, even something insignificant, and it will be listened to as if it were something of importance.

²⁵ Cf. ELS 628-629.

²⁶ See note 4 above.

²⁷ Hand matched with mouth = skillful, experienced (said of the scribe who can write as fast as one talks) = routinely; or: who is prone to commit violence; quick to jump to action; premeditated. I.e., spoke about it (mouth) and did it (hand).

²⁸ The context of misdeeds of individuals does not suggest that the two actions in this line are major undertakings, as overturning a foundation (UŠ) would be. It may rather be the line (UŠ) of demarcation (see below) which determined a plot on a field. Nanshe was the "lady of the IN-DUB" (FAOS 9/2, 35 note 108). IN-DUB, and IM-DUB, are equated, among other things, with *palāku ša pilki* "to delimit, said of a division of land" or *šapāku ša epri* = "to pile up (said of dirt)." Combining both meanings, DUB may designate piling up and compacting of mud in a line of demarcation between plots. A more elaborate form of this is IM-DUB-A DUB, the "built up," *pišē*, mud walls surrounding gardens (cf. MSL 1, 61:30).

²⁹ SAĜ-GID-I = *šarārum* SAG A I 24 (OB). *šarāru* = GÜ SUM MSL 1:77, 74 (K texts): NÍ IN-NA-TE-MA MU-DIĜIR-RA GÜ³⁰ LI-BÍ-IN-SUM NAM-ÉRIM NU-UN-KU, = *iplah-ma ana nš ili ul išrur mamītam ul itma* — CAD s.v. *šarāru* suggests, for one group of references, the meaning "to go ahead." The present context suggests "to go ahead when one should not," in connection with the asseverative oath possibly "to perjure oneself."

³⁰ Jacobsen reads: SAĜ NINDA-2(BAN)-KA NÍĜ-KU, AK-A NINDA 2 (BAN) ÍB-TA-BA-A. He suggests that SAĜ designates here "weight adjustment" as in the Ur III wool weighing texts for which he has clarified the term. Assuming that the ban measure of the taxed person was smaller, for example ¾ that of the taxing authority, the weight adjustment would have been 5 quarts. If these 5 quarts were tax exempt, as Jacobsen suggests, the taxing authority would have encouraged tax payers to use small ban measures and harmed itself in the process. My translation implies that the temple taxed bread which it gave out as rations, thereby actually, but not nominally, reducing wages, and that this was seen as an unfair practice. A peck is 8 quarts while the Sumerian ban is 10 quarts.

³¹ The occurrence of the dative requires that stone weight and peck were animate beings. The motif of a someone small edging on his larger companion is known from the demonic constables (GALLA) that pursue Dumuzi.

³² (a) My old translation derived from equation with *lu²²tu*, Jacobsen's from *qāpu*, the new translation from *uššulu* (AHw s.v. "gelähmt"), and is based on the assumption that the word does not just describe a person who cannot, but also one who will not, use the hands; lit., "with hanging hands." (b) Lit., "(on whom) word (was) returned from the house." É-TA INIM GI₄-A is also known from Gudea Statue B I 13-19: ÉNSI INIM BÍ-ÍB-GI₄-A ME "NIN-ĜIR-SU-KA BA-NI-ÍB-LÁ-A SÁ-DU₁₁-NA É "NIN-ĜIR-SU-KA-TA INIM HÉ-ÉB-GI₄ KA-KA-NI HÉ-KÉŠ "a governor who causes the word to return on them (the previously listed regular provisions for the upkeep of statue B)," i.e., ceases continuation of the endowment, and (thus) "subtracts from the power of Ningirsu — may the word from the house of Ningirsu be returned on his regular provisions."

³³ Lit., "at the place of violation." If the transfer from a spatial to a temporal meaning of KI + genitive + locative is not accepted, we must assume that KI designates the area of jurisdiction of Nanshe.

³⁴ SAG B 135f. KIRI-HUM = *hu-um-mu-su* and *ha-am-šu*. Both Akk. words are obscure.

³⁵ SAĜ-ĜÁ AKA = to act in/on/over a head = "to get the better of someone."

placing a rich man below a poor man,³⁶ d
 a mother who screamed violently³⁷ at her child,
 a child who spoke stubbornly³⁸ to its mother,
 170 a younger brother who snarled at his older
 brother, talked back at the father — the
 lady, ...
 Nanshe, ...
 sees into the heart of the land as if it were a
 split reed.
 ...
 175 Her herald, lord Hendursag, made the contracts
 for her.
 Her angel Old Small Child did not let silence³⁹
 come over it.
 The demon, standing ..., watching ...
 [] her house Sirara where water is sprinkled,
 ...
 181 Did not the one adorned with the staff, trusted
 in Abzu's interior,
 who has no opponent in the high temple⁴⁰ (and)
 house of Nanshe?
 184 the king, lord Hendursag, bring forth
 183 its command from the house of Nanshe?
 185 Like heavy smoke it covers the ground.
 Its word spreads over the sky as ... clouds.
 The BULUG⁴¹ of spouseship he ... together,
 the king, lord Hendursag, he ... together.
 He places a good person among good persons,
 190 Hands over a bad person to a bad place.
 He renders judgement for an orphan,
 he also renders judgement for a widow,⁴²
 (and) he sets right the judgement of a child's
 mother.
 If a mother shared food with her child,
 195 shared⁴² drink with it,
 removed chaff⁴³ from its mouth:
 (By her) whom its (the temple's) person of
 regular provisions seated by its (the tem-
 ple's) side,
 by its (the child's) mother, the firewood carrier
 did not pass with what he brought from
 the steppe, (and) he did not talk to (such
 a) mother who had given birth in the great
 city

d Lev 19:15

e Exod 22:21;
Deut 10:18,
etc.

200 with dry eyes and shrugging shoulders.

If a mother
 screamed violently at her child,
 a mother ripped its ...
 (but) let it drink from her milk filled breast:
 205 She, who searches the matter of that mother,
 searches the matter;
 the lady of ...
 When the king who loves things straight, Hen-
 dursag,
 has set the issues straight (and) [x-ed] the eye
 on its judgement,
 (if) he places the blame on the mother of the
 child,
 210 she will not be able to bear the weight of heavy
 blame, and
 such person will have no god to pray to.
 If a mother did not share food with her child,
 did not share drink with it,
 did not remove chaff from its mouth:
 215 (By her) whom its (the temple's) person of
 regular provisions did not seat on its (the
 temple's) seat,
 by its (the child's) mother, the fire wood
 carrier passed with her share of what he
 brought from the steppe,
 (and) he talked to (such a) mother who had
 given birth in the great city
 with dry eyes and shrugging shoulders.
 The king who hates violence, Hendursag,
 220 treats such a human being as if she were water
 in a treacherous place,⁴⁴
 rejects her for that child as if she were barley
 in sterile/soil.
 The lady who [determines] the destiny like En-
 lil,
 230 [who] on the dais of Sirara,
 has her eyes on her divine powers, the pure.
 "Has not the house been granted divine powers
 from Abzu?"
 The gods of Lagash assemble before her in
 Sirara.
 The true stone for weighing silver, the setting

³⁶ The opposite is expected.³⁷ Lit., "talked at her child with raised arm."³⁸ KA-DÜ-A = *pām wašum* (MSL 13:244). Cf. for possible alternative interpretations ELS 669.³⁹ ĠİŠ-LÁ = *qātu* "silence," or = *tuqumu* "battle." The choice of the equation in this context is defended in my 1981 commentary. ĠİŠ seems to stand for two words that are distinguished morphemically in Emesal as MU or MU-UŠ. The first is the Emesal word, respectively spelling of the word, "wood," the second occurs as first element of ĠĒŠTU and ĠĪZZAL (Emesal II 183-184 = MSL 4:24). ĠİŠ in ĠİŠ-LÁ = Emesal MU-UŠ (Ur Lamentation 101).⁴⁰ I follow AHw *gegunū* for GI-GUN₄-NA. Accordingly it is the shrine on top of a ziqqurat. As Jacobsen notes, it was surrounded by trees. These are the trees that were planted, presumably in containers, on temple towers to give them the look of mountains.⁴¹ "The needle of matrimony" according to PSD 2:274; possibly related to Akk. *mulūgu*, Aram. *m'lōg*; see Levine 1968. [WWH]⁴² I assume that IN-TUK is a frozen form finite verbal form used as noun.⁴³ IN-BU₃-BU, Proto Izi I 448 (MSL 13:31). BU, means "to blow," IN-BU₃-BU, "blowing straw," i.e., a product of winnowing, chaff. It consists mainly of bracts of flowers and glumes of the ears of grain. It was inevitable that the breeze that was necessary for winnowing dispersed these parts. I assume that at such occasions, but also at other times, a glume or bract, both of which are often hooked, could get into the mouth of a baby, and that mothers were judged on how they reacted.⁴⁴ For more examples of this idiom cf. ELS 587. In the context of the prayer quoted there, the meaning suggested here fits well.

up the true basket, 235 the peck of true word she presents to all lands. The shepherd, leader of the land, ... of the provinces, Ishtaran who lives for straight judgments in the land, ... Ningishzida ...		powers]. Nanshe, your divine powers are not matched by any other divine powers. King An looks on with joy. He who sits with Enlil on the dais of destiny determination, Father Enki, has determined your destiny.
250 My lady, your divine powers are great divine powers, are surpassing [(other) divine		255 Nanshe, child born in Eridu, to praise you is good.

REFERENCES

Text: Heimpel 1981a. Translations and Studies: Jacobsen 1987a:125-142; Charpin 1986; Gomi and Sigrist 1991:81-95; *ELS*; *KKU*.

THE BLESSING OF NISABA BY ENKI (1.163)

(NIN-MUL-AN-GIM)

William W. Hallo

This hymn in honor of Enki, "the crafty god" (Kramer and Maier 1989), seems to commemorate his blessing of Nisaba, perhaps on the occasion of her (annual ?) visit, in the guise of her statue, to his sanctuary at Eridu. As the personification of both reed and grain, Nisaba was patron-goddess of both scribal art and agriculture, and both characteristics are celebrated in this hymn.

Oh lady, shining like the stars of Heaven, holding the lapis lazuli tablet, Nisaba, born in the great sheepfold by the divine Earth, Wild kid nourished (as) on good milk with pure vegetation, Mouth-opened by the seven flutes, ^{1 a} (5) Perfected with (all) the fifty great divine attributes. Oh my lady, the most powerful one in the Ekur — ² Dragon, emerging brightly on the festival ³ Mother-goddess ⁴ of the nation, biting off a piece from the clay, ^b Pacifying the habitat with cool water, (10) Providing the foreign land with plenty, Born in wisdom by the great mountain (Enlil), Righteous woman, chief scribe of Heaven (An), record-keeper of Enlil, All-knowing sage of the gods — In order to make grain and vegetables grow in the furrow,	^a Prov 9:1 ^b Job 33:6	(15) So that the excellent corn can be marvelled at, That is, to provide for the seven great throne-daises By making vegetables shoot forth, making grain shoot forth, At harvest, the great festival of Enlil, ⁵ She in her great princely role has verily cleansed (her) body, (20) Has verily put the holy priestly garment on (her) torso. In order to establish oblations where none existed, And to pour forth great libations of wine So as to appease X, to appease End[agara], To appease merciful Kusu and Ezina, ⁶ (25) She will appoint a great high-priest, will appoint a festival, Will appoint a great high-priest of the nation. Oh virgin Nisaba, he blesses you in prayer. He has verily prepared the pure oblation, Has verily opened the House of Learning of Nisaba, ⁷ (30) Has verily placed the lapis lazuli tablet on
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¹ Variants: counting-reeds; baskets. Perhaps an allusion to the "seven (branches of) learning" alluded to in some royal hymns (e.g. Shulgi C 30; Ishme-Dagan A 73), hence comparable to the "seven pillars of wisdom" (differently Greenfield 1985).

² The temple of Enlil at Nippur; became in Akk. a generic term for any temple (see CAD s.v. *ekurru*).

³ Variant: in the assembly.

⁴ Lit., Aruru. For this goddess and her maternal functions, see Wilcke 1976b:235-239; Hallo 1989. For the concept of (her) pinching off clay to create mankind, see CAD s.v. *karāšu*, *kiršu*.

⁵ The entire line is a topos, or literary cliché, recurring in other contexts such as line 52 of "The Instructions of Ur-Ninurta" (Alster 1991; cf. below, text 1.177), line 60 of "The Disputation between Summer and Winter" (below, text 1.183), and line 164(a) of the myth of "The Marriage of Sud" (Civil 1983).

⁶ Kusu is a purification goddess associated with the censer, Endagara or Indagra (if correctly restored) is her consort (and sometimes identified with Nisaba's consort Haya), and Ezina or Ashnan is the grain goddess. All belong in the circle of Nisaba. (Michalowski 1985:222; 1993:158f.).

⁷ Temple of Nisaba at Eridu (and Uruk); later her shrine in the great temple of Marduk in Babylon. See George 1993:91 s.v. É-GESTU-*NISSABA*.

(her) knee. Taking counsel with the holy tablet of the heavenly stars, (As) in Aratta he has placed Ezagin at her disposal,⁸ Eresh he has constructed in abundance. She is created out of pure little bricks, (35) She is granted wisdom in the highest degree. In the Abzu,⁹ the great crown(?) of Eridu, (where) sanctuaries are apportioned, [In ...], (where) offices(?) are apportioned, The great princely plowman of the resplendent temple, the craftsman of Eridu, The king of lustrations, the lord of the mask of the great high-priest, Enki — (40) The Engur-house⁹ when he occupies it, The Abzu of Eridu when he builds it, The Halanku¹⁰ when he takes counsel in it, The house of the box-tree when he fells it, The sage when his hair is loosened behind him,¹¹ d (45) The House of Learning when he opens it,	c 1 Kgs 7:23; 2 Chr 4:2 d Judg 5:2; cf. Ezek 44:20	The door of learning when he stands in its street, The great kettle-drum of cedar when he finishes(?) it, The ... of date-palm when he perfects (var. holds) it The drum of ... when he strikes it with the ... — ¹² (50) On Nisaba, the great ..., he invokes seven [blessings(?)]:¹³ Oh Nisaba, (be) a righteous woman, a good woman, a woman born in the mountain! Oh Nisaba, in the stall may you be the fat! In the pen may you be the milk! In the treasure-house may you be the keeper of the seal! In the palace may you be the honest steward! (55) May you heap up grain-piles (as large as) a mound, grain-piles (as small as) a <i>māšu</i>-measure!¹⁴ For the fact that a blessing was invoked on Nisaba by the Prince, Oh father Enki, your praise is sweet!
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Comparable lines already occur in Cylinder A of Gudea (xvii 15f.), and in "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta" 321 (text 1.170 below), where Jacobsen weighs a translation by "library" (1987a:301, n. 49).

⁸ Lit., "lapis lazuli house" or "blue house," sacred to Nisaba at Eresh but to Ishtar/Inanna at Susa in Iran and at Aratta in Afghanistan(?), source of ancient lapis lazuli; cf. George 1993:158f. s.v. É-ZA-GIN-(NA).

⁹ Lit., "Sea," the temple of Enki at Eridu, sometimes compared to the "molten sea" of Solomon's temple; cf. ABD 5:1061f. s.v. "Sea, molten"; George 1993:65 s.v. (É)-ABZU. Also known as "House of the Sweet Waters"; ib. s.v. É-ENGUR.RA.

¹⁰ Another name for Enki's temple at Eridu, or for "his room of taking counsel" there according to line 25 of the myth of "Enki and Ninmah"; see above, text 1.159, with note 12.

¹¹ This characteristic hairdo was later the mark of certain priests (see CAD s.v. *luḫšū*, *sigbarrū*) among others (Jacobsen 1988:127 and n. 13) and in Israel apparently of dedicated warriors.

¹² For these musical instruments in association with Enki, cf. S. N. Kramer, *ActSum* 3 (1981) 5:23.

¹³ The restoration is based in part on the seven blessings of the foundations pronounced by Gudea in Cylinder A xx-xxi, although this interpretation of the Gudea passage has been questioned (Suter 1996a; 1996b).

¹⁴ Translation follows CAD M/1:401c s.v. *māšu*.

REFERENCES

Text: Hallo 1970a. Translations and studies: Hallo 1970a; Alster 1976:119 and n. 31; Selz, 1989:495.

3. PRAYERS AND LETTER-PRAYERS

LETTER-PRAYER OF KING SIN-IDDINAM TO NIN-ISINA (1.164)

William W. Hallo

The genre of letter-prayer combines the format of a letter with the function of a prayer. It is attested first for private petitions in Sumerian, and then developed into a royal mode of communication with the divine, as here. Later examples of the genre occur in Akkadian and perhaps even in Hebrew, notably the "writing" or "letter" of Hezekiah in Isaiah 38. Like that letter, this one is concerned with royal illness; it is addressed to the healing goddess called "lady of Isin," patron deity of the kingdom of Isin, by a king of its chief rival, the kingdom of Larsa.

To Nin-isina, beloved daughter of lofty An (Heaven),
 mistress of Egalmah,¹ speak!^a
 To the chair-bearer of the Orient,
 the counselor of the netherworld,
 The beloved (chief) wife of the warrior Pabilsag,
 the senior daughter-in-law of Ki'ur,²
 The senior record-keeper of An and Enlil,
 proudest of goddesses,
 (5) Who perfects the attributes of Duranki³ in Nippur,
 Who makes their exaltation appear in Egalmah,
 the house of her queenship,
 Who has founded (in) Larak the Enigingar (and) the (E)ashte,
 the Esabad and the Esasumma,⁴
 Great healer whose incantation is life,
 whose spells restore the sick man,
 Mother of the nation, merciful one,
 who loves prayer and supplication,
 (10) My lady, say furthermore to her —
 This is what Sin-iddinam, the king of Larsa, your servant, says:
 Since the day of my birth, after you spoke to Utu⁵
 (and) he gave me the shepherdship over his nation,
 I do not neglect my duties, I myself have been
 unable to sleep sweetly,
 I have sought health (in vain?).
 For the gods greatly in my worship
 (15) I perform prayers and sacrifices,
 I have withheld nothing from them.
 (But) Asarluhi spends time (with) the king of Babylon,
 the son of Ilurugu (the Ordeal-River) with [...].⁶
 Their city against my city daily overruns the land,
 Their king seeks out the king of Larsa as an evildoer.
 (Though) I, not being the shepherd over their nation,
 have not coveted(?) their sacrifices,
 (20) A young man stationed himself at my feet at night
 in the guise of a dream,
 He stood at my head, I myself saw his terrible glance,

a Isa 38:9-20

Carrying a river-oar(?), having cast a spell most evilly.⁷
 Since that day, my manhood is not in order,
 his hand has seized me.
 There is no escaping from my fears by myself,
 I am seized by an evil sickness.
 (25) My sickness is an unlit darkness, not visible to man.
 The physician will not look upon it,
 will not soothe it with a bandage.
 The exorcists will not recite the spell,
 assuredly my sickness has no diagnosis.
 My sickness: its (healing) herb has not sprouted forth
 on plain (or) mountain, no one gets it for me.
 Healing my sickness is with you (alone),
 let me declare your exaltation:
 (30) "As my [mother] has abandoned me since my childhood,
 I am one who has no [mother],
 no one recites my lament to you,
 you are my mother!
 Except [for you], I do not have another personal goddess,
 no one pleads for mercy to you on my behalf.
 No one seeks [for mercy?] from you for me,
 you are my personal goddess!"
 I am verily your constable (and) dog,⁸
 I do not cease from being tied to you.
 (35) Damu, your beloved son:
 I am verily his private soldier (and) weapon holder,
 May you plead for mercy for me before him!⁹
 My sickness has been changed into (worse) sickness,
 one does not know how to rectify it.
 At midday I cannot be given any sustenance,
 by night I cannot sleep.
 May you be my very own mot[her?], holy Ninisina,
 merciful lady!
 (40) With my not sleeping,
 let me bring my wailing to you at night:
 "Let me behold your favorable glance,
 give me sweet life!
 [As for me], like a bird fleeing from a falcon,

¹ Lit., "the lofty palace," chief temple of Nin-isina in Isin. This and subsequent temple-names are translated following George 1993, s. v.

² Lit., "the levelled place," the temple of Ninlil, whose son Pabilsag was Nin-isina's consort, at Nippur.

³ "Bond of Heaven and Earth," temple of Inanna at Nippur.

⁴ "The established chamber," "the throne house," "the house of the open ear" (or: "the grave"; cf. CAD s.v. *qubāru*), and ? respectively.

⁵ Sun-god (equated with Akk. Shamash) and patron-deity of Larsa.

⁶ Asarluhi is a deity of Kuara near Eridu, a son of Enki, and associated with both the deified Ordeal-River and Marduk, the patron-deity of Babylon.

⁷ This difficult line occurs in only one exemplar.

⁸ Variant: your little lap dog (lit. chair-dog). Perhaps an allusion to the iconography of Nin-isina (or Gula) enthroned on or beside her sacred dog.

⁹ Damu is a healing deity, like his mother. There is an unpublished letter or "address by Nin-isina to Damu on behalf of Sin-iddinam" which seems like the veritable answer to Sin-iddinam's prayer! See Michalowski 1988:266; Keller 1991:310, n. 8.

I am seeking to save my life. As for me, let me enter your lap in the face of Death, save me from (its) hand! I am a young man, I set up lamentation in the face of Death, my life ebbs away from me." (45) Like a mother-cow, have mercy on me! Like a [...], have mercy on me! Like the mother who bore me, who verily took me from the womb(?),	have mercy on me! Hear the ..., (you who are) ill disposed toward the Damu, your beloved son, the great healer of Enlil, (50) He knows the plant of life, he knows the water of life. ¹⁰ [...] the command of the god who created me, who [can change? it] against you? Asarluhi, the son of Ilurugu, has verily spoken: "Let him live!"
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¹⁰ The plant of life and water of life are familiar topoi from Sum. and Akk. myths and epics. Cf. e.g. lines 258-263 of "Lugalbanda in the Cave of the Mountain."

REFERENCES

Text: OECT 5:30 and duplicates. Translations and studies: Hallo 1976; Keller 1991; Michalowski 1988.

LETTER-PRAYER OF KING SIN-IDDINAM TO UTU (1.165)

William W. Hallo

Like the preceding letter-prayer, this one is written (as if) by Sin-iddinam, king of Larsa (ca. 1849-1843 BCE) to complain about illness and seek relief. But unlike the former, this one (a) deals with collective illness, (b) addresses Utu, the patron-deity of the dynasty, and (c) survives into Middle Babylonian times in a copy from Emar (Arnaud 1991 No. 101) and into neo-Assyrian times in a copy from Nineveh. The latter substitutes Babylon for Larsa and a royal name, now lost, for Sin-iddinam, and it is a bilingual, i.e., it adds an interlinear translation into Akkadian. But it remains recognizably the old text, and provides at least a chronological bridge to the comparable Biblical genre.

To Utu, my king, lord, senior judge of Heaven and Earth, ¹ Protector of the nation who renders verdicts, Righteous god who loves to preserve people alive, who hears prayer, Long on mercy, who knows clemency, (5) Loving justice, choosing righteousness - speak! To the bearded son of Ningal, (who) wears a lapis lazuli beard, ² Opener of the locks of Heaven and Earth, who makes the dark places bright, ³ Lord who alone is a resplendent leader, whose exaltation is unequalled,	Warrior, son born by Ningal, who guards and gathers together the divine attributes, (10) Righteous god, prince who determines all fates, father of the black-headed ones — ⁴ say furthermore! This is what Sin-iddinam, the king of Larsa, your servant, says. The body of the letter includes a long complaint about the plague which has ravaged Larsa for seven (variant: five) years, protests the king's innocence and cultic fastidiousness, contrasts it with the godlessness of the Shimashkians from Iran who for all that have been spared, and prays for deliverance.
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¹ This line, omitting at most "lord," is entered as an *incipit* in an OB catalogue of literary letters; see van Dijk 1989:444:13.

² As wife of the moon-god Nanna (Suen/Sin), Ningal was mother of the sun-god Utu (Shamash). The lapis lazuli beard helps show that the reference is to the deity in the form of a statue, with eyes, beard and other portions often inlaid in semi-precious stone such as the prized blue lapis lazuli imported from as far away as Afghanistan.

³ For the sun-god as opening the locks of heaven by day and illuminating the netherworld by night, see CAD s.v. *namzaqu* and esp. Heimpel 1986.

⁴ The conventional designation by which the Sumerians (and later the Babylonians) referred to themselves; see CAD s.v. *šalmāt qaqqadi*.

REFERENCES

Text: OECT 5:25:15-58 and duplicates. Translations and studies: Arnaud 1991:No. 101; Borger 1991; Civil 1996; Hallo 1982; Heimpel 1986.

4. LAMENTATIONS

LAMENTATION OVER THE DESTRUCTION OF SUMER AND UR (1.166)

Jacob Klein

Out of the five early Sumerian lamentations hitherto published, two laments commemorate the destruction of Ur, the capital of the Ur III empire. The Third Dynasty of Ur fell in the reign of Ibbi-Sin, its fifth king (ca. 2028-2004 BCE), as a result of a joint attack by the Elamites from the east and the Amorites from the west. The laments were composed not long after the events they record, probably at the initiative of one of the early kings of the Isin Dynasty, which inherited the hegemony over Sumer and began restoring the former capital. The purpose of these laments most probably was to soothe the heart of the city-god, Nanna, so that he allow the restoration of his temple, an undertaking which involved the razing and removal of the ruins of the old temple. The laments also were intended to ensure that the god would prevent the recurrence of the disaster in the future.¹

The First Ur Lament, parts of which are translated below,² seems to have been dedicated to Ninlil, the wife of the city-god Nanna, for she is the dominant figure in the composition: She is pleading for her city in the divine assembly, where its destruction has been decreed; and she laments over it after its destruction. The Second Ur Lament,³ on the other hand, seems to have been dedicated to the city god, Nanna, for in this poem he is the dominant hero; he pleads for his city to his father, Enlil, in the divine assembly, and when he is informed that his city is doomed, he abandons it, and enables the enemy to take over.

The First Ur Lament is a 436-line long, beautiful poem, divided into eleven cantos.⁴ It opens with the enumeration of the major cities and temples of the land which were abandoned by their respective gods and devastated (Canto 1). Subsequently, the poet addresses the city, uttering a bitter lament over it (Canto 2). Next, the goddess Ningal is introduced, pleading for her city to her husband, Nanna, and to the heads of the pantheon. In her plea she complains that the supreme gods, An and Enlil, doomed her city to destruction and refused to heed her prayer and to take back their decision (Cantos 3-4). At this point, the poet describes the invasion of Sumer by the enemy. On the mythological level, the enemy is described as a merciless "storm" sent by Enlil to destroy the city and annihilate its inhabitants; on the mundane level, we are informed of the attack of the people of Simashki and Elam, who tore down the city and the temple with their axes, slew or exiled its inhabitants, despoiled its treasures and disrupted its economic and cultural life (Cantos 5-6). Ningal flees from her temple like a bird flying away from her ravaged nest, and continues to lament over the city and its people, whom she calls "my beloved children" (Canto 7). Here the poet utters a call to Ningal to return to her abandoned city and temple, and to appeal again to the chief gods to stop the destruction and to put an end to the people's suffering (Canto 8). The lamentation ends with a passionate prayer to Nanna, the city god, that he return to his city and temple, and restore its ruins; that he accept favorably the offerings of the people and purify their hearts; and that he make sure that the destructive "storm" may never come back (Cantos 9-11).⁵

The Gods of Sumer Abandon their Temples (lines 1-6;
13-16; 37-39)

He has abandoned his stable,⁶

his sheepfold⁶ (became) haunted,⁷

The wild ox⁸ has abandoned his stable,

his sheepfold (became) haunted,

The lord of all lands has abandoned it,

a Judg 6:13;
2 Kgs 21:14;
Isa 32:13-14;
Jer 12:7;
25:37-38; Pss
78:60-61;
94:14;
Lam 2:7

his sheepfold (became) haunted,
Enlil⁹ has abandoned the shrine (of) Nippur,
his sheepfold (became) haunted;
(5) His consort, Ninlil, has abandoned it,
her sheepfold (became) haunted,
Ninlil has abandoned their house, the Kiur,¹⁰
her sheepfold (became) haunted ...

¹ For a summary of the rise and fall of the Ur III empire, see Hallo and Simpson 1971:77-93. For a general survey of Mesopotamian lamentations, see Green 1975:277-371; Krecher 1980-83; Hallo 1995.

² See note 5 below.

³ Michalowski 1989:36-69. See also Kramer, *ANET* 611-619.

⁴ The Sum. term for canto or stanza is KI-RU-GU, lit., "prostration" (translated freely with Akk. *šēru* "song"). Each canto ends with a one or two-line refrain (Sum. ĜIŠ-GI, ĜÁL).

⁵ For a critical edition of the lament, see Kramer 1940:16-71. For additional duplicates, not incorporated in this edition, see Gadd and Kramer, *UET* 6/2 (1966) Nos. 135-139; Kramer and Bernhardt *TMH NF IV* (1967) Nos. 18-25. For translations into German and English, see Falkenstein and von Soden 1953:192-213; Kramer, *ANET*² 1955:455-463; Jacobsen 1987a:447-477.

⁶ In lines 1-38, the poet uses a widespread metaphor, likening the temples to stables and sheepfolds, their gods to shepherds, and the people to cattle (see line 38). The gods having abandoned the temples, these are destroyed and turned into ruins haunted by ghosts.

⁷ Defective sentence, lacking the predicate, which appears only in line 37 below.

⁸ An epithet of Enlil. Jacobsen translates "herder."

⁹ The supreme god of the Sumerian pantheon. In the Second Ur Lament he is the one who decrees the destruction of Ur, and the transfer of its hegemony to Isin.

¹⁰ The forecourt of Enlil's temple, where Ninlil's shrine was located.

Nanna has abandoned Ur,
 his sheepfold (became) haunted,
 Suen¹¹ has abandoned the Ekishnugal,¹²
 his sheepfold (became) haunted;
 (15) His consort, Ningal, has abandoned it,
 her sheepfold (became) haunted,
 Ningal has abandoned her Agrunkug,¹³
 her sheepfold (became) haunted ...

Antiphone:

(37) His sheepfold became haunted,¹⁴
 he is grievously groaning over it.
 O cow, your lowing does not sound any more
 in the stable, the stable does not
 cause(?) joy(?) to the Prince!¹⁵

Ningal Pleads for her City to An and Enlil (lines 137-151; 162-172)

"On that day, when that storm¹⁶
 had pounded again and again,
 When in the presence of the lady
 her city was destroyed,¹⁷
 On that day, when the storm had done(?)
 it(?) again and again,
 (140) When they¹⁸ ordered the utter
 destruction of my city,
 When they ordered the utter
 destruction of Ur,
 When they gave instructions
 that its people be killed —
 On that day, I verily did not
 forsake my city,
 I verily did not neglect my Land;
 (145) Truly I shed my tears before An,
 Truly, I myself uttered supplication
 before Enlil:^b
 'May the city not be destroyed!'
 I said indeed to them,
 'May Ur not be destroyed!'
 I said indeed to them,
 'May an end not be put to its people!'
 I said indeed to them.^c
 (150) But An never changed that word,
 Enlil never soothed my heart with that
 'It is good; so be it!'

b Jer 4:31;
 Lam 1:2, 16-17; 2:18-19

c Pss 74:19-22; 79:6-11; 83:11-14

d Lam 1:17; 2:1-3, 22

e Num 23:19; 1 Sam 15:29; Isa 40:8; 55:11; Jer 4:27-28; 23:20

f Jer 23:19-20; 25:32; 30:23-24; Amos 1:14; Ps 83:16

g Jer 8:2; 9:21; 16:4; Lam 4:2

h Lam 1:4; 5:14-15

Verily they gave instructions
 that my city be utterly destroyed,
 Verily they gave instructions
 that Ur be utterly destroyed,
 Verily they decreed its destiny
 that its people be killed.^d
 (165) Me — in return for that
 I gave them my food —
 Me they verily also lumped with my city,
 My Ur they verily also lumped with me.
 An is never to change his word,
 Enlil is never to alter
 the word he utters!"^e

Antiphone:

Her city has been destroyed in her face,
 her offices were alienated from her!

The Aftermath of the Destructive Storm (lines 208-228; 240-246)

On that day, the storm¹⁹ was removed from
 the city, and that city was in ruins.
 O father Nanna, from that city,
 all in ruins, it was removed —
 the people groan!
 (210) On that day, the storm was removed from the
 Land, and that city was in ruins!^f
 Its people like potsherds²⁰
 littered its sides.^g
 In its walls breaches were made -
 the people groan!
 In its high gates where they were wont to
 promenade, corpses were piled,
 In its boulevards, where feasts were
 celebrated, heads lay in heaps(?),
 (215) In its streets, where they were wont to
 promenade, corpses were piled,
 In its places where the country's dances
 took place, people were stacked in heaps.^h
 The Land's blood filled all holes
 like copper or tin,²¹
 Their dead bodies melted away
 of themselves, like sheep
 fat left in the sun.
 Its men who were slain with

¹¹ The Semitic name of the moon-god Nanna.

¹² "The-House-which-Generates-Light-to-Earth" — Nanna's temple in Ur.

¹³ "The-Pure-Storehouse" — Ningal's temple in Ur.

¹⁴ Lit., perhaps "phantoms were placed in his/her sheepfold" or "his/her sheepfold was made into a phantom" (CAD Z 58-60, sub *zaqlu*; Michalowski 1989:98). Others render: "his sheepfold has been delivered to the wind" (Kramer); "in his sheepfold he has had the wind settle" (Jacobsen).

¹⁵ "The Prince" may refer to Nanna, the god of Ur, or to each and every deity mentioned in the preceding lament.

¹⁶ It is assumed that "storm" is here a poetic-theological metaphor for the onslaught of the enemy and the destruction of the city. Further on (lines 173-204), the dispatch of this storm is ascribed to Enlil, and its horrible effects are vividly described. Since, however, the word for "storm" is the same as the word for "day" (Sum. UD), other renderings are possible. Jacobsen translates our line: "In those days, when such (disaster) was being conceived" (see note 31 below).

¹⁷ If the text is not corrupt, than we have here a case of enallage: i.e. Ningal refers to herself exceptionally in the third person, as from a distance.

¹⁸ That is the leaders of the pantheon, An and Enlil, and the assembly of the great gods.

¹⁹ For this metaphoric use of "storm," see notes 16 and 31.

²⁰ Lit., "(although) not being potsherds."

²¹ The poet probably refers to copper and tin ore filling the crevices, or else to melted copper and tin in molds (Jacobsen).

the axe, (their) heads were not covered with a cloth.	i Ps 79:3; Lam 4:14	my city has verily been destroyed before me!
(220) Like gazelles caught in a trap, (their) mouths bit the dust.	j Ps 79:2-3; Lam 1:15; 4:9	Enlil has verily changed (the destiny) of my house, ²⁶ it has verily been smitten by pickaxes!
Its men whom the spear had struck down were not bound with bandages, As if in the place where their mother gave birth to them, they lay in their blood. ⁱ	k Deut 28:53- 57; Lam 1:11; 2:11- 13; 4:4-5, 8- 10	On my ones coming from the south he verily hurled fire; alas, my city has verily been destroyed before me!
Its men who were brought to end by the battle-mace, were not bandaged with new(?) cloth Although they were not beer drinkers, they drooped neck over shoulder.	l Ps 74:7-8; 79:17; Lam 1:13; 2:3; 4:11	(260) Enlil — on my ones coming from the north he verily hurled flames! ^o Outside the city, the outskirts of the city were verily destroyed before me; let me cry 'Alas, my city!'
(225) He who stood up to the weapon, was crushed by the weapon — the people groan!	m Ps 74:4-6; 79:1; Lam 2:1-2	Inside the city, the inner city was verily destroyed before me; let me cry 'Alas, my house!' ^p ...
He who ran away from it, was overwhelmed(?) by the storm — the people groan! ⁱ	n Lam 2:19- 22	(265) My city no more multiplied for me like a fecund ewe, its faithful shepherd is gone,
In Ur weak and strong both perished in the famine, ^k	o Lam 1:13	Ur no more multiplied for me like a fecund ewe, its shepherd boy is gone,
The old men and old women, who could not leave the house, were consumed by fire ...	p Deut 32:25; Jer 14:18; Ezek 7:15; Lam 1:20	My ox no more crouches in its stable, gone is its oxherd, My sheep no more crouches in its sheepfold, gone is its herdsman.
(240) In the storehouses, abounding in the land, fires were lit, In its ponds, ²² Gibil, ²³ the purifier, relentlessly did (his) work. ⁱ	r Isa 34:13; Jer 9:10; 49:33; Ezek 13:4; Lam 5:18	In the river of my city dust has gathered, it has verily been made into foxholes, ^r
The lofty, untouchable mountain, the Ekishnugal ²⁴ —	s Isa 33:9; Jer 23:10; 51:21-23; Joel 1:10-12; Amos 1:2	(270) In its midst no flowing water is carried, its tax-collector is gone.
Its faithful house is entirely devoured by large axes.	t Lam 1:10; 4:1	In the fields of my city there is no grain, their farmer is gone,
The people of Simashki and Elam, the wreckers, counted its worth thirty shekels. ²⁵		My fields, like fields devastated(?) by the hoe, have verily grown tangled(?) weed, My orchards and gardens, full of honey and wine, have verily grown mountain thorn.
(245) They tear down the faithful house — the people groan!		My plain, covered with its luxurious verdure, ²⁷ have become verily parched ²⁸ like an oven ^s ...
They make the city a mound of ruins — the people groan! ^m		(275) My silver, gems and lapis-lazuli have verily been scattered about — let me cry: 'O my possessions!'
<i>Ningal's Lament over her Ruined City</i> (lines 254-274; 278-291)		My treasures the swamp has verily swallowed up — let me cry: 'O my possessions!'
Mother Ningal, like an enemy, stands outside her city;		(280) My silver - men who had never known silver have verily filled their hands with it,
(255) The woman bitterly laments over her ravaged house,		My gems — men who had never known gems have verily hung them around their necks. ^t
The princess bitterly laments over her ravaged shrine (of) Ur: ^u		My birds and fowl have verily flown away — let me cry: 'Alas, my city!'
"An has verily cursed my city,		

²² Sum. A-NIGIN.²³ The god of fire.²⁴ See note 12 above.²⁵ Lit., "made it thirty shekels" — that is treated it with contempt, or destroyed it easily. See Reiner 1968; 1980.²⁶ Or "has verily exchanged my house (with another)" (Jacobsen).²⁷ For GIRI₁-ZAL = *taššitu*, *urqutu*, see Å. Sjöberg, ZA 55 (1962):3-4.²⁸ Or "cracked."

My daughters and sons²⁹ have verily been
carried off as captives in ships³⁰
— let me cry: 'Alas, my city!' ...
[Woe is me! My city] which ceased to exist
— I am no longer its queen,
(285) [Nanna], Ur which ceased to exist
— I am no longer its queen!
Upon the ruins into which my house
verily has been made, upon my city
which has verily been destroyed,
I, the faithful woman - in place of my city
a strange city verily has been built.³¹
(290) Upon the ruins, into which my city
verily has been made, upon my house
which has verily been destroyed,
I, Ningal - in place of my house
a strange house verily has been built!

Curse against the Destructive 'Storm' (lines 388-392;
400-417)

Woe! Storm after storm swept the Land together.
The great storm of heaven, the ever roaring storm,
(390) The malicious storm which swept through the
Land³¹ —

The city-ravaging storm, the house-ravaging storm,
The stable-ravaging storm,
the sheepfold-burning storm" ...

(400) The storm which knows no mother,
the storm which knows no father —

The storm which knows no wife,
the storm which knows no child —

The storm which knows no sister,
the storm which knows no brother —

The storm which knows no neighbor,
the storm which knows no confidant³² —

The storm which caused the wife to be abandoned,
the storm which caused the child to be
abandoned

(405) The storm which caused the Land to perish —
The storm which swept (through the Land)
at Enlil's hateful command —

O Father Nanna, may that storm
swoop down no more upon your city,
May your black-headed people

u Isa 1:7; Jer
51:51; Hos
7:9; Lam 5:2

v Isa 13:6-
10; Jer 23:19-
20; 25:32;
30:23-24;
Joel 2:1-3;
Amos 1:14;
Zeph 1:7;
Ps 83:16;
Lam 1:12

w Jer 20:14-
18; Job 3:3-9

x Jer 33:8;
Ps 51:12;
Lam 5:21

not see(?) it(?) (again)!³³

May that stormy day, like rain pouring
down from heaven, never recur!

(410) That which smote all living beings of
heaven and earth, the black-headed people,
That storm — may it be entirely destroyed!

Like the great city-gate at night,
may the door be closed tight on it!

May that stormy-day not be placed
in the reckoning,

May its number be taken down
from the peg in Enlil's Temple!^{34w}

Antiphone:

Unto distant days, other days,
to the end of the days!

Concluding Penitential Prayer to Nanna (lines 418-
424; 430-436)

From days of yore, when the Land was founded,
O Nanna, the humble men,
who lay hold of your feet,

(420) Have brought to you their tears
over the silenced temple, their
chanting (intoned) before you;³⁵

May your black-headed people,
who have been cast away,
make obeisance to you,

In your city, which has been made into ruins,
may a wail be set up unto you!

O Nanna, may your restored city
radiate before you,

Like a bright heavenly star,
may it never be destroyed,
may it (always) walk in your sight! ...

(430) May (your) heart relent toward 'the man'
who uttered a prayer for it!³⁶

And having looked faithfully upon
the 'man of supplication'
who stands here for it,

O Nanna, (you) whose penetrating
gaze searches the bowels,

May the hearts of its people
that committed evil,³⁷
be purified before you!

²⁹ GI₁-IN (Akk. *ardatu*) is rendered (here and in the next line) as "young girls," "daughters"; it may refer to "slave-girls" (Jacobsen).

³⁰ Collation of the text points to *má-e*.

³¹ The Sum. word, translated in lines 388-414 as "storm," is UD, usually meaning "day," "weather." Hence, a translation like "stormy-day" would be more accurate (see below lines 409-413). Note further that the expression UD ... BA-E-ZAL-LA-RI, translated in this line as "The storm ... which swept over the land," may also be rendered: "A day ... which dawned." Accordingly, Jacobsen translates this line: "The griveous day that dawned for the country."

³² The description of the storm in lines 400-404 resembles closely the typological description of various malicious demons in Sum. mythology (see Alster 1972b:104-106).

³³ Translation is based on the deletion of -ZU in IGI-ZU. Kramer translates, maintaining -ZU, as follows: "May you not look (unfavorably) upon your black-headed people!"

³⁴ Translation follows Jacobsen, who adds the following comment: "The days were thought of as personified and imbued with propensity for good or evil. Removing this (stormy) day from the reckoning, taking it out of the calendar, would mean that it never could be sent out again, would be totally destroyed" (1987a:473, note 36). Other possible translations: "May its (final) account hang on a peg in the house of Enlil" (Falkenstein 1953); or "May its account be hung from a nail outside the temple of Enlil" (Gragg 1973b:35; following Kramer 1940:69).

³⁵ The "humble man" who represents the people and brings their lament before the god may be the king or the high-priest.

³⁶ That is: for the city.

³⁷ Others: "that suffered evil" (Falkenstein and Jacobsen).

May the hearts of your (people) who dwell in the land be good to you!	y Pss 44:8; 74:21; 79:13	O Nanna, in your city again restored, may (your) praise be sung!
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REFERENCES

Cohen 1981; 1988; Falkenstein and von Soden 1953:192-213; Green 1975; 1978; 1984; Gwaltney 1983; Hallo 1995; Hillers 1992:XXVIII-XXIX; Jacobsen 1987a:447-477; Kramer 1940; 1991; Kraus 1968:8-13; Krecher 1980-83; McDaniel 1968; Michalowski 1989.

5. INCANTATIONS

A "NON-CANONICAL" INCANTATION (1.167)

William W. Hallo

Incantations were among the earliest literary genres to be fixed in writing. Before they were collected into major canonical series, they circulated in individual formulations, as needed. Sometimes, as here, these were quite short, and to the point, even specifying the source of the problem by name. The name of the client who used the spell was inserted at the appropriate point. The concern here is with the perennial problem of improper burial of a deceased person, which exposed his survivors to the danger of his ghost coming back to haunt them and — worse — to cause them to fall sick.

Moving about by day(?) like a cow in the midst of heaven, a fire(?) rained down from above, Lu-Sukkal, son of Gudea, descended alive into the midst of the watery deep. ^{1 a} (5) "Let me not be made to descend!" let him not say before Utu!	a 1 Kgs 7:23 etc.	Let him not be one who returns to me! Of So-and-so son of So-and-so whose (personal) god is Enki, (10) and whose personal goddess is Geshtin- anna — ² Let him not afflict the stomach! ³ Conjuration, spell, incantation against colic. ⁴
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¹ I.e., he drowned; see CAD s.v. *apsû*. Alternatively: "into the inner sanctum of the temple"; see CAD s.v. *šapsukku* and above, text 1.163, n. 9.

² For the concept of the personal or protective goddess, see CAD s.v. *amalûtu* and esp. *ištaru*. Geshtin-anna, the sister of Dumuzi, is equated with Belit-seri in Akk.

³ Alternatively: "distress the heart." There is a whole class of incantations for appeasing the "angered heart" of a deity (Lambert 1974), but here the reference is to distressing the client, and the words used carefully echo those in the "narrative" portion of the incantation (lines 1-4).

⁴ So e.g. Cohen 1988:243, 17. Both ŠA-GIG in the rubric and ŠA-DIB in the text are translated by Akk. *kis libbi*; see CAD s.v. *kīsu* B; the latter also by *murūš libbi*, "distress"; see CAD s.v. *muršu*.

REFERENCES

Text: Gurney and Kramer OECT 5 (1976) No. 20. Translations and studies: Scheil 1927; Gurney and Kramer OECT 5 (1976) 31f.; Kutscher 1982.

FROM "EVIL SPIRITS" (1.168)

W. W. Hallo

The formation of systematic ("canonical") series of incantations began as early as Old Babylonian times in the case of the "Evil Spirits" (UDUG-HUL = *utukku lemnūtu*). Again, the concern was with improper burial and its baneful consequences. The present example is a brief incantation out of a reconstruction of second millennium forerunners running to nearly 1000 lines, and these in turn are vastly exceeded in size by the canonical versions of the first millennium.

Oh evil spirit, ghost appearing in the desert, Oh Namtar, when you touch something evil, ¹ Oh tongue which in its malice binds a man to you, May you be broken like a pitcher, ² may you be split like a measuring vessel! (5) May you not cross through the door-frame or over the door-sill! May you not cross over the threshold(?)!	Oh evil spirit, to your desert! Oh evil apparition, to your desert! ³ Oh (good ?) spirit dwelling in the house, ... Oh personal deity, (10) May the evil spirit and the evil apparition, like (sherds of) the potter's <i>burzi</i> -bowl, be smashed in the square! It is an incantation of the evil spirit.
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¹ Generically a word for "destiny" or "fate," esp. an evil fate, hence "death," Namtar became a proper name for a demon or virtual "angel of death"; see CAD s.v. *namtaru*.

² The same image is used of Ur-Nammu, the king of Ur left for dead on the field of battle "like a broken pitcher" and thus perhaps the most famous example of potentially improper burial; see Kramer 1969a:118:59; 1969b:8 and n. 24.

³ See CAD s.v. *alû*.

REFERENCES

Text: PBS I/2:128 ii 8-22. Translations and studies: Falkenstein 1931:87-89; Geller 1985:48-51, 511-522.

6. LOVE POEMS

DUMUZI-INANNA SONGS (1.169)

Yitschak Sefati

The three poems translated below belong to the Sumerian love poetry composed during the Third Dynasty of Ur and early Old Babylonian periods (ca. 2100-1800 BCE). This poetry which is mainly cultic deals with the love affair and marriage of the divine couple, the gods of love and fertility, Dumuzi (the Sumerian name for Tammuz) and Inanna (the Sumerian name for Ishtar). This symbolic marriage commonly known as the "sacred marriage rite" (*hieros gamos*) was believed, according to the Sumerian mythographers and poets, to bring about the fertility of the soil and the fecundity of the womb. It took place, apparently, during the New Year festival. The king, representing Dumuzi, wedded one of the priestesses of high rank, representing Inanna, the alluring fertility goddess. The questions whether the rite took place annually or only occasionally, and who actually represented Inanna during the celebration, remain unanswered.

As in most of Sumerian poetic works, the following poems are ascribed to their appropriate categories by the ancient poets themselves with a special subscript at the end of the composition, resembling the superscript of the biblical psalter. The first two poems are each designated as a "BALBALE (of Inanna)"; the exact meaning of this designation is still unknown, but it seems to indicate that these poems were to be recited, perhaps antiphonally, and heard during certain court or temple festivities. The third poem is designated as TIGI ("kettledrum"), a drum-accompanied hymn; it is subdivided into two sections bearing the labels SA-GID-DA and SA-GAR-RA, which seem to refer to the tightening or loosening of the skin of the percussion instruments or, if string instruments are involved, to the tuning of the strings (Sumerian SA).

THE WOMEN'S OATH (1.169A) ¹

This poem may be divided into two parts. The first and shorter part (lines 1-12) is in the form of an address (written in the main dialect of Sumerian called Emegir) by Dumuzi to Inanna, the "sister," consisting of epithets of endearment for his beloved. The second part (lines 13-32, written in the Emesal-dialect of Sumerian) consists of Inanna's response, the main point of which is asking her lover to swear that he had no love affairs with other women. The oath is administered by Dumuzi, placing his right hand on her genitals, laying his left hand on her head, bringing his mouth close to her mouth and taking her lips into his mouth. The poem concludes with the same motif with which it began, i.e., the metaphoric description of the beloved. But this time it is Inanna who extols her lover's charms.

<i>Lover</i> (lines 1-12) My <i>lubi</i> , ² my <i>lubi</i> , my <i>lubi</i> ,	^a Prov 4:3; Cant 6:9	My <i>labi</i> , my <i>labi</i> , my honey of the mother who bore her, ^a
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¹ Source: Ni 2489 (SRT 31). Edition: Alster 1985:142-146; Jacobsen 1987b:60-63; Sefati 1990. Translation: Jacobsen 1987a:97-98; Kramer 1969c:104-106.

² The exact meaning of the words LABI/LUBI is uncertain. In view of the context they seem to be onomatopoeic terms of endearment.

My sappy vine, ^b my honey-sweet, my mellifluous mouth of her mother.	<i>b</i> Ps 128:3	(your) head on an alien (woman).
Your eyes — their gaze delights me, come ^c my beloved sister! ^d	<i>c</i> Cant 2:10, 13	My one who dons(?) the fine garment for me, ^e My beloved, the man of [my heart], [I will make you] take an oath, ^f oh my brother ^g of [beautiful eyes]!
(5) Your mouth — its utterance delights me, ^e my honey-sweet mellifluous mouth of her mother, Your lips — their kiss delights me, ^f come my beloved sister!	<i>d</i> Cant 4:9 et passim <i>e</i> Cant 4:9, 10, 12; 5:1, 2	(20) My brother, I will make you take an oath, oh my brother of beautiful eyes!
My sister, your barley — its beer is delicious, my mellifluous mouth of her mother, Your wort — its liquor(?) is delicious, come my beloved sister!	<i>f</i> Cant 4:3 <i>g</i> Cant 8:1	Your right hand on my nakedness should be placed, ^h
In the house — your charms [are irresistible], my mellifluous mouth of her mother, (10) Your charms, my sister, [are irresistible ...] my beloved, Your house — the storeho[use ...], m[y mellifluous] mouth of her mother, You, the Princess ... my ...	<i>h</i> Gen 24:2-9; 47:29 <i>i</i> Cant 2:6; 8:3 <i>j</i> Cant 1:4; 4:10	Your left on my head ⁱ should be laid; When you have brought your mouth close to my mouth, When you have seized my lips in your mouth, (25) By so (doing) you will take an oath to me, Thus is the "oath(?) ^g of the women," oh my brother of beautiful eyes!
		My blossoming one, my blossoming one, sweet is your allure! ^j My blossoming garden of apple trees, sweet is your allure! My fruitful garden of <i>celtis</i> -trees, sweet is your allure!
		(30) My(?) "Dumuzi-abzu by his own virtue"(?), sweet is your allure! My pure figurine, my pure figurine, sweet is your allure! Alabaster figurine, adorned with the lapis lazuli diadem, sweet is your allure!
		(It is a BALBALE-song of Inanna)

^a "Giving life" here is perhaps to be taken as meaning "to bring joy," "to revive the spirit."^b It is assumed that the lover (Dumuzi) lives outside the city.^c The rendering of the line is uncertain. Perhaps better: "My one who raises the veil(?) of (my) nakedness for me."^d Lit., "I will set the oath for you."^e Cf. the comparable gesture in connection with oaths in the patriarchal narratives; see Jacobsen 1987a:98, n. 2.^f The reading of the Sum. sign is somewhat uncertain.BRIDEGROOM, SPEND THE NIGHT IN OUR HOUSE TILL DAWN (I.169B)¹

This poem is a monologue by King Shu-Sin's beloved in which she yearns for him with words of love and expresses her longing for him in requests and wishes. At the conclusion of the song (lines 27-29) there is apparently an invitation to sexual union but in language not adequately clear to us.

Bridegroom ² of my heart, [my beloved] one, Your allure is a sweet thing, [is as sweet as] honey; ^a Dear(?) ³ of my heart, my beloved one, Your allure is a sweet thing, is as sweet as honey. (5) You have captivated(?) me, of my own will(?) I will come to you, Bridegroom, let me run after you to the couch; ^b	<i>a</i> Judg 14:18; Ezek 3:3; Ps 19:11; 119:103; Prov 24:13; Cant 4:11 <i>b</i> Cant 1:4 <i>c</i> Prov 7:17	You have captivated(?) me, of my own will(?) I will come to you, Dear(?), let me run after you to the couch. Bridegroom, I will do to you all the sweet things, (10) My precious sweet, honey I will bring(?) to you, In the bedchamber dripping with honey — ^c Let us enjoy your sweet allure, the sweet things!
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¹ Source: Ni 2461 (*ISET* 1 90, pl. 32 = *Belleten* 16, pl. 66). Edition: Kramer 1952:360-363; Alster 1985:135-138; Sefati 1985:400-406. Translation: Kramer 1969c:92-93; Jacobsen 1976:171 (lines 1-15); Jacobsen 1987a:88-89; Alster 1993b:22 No. 11 (lines 11-17).² The present rendering "bridegroom" here (as well as in lines 6, 9, 15 and 19) is based on the assumption that the Sum. MU-TI-IN (or perhaps MU-DI-IN) is a secondary form derived from the Emesal word MU-UD-NA (NITADAM in Emegir) "beloved, husband." However, MU-TI-IN could alternatively be viewed as a dialectal form of ĠESTIN, "grapevine, grapes," in Emesal. Or else, it could be interpreted as "man" (Akk. *zikaru*), see Jacobsen 1987a:88.³ The Sum. word GI-RU, which recurs here (in lines 3, 8, 13, 21 and 23) and elsewhere in similar contexts of the Dumuzi-Inanna songs as a parallel to MU-TI-IN (see the previous note), is most probably an epithet of affection for the lover, although its exact meaning and etymology is

Dear(?), I will do to you all the sweet things, My precious sweet, honey I will bring(?) to you. (15) Bridegroom, you who have fallen in love with me, Speak to my mother, (and) I shall offer myself to you, (Speak) to my father, he will give (me to you) as a gift. Soothing the reins,^d the place which soothes the reins,^e I know, Bridegroom,^f spend the night in our house till dawn. (20) Of your heart, its place which gladdens the heart,^g I know,	<i>d</i> Prov 23:16 <i>e</i> Ps 19:9; Prov 15:30; 27:9, 11	Dear(?), spend the night in our house till dawn. You, since you have fallen in love with me, Dear(?), if only you would do to me your sweet things! The lord my god, the lord my guardian-angel, (25) My Shu-sin, who cheers Enlil's heart, If only you would do to me your sweet things^(h)! Your "place" (is) sweet as honey — if only you would lay hand on it! Lay (your) hand upon it for me like a cap(?) on a measuring cup, Spread(?) (your) hand over it for me like a cap(?) on an old measuring cup. (It is a BALBALE-song of Inanna)
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quite obscure.

^a The translation assumes that the "place" (KI sign) preceding "your sweet" (ZÉ-BA-ZU) is most probably a scribal error for "things" (ĒM); cf. line 23. The terms "place" (line 27), and "hand" (lines 27-29), are apparently euphemistic expressions, and this closing passage seems to refer to an invitation to sexual union.

LOVE BY THE LIGHT OF THE MOON (I.169C)

This poem¹ is a dialogue between Inanna and Dumuzi/Ama-ushumgalanna, who woo each other as a young couple prior to their marriage.

The song opens with Inanna's monologue, in which she tells of her chance meeting with Dumuzi and about Dumuzi holding her hand and embracing her (obverse lines 1-8) when spending the previous day in song and dance. Then a dialogue with Dumuzi develops (obverse lines 9-22): Inanna, who is unusually portrayed here as a young and inexperienced maiden, pleads with Dumuzi to let her go home. Apparently she feared the angry reaction of her mother, Ningal, when the latter would realize that she had spent the night away from home in the company of a stranger. Dumuzi, who is revealed here as an enterprising suitor, teaches her "women's deceits"; in other words, he plants deceitful words in her mouth intended to justify her tardiness. Thus they will be able to make love together all night by moonlight. The beginning of the second part (obv. 24 - rev. 3) is highly fragmentary, and we do not know what happened between the couple. One cannot tell whether Inanna responded to Dumuzi's courting or whether, as is more likely, she refused to acquiesce to him like a prostitute, standing in the street. Instead she invited him to her home so that he would properly ask for her hand. When the text becomes intelligible (rev. 4-7), Inanna expresses the wish that Dumuzi turn aside to the gate of her mother Ningal's house where she, too, will joyfully run. Similarly, she expresses a wish (rev. 8-11) that her mother be informed of Dumuzi's arrival so that she would prepare the house for receiving this important guest and sprinkle water on the floor. The song concludes with praise (rev. 14-21), presumably by Inanna's mother, Ningal, for Dumuzi, the future son-in-law. She calls him "the son-in-law of Sin," who makes plants grow abundantly in the plain, and hence he is fit and worthy of Inanna's pure lap. It should be noted that but for the liturgical annotations therein, we would assume it to be a song of purely secular, literary character that was not connected with any cultic ritual but which served as a diverting song for women, to be hummed while they were spinning or weaving or engaged in other chores, in order to while away the time.

Inanna (obverse lines 1-12)

As I, the lady, was passing the day yesterday,
As I, Inanna, was passing the day yesterday,
As I was passing the day, as I was dancing about,
As I was singing songs (from) morning till even-
ing —
(5) He met me, he met me,
The lord, the companion of An met me,
The lord seized me in his hands,
Ushumgalanna² embraced me.

"Wild bull(?), set me free, that I may go home!
(10) Companion of Enlil, set me free, that I may go
home!
What can I set before my mother as false words?
What can I set before my mother, Ningal, as false
words?"
Dumuzi (obverse lines 13-22)
"Let me teach you, let me teach you!
Inanna, let me teach you the women's false words:
(15) 'My girlfriend was dancing with me in the

¹ Source: HS 1486 (Bernhardt-Kramer, *TMH NF* III, No. 25). Edition: Kramer 1963:499-500; Sefati:1985, 209-217. Translation: Kramer 1969c:77-78 (obv. 1-22; rev. 4-17); Jacobsen 1976:28-30; 1987a:10-12; Alster 1993b:21-22. No. 10 (rev.6-14)

² Ushumgalanna is an abbreviated form of Ama-ushumgalanna, a by-name of Dumuzi.

square, ^a	<i>a</i> Cant 3:2	(5) I, in joy I am running around;
She ran around with me, playing the tambourine	<i>b</i> Prov 7:18	He is indeed standing at Ningal's gate,
and the recorder,		I, in joy I am running around.
Her chants, being sweet, she sang for me,	<i>c</i> Cant 3:4;	Oh, that someone would tell my mother!
In rejoicing, being sweet, I passed the day there	8:2	May our neighbor sprinkle water on the floor! ³
with her' —		(10) Oh, that someone would tell my mother,
This as false words you set before your own		Ningal!
mother,		May our neighbor sprinkle water on the floor!
(20) As for us — let me make love with you ^b by the		Her dwelling ¹ — its fragrance is sweet,
moonlight!		Her words (will) be joyful ones:
Let me loosen your combs on the pure and		<i>Ningal, Inanna's mother</i> (lines 14-21)
luxuriant couch!		"My lord is seemly for the holy lap,
May you pass there a sweet day with me in		(15) Amaushumgalanna, the son-in-law of Sin,
abundance and joy!"		The lord Dumuzi is seemly for the holy lap,
(It is the <i>sagidda</i>)		Amaushumgalanna, the son-in-law of Sin.
<i>Inanna</i> (obverse lines 24 - reverse 13)		My lord, how sweet is your abundance!
... I, the maid(?), in the alleys(?) ...		How tasty are your herbs and plants in the plain!
(25) With the [wild bull](?), by day, I ...,		(20) Amaushumgalanna, how sweet is your
(about eleven lines of the obverse and the first three lines of the		abundance!
reverse are broken away)		How tasty are your herbs and plants in the plain!"
He is indeed standing at our mother's gate, ^c		(It is the <i>sagarra</i> . It is a <i>tigi</i> -song of Inanna)

³ The exact significance of the neighbor sprinkling water is not clear. Alster (1993b:20-21 No. 10) interprets the act of the neighbor as a ritual for purification or apotropaic purposes, to secure happiness for the young couple.

REFERENCES

Alster 1985; 1993b; Civil 1990a; Jacobsen 1975; 1976; 1987a; 1987b; Kramer 1952; 1963; 1969c; Sefati 1985; 1990; Wilcke 1970.

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B. ROYAL FOCUS

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1. EPIC

ENMERKAR AND THE LORD OF ARATTA (1.170)

Thorkild Jacobsen

The story of Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta begins in legendary times, before many of the inventions of civilization — such as written communication by letter. Enmerkar ruled in Uruk as “priest-king” (EN), and was the human husband of Inanna, with whom he united yearly in the rite of the sacred marriage. The lord of Aratta ruled in the fabled city of Aratta which lay in the mountains far away to the east. He also was the spouse of Inanna with the responsibilities for the city’s prosperity. But Inanna, we are told, loved Enmerkar best.

Enmerkar used this to his advantage in attempting to force the submission of Aratta and the provision of precious stones and other building materials for a temple in Uruk. A drought was brought on the land of Aratta by Inanna. The lord of Aratta, after realizing his dilemma, challenged Enmerkar intellectually. Although the lord of Aratta posed a series of seemingly insurmountable problems, Enmerkar solved them each time. In one particular instance, when his message was too long for his envoy’s memory, Enmerkar invented the letter for his envoy to take with him to Aratta. By accident, however, Ishkur (Inanna’s brother) happened to bring rain to Aratta which ended the drought. At this the lord of Aratta celebrated and revealed the miraculous origins of his people. Though somewhat fragmentary, the story ends with Enmerkar listing his achievements.

[lines 1-134, omitted here]

Nudimmud’s Spell (135-155)

Recite Nudimmud’s spell¹

to him:

“In those days,

there being no snakes,

there being no scorpions,

there being no hyenas,

there being no lions,

there being no dogs or wolves,

there being no(thing) fearful

or hair-raising,

mankind had

no opponents —

in those days

in the countries Subartu,²

Hamazi,³

a Gen 11:1

bilingual Sumer

being the great country

of princely office,

the region Uri⁴

being a country

in which was

what was appropriate,

the country Mardu⁵

lying in safe pastures,

(in) the (whole) compass

of heaven and earth

the people entrusted (to him)

could address Enlil,

verily, in but a

single tongue.”

In those days,

(having) lordly bouts,

princely bouts, and royal bouts —

¹ “Nudimmud’s spell” quoted at this point in the tale seems gratuitous. It has no bearing on the situation, is mentioned only, is not repeated later on by the envoy, and plays no role whatever in the plot. Most likely it was a separate, independent myth added by some copyist who thought it might fit.

As it stands, it has been so severely abbreviated that it is difficult to determine either occasion or reason for the act of Enki/Nudimmud which it celebrates; that when mankind had one common language Enki replaced it with the present multiplicity of tongues. Presumably, since Enki is regularly presented as the protector of man — and very particularly so as Nudimmud, man’s creator — this act of his will have served to shield mankind. One may conjecture, therefore, that a unilingual mankind somehow had become a threat or a nuisance to Enlil, so that he planned to wipe man out, a catastrophe averted by Enki’s clever solution. This would put the story in line with the biblical story of the confusion of languages, where the building of the tower represents a threat to God, and with the myth of Atrahasis, where the noise made by proliferating mankind bothers Enlil to such an extent that he seeks recourse in sending the Deluge.

Here the mass of proliferating unilingual mankind’s appeals to Enlil may have become too much for him and Enki, by instituting wars and by dispersing man by his confusion of tongues, will have forestalled a Deluge. See Jacobsen 1992.

² In modern terms, approximately northern Iraq.

³ Not located with any certainty.

⁴ The northern part of southern Mesopotamia. The Akk. term for it was Akkad.

⁵ The region east of Mesopotamia, also called Amurru.

(did) Enki, (having) lordly bouts,
 princely bouts, and royal bouts —
 having lordly bouts fought,
 having princely bouts fought,
 and having royal bouts fought,
 (150) did Enki, lord of abundance,
 lord of effective command,
 did the lord of intelligence,
 the country's clever one,
 did the leader of the gods,
 did the sagacious
 omen-revealed⁶
 lord of Eridu
 estrange the tongues
 in their mouths
 as many as were put there.
 The tongues of men
 which were one."

[lines 156-497, omitted here]

The Letter Invented (498)

That day the words
 of the lord [...]
 seated on [...]
 the seed of princes,
 [a *mēsu* tree (?)]
 grown up singly,
 were difficult,
 their meaning not to fathom,
 and, his words being difficult,
 the envoy
 was unable to render them.
 Since the envoy
 — his words being difficult —
 was unable to render them,
 the lord of Kullab
 smoothed clay with the hand
 and set down the words on it
 in the manner of a tablet.
 While up to then
 there had been no one
 setting down words on clay,
 now, on that day,
 under that sun,
 thus it verily
 came to be;
 the lord of Kullab
 set down wo[rds on clay,]
 thus it verily
 came to be!
 The envoy, like a bird,
 was beating the wings,

like a wolf
 closing in on a buck
 he was hurrying
 to the kill.
 Five mountain ranges,
 six mountain ranges,
 seven mountain ranges,
 he crossed over,
 lifted up the eyes,
 he was approaching Aratta;
 and joyfully he set foot
 in Aratta's courtyard.

His master's preeminence
 he proclaimed,
 and was decorously speaking
 the words he had by heart,
 the envoy was translating them
 for the Lord of Aratta:
 "It being that your father,
 [my] master,
 has sent me [to you,]
 it being that the lord of Uruk,
 and lord of Kullab,
 has sent me to you ..."

The Lord of Aratta Interrupts

"What is to me
 your master's wo[rds?]
 What is to me
 what he said further?"
 "My master — [what] did he say?
 what did he say further?
 My master,
 [des]cendant (?) of Enlil,⁷
 grown as high as [...]
 abutting [...]
 the [... of ...]
 who is outstanding
 in lordship and kingship,
 Enmerkar, son of Utu,
 has given me a tablet.
 When the Lord of Aratta
 has looked at the clay,
 and understood from it
 the meaning of the words,
 and you have told me
 what you have to say to me
 about it,⁸
 let me unto the scion
 wearing a lapis lazuli beard,
 unto him who was horn
 by his sturdy cow(-mother)
 in the highland

⁶ The accepted candidate for the office of EN was revealed by the taking of omens.

⁷ Enlil would be Enmerkar's great-grandfather as father of Suen, the moon god, who in turn was father to Enmerkar's father, Utu.

⁸ The messenger addresses the lord of Aratta with his titles and in the third person as a matter of politeness. Thereafter he changes to second person.

of immaculate offices,
 unto him who was reared
 on Uruk's⁹ soil,
 unto him who was suckled
 with milk
 at a good cow's udder,
 unto him, who befits
 lordship in Kullab,
 country of great sacred office,
 unto Enmerkar,
 son of Utu,
 in the Eanna close
 announce that message,
 in his *gipāru*,
 bearing flowers
 like the new shoots
 of a *mēsu* tree,
 let me report
 to my master
 the lord of Kullab."

After thus he had been telling him,
 the Lord of Aratta took
 the envoy's piece of clay.
 The Lord of Aratta
 looked at the clay.
 The words were fierce words,
 were frowning,
 the Lord of Aratta
 kept looking
 at his piece of clay —

Ishkur Brings Rain

That day
 did the crowned lord,
 fit for lordship,
 Enlil's son,
 Ishkur,¹⁰
 the thunderer
 of heaven and earth,
 the whirling storm,
 the great lion,
 see fit to come by.

The mountains were shaking,
 the mountain ranges
 roaring with him
 in laughter.

As they met his awe and [g]lory
 the mountain ranges
 lifted their heads
 in delightful verdure,
 and on Aratta's parched flanks,
 in midst the mountains,
 wheat was sprouting of itself,
 and vines also were sprouting of themselves.
 The wheat, that had sprouted of itself,
 they [piled] in piles and heaps

and bro[ught] it in
 to the Lord of Aratta,
 piled it up before him
 in Aratta courtyard.

Rains Attributed to Inanna

The Lord of Aratta
 took a look at the wheat,
 and in front of all his overseers
 was twitting the envoy,
 the Lord of Aratta
 said to the envoy:
 "Most magnificently
 Inanna,
 queen of all lands,
 has not abandoned
 her home, Aratta,
 has not delivered it up
 to Uruk
 has not abandoned
 her lapis lazuli house,
 has not delivered it up
 to the Eanna close,
 has not abandoned
 the mountain
 of immaculate offices,
 has not delivered it up
 to Kullab's brickwork,
 has not abandoned
 the ornate bed,
 has not delivered it up
 to the *girin*-flowered bed,
 the lord,
 her one of the clean hands,
 she has not abandoned,
 has not delivered him up
 to the lord of Uruk,
 to the lord of Kullab!
 Aratta, right and left,
 has Inanna,
 queen of all lands,
 surrounded for him
 as with the waters
 of a mighty
 burst of a dam.

Miraculous Origins of Aratta's People

Its men are men
 chosen from out of men,
 are men whom Dumuzi
 picked out from men,
 they carry out
 holy Inanna's commands,
 alert champions,
 house born slaves of Dumuzi,
 they verily are,
 Inanna, queen of all lands,

⁹ Most likely an ancient scribal mistake for "Aratta's."

¹⁰ The storm god Ishkur usually counted as Inanna's brother and grandson of Enlil, so "son" may here stand for "grandson."

for great love of Dumuzi,
sprinkled them
with the water of life,

and subjected the country
to them.¹¹

¹¹ A section of the text was apparently lost here in the course of its transmission.

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Jacobsen 1987a:275-319; 1992.

GILGAMESH AND AKKA (1.171)

Dina Katz

The short narrative describes a conflict between two Mesopotamian cities Kish and Uruk. Akka, the ruler of Kish, demanded of the Urukians to dig wells. Gilgamesh, Akka's dependent lord of Uruk, determined to rebel, ignored the advice of Uruk's assembly of elders and, with the support of his army, freed Uruk from the dominance of Kish and established himself as the independent ruler of Uruk. The copies of this composition, written in Sumerian, date to the Old Babylonian period, and most of them were found in Nippur.¹

Introduction: Geographical Setting (Lines 1-2)
Akka,² the son of Enmebaragesi, sent envoys
From Kish to Gilgamesh, to Uruk.

Gilgamesh Delivers Akka's Message to the Assembly of Elders and Calls on them to Rebel (Lines 3-8)
Gilgamesh, before the elders of his city
Laid the matter, seeking for words:
(5) "To finish the wells, to finish all the wells of the land,
To finish all the shallow wells of the land,
To finish all the deep wells with hoisting ropes,³
Let us not submit to the house of Kish
let us smite it with weapons"

The Elders' Assembly Rejects Gilgamesh's Decision to Rebel (lines 9-14)
The convoked assembly of his city's elders
(10) Answered Gilgamesh:
"To finish the wells, to finish all the wells of the land,
To finish all the shallow wells of the land,
To finish all the deep wells with hoisting ropes,
Let us submit to the house of Kish
let us not smite it with weapons."

a 1 Kgs 12:6-15

b 1 Kgs 22:26
(The king's son "bene-hamelech")
2 Chr 18:25;
28:7;
Jer 36:26

c Isa 2:22

Gilgamesh Does Not Give up and Turns to the Young, Able-bodied, Men (lines 15-23)⁴

(15) Since Gilgamesh, the lord of Kulaba,
Had placed his trust in Inanna,
He did not take to heart the words of his city's elders.^a
Gilgamesh before the able-bodied men of his city again
Laid the matter, seeking for words:
(20) "To finish the wells, to finish all the wells of the land,
To finish all the shallow wells of the land,
To finish all the deep wells with hoisting ropes,
Let us not submit to the house of Kish
let us smite it with weapons."

The Young, Able-bodied, Men Decide to Rebel (line 24-29)

The convoked assembly of his city's able-bodied men answered Gilgamesh:
(25) "As they say: to stand up, and to sit down,
To protect the king's son,^b
And to hold back⁵ the donkeys,
Who has breath for that?^{6 c}
Let us not submit to the house of Kish

¹ For the most recent discussion, see Katz 1993.

² The reading Akka rather than Agga is supported by some manuscripts which have A-KA or AKA. This name is prevalent in Early Dynastic Fara texts; see Jacobsen 1939:84, n. 99.

³ This passage, repeated in the speeches of the elders and the able-bodied men, probably contains Akka's demand, since otherwise the reason for this war does not appear in the composition. The verb "finish" is a literal translation, meaning to "drain dry"; however, other translations are possible.

⁴ The literary pattern used here, a parallelism between assemblies, one of elders and other of the young, is comparable to the episode narrated in 1 Kgs 12:6-16; see Malamet 1963; Falkenstein 1966. Note that in both cases turning down the advice of the elders and following the advice of the young is justified by divine will.

Whereas the elders' assembly is widely documented in the Mesopotamian sources, an assembly of young (or able-bodied men) is not attested. Therefore, the assembly of the able-bodied men may have been created here as a fictional literary device to parallel the actual elders' assembly. Through this parallelism Gilgamesh's rebellion seem to have the public's legitimation, in addition to the support he supposedly had from the goddess Inanna. For a detailed discussion, see Katz 1993:23-27.

⁵ Or "to spur on."

⁶ These three lines constitute a proverb; see below text 1.174 number 1.

let us smite it with weapons.

The Able-bodied Men Nominate Gilgamesh as King
(Lines 30-39)

(30) Uruk, the handiwork of the gods,
Eanna, the temple descended from heaven
Whose parts the great gods created,
Its great wall standing on the ground (like) a cloud,
Its lofty abode established by An,
(35) They are entrusted to you, you are king and warrior.⁷

One smashing heads, a prince beloved of An,
His coming would inspire such fear
That its (Kish's) army will dwindle, and scatter in retreat,
And its (Kish's) men be unable to confront him."

The Preparations for the War against Kish (Lines 40-47)

(40) Then Gilgamesh, the lord of Kulaba,
His heart rejoiced at the words of his city's able-bodied men, his spirit brightened.
He said to his servant Enkidu:
"Now let the implements and arms of battle be made ready,
Let the battle mace return to your side,
(45) May they create great fear, terrifying splendor,
That when he comes my great terror overwhelm him,
That his wits become confused^d and his judgement falter."

The First Confrontation with the Kishite Army
(Lines 48-59)

Not five days, not ten days had passed,
When Akka, the son of Enmebaragesi, (and his army) laid siege to Uruk.
(50) Uruk's wits were confused,^d
And Gilgamesh, the lord of Kulaba,
To its warriors said:
"My warriors, you look alarmed,
(but) let one stout of heart stand up (and say) 'I will go to Akka.'
(55) Birhurtur, his royal bodyguard,
Praised his king (and said):
"I will go to Akka,
That his wits become confused^d and his judgement falter."
And Birhurtur went out through the city gate.

The Second Confrontation with the Kishite Army
(Lines 60-83)

(60) As soon as Birhurtur went out through the city gate,
They captured him at the entrance of the gate,
And gave Birhurtur a thorough beating.

d 1 Sam
21:14;
Ps 34:1

e 2 Kgs 9:24

He was brought before Akka,
And to Akka he spoke,
(65) (but) before he had finished speaking the cup-bearer of Uruk mounted the wall
And peered out over the wall.
Akka saw him,
And said to Birhurtur:
"Slave, is that man your king?"
(70) "That man is not my king!
Were that man my king,
Were that his dreadful brow,
Were those his bison eyes,
Were that his lapis lazuli beard,
(75) Were those his delicate fingers,
Would not multitudes be cast down, multitudes be raised,
Would not multitudes be smeared with dust,
And would not all the foreign troops be overwhelmed,
Would the mouths of the land not be filled with dust,
(80) Would the prows of the ships not be cut,
And would Akka, the king of Kish, not be taken captive in the midst of his troops?"
They hit him, they strike him,
And give Birhurtur a thorough beating.

The Actual War (Lines 84-99)⁸

After the cup-bearer of Uruk, Gilgamesh climbed up the wall,
(85) The terrifying splendor overwhelmed young and old of Kulaba.
It made the able-bodied men of Uruk take up the battle mace,^e
And throw wide open the city gate's doors.
Enkidu went out through the city gate alone,
Gilgamesh peered out over the wall.
(90) When he looked, Akka saw him (and said to Enkidu):
"Slave, is that man your king?"
"That man is indeed my king (Enkidu answered)."
Just as he (Enkidu) said that,
Indeed multitudes were cast down, multitudes were raised,
(95) multitudes were smeared with dust;
And indeed all foreign troops were overwhelmed,
The mouths of the land were filled with dust,
The prows of the ships were cut,
And Akka, the king of Kish, was taken captive in the midst of his troops.

Gilgamesh Acknowledges his Dependence on Akka in the Past (Lines 100-106)

(100) Gilgamesh, the lord of Kulaba,
Said to Akka:
"Akka my lieutenant, Akka my captain,

⁷ The last five lines are understood as a formula for nominating a king. They are partly repeated at the end of the narrative by Akka in his speech acknowledging Gilgamesh as an independent king of Uruk.

⁸ For a discussion of the historicity of the composition and the literary traditions concerning the war, see Katz 1993:11-21.

(102a) <Akka my governor, Akka my general,> Akka my Army commander, Akka, you have given me breath, Akka you have given me life,	f Num 11:12	Its great wall standing on the ground (like) a cloud, Its lofty abode established by An,
(105) Akka, you have taken the refugee on your lap, Akka, you have nourished the fleeing bird with grain."		(110) They are entrusted to you. [Repay me m]y favor!"
<i>Akka Endorses the Independence of Uruk and Gilgamesh its Ruler</i> (Lines 107-114)		(Gilgamesh:) "By Utu, I now repay you the former favor."
(Akka:) "Uruk, the handiwork of the gods,		He set Akka free (to go) to Kish. Gilgamesh, lord of Kulaba, Praising you is sweet.

REFERENCES

Cooper 1981; Edzard 1959; Falkenstein 1966; Heimpel 1981b; Jacobsen 1970a; 1970b; 1987a:345-355; Katz 1987; 1993; Klein 1976; 1983; Kramer 1949; Lambert 1980; Malamat 1963; Michalowski 1982; Römer 1980; Vanstiphout 1986; 1987a.

2. ROYAL HYMNS

THE BIRTH OF SHULGI IN THE TEMPLE OF NIPPUR (1.172)

Jacob Klein

This hymn¹ is part of a rich corpus of Neo-Sumerian "royal hymns" pertaining to Shulgi (ca. 2094-2047 BCE), the second and most important king of the Third Dynasty of Ur.² The hymn is dedicated to Enlil, the supreme god of the Sumerian pantheon, and it falls into two main parts: the first part opens with a hymnic praise of Enlil, which is followed by a description of Shulgi's birth and investiture in the Ekur temple; the second part contains blessings and prayers on behalf of Shulgi and the capital city of Ur, both hailed as generous providers of the temple. A three-line epilogue to the hymn reiterates Shulgi's selection by Enlil for a good reign.³ The hymn was no doubt composed during Shulgi's reign, on the occasion of Shulgi's coronation in Nippur. Subsequently, it may have been put to periodical use in the cult. From the point of view of the history of religion, it is of particular interest that whereas in the first part of the hymn Shulgi is invested with royal insignia, in the second part he fulfills the function of high-priest (EN), offering Enlil and Ninlil their evening meal.⁴

<i>Prologue: Praise to Enlil</i> (lines 1-8) Enlil, the eminent one, the sovereign (god), whose utterance is trustworthy, Nunamnir, the eternal shepherd of the Land, who hails from the Great Mountain, The great counselor, the leader of heaven and earth, who is in control of all the divine offices, The lord who in accordance with his nobility is laden with awesome splendor, a perfected heavenly star,	(5) He who takes care of the primeval divine offices, the choice divine offices, who alone is the lofty god, The lord, the life-giving light, who guides the multitudes in a single track, to the whole extent of the earth, The huge net, spread over heaven and earth, a rope, stretched over all the lands — Who ever gave Enlil instructions, or who ever rivalled him?
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¹ The following translation covers only about the first half of the hymn; the rest of it is fragmentary and cannot be fully translated (see Klein 1991:304).

² For the Sum. "royal hymns" in general, see Hallo 1963; Römer 1965. For the Shulgi hymns, see Klein 1981a:36-49; 1981b:1-21. For a full edition of the above hymn, see Klein 1991.

³ Our hymn is designated by the scribe as an ADAB. ADAB-hymns are basically divine prayers. As a rule, they begin with a hymnal address to a deity; the central part of the hymn recounts the divine blessings bestowed upon the king; the hymn usually ends with a three-line prayer to the deity for the king. [The two major parts and the epilogue of our hymn are designated respectively by the following common cultic rubrics: SAGIDDA ("stretched string"), SAGARRA ("loosened string") and URUNE. For these generic subscripts and cultic rubrics, see Wilcke 1975: 252-262].

⁴ Apparently Sum. kings, and especially deified kings, could claim the prerogative of high-priesthood, which they exercised on certain cultic festivals or other special occasions. Cf. Ps 110:3-4; 2 Sam 6:14; 1 Kgs 3:4.

The Oracle Predicting Shulgi's Birth (lines 9-14)

He (= Enlil) uttered a great (statement). What is that

which his heart, "the mighty river," has carried?

(10) The hidden(?) plans⁵ of his holy word he brought out from the temple.⁶

That matter is a holy matter, it is a pure matter, it concerns the offices of the Ekur —

The true cornerstone, (embedded) in the bottom of the deep, —

something most precious:

"A 'faithful man' will rebuild the Ekur

(to earn) a lasting name;

The son of (that) 'faithful man' will long hold the scepter,

their throne will not (ever) be overthrown!"^{6 d}

Shulgi's Birth (lines 15-20)

(15) To that end, Ashimbabbar⁷ "shone"(?) in the Ekur,

He pleaded(?) with his father, Enlil,

he approached(?) the mother who gave(?) birth(?) to him,⁸

In the "good house" made Nanna,

the noble son, (his) request,

(And) the high-priestess gave birth to a "faithful man,"

from (the semen) which had been placed in her womb.

Enlil, the powerful shepherd,

caused the young man to appear,

a Isa 2:3;
Mic 4:2

b Gen 15:1-
6; 2 Sam 7:4-
17; Isa 9:5-6

c Isa 9:5-6

d 2 Sam 5:2;
7:7; Isa
44:28; Ps
78:70-72

e Gen 49:10

f 1 Kgs 2:12;
3:6; 9:5;
Pss 2:8-9;
45:7; 110:2-
3, 5; 1 Chr
29:23

(20) A child, most suitable for kingship (and) throne-dais —
it was king Shulgi!⁹

Shulgi's Coronation (lines 21-27)

"A lion's seed, who provides the 'highland' generously,

the belo[ved of Nin]lil,

He who was granted authority in the Ekur, the king of Ur,

(He of) the radiant heart, the shepherd, the (protective) spirit of the Land" —

gave(?) him(?) (Enlil) as his good name.^{10 c}

Enlil chose Shulgi in (his) pure heart, he entrusted the people to him.

(25) The lead-rope and the staff he hung on his arm —

he is (henceforth) the shepherd of all the lands.^d

The immutable scepter of Nanna he placed in his hand,^e

Upon a royal seat, which may not be overthrown, he let him raise (his) head heavenward.^f

Shulgi's Praise of Enlil (lines 28-30)

The day is a blessing, the night is an enchantment,¹¹

The Land is a (peaceful) pasture;

Shulgi, the "shepherd of prosperity," he of the lasting name, the "king of the festival,"

(30) The mighty one, the seed engendered by "a faithful man," praises Enlil.

⁵ Sum. LAL-GAR = Akk. *giššuru* "plan," "design" etc.

⁶ In lines 9-14, the poet refers to a divine plan uttered by the god Enlil and announced in the temple in the form of a Delphian oracle: a "faithful man" will restore the Ekur; as a reward, he will acquire a successor who will secure the continuation of his dynasty. The identity of this successor, namely Shulgi, is revealed in the following passage, which describes his birth in the temple; hence, the "faithful man" must be Ur-Nammu, the founder of the dynasty. The above oracle and the subsequent semi-mythological birth-episode were intended to affirm Shulgi's legitimate right to the throne in view of the political crisis that arose with his father's untimely death in battle, and Shulgi's young age at the time of his coronation.

⁷ Epithet of the moon-god Nanna.

⁸ I.e., Ninlil, Enlil's wife.

⁹ The above birth-episode is beset with philological difficulties, and scholars disagree as to its religious and historical background. According to one opinion, Shulgi was engendered on a high-priestess of the moon-god Nanna in Nippur, in the image of Enlil, during the celebration of the "sacred marriage" rite, in which king Ur-Nammu himself embodied Nanna, the divine bridegroom (Jacobsen, ZA 52 [1957], 126-127, note 80; reprint in Jacobsen 1970:387f.). According to another opinion, it is Enlil who engendered Shulgi on his divine spouse, Ninlil, upon the request of Nanna (Kramer, Iraq 36 [1974] 93-94). Both of these hypotheses run counter to Ur III royal literature, which consistently mention Lugalbanda and Ninsun as Shulgi's divine parents. According to a third opinion, a major purpose of the "sacred marriage" rite was the engendering of the crown-prince and accordingly Shulgi was engendered in the Ekur, by Ur-Nammu and his first wife, the queen (Hallo 1987:48-52). In our opinion too, Shulgi's birth, in this hymn, takes place only on the human level, ignoring his otherwise professed divine parentage. His birth is requested from Enlil and Ninlil by his city-god, Nanna, and is engendered by Ur-Nammu, his human father, in the temple, on a high-priestess (Klein 1987:101-105).

¹⁰ The long "name" given by Enlil to the new-born crownprince is actually a series of poetic, ad hoc, royal epithets, including the real political title "King of Ur."

¹¹ The poet seems to stress the bliss and harmony that prevailed on the day of Shulgi's birth and/or coronation.

REFERENCES

Hallo 1963; 1987; Klein 1981a; 1981b; 1987; 1991; Römer 1965; Wilcke 1975:252-262.

THE SACRED MARRIAGE OF IDDIN-DAGAN AND INANNA (1.173)

Thorkild Jacobsen

This hymn was apparently written under Iddin-Dagan, the third king of the dynasty of Isin, for he is mentioned by name in it. It may even be that it was meant for use at the yearly rite of the sacred marriage in which the king took on the identity of the god Ama-ushumgal-anna and as such married Inanna, who was almost certainly incarnated in the reigning queen, as shown by the epithet Nin-egala(k), "queen of the palace," by which she is called in connection with this rite.

The hymn opens with an address to the goddess as morning and evening star followed, in a second canto, by a statement of her powers of office in heaven, on earth, and in the Apsû. From these introductory matters the hymn then moves, with the third canto, into a description of a monthly ritual victory parade in her honor, celebrating her as warrior and goddess of war.

The parade is made up of cult personnel in her service and groups of guards, both of these groups representing warriors and acting out war games in which they cut themselves and each other with knives. In the parade march also young men in neck stocks representing captives, and young and old women who have curled their hair like harlots. They may represent camp followers or women whose providers have fallen in battle and who have had to turn harlots to survive. Beside the parade, or possibly as part of it, march solid citizens of the town, carrying harps and other implements designed to soothe and pacify the goddess.

The end of the sixth canto leads into a new section praising the goddess in her manifestation as the evening star; as such she marks the end of the workday and the quieting down and going to rest of all, men and animals alike. As they sleep, their dream souls appear before her with their requests, and Inanna discerns who is good, who evil.

With the ninth canto the hymn changes its image of the goddess from evening to morning star, and describes the morning offerings to her by people everywhere. Finally, with the tenth canto she is celebrated as the bride in the new year rite of the sacred marriage, in which the king — here Iddin-Dagan-incarnates the bridegroom, Ama-ushumgal-anna — and she, as mentioned, in all likelihood is embodied in the queen. The preparations for the wedding are described, the setting up and readying of the wedding bed, the bride's pre-nuptial bath, the consummation of the marriage, and the magnificent wedding banquet the next morning.

The hymn closes with an envoi with repeated praise of the goddess ending "Great she is, and august, in heroism surpassing." ^a

Proem: Star-rise

The one come forth on high,
the one come forth on high,
I will hail!
The [h]oly one,¹ come forth on high,
I will hail!
The great [queen] of heaven,
Inanna,
I will hail!
The pure torch lit in the sky,
the heavenly light, lighting like day,
the great queen of heaven, Inanna,
I will hail!
The holy one,
queen awe-laden
of the Anunnaki,
noblest one in heaven and earth,
crowned with great horns,²

a Ps 45

oldest child of the Moon,³

Inanna,
I will hail!

(10) Of her grandeur, of her greatness,
of her exceeding nobility,
of her brilliant coming forth
in the evening sky,
of her lighting up in the sky,
a pure torch,
of her stepping up onto the sky
like Moon and Sun,
noted by all lands from south to north,
of the greatness of the holy one of heaven,
to the young lady I will sing!

FIRST PLACE OF COUNTERING⁴

"Her coming forth is (that of) a warrior"

¹ The Sum. term NU-GIG means lit., "sacred"/"taboo" person. It designates a class of women the function and character of which is not clear. Inanna belonged to this class and typified the women belonging to it. The badge of these women was inlaid with the gems called SHUBA.

² The horned crown was an emblem of divinity.

³ The text treats the moon as divine, as the moon god "Suen. We translate "Moon" to retain the cosmic implications. Similarly we render "Utu as "Sun."

⁴ The cantos of the composition are — as usual with Sum. antiphonal works — marked off by the rubric "place of countering," and the countering antiphon that follows has at the end the rubric "is its antiphon." In this composition antiphons are specifically indicated only after the first and the eighth cantos. Presumably that means that the first antiphon was to be repeated after each successive canto until, with the eighth canto, the second antiphon replaced it and served to the end.

(is its antiphon)

Powers of Office

(20) She likes wandering in the sky,
 being truly Heaven's wild cow,
 on earth she is noble, queen of all lands,
 in the Deep,⁵ in Eridu, she took office,
 her father Enki conferred it on her,
 laid to her hand lordship and kingship.
 With An she has taken her seat
 on the great throne dais,
 with Enlil she will be making
 the decisions for her country.
 Monthly, at new moon,
 that the offices be carried out properly,
 the country's gods gather unto her.
 The great Anunnaki, having bowed to her,
 (30) are stepping up for prayer, petition, and plaint,
 able to voice unto her
 the pleas of all lands,
 and Milady decides the country's cases,
 settling them.
 [Inanna] makes the decisions
 for the country,
 having them carried out.
 The dark-headed people⁶
 are parading before her.

SECOND PLACE OF COUNTERING

Warrior: Monthly Ritual Triumphal Parade

Algar-instruments,⁷ silver inwrought,
 they are beating for her,
 — before holy Inanna, before her eyes,
 they are parading —
 The great queen of heaven, Inanna,
 I will hail!
 Holy tambourines and holy kettledrums
 they are beating for her,
 — before holy Inanna, before her eyes,
 they are parading —
 The great queen of heaven, Inanna,
 I will hail!
 Holy harps and holy kettledrums
 they are smiting for her,
 — before holy Inanna, before her eyes,
 they are parading —
 The oldest child of the Moon,
 Inanna,
 I will hail!

THIRD PLACE OF COUNTERING

The guardsmen⁸ have combed
 (their hair) for her,
 — before holy Inanna, before her eyes
 they are parading —
 they have made colorful for her
 the back hair with colored ribbons,
 — before holy Inanna, before her eyes
 they are parading —
 (50) on their bodies are (sheep)skin (robes)
 (the dress) of divinities,⁹
 — before holy Inanna, before her eyes,
 they are parading —
 Fine men, eminent ladies,
 the doyenne of the women sages,
 — before holy Inanna, before her eyes
 they are parading —
 who hold harps and calming instruments,
 march beside them.
 — Before holy Inanna, before her eyes,
 they are parading

They (themselves) are girt
 with implements of battle,
 — before holy Inanna, before her eyes,
 they are parading —
 spears, the arms of battle,
 are in their hands,
 — before holy Inanna, before her eyes,
 they are parading

FOURTH PLACE OF COUNTERING

(60) Their right arms are clothed with cloth
 in male fashion,¹⁰
 — before holy Inanna, before her eyes
 they are parading —
 the great queen of heaven, Inanna,
 I will hail!
 On their left arms they have pulled
 the cloth down and off
 (63a) — before holy Inanna, before her eyes
 they are parading —
 (63b) the great queen of heaven, Inanna,
 I will hail!
 Playfully, with painted buttocks,
 they engage in single combat
 — before holy Inanna, before her eyes,
 they are parading —
 the oldest child of the Moon,

⁵ The deep (Apsû) refers to the freshwater ocean which the ancients thought underlay the earth, thus forming a triad with the heaven and earth of the preceding lines. It was the domain of Enki, who resided in Eridu, and it surfaced there in Enki's temple and the nearby marshes. A separate myth tells how Inanna received her offices from Enki in Eridu by taking advantage of his generosity when he was in his cups (see text 1.161).

⁶ The Sumerians referred to themselves as "the dark-headed people." Why, and in contrast to whom, is not known.

⁷ A musical instrument, most likely a small harp with the sides of the sound box covered with drumheads.

⁸ The term translated "guardsmen" is the Sum. SAĜ-URSAĜ, which denotes a class of cult personnel in the service of Inanna. Originally apparently a corps of warriors, they developed into actors in ritual performances such as the one here.

⁹ The precise meaning of this is not clear. Conceivably by the time the poem was written the old sheepskin mantles, were no longer in common use but were still shown on representations of gods.

¹⁰ This is a reversal of normal usage. Both men and women covered the left shoulder; women also frequently kept both shoulders covered. Leaving the right arm and shoulder bare gave the right arm needed freedom. The significance of the reversal here described is not clear.

Inanna,
I will hail!

FIFTH PLAGE OF COUNTERING

(Captive) lads in neck stocks
bewail to her (their fate)
— before holy Inanna, before her eyes,
they are parading —
maidens and crones, curling the(ir) hair (as harlots)
— before holy Inanna, before her eyes,
they are parading —
daggers and clubs rage before her
— before holy Inanna, before her eyes
they are parading —
the *kurgarû*'s¹¹ mounted (on chariots),
swing the clubs
— before holy Inanna, before her eyes,
they are parading —
gore is covering the daggers,
blood sprinkles,
— before holy Inanna, before her eyes,
they are parading —
in the courtyard, the (place of) assembly
of the temple administrators,¹²
they are shedding blood,
(as) loudly resounds there
(gay music of) TIGI-harps, tambourines, and lyres.

Inanna as Evening Star

The holy one has seen fit to step up
lone on the clear sky,
and on all lands, teaming
like the nation's dark-headed people,
from heaven's midst Milady
looks kindly down.
August is the queen, the evening star, Inanna.
Fitly (therefore) they praise the maiden Inanna.
August is the queen, the evening star, Inanna,
unto the borders of heaven!

SIXTH PLAGE OF COUNTERING

Nightfall

The evening star, the brilliantly rising star,
shedding great light over holy heaven,
the queen, the evening star, has seen fit
to come forth on high,
warrior-like in the sky,
and in all lands the people
are lifting up their faces toward her,
(90) the man is cheering up, the woman is

brightening,
the ox in its yoke is turning the head (homewards),
sheep and goats (?) (shuffling back)
make the dust settle (thick) in their folds.
The numerous (wild) goats and asses of Shakan,¹³
the animals of the desert,
the far-flung four-footed beasts,
the orchard pits, the garden beds,
the green canebrake,
the fish of the deep, the birds of heaven,
Milady is making wend their way
to their lairs.
(All) living beings, the numerous people,
are bending (their) knees to her.

Called by Milady, the old women
(100) are providing plentifully
for great eating and drinking.
(Then) Milady calms down
everything in her country,
the playgrounds of the nation,
the holiday makers;
and the young brave
holds converse with the wife
heart (to heart).¹⁴

From heaven's midst Milady
looks kindly down,
before holy Inanna, before her eyes,
they walk —
August is the queen, the evening star in the sky,
Inanna.
Fitly (therefore) they praise the maiden Inanna.
August is the queen, the evening star in the sky
unto the borders of heaven!

SEVENTH PLAGE OF COUNTERING

(110) Preeminent in the (rose-)tinted sky
the alluring one, befitting broad heaven,
has risen like moonlight at night,
has risen like sunlight at high noon.
Having imposed sweet sleep
on the nation's homes,
— while all lands, the dark-headed ones,
the nation in its entirety,
sleep on roofs, sleep on city walls —
eloquent dream-soul afflati step up to her,
bring her their cases.

Then she discerns the righteous one,
discerns the wicked one.
The wicked one she will hand over

¹¹ The KURGARÛS, likewise cult personnel, also appear to have been warriors originally. The term may be abbreviated from KURGUGARA "the subjected lands" so that the KURGARÛS symbolized warriors taken captive.

¹² The Sum. term means "the gathering of ENS." Since EN basically denotes "productive manager" and since it forms part of the names for a great many professions of workers on an estate, farmer, head of the plowing teams, cook and baker, washermen, etc., we take "the gathering of ENS" to mean specifically an assembly of administrators in which work plans and other matters relating to the successful functioning of an estate would be discussed and agreed on.

¹³ God of goats, gazelles, and wild asses.

¹⁴ A literary stereotype. The quiet talking the day's events over by husband and wife takes place in bed after the day's work is over, for it is almost the only time they have to themselves.

to (serve) a wicked sentence,
the evil one she will do evil to.
On the just one she looks truly,
determines a good fate for him.
(120) From heaven's midst Milady
looks kindly down.
Before holy Inanna, before her eyes,
they walk.
August is the queen
hovering where heaven is founded,
Inanna.
Fitly (therefore) they praise
the maiden Inanna.
August is the queen
going (down) where heaven is founded
unto the borders of heaven!

EIGHTH PLACE OF COUNTERING

Dawn: Inanna as Morning Star

The queen preeminent, the alluring one of heaven,
has seen fit to come out, warrior-like, on high,
lovely is she at An's¹⁵ radiant side,
with An on his august couch
she holds converse heart (to heart).¹⁶

"May she be found to be
the young brave's and the warrior's only
one!"

(130) (is its antiphon)

She is mighty! She is noble! She is elevated to high
rank!
Great she is and august, surpassing in
heroism!

(is what is sung at its middle)

The queen marveled at by the nation,
the lone star, the morning star,
the queen hovering where heaven is founded,
has seen fit
to come forth warrior-like on high,
and all lands do tremble before her.

Morning Rites

The dark-headed people get up for her.
the young brave traveling the road
sets his course by her,
the ox lifts up its head eagerly
in its yoke.
While at the same time, in the nation's homes
they provide everything aplenty,
(140) hasten to holy Inanna,

and put it out in goodly fashion
for Milady (up in) heaven's midst.
In the clean places, the clear places
of the desert,
on the roofs, on the wall-tops,
[of the dwellers on] wall-tops,
on mankind's smoothed-out spots (for offerings),
they bring her incense
(fragrant) like a cedar forest.
Fine sheep, maned sheep, and grain-fed sheep
they offer up.
For the holy one they clean up a place,
set up handwashing (things) for her.¹⁷
Ghee, dates, cheese, seven kinds of fruits,
they fill as breakfast,
onto the country's table for her.
(150) Dark beer they pour for her,
light beer [they pour] for her.
With dark beer and [emmer] beer
for Milady with (barley) beer and [emmer] beer
SHAGGUBBE-pot¹⁸ and the fermenting vat
bubble, one as the other.
Of paste, liberally enriched with honey and ghee,
and of honey and dates, on cakes,
they make loaves for her,
wine at dawn. Finely ground flour,
honeyed flour,
honey and wine at sunrise they libate for her.
The tutelary gods of the humans step, as their part,
up to her with the food and drink,
(160) and the holy one eats in the pure places,
the clean places.

From heaven's midst Milady
looks kindly down,
before holy Inanna, before her eyes,
they wander.
August where heaven is founded,
is the queen, Inanna.
Fitly (therefore) they praise
the maiden Inanna.
August is the queen
hovering where heaven is founded
unto the borders of heaven!

NINTH PLACE OF COUNTERING

New Year's Sacred Marriage: Inanna as Bride

In the palace,
the house that advises the country
and is a (restraining) yoke¹⁹
on all foreign lands,

¹⁵ I.e., heaven's.

¹⁶ The morning star appearing in the sky is seen as the goddess chatting in bed with the god of heaven before getting up. The line may reflect a momentary lapse into a variant theology which saw Inanna as the wife of An rather than of Dumuzi/Ama-ushumgal-anna. We assume that the term KIMAH, "high place," later used for sepulcher, originally denoted simply a dais on which one would place one's bedding and sleep. We translate it therefore as "couch."

¹⁷ For washing her hands before eating the offerings.

¹⁸ Apparently a vessel used in brewing. Its precise character and use are still to be determined.

¹⁹ Lit., a neck stock.

the house that is the river ordeal²⁰
 of the dark-headed people,
 the nation in its entirety,
 a dais has been founded for Ninegalla,
 (170) the king, being a god, will sojourn with her
 on it.

That she may take in charge
 the life of all lands,
 has on New Year's Day,
 the day for rites
 for reviewing loyal servants²¹
 and performing correctly
 the rites of the last day of the month,
 a bed been set up for Milady.
 Halfa-straw they have been purifying
 with cedar perfume,
 have been putting it on that bed for Milady.
 Over it a bedspread has been pulled straight for
 her,
 a bedspread of heart's delight
 to make the bed comfortable.

(180) Milady bathes in water the holy loins,
 for the loins of the king
 she bathes them in water.
 For the loins of Iddin-Dagan
 she bathes them in water.

Holy Inanna rubs (herself) with soap,
 sprinkles the floor with cedar perfume.

The king goes with (eagerly) lifted head
 to the holy loins,
 goes with (eagerly) lifted head
 to the loins of Inanna.

Ama-ushumgal-anna goes to bed with her:

"O my holy loins! O my holy Inanna!"

After he on the bed, in the holy loins,
 has made the queen rejoice,
 after he on the bed, in the holy loins
 has made holy Inanna rejoice,
 she in turn soothes the heart for him
 there on the bed:

"Iddin-Dagan, you are verily
 my beloved!"

Wedding Banquet

To pure libations, lavers set up,
 to gently wafted incense vapors,
 to lighted juniper incense,
 to food portions standing ready,
 to jars standing ready
 into his august palace
 she enters with him.
 His loving consort has the arm

around his shoulders,
 holy Inanna has the arm around his shoulders.
 shines forth on the arm-lean²² throne
 like the dawn.
 With her radiates there, on the long side of the
 table,
 sunlike the king.
 Abundance, delicacies, plenty,
 they bring straight to her,
 a banquet of sweet things
 they lay out,
 the dark-headed people
 bring it straight to her.
 The bard has the lute,
 that gives tongue from the podium,
 the sweet-sounding ALGAR-instruments,
 and the lyre, which belongs
 where mankind is gay,
 prove themselves
 in his song of joy of heart.

The king has reached out for food and drink,
 Ama-ushumgal-anna has reached out
 for food and drink.

The palace is in festive mood,
 the king is joyous,
 the nation spends the time amid plenty,
 Ama-ushumgal-anna is come in joy,
 long may he live on this pure throne!
 On the royal throne dais she has
 (her) head on (his) shoulder.

Envoi

O Milady, you are given praise
 to the borders
 of heaven and earth!
 You being a holy one,
 engendered with heaven and earth,
 holy passages, pure passages
 for a holy one
 are put in song!
 O (you), chief ornament of the night,
 befitting the assembly,
 Inanna, oldest child of the Moon,
 Queen, evening star, to praise you is sweet!

TENTH PLACE OF COUNTERING

From heaven's midst Milady looks kindly down —
 before holy Inanna, before her eyes,
 they walk.
 August is the queen, the evening star,
 unto the borders of Heaven!
 Mighty she is, noble, elevated to high rank,
 great she is and august,
 in heroism surpassing.

²⁰ The river ordeal was used as a means to arrive at a divine decision in cases where there was, or could be, no decisive evidence. In metaphoric use, as here, it implies superhuman power to get at the truth and judge rightly.

²¹ New Year's Day was a day for reviewing the work of the staff of a temple or estate.

²² A chair with armrests was comfortable, and so suitable for a throne. Such chairs, used as divine or royal thrones, are often pictured on the monuments.

(is its antiphon)		A song of valor pertaining to Ninsianna. ²³
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²³ A name for Inanna as morning and evening Star, it means "heaven's radiant queen."

REFERENCES

Jacobsen 1987a:112-124.

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C. INDIVIDUAL FOCUS

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1. PROVERBS

SUMERIAN PROVERB COLLECTION 3 (1.174)

*Bendt Alster**

This collection of Sumerian proverbs is known from 40 duplicating cuneiform tablets, most of which come from Nippur, and they (i.e., the tablets, not necessarily the proverbs) date ca. 1900-1800 BCE. As is the case with other major Sumerian proverb collections, this one is known from fragments of multicolumn tablets inscribed with a complete collection, as well as from tablets only containing excerpts. In addition, single entries or very short excerpts are found on small school tablets. These sometimes contain the teacher's handwritten master copy with the pupil's imitated copy, and sometimes lexical or mathematical exercises on the reverse.¹ Yet the proverbs or sayings were unquestionably used for instruction beyond the technical skills of cuneiform writing. The origin of the phrases was not uniform, but many of them were undoubtedly genuine proverbs, that is, anonymous phrases at home in the spoken language and recognized as such by a group of speakers. The daily activities of secular life are in focus rather than those of religion and cult. Unlike the biblical proverbs, there is no clearly expressed concept of "wisdom" embedded in the collections, nor is a clear compositional or ideological principle apparent. Since in origin true proverbs belong to situations arising in a spoken language, they are unsystematic and may well be contradictory, and they are not expressions of coherent philosophical thinking. It was their pregnant linguistic formulation combined with the implicit support of the authority of tradition that made them useful for didactic purposes. In this function, the Sumerian proverbs, like those of other cultures, represent a rather conservative type of social view that basically advises people to remain in the social groups where they belong in society.²

1. To stand up and to sit down, to spur the don-keys, to take care of the king's son, who has the breath for that? ³	a Prov 11:29	boy says, but "let me go" is "let me go," and the time passes.
2. The nurse glances toward the parapet as if she were a child of the king's.		7. Possessions are close to the wind. The ITERDUM-milk, although it is no river mud, cleaves the ground. ⁵
3. No matter how much water one draws, the swamps (where it comes from) will still provide water to drink.		8. To serve beer with unwashed hands, to spit without trampling upon it, to sneeze without covering it up with dust, to kiss with the tongue at midday without providing shade, are abominations ⁶ to Utu.
4. Unpleasant DULDIN-plants grow toward the good field.		9a. The shepherd his penis, the gardener his hair- do. ⁷
5. Since you are a TIRIGAL-bird, I feed you. Since you are an TIRIGAL-bird, I give you something to drink, you are my son, your luck has changed. ⁴		9b. The unjust heir who does not support a wife, who does not support a son, is not raised to prosperity. ^{8 a}
6. "Let me go today" is what the herdsman says, "let me go tomorrow" is what the shepherd		10. Because the shepherd departed, his sheep did

* Some Sum. terms whose exact identity is unknown, such as the DULDIN-plant, the TIRIGAL-bird, and ITERDUM-milk, have not been translated.

¹ Cf. Gordon's edition of Collections 1 and 2: Gordon 1959.

² Cf. Alster 1993a.

³ This saying is quoted in the Sum. Epic tale Gilgamesh and Akka, lines 25-28 (see text 1.171). Cf. below, text 1.175 nn. 1f.

⁴ It may be assumed that the sound produced by the TIRIGAL-bird reminds of the Sum. words for "I feed you" (ERIBGUE), as well as for "I give you something to drink" (ERIBNAGE). However, the implication of the saying as a whole remains obscure.

⁵ This apparently hints at cracks that appeared on top of the milk presumably used for cheese production.

⁶ The Sum. term for "abomination", NIG-GIG, also means what is "sacred" to a someone, or "reserved" for someone, especially a god. Cf. Geller 1990. As used in the proverbs, it can be used simply as a synonym for "misconduct, offense, or aberration," but it can also relate to the "sacred and inviolable nature of deity"; cf. Hallo 1985; Klein and Sefati 1988. They translate the fourth abomination by *lehizdawweg* "to copulate"). For other "abominations," see Nos. 118, 161, 168-171, 175 below.

⁷ A pure guess is that this means that the sexual manners of the gardener were considered more civilized than those of the shepherd.

⁸ A first millennium BCE translation reads as follows: "A man who does <not> support a wife, a man who does <not> support a son, is

not come back into his custody. 11. Because the clever shepherd got confused, his sheep did not come back into his custody.^b 12. The herdsman in his weariness cannot recognize his own mother. 13. As long as you have light, grind the flour. 14. The wild bull has detestation for the plough. 15a. To eat modestly does not kill a man, but coveting murders. 15b. To eat a little is to live splendidly. When you walk around, keep your feet on the ground! 16. As long as he is alive, he is his friend. When he is dying, he is his nether-world deputy.⁹ 17. Friendship lasts only one day, but the relations of colleagues are eternal. 18. Quarreling belongs to the place of colleagues.¹⁰ Slander finds its way to the place of purification. 19. When travelling a man does not get tired of eating. He picks up food till the end of the day. 20. There are bitter tears in human flesh. 22. A hand will be stretched out toward a hand stretched out. A hand will be opened toward an open hand. 23. He who has money is happy, he who has grain feels comfortable, but he who has live stock cannot sleep. 24. My Enlil, when you rise, my loin cloth is gone.¹¹ 25. What did Enlil make? Chaff! The lance struck. It went into the flesh.¹² 26. When it is getting dark outside, so that you cannot see a hand in front of you, come in unnoticed! 31. Nanne estimated his old age highly:¹³ He built Enlil's temple, but did not complete it.	b Prov 12:27	He built a wall around Nippur, but ... He built Eanna, but after it had fallen into neglect he left it. He captured Simurru, but did not destroy its wall.¹⁴ He never saw mighty kingship. Thus Nanne descended to the underworld with a depressed heart. 33. (He who says) "Let me live today" is bound like a bull to a leash.¹⁵ 34. Ur-Namma [installed] the large mirrors in Enlil's temple.¹⁶ 35. Nanne estimated his old age highly: "It is the 'I' of a man of old age" he said.¹⁷ 37. A slave girl is one who ... the door. A palace-slave-girl is inconsiderate. A palace-slave devours goodwill.¹⁸ 38. A slave girl carried her ransom money with her. She lost(?) thirty <i>mana</i> (pounds). 39. You grind with the pestle like a fearful slave girl. 40. The slave girl who neglected to fill the container with barley, grumbled, "it does not fill to the top, it does not fill to the middle."¹⁹ 41. When (the lady) left the house, and (the slave girl) entered from the street, in the absence of her lady the slave girl sat down at a banquet. 42. If there is a dispute at the mill, the slave girl reveals what she has stolen. 44. The pleasure of a daughter-in-law is anger. 55. (As long as you are) alive you should not increase evil by lying, to succumb is your lot. 59. The lord decides in Uruk, but the lady of Eanna decides for him.²⁰ 60. I am a loyal steward with strong arms. 61. Let the sides be separated, [let] the sides [be united(?)]. 62. It is (my) foremanship that makes you charge
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a liar who does not support himself," cf. Lambert 1960:255. An Early Dynastic version reads: "He who does not support a wife, he who does not support a child, his mischief is double bad for him. He grinds flour, he has no rushes (i.e., to sleep on?), he is not reckoned among people"; cf. Alster 1992a:20, 43-48.

⁹ The saying quoted here also occurs in a fragmentary historical inscription related to the coronation of a ruler (PBS 5.76). The precise implication and identity of the persons are unknown; cf. Alster 1975:206f.

¹⁰ Var. instead of "colleagues": "big brothers", i.e., the school comrades. So too in the previous proverbs, both of which are also preserved in late bilingual versions; see Lambert 1960:9-15. The Akk. of No. 17 provided the title of *Studies Kutscher* (1993).

¹¹ The god Enlil is here seen as the wind personified. See no. 23 cf. below, p. 568, n. 8.

¹² Akk. version: "Toward a woman who carried out the ordinances of the gods and multiplied the rules of kingship forever, how did Enlil, the great lord, act? He despised her foundations like chaff." This seems to be an allusion to an unknown woman who acted as king.

¹³ Nanne is a name for the eternal loser. Cf. entry No. 35 below.

¹⁴ Var. "but did not subdue it." Perhaps an allusion to the semi-legendary Aanne-pada, king of Ur in the second ED period; see Hallo 1978:73.

¹⁵ Akk. version: "(He who says) 'Let me live one day' (is) a bull upon whom a leash has been thrown."

¹⁶ This allusion to Ur-Namma, the founder of the 3rd Dyn. of Ur, remains obscure.

¹⁷ Cf. entry No. 31 above.

¹⁸ The implication is that those slaves and slave girls who grew up in a palace were less suitable for hard work. Cf. Shuruppak's Instructions 157, quoted below (text 1.176).

¹⁹ This is a so-called wellerism, i.e., a proverb that consists of a quoted cliché plus an implied story.

²⁰ The lord is the god An, and the lady of Eanna is the goddess Inanna. In other words, "the woman behind the man."

- at me.²¹
63. Let the head drop down to the neck with bickering like a swaying reed.
64. The balance set with sinews is a pitfall for the feet.
A man should not take a merchant for his friend.
65. The merchant - how he minimized the silver! [How he minimized] the oil and the barley!²²
67. One cannot drag out the weak, one cannot put the strong to a halt.
68. The smell bitter to us, let it be the smell of leeks, let it not be the smell of beans!²³
69. The insulter will be insulted.
The snickerer will be snickered at.
70. A lion caught in the trap of the storehouse is mine in this way:
The owner removes the wood (of the trap).
71. If one cuts a "let-me-stride," its feet will walk to the edge of the desert.²⁴
72. A chameleon follows like a snake, like a "let-me-stride."
73. As (if he were) a minor tenant, keeping watch is not what is (most) on his mind.
74. A tenant established a house,
ploughing established the field.
75. "I am getting up on my haunches for you," (says) the man (who) is lifting sesame oil.²⁵
76. The oath of Ishkur destroys mountains, and yet, it does not overturn a boat.²⁶
77. Ishkur splits the mountains, and yet, he does not split the water sack.
79. The run-away slave girl sleeps badly.
82. He moves like a lion toward a louse, but when he has to do a job he moves like a mongoose.
83. By sunrise decisions are made.
When the Sun is up, kingship is assigned.
84. Let not the cudgel find your name, let it find your flesh!²⁷
85. If our smell from plucked leeks is sweet, then it is a stranger that brought them to me.²⁸
86. "Give me!" is what the king says.
"Do well!" is what the cupbearer says.
87. What characterizes the carpenter is the chisel.
What characterizes the reed weaver is the basket.
What characterizes the smith is the making of "little sides."
What characterizes the singer(?) is UA ALA-LA.
88. He who tosses his head will cross the river.²⁹
89. If the foreman does not know how to assign work, his folk will not stop tossing their heads.
91. Enlil's temple is a summation of accounts.
The administration-priest is its foreman.
92. Enlil's temple is totalling(?) wages.
93. Enlil's great punishment is hunger.
94. (If) one does not give the dog something, it will bark at every woman.
95. She grumbles like a dog beaten with a throw stick.
96. That which is made of evil threads grumbles.
97. "Let me speak a word" walks as if it had feet.³⁰
Who compares with someone who has a (boasting) mouth?
99. [You], speak to [me], and I will speak to you!
100. In order to do [a job you have] to eat something.
101. You speak with me, and I speak with you.
102. Fools are the lives of the heroes.
103. A fool has a (boasting) mouth.
104. A dog moves, a scorpion moves, but my man does not move.
106. Where there is no grain, it is vengeance turned toward a city.
Where there are no reeds, it is worse than poverty.
107. "I promise!" does not mean "I promised!"
"Something is finished" does not mean "It is finished." Things do not change.
108. A vagabond flays (the skin) of the open hand.
109. The two of them are like one man.
110. (If) one finds the place of my refuse heap (one will say): "Do not trespass on it!"
111. Although it never went there, the goat knows the waste land.
112. My mouth cools the hot soup for you.

²¹ I.e., presumably, in case one among equals is raised to superiority, it results in animosity among friends.

²² Variants: Sum. Proverb Collection 1.165: "The merchant - how he carried the silver away! and how he carried the grain away!" Sum. Proverb Collection 17 Sec. B 9: "You merchant, how you minimized the silver, [and] how you minimized the grain!" Aspersions on merchants were frequent in the proverbs; see Hallo 1992:354f. Aspersions on merchants were frequent in the proverbs; see Hallo 1992:534f.

²³ I.e., bitter smell is natural to leeks, but suspicious if it comes from beans. Cf. entry No. 85 below. For the persistent aversion to leeks in the cuneiform tradition, see Hallo 1985:32f.

²⁴ It may be assumed that "let-me-stride" denotes a type of animal. This also applies to the next entry. For the chameleon, see Sjöberg 1984.

²⁵ To "lift sesame oil" seems to have been an expression for making a strong effort to the best of one's abilities.

²⁶ Ishkur is the storm god. Cf. entries Nos. 77 and 136 below.

²⁷ I.e., let it hit anonymously.

²⁸ I.e., presumably, if the smell of leeks is sweet, then there is something suspicious about the giver. Cf. entry No. 68 above.

²⁹ I.e., presumably, the man who shows his impatience will be accepted first on the ferry boat.

³⁰ Var. "walks on feet".

- I pick the bones from the fish for you.³¹
113. My mouth, every month I fill (you, my) mouth.
114. My tongue, like a runaway donkey, does not turn backwards.
115. All day long my food ration is kept away from me, my heart [aches(?)], but even a dog can satisfy its hunger. For me (when) it's over, I am happy. My mother did not allot a second food ration.
117. One should lift in pieces, and one should put down in a block.
118. (He who says:) "Let me tell you about it" when he knows nothing, and comes forward as a witness in a case he knows nothing about, is an abomination to Suen.
119. Flies enter the open mouth.
120. Offerings create life.
121. Punishment is assigned to the quarrelsome one, he is afflicted with diseases.
122. Let him go out.
123. May you hold a kid in your right arm, and may you hold a bribe in your left arm.³²
124. The manicurist is himself dressed in dirty rags.
125. He came, he dwelt, he finished, and did not stand on the ground.³³
126. He who spoke, but did not [keep his promise(?)], his mouth is a liar.
127. My finger nail that hurts is in my loin. My foot that hurts is in my sandal. But who finds my heart that hurts?
128. May Inanna pour oil on my heart that hurts!³⁴
129. The sail on the mast blocks the river.
130. (When engaged) in a quarrel may an insult reveal itself to you. (When engaged) in a dispute may a word (of reason) reveal itself to you.
131. If it is too sweet for him, let him eat salt. If it is not too sweet for him, let him eat "bitter plants."
132. Before the fire has gone out, write your exercise tablet.
134. A man's personal god is a shepherd who finds a grazing ground for him. Let him lead him like a sheep to the grass he can eat.
135. Until the boasters leave, their(?) mouths bring me "turning eyes."
136. The heavens are destroyed, the earth is shaken. After the heavens were destroyed, and after the earth was shaken, the people stood by themselves.³⁵
137. The rigging is not ship-shape, and its stern is not seaworthy.
138. He who entered Elam, his mouth is bound.³⁶
139. (He who has to live in) Elam, his life is not good.³⁷
140. A cake (was) made of GUNIDA-wheat instead of honey. The nomad (lit., Amorite) ate it, and did not recognize what was in it.
141. He (who) keeps fleeing flees from his own past.
142. The south wind fills my eyes with its sand. Why does it not strike behind me?
143. Between the basket and the boat are the fields of Simurru.
144. You keep walking around the storehouse like a pig that has a morsel in its mouth.
145. He who is overwhelmed by Inanna, to forget is what he dreams about.³⁸
146. My grain, whether roasted or not roasted, you have to pour it out.
147. It is characteristic of your harvesting, it is characteristic of your gleaning that they say, "he is gone, he is gone."
148. "You should serve me," (is what) the purification priests (say). "Let me turn on your thigh," (is what) the leather workers (say),³⁹ To stand in the corners, (is what the) courtesans (do), "Let me assist you," (is what) the gardener (says), "I swear by Enki that your garments will not stay long in the house," (is what) the fullers (say).
149. The day became dark, but it did not rain. It rained, but the sandals were not untied. The Tigris was confused in its outlet, but no water filled the fields.⁴⁰
150. In Eridu, built in abundance, the monkey sits with longing eyes.
151. Cream and milk are mixed with an axe(?).

³¹ Spoken by a husband to his spouse.

³² The kid was presented as an offering to a temple.

³³ This seems to refer to a restless person, who was unable to settle permanently anywhere.

³⁴ Inanna is the goddess of love. Cf. entry No. 145 below.

³⁵ Cf. entry No. 76 above.

³⁶ I.e., because another language was spoken in Elam. This may refer to a travelling merchant, or possibly to a prisoner of war.

³⁷ The reference might be to any prisoner of war, or perhaps specifically to King Ibbit-Sin, who was taken captive by the Elamites.

³⁸ Cf. entry No. 138 above.

³⁹ Var. "I bow in (my) hips" (is what) the leather workers (say)."

⁴⁰ This is a riddle whose solution seems to be the clouds which produce rain that falls over the rivers, but not on dry land. Cf. Civil 1987:31-32.

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| <p>152. No matter how unique this one is, its appearances change.</p> <p>153. The goat spoke in the manner of a (wise) old woman, but acted in the manner of an unclean woman.</p> <p>154. The clod on the one hand, the furrow on the other hand, I am their third.</p> <p>155. Let me drink diluted beer, let me sit in the seat of honor!</p> <p>156. Although it was not dear to him, he attended the festival.</p> <p>157. The time passes, what did you gain?</p> <p>158. The statue is good. The father-in-law rejoices over it: "It is as if it were a human being."</p> <p>159. A good word is a friend to numerous men.</p> <p>160. A destructive word is a yoke of four oxen.</p> <p>161. Putting unwashed hands in the mouth is an abomination.</p> <p>162. May a clever farmer live with you in the house.</p> <p>163. What I drink is a river.
The place where I sleep is a place of reed mats.</p> <p>164. The gekko has a tiara tied to it.⁴¹</p> <p>165. "Let me go home" is what he prefers.</p> <p>166. From my heart which is greater than a garden, the sun does not rise.</p> <p>167. Bearing up the sky, the earth is hanging in his hands.</p> <p>168. "Bitter" barley is an abomination to the "ghost-man."⁴²</p> <p>169. Wheat flour is an abomination to his god.</p> <p>170. If a man sailing downstream demands an inspection,⁴³</p> | <p>and if the hand touches the vulva on top of the clothes,
it is an abomination to Utu.</p> <p>171. To [put(?)] a loaf in the oven while a song is sung is an abomination to Inanna.</p> <p>174. If the sieve is not shaken, his flour will not drop from it.</p> <p>175. Coveting and reaching out (in greediness) are abominations to Ninurta.⁴⁴</p> <p>176. I am confronting Fate:
(Whether I) speak in the way of a just man,
(or I) speak in the way of a wicked man
(it makes no difference).⁴⁵</p> <p>177. What comes out of one's mouth is not in one's hand.⁴⁶</p> <p>179. He said "Woe". The boat sank with him.
He said "Hurrah," and the rudder broke.⁴⁷</p> <p>180. He is walking with his neck "pierced."⁴⁸</p> <p>181. He makes the turning edge out of the lower edge.⁴⁹</p> <p>182. He devours (everything) like a field (devoured) by locusts.</p> <p>183. A released weaver (equals) two slave girls.
A released UNGUR-worker (equals) three slaves.</p> <p>185. My mouth makes me comparable with men.</p> <p>186. What is this after you split it?
And this after you split it?</p> <p>187. When present it is (considered) a loin cloth,
when lost it is (considered fine) clothing.</p> <p>188. When a leader is being devoured by fire,
those behind him do not say, "Where is the leader?"</p> <p>189. To cry out louder than(?) the people.</p> <p>190. When straightforwardness is cut off,
injustice is raised.</p> |
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⁴¹ There is a pun on the words denoting gekko: MUŠDAGUR, and tiara: MUŠ.

⁴² The reference is to funeral offerings. "Bitter" barley was a specific type of barley apparently not used for funeral offerings. The "ghost-man" is the ghost of the deceased. This and the next proverb occur together in the incantation series "Evil Ghosts"; see Hallo 1985:29.

⁴³ The text has been variously interpreted by a number of scholars. The translation suggested here follows M. Civil 1994:158-163.

⁴⁴ Var. Coveting and spying, etc. For similar sentiment in line 55 of the Hymn to Enlil (*Enlil-suraše*), see Jacobsen 1987a:105.

⁴⁵ If the logical continuation, "it makes no difference," is justified, the implication is that one cannot avoid Fate.

⁴⁶ I.e., the spoken word cannot be recalled.

⁴⁷ Cf. Sum. Proverb Collection 7.77: "He said 'Woe.' The boat sank with him. He said 'Hurrah,' and the rudder broke. The young man said 'Oh god,' and the boat reached its destination." Akk. translation: "The young man said 'Woe,' and his boat sank. He said 'Hurrah,' and his rudder broke. The young(?) man said 'Woe,' and his boat reached the bank." There seems to be no inner logic connecting the utterances and their effects. Rather, the point seems to be the joke that an utterance may have totally irrational effects.

⁴⁸ The reference may be to a prisoner of war.

⁴⁹ The reference is to a cuneiform tablet turned along the incorrect edge by a pupil when passing from the obverse to the reverse.

REFERENCES

Previous edition: Falkowitz 1980; For a complete edition of the Sum. proverbs see Alster 1997. Studies: Alster 1992a; 1993a; Civil 1987; Geller 1990; Gordon 1959; Hallo 1985; Lambert 1960.

PROVERBS QUOTED IN OTHER GENRES (1.175)

Bendt Alster

The proverbs quoted in the Sumerian proverb collections are usually devoid of context indicative of the situations to which they were normally applied. Yet, in some lucky cases, the proverbs listed in the proverb collections coincide with those quoted in literary compositions.¹ On the other hand, a number of proverbs found in literary compositions, in particular in Shuruppak's Instructions (cf. below), were not included in the proverb collections known to us. The presence of proverbs in school dialogues and literary debates suggests that the proverb collections were used as source books which could supply the pupils with a stock of phrases useful for rhetorical debates. Some examples of proverbs quoted in various compositions are listed here.²

In the Epic Lugalbanda in Hurrumkurra, the following lines, 158-160, are addressed to the Sun god Utu by the hero Lugalbanda left alone in the unknown mountains. He appeals to the god for help:

An unknown dog is bad, an unknown man is terrible.
But on an unknown road at the verge of the mountains,
Oh Utu, an unknown man is an even worse bad man.³

There is an allusion to this proverb in Shuruppak's Instructions, lines 266-268:

An unknown dog is bad, an unknown man is terrible.
On the verge of the mountains, the gods of the mountains eat men!

Sumerian hymns sometimes contain allusions to proverbs. An example is Nanshe Hymn, line 144:

(The man who) after he has acquired something demands more.⁴

This alludes to a proverb quoted elsewhere as follows:

To have and demand more is an abomination to god.⁵

An example of religious instruction is found in the following short didactic poem:⁶

A man without a god does not procure much food, does not procure a little food.
Descending to the river, he does not catch a fish.
Descending to a field, he does not catch a gazelle.
When he boasts, he obtains nothing.
When he runs, he obtains nothing.
However, if his god becomes favorable toward him,
anything that he names will be provided for him.⁷

The function of proverbs to settle a dispute or even a legal issue is illustrated by the disputation between Mother Sheep and Grain, in which the grain takes precedence after the quotation of the following proverb:

He who has silver, he who has precious stones, he who has oxen, he who has sheep, must wait in the city gate for the man who has grain.⁸

¹ This is the case with the following entries of Collection 3 (translated above, previous text): SP 3.1; SP 3.16; SP 3.123; SP 3.134; SP 3.149 (riddle); SP 3.163-169.

² Other examples are discussed by Hallo 1990.

³ Cf. Wilcke 1969:80.

⁴ Text 1.162, above (reading NINDA, "bread," instead of NIG, "something"). See also Heimpel 1981a:90.

⁵ UET 6/2 261 and 262.

⁶ UET 6/2 251 and 252.

⁷ The text translated here is that of UET 6/2 251. There are a number of variants. The briefest form occurs in the poem Man and his God: "a man without a god obtains no food." The whole poem is quoted in a hymn to the deity Hendursage. Cf. Hallo 1990:210, with notes 59 and 60.

⁸ Cf. Alster and Vanstiphout 1987:29-30. The implication is that grain is more important than anything else, because he who has grain has something to eat. There are a number of attestations of this proverb: UET 6/2 263 and 266; the love song Ni 4569 with duplicates (Alster, RA 79:157); the folktale "Enlil and Namzitarra" 13-18 (Civil 1974 *A/O* 25:65-71); Cohen 1981:64).

REFERENCES

Hallo 1990; Wilcke 1969.

2. INSTRUCTIONS

SHURUPPAK (1.176)

Bendt Alster

In addition to the standard version of this composition, dating around 1900-1800 BCE, an Early Dynastic version dating as early as 2600-2500 BCE, and two partly preserved Akkadian translations, one dating around 1500 BCE, and one dating around 1100 BCE, are known. The excerpts translated here are from the standard version, attested in approximately 80 fragments from Nippur and Ur as well as some other locations. The composition pretends to be addressed by the ante-diluvian ruler Shuruppak to his son Ziusudra, the hero of the flood story who, like Noah, survived the destruction of mankind and became the favorite of the gods. Pertinent to the teaching of Shuruppak are matters relating to secular life, that is, the management of a household, animal husbandry, agricultural work, and social behavior in general, with little emphasis on cult and religion. Many of the sayings quoted preserve the character of genuine proverbs. The imagery referring to daily life with no traces of abstract generalization is noteworthy. The moral perspective is one of modest egoism, in other words, one should not treat others in a way that may instigate them to retaliate to one's own disadvantage. A characteristic type of saying consists of two parts, the first of which contains the advice itself. The second is a motivation clause, similar to those of proverbs in the Hebrew Bible, which makes the consequences of the action described in the first part explicit, frequently in terms of a humorous or exaggerated statement.¹

The basic edition is by Alster 1974b, with additions by Alster 1987, 1990, 1992a. Cf. Civil 1984 and Wilcke 1978. For a completely revised edition, see Alster 1997.

- | | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|---|
| <p>14. Do not buy a donkey that brays; it will split your people.</p> <p>15. Do not place a field on a road; ...</p> <p>16. Do not plow a field where a path begins; ...</p> <p>17. Do not dig a well in your field; the people will cause you to suffer damage.</p> <p>18. Do not place your house close to a public square; the heaviest traffic(?) is there.</p> <p>19. Do not vouch for someone; that man will have a hold on you.^a</p> <p>20. And you, let nobody vouch for you; the man will despise you.</p> <p>21. Do not spy upon a man; the town will make you pay back.</p> <p>22. Do not loiter about where there is a dispute.</p> <p>23. Do not appear as a witness in a dispute.</p> <p>28. Do not steal something; do not kill yourself.</p> <p>29. Do not break into a house; do not demand the money chest(?).</p> <p>30. The thief is a dragon, he who has received (what is stolen) is a slave.</p> <p>31. My son, do not commit robbery, do not cut yourself with an axe.</p> <p>32. Do not act as the bridegroom's friend in a wedding, do not ... yourself.</p> <p>33. Do not laugh with a girl who is married; the slander is strong.</p> <p>34. My son, do not sit (alone) in a chamber with a woman who is married.</p> <p>35. Do not pick a quarrel; do not humiliate yourself.</p> <p>36. Do not spit out lies; it causes disrespect.</p> | <p><i>a</i> Prov 6:1-5; 22:26-27</p> | <p>37. Do not boast; your word stands (forever).</p> <p>38. Do not give ill advice; you cannot bear a "heavy" eye.</p> <p>39-41. Do not eat stolen food with a thief; do not sprinkle your hands with blood; after you have apportioned the bones, they will make you restore the ox, they will make you restore the sheep.</p> <p>42-43. Do not utter nonsense; in the end it will reach out for you like a trap.</p> <p>44. Do not scatter your sheep into untested grazing grounds.</p> <p>45. If the "foundation" is not safe, do not hire a man's ox.</p> <p>46. A safe foundation is a safe road.</p> <p>47. Do not travel at night; its "heart" is both good and bad.</p> <p>48. Do not buy an onager; it lasts only one day.²</p> <p>49. Do not have sexual intercourse with your slave girl; she will name you with disrespect.</p> <p>50. Do not curse with powerful means; they will turn round to your hands.</p> <p>153. Do not beat a peasant's son; he will "beat" your irrigation canal.</p> <p>154. Do not buy a prostitute; she is the sharp edge of a sickle.</p> <p>155. Do not buy a house-born slave; he is an herb that causes stomach-ache.³</p> <p>156. Do not buy a free-born man; he will lean against a wall.</p> <p>157. Do not buy a palace-slave-girl; the house will be on a bad track.</p> |
|--|--------------------------------------|---|

¹ Cf. Alster 1987:204.

² Onagers were too unstable to be tamed, yet they were used for breeding with tame horses.

³ The point here, as well as in 156-157, is that a slave who grew up as a free man or was used to the good manners of the palace would be

158-164. After you have bought a slave from a foreign country, and after you have taken him home from his unknown place, my son, he will pour water for you, and walk in front of you till sunrise.

Since he has no house, he will not go to his house; since he has no town, he will not go to his town; he will not argue with you, he will not be quarrelsome.

unsuitable for hard work. This indicates that the point of view of the sayings is that of ordinary household owners. Cf. Sum. Proverb Collection 3.37, quoted above, text 1.174.

REFERENCES

Alster 1974b; 1987; 1990; 1992a; Civil 1984; Wülke 1978.

UR-NINURTA (1.177)

Bendt Alster

This composition is best known from a tablet found at Tell Harmal (Baghdad), with two small duplicating fragments from Nippur and two of unknown provenance. The main source is written in a very difficult syllabic orthography, which makes the interpretation of a non-stereotype composition such as this one very difficult. The translation provided here is therefore very tentative. The sections dealing with the just man and the unjust one give the impression that the specific reference is to the king. What is expressed is the royal ideology, according to which a ruler who implements justice in his country and observes the cult of his gods will enjoy a long life, to the benefit of himself as well as his subjects.

Introduction: Ur-Ninurta's kingship (lines 1-17)

1. In days of yore, in days completed long ago,
2. after nights had been become far remote from those distant nights,
3. after years had become remote from remote years,
4. after the flood had swept (the land),
5. the one given wisdom by Enki,
6. the one ... by Nisaba,
7. the one who takes counsel with ... Inanna,
8. — in order to organize the plans of Sumer,
9. in order to abolish wickedness, to implement righteousness,
10. in order to settle the people in their dwelling places,
11. in order to reinforce the foundation of Ur-Ninurta's shepherd[ship],
12. [(Ninurta?),] the king of Eshumesha, born in Nippur,
13. Suen's(?) ...,
14. so that the [(royal throne?)] of [Ur]-Ninurta,
15. could be installed until distant days
16. from Nippur his beloved city,
17. he established it¹ until distant days, forever.

The just man (lines 18-29)

18. So that the days should not [(cease?)] for the

a Ps 1

b Prov 10:27

- sons(?) of the country,^a
19. The man who knows fear of god,
20. he himself ...
21. [daily(?)] ... he will bring offerings,
22. the god's "name" is dear to him,
23. he keeps(?) (idle?) swearing away from his house.
24. he walks straight from the cult place,
25. what he gives out(?) is satisfactory.
26. Days will be added to his days,^b
27. the name he has will become even greater,
28. after his death the people will be consolidated.²
29. A son will be born to him.³

The unjust man (lines 30-37)

30. The man who does not fear the gods,
31. to whom their prayers are not dear,
32. who after he has sworn does not concern himself,
33. his old age will not last long.^b
34. His inheritance will not be dear to him(?).
35. A son will not be born to him.
36. A man who does not show fear of god, [who has ever] seen him attaining old age? ^a
37. These are the instructions of ...

¹ I.e., Ur-Ninurta's kingship, cf. line 11.

² Variants add: "His old age will last long."

³ Variants add: "His god will look (with favor) upon him." Further additions not clear.

REFERENCES

Alster 1991; 1992b, No. 83.

3. FABLES

THE HERON AND THE TURTLE (1.178)

Gene B. Gragg

The following composition is contained on a four-column tablet excavated at Nippur in the 1951-1952 season. On this tablet it ends in the middle of the fourth column with a double-ruled line and a colophon giving the number of lines (namely, 115). The composition is similar in style to the literary disputations, but since it contains the story of a quarrel rather than the text of a debate, it may be more properly assigned to the genre of fable. As such it bears comparison with fable-like pericopes identified in the Bible.^a The conclusion is unfortunately not clear. Two other large tablets had our composition on the obverse, and either a long (at least 90-line) but poorly preserved continuation or related composition, concerning the turtle but with no mention of the heron, on the reverse.¹

Prologue 1: The Marshlands of Sumer (lines 1-9)

What does the canebrake say? Its growth is good!
The broad canebrake of Tutub² Its growth is good!

The marsh of Kiritab³ Its growth is good!
The swamp of Akšak⁴ Its growth is good!
(5) The dense swamp of Enki⁵ Its growth is good!
The small swamp of Eridu⁶ Its growth is good!
The *barbar*⁷ reeds of Enki Its growth is good!
Ur, the small *zi*-reeds Its growth is good!
Ur, where cows and calves abound Its growth is good!

Prologue 2: The Flora of the Marshlands (lines 10-21)

(10) On that day the water drained from the reeds,
and a pen appeared.
The *ardadillu*-plant spreading its seed from the
canebreak,
The small *kumul*-plants came out of the earth —
they are good little ones.
The small *enbar*-reed grooms her hair, she is a
good young maiden.
The *ubzal*-reed goes about the city, he is a good
young man.
(15) The *pella*-reed is covered from bottom to
top, she is a good daughter-in-law.
The *pella*-reed turns from bottom to top, he is a
good young son.
The "artisan"-reed digs the earth, he is a good
old man.
The *zi*-reed covers? herself over, she is a good
old woman.
(20) The canebreak beautifully raises his head, he
is a good Gudea⁸
The poplar tree raises his head by the orchard
canal, he is a good king.
The ... with shining branches, he is a good

a Judg 9:8-15
1 Kgs 14:9 =
2 Chr 25:18

prince.

The Villain Appears (lines 22-31)

On that day, beside the canebrake, one sitting on
the bank pleads:

"The heron — I will snatch away her eggs, I will
take them away ...

The bird, the gift-giver, will not make a gift.

(25) The heron, the gift-giver, will not make a
gift."

This one seized the fish, collected the eggs, he
shoved them aside.

The carp in the honey-plant, he shoved them
aside.

The marsh-carp in the small *zi*-reeds, he shoved
them aside.

The toads in the *liqiliqi*-grass, he shoved them
aside.

(30) The *agargara*-fish on the outskirts and its off-
spring, he shoved them aside.

The heron, he smashed her eggs, he dashed them
in the sea.

The Heron Asks for a Safe Place to Lay Eggs (lines 32-47)

The bird, the gift-giver pleads.

[The heron] enters the temple of King Enki and
speaks to him:

"[...] a broad place give me, so that I can lay
eggs."

(35) [...] he gave to her.

[...] may he do for her.

[...] it is indeed a ...

[...] in the reed of the bird.

In the [canebrake] she laid eggs.

(40) In the [canebrake of Tutub] she laid eggs.

In the marsh of Kiritab she laid eggs.

In the swamp of Akšak she laid eggs.

In the dense swamp of Enki she laid eggs.

¹ Edition and commentary will be found in Gragg 1973a.

² Diyala site now known as Hafāgi.

³ Unidentified site west of Kish.

⁴ A small northeastern frontier kingdom.

⁵ God of the southern city of Eridu, closely associated with marshes and the underground watery abyss.

⁶ Of all the ancient major urban centers, this was the site most closely associated with marshy regions at the head of the Persian Gulf.

⁷ No sure identifications can be given for the many types of reeds and other marsh flora mentioned in this text.

⁸ Sum. ruler of Lagash, ca. 2175 BCE. His mention here is possibly important for dating the composition.

In the small swamp, the swamp of Eridu she laid eggs.

(45) In the *barbar*-reeds of Enki she laid eggs.
In Ur, among the small *zi*-reeds she laid eggs.
In Ur, where cows and calves abound she laid eggs.

The Turtle Attacks the Heron (lines 48-71)

On that day, the turtle, the quarreler, the man of the cursed way, (said):

(50) "With the heron, with the heron, I will indeed pick a quarrel.

I, the turtle, with the heron, I will indeed pick a quarrel."

He whose eyes are the eyes of a snake, "I will indeed pick a quarrel."

Whose tooth is the tooth of a snake, "I will indeed pick a quarrel."

Whose tongue is the tongue of a snake, "I will indeed pick a quarrel."

Whose bite is the bite of a puppy, "I will indeed pick a quarrel."

(55) (With) dainty hands and dainty feet, "I will indeed pick a quarrel."

The turtle, an oven brick, "I will indeed pick a quarrel."

(Who lives) in the drainage ditch, "I will indeed pick a quarrel."

Who passes his time in the mud like a hoe, "I will indeed pick a quarrel."

An unwashed dirt basket, "I will indeed pick a quarrel."

(60) The turtle, the bird-trapper, the net setter, Overthrew the heron's reed-construction.

He turned her nest upside down.

He threw her children into the water.

The bird, the dark-eyed one,

(65) The turtle scratched her forehead with his claws.

Its blood covered her chest.

The heron cried, grew pale:

"I, the bird, the ... nest [...]"

May my king judge my case, may he decide in my favor!

(70) May Enki judge my case, may he decide in my favor!

(May) the lord of Eridu [...]"

The Turtle (Again) Attacks the Heron (lines 72-105)

For a second time: "The bird, the gift-giver, will not make a gift.

The heron, the gift-giver, will not make a gift."

This one seized the fish, collected the eggs, he shoved them aside.

The carp in the honey-plant, he shoved them aside.

(75) The marsh-carp in the small *zi*-reeds, he shoved them aside.

The toads in the *ligiligi*-grass, he shoved them aside.

The *agargara*-fish on the outskirts and its offspring, he shoved them aside.

... [...] head on high [...].

She cries out to king Enki:

(80) "My king, you have given (your) broad canebrake, there I have laid eggs.

In the broad canebrake of Tutub there I have laid eggs.

In the marsh of Kiritab there I have laid eggs.

In the swamp of Akšak there I have laid eggs.

in the dense swamp of Enki there I have laid eggs.

(85) In the small swamp, the swamp of Eridu, there I have laid eggs.

In the *barbar*-reeds of Enki there I have laid eggs.

In Ur, among the small *zi*-reeds there I have laid eggs.

In Ur, where cows and calves abound there I have laid eggs.

On that day, the turtle, the quarreler, the one of the accursed way,

(90) He whose eyes are the eyes of a snake, the one of the accursed way,

Whose tooth is the tooth of a snake, the one of the accursed way,

Whose tongue is the tongue of a snake, the one of the accursed way,

Whose bite is the bite of a puppy, the one of the accursed way,

(With) dainty hands and dainty feet, the one of the accursed way,

(95) The turtle, an oven brick, the one of the accursed way,

(Who lives) in the drainage ditch, the one of the accursed way,

Who passes his time in the mud like a hoe, the one of the accursed way,

An unwashed dirt basket, the one of the accursed way,

The turtle, the bird-trapper, the net setter,

(100) Overthrew my, the heron's, reed-construction. He turned my nest upside down.

He threw my children into the water.

I, the bird, the dark-eyed one,

The turtle scratched my forehead with his claws.

(105) My blood covered my chest."

Conclusion: Justice Is Rendered (lines 106-115)

The prince said to (his) vizier, Isimud⁹:

(106a) "My vizier Isimud, my ...

Who stands (in waiting) for King Enki, my perpetual prayer (offerer),

[...] when you have pressed out on the left side,

[...] when you have poured it,

⁹ Minor divinity given role of assistant to Enki, pictured on early cylinder seals as two-faced; see *RIA* s.v. Isimu.

(110) [...], you will cover it. [...] when you have wound, [...] when you have ... [...] when you have brought it ...	When you have placed it in the dense swamp of Enki, (115) On that day ... may it sit."
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REFERENCES

Gragg 1973a:51-72.

4. PIOUS SUFFERER COMPOSITIONS

"MAN AND HIS GOD" (1.179)

Jacob Klein

This Sumerian poem, of about 140 lines, tells a didactic story of a righteous sufferer who remains faithful to his personal god and ultimately is rehabilitated and restored to his former happy status. The poem opens with a brief didactic exhortation, that a man should faithfully praise his god, soothing his heart with lamentations, for "a man without a god would not have anything to eat" (lines 1-10). The rest of the poem is a (fictitious) illustration of this general truth. First the poet introduces the righteous, anonymous, sufferer, describing briefly the various diseases that befell him, whereupon the man utters a bitter lament to his god and pays him homage reverently (lines 11-27). This is followed by the sufferer's lengthy penitential lament, which constitutes the bulk of the composition (lines 28-119). The sufferer begins his lament, describing the ill treatment accorded to him by his fellow men (lines 28-56). Next he expresses the wish that everyone of his friends and family lament ceaselessly on his behalf before his god (lines 64-68). Then he complains about his physical illness and depression (lines 69-81). The sufferer concludes his prayer with a confession of his sins and a heartrending plea for mercy, forgiveness and restoration (lines 82-119). As expected, the drama comes to a happy end: the poet tells us that the god accepted the sufferer's prayer, restored his health, turned his suffering into joy and granted him benevolent guardian angels (lines 120-132). The poem concludes with a thanksgiving praise, uttered by the saved man to his personal god, in which he vows that he will constantly glorify him as long as he lives (lines 133-143).¹

In many respects, the poem resembles the biblical book of Job. The main difference between the two sources is that the Sumerian composition lacks elements of dialogue. Instead, the complaints and reflections of the hero are expressed in a long personal lamenting monologue, addressed to the deity. And after the hero is restored to health, he utters a short thanksgiving to his merciful and benevolent god. Further, unlike Job, the sufferer has some feelings of guilt, although he is not aware of his sins.²

Social Rejection of the Sufferer (lines 28-30; 33-40; 46-47)

I, the young-man,³ the learned one —
my know[ledge] is of no avail to me;
The truth which I speak
is turned into a lie.
(30) The man of deceit overwhelms me (like) a
storm, I (am forced to) serve him ...^a
When I enter the house, heavy is the spirit;

a Ps 35:11-17, 22-26;
Job 16:9-11;
19:18-19;
30:1-14

I, the young-man — when I go out to the
street, oppressed is the heart.
(35) I, the valiant⁴ — my loyal shepherd
becomes angry with me, (and) looks
upon me with an evil eye.
My herdsman maltreats me, who am
not hostile (toward him),
My companion says not a true word to me,
My friend renders my words,

¹ For an edition of the poem, see Kramer 1955. The selections translated below are based on a revised edition of the text which is in preparation by the author. See for the time being Kramer's slightly revised translation in *ANET* 589-591; for translation of selected portions, see further Jacobsen 1976:153-155.

² Hence he can better be described as a "pious sufferer"; see Mattingly 1990. All the manuscripts (cuneiform tablets) from which this poem is reconstructed, can be dated to the later Old Babylonian period (18th-17th centuries BCE). However, many literary elements incorporated in the poem can be traced back to the Old Sumerian period (such as e.g., the wisdom proverbs and the penitential lament formulas). Therefore the possibility cannot be excluded that our poem was composed before the Old-Babylonian period, perhaps in the Isin-Larsa period (beginning of the 2nd millennium BCE); see discussion in Hallo 1968:71-82; Jacobsen 1976:152; Klein 1982:297-302.

³ Sum. GURUŠ, in administrative texts, refers to an adult male, capable of military service or civil work. Here it is the usual poetic, impersonal and typological epithet of the righteous sufferer. In this sense, it is parallel to biblical *geber* (cf. Job 3:3; 4:17; 14:14 et passim; Lam 3:1). Further on, it is occasionally paralleled by the synonymous ŠUL "hero," "valiant." Both Sum. words were translated by Akk. *etlu*. A third, parallel, expression used by the poet to refer to the sufferer is LÚ-ULU, "man."

⁴ For the Sum. word ŠUL "valiant," see note 3.

truthfully spoken, a lie.^b
 The man of deceit speaks
 insulting words to me;^c
 (40) (But) you, my god,
 do not thwart them! ...
 Food is all about, (yet) my food is hunger,
 On the day shares were allotted to all,
 my allotted share was suffering!^d

Complaining of Sickness and Depression (lines 69-80)^e
 "My god, the day shines bright over
 The Land, (but) for me the day has darkened,
 (70) The bright day has dawned(?) upon(?)
 me(?) like a misty(?) day.^f
 Tears, lament, anguish and
 depression are lodged within me,
 Suffering overwhelms me
 like a weeping child.
 In the hands of Fate,^g
 (my) features had been changed,
 my breath of life had been carried off,
 Asag,^h the evil one, bathes in my body.
 (75) In the bitterness and misfortune of my path,
 I never see a good dream;
 Daily false dreams do not cease (haunting) me!
 Anguish embraced me — who am not its spouse,
 Wailing spread wide (its) arms (around) me
 — who am not its small child,
 (80) Lamentation swept over me
 like a crushing(?) storm ..."

Confession of Sins and Plea for Mercy (lines 98-119)
 "My god, to you, who are my father that
 begot me,ⁱ let me [lift] my eyes,^j
 'Good Cow,'^k god(?) of mercy
 (and acceptance of) supplication,
 let me [acquire(?) through(?) you]
 lofty strength!
 (100) How long will you not care for me,
 will you not look after me?
 Like an ox I would like to rise toward you,
 but you do not let me rise,
 You do not let me take the right course.
 They say — the wise men
 — a word true and right:

b Pss 31:12;
 38:12-13;
 69:9; 88:19;
 Job 6:15-21,
 27; 19:14-17

c Ps 22:7-9

d Job 3:24-
 26; 7:3-6

e Pss 38:7-
 11; 88:4-7;
 Job 7:4-6;
 9:25; 14:22;
 16:16; 17:1-
 2, 7; 19:7-
 11; 30:15-19,
 26-31

f Pss 27:10;
 22:10-11;
 71:5-6

g Gen 6:5-7;
 Ps 51:7; Job
 4:17-18;
 7:20-21;
 15:17-18;

h Pss 38:3-7,
 19; 25:7, 11;
 31:11; Job
 13:23

i Pss 6:1;
 38:2; 39:14;
 102:11

'Never has a sinless child
 been born to its mother,
 (105) A mortal(?) has never been perfect(?),
 a sinless man has never existed from old' ...^k
 My god, ... after you will have
 let my eyes recognize my sins,
 I shall recount at the city(?) gate^l
 those of them that have been forgotten,
 and those of them which are visible(?);^l
 (115) I, the young man, shall publicly
 declare my sins before you!^h
 In the assembly let tears(?) fall,
 like a heavy downpour (of rain)!
 In your temple, let my merciful mother
 continuously weep for me!
 I, the valiant, may your holy
 [heart have] mercy and take pity on me!
 I, the young man — may your heart,
 'the terrifying (flood) wave,'
 be assuaged toward me!^{l2 i}

Acceptance of the Sufferer's Prayer and his Restoration (lines 120-132)

(120) The man — his god verily heard
 his bitter weeping;
 After the heart of his god became soothed
 toward the young man at his prolonged
 lamentation and wailing,
 The true words, the artless words,
 uttered by him, his god accepted.
 His words of supplication,
 which the young man expressed,
 (And) the pure prayers(?) — pleased
 the flesh of his god like fine oil.
 (125) (Thereupon) his god withdrew
 his hand from the evil matter:
 Anguish, which embraced him,
 who was not its spouse,
 (And) wailing, which spread out wide
 its arm (around him) — he annihilated;^{l3}
 Lamentation, which swept over him like
 a crushing(?) storm — he dissipated;^{l4}
 Fate, which had been lodged in his body,
 he eradicated(?).^{l5}
 (130) He turned the young man's suffering

^b Reading tentatively U₄-HI-DA¹-GIM, lit., "like an alloyed/mixed day" (see Hallo 1968:85, n. 106).

^c Sum. NAM-TAR (Akk. *namtaru*); a netherworld demon of fatal sickness, the harbinger of death.

^d A demon of sickness, especially causing headaches, and the sickness it causes.

^e It is hard to assume that the Sumerians considered themselves genetic descendents of their "personal god" (so Jacobsen 1976:157-160). Rather, we take this as a hyperbolic metaphor.

^f "Good cow" is a frequently attested epithet of mother-goddesses, especially when their mercifulness is stressed; it also refers to divine mothers of Sum. kings (see Sjöberg, *OrSuec* 21 1972:99). Here, exceptionally, it seems to refer to the personal god of the sufferer.

^g Reading tentatively KÁ-URU(?)—KA. The city-gate served, in the ANE as the place for public assemblies (Sum. UNKEN) and court-trials.

^h I.e., those sins which were committed unawares, and those which were committed intentionally.

ⁱ These two lines (lines 118-119), and especially the expression ŠA-ZU KI-BÉ HA-MA-GI-GI, "may your heart be assuaged toward me!" represent a standard concluding formula of personal laments and 'letter-prayers,' attested from the Ur III period on; and it appears already in a hymn, written by Enheduanna, the daughter of Sargon of Akkad, in honor of the goddess Inanna (cf. Klein 1982:300-301; text 1.160, above).

^j Lit., "he scattered them to the wind."

^k Lit., "he let them to be devoured by the marshes."

^l See note 6 above.

into joy, A benevolent UDUG-spirit, ¹⁶ that watches at the (door) opening(?),	j Job 42:10-17; Ps 91:11	set by him (as) a guardian, He (also) gave him / LAMMA-spirits ¹⁷ (of) "good eyes."
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¹⁶ Sum. UDUG (Akk. *utukku* or *šēdu*) denotes a demon, which may be either "good" (i.e., protective and benevolent) or "bad" (i.e., evil and harming).

¹⁷ Sum. LAMMA (Akk. *lamassatu*) denotes an anonymous, female protective deity.

REFERENCES

Van Dijk 1953; Hallo 1968; Jacobsen 1976:152-164; Klein 1982; Kramer 1955; *ANET* 589-591; Mattingly 1990; Weinfeld 1988.

5. DISPUTATIONS

THE DISPUTATION BETWEEN EWE AND WHEAT (1.180)

H. L. J. Vanstiphout

This composition is presently the most accessible of the group of poetic disputations, a genre which was very popular in the Old Babylonian scribal schools and, according to the texts themselves, also at the royal court. This piece is remarkable for three reasons: it starts with a very long "cosmogonical" introduction,¹ it is apparently occasioned by a festival (a banquet at harvest time?), and it is a prime example of a consciously poetic stance in composition as well as in performance.² The text is available in a provisional edition which utilized the 39 published manuscripts.³

(1) When upon the Hill of Heaven and Earth ⁴ An had spawned the divine Godlings, — Since godly Wheat had not been spawned or created with them, Nor had the yarn of the godly Weaver ⁵ been fashioned in the Land, (5) Nor had the loom of the godly Weaver even been pegged out, For Ewe had not yet appeared, nor were there numerous lambs, And there was as yet no goat, nor numerous kids, For Ewe did not drop her twin lambs And Goat did not drop her triplet kids, — (10) The very names of Wheat, the holy blade, and of Ewe Were yet unknown to the Godlings and the greater Divinities. ⁶ There was no wheat-of-thirty-days; There was no wheat-of-forty-days; There was no wheat-of-fifty-days, (15) Nor small wheat, nor mountain wheat, nor wheat of the goodly village; Also there was no cloth to wear;	a Gen 1:11; Deut 32:2 b Gen 3:18; Exod 10:12 c Exod 16:13	The godly Weaver not having been born, no royal cap was worn; Lord herald, the precious lord, had not been born; Shakan ⁶ did not go out to the arid lands. (20) The people of those distant days ⁷ Knew not bread to eat, They knew not cloth to wear; They went about in the Land with naked limbs Eating grass with their mouths like sheep, (25) And drinking water from the ditches. ^b At that time, at the birthplace of the Gods, In their home, the Holy Hill, they (the gods) fashioned Ewe and Wheat. Gathering in the divine dining hall, Of the bounty of Ewe and Wheat (30) The Godlings of the Holy Hill Partook, but were not sated; Of the sweet milk of their goodly sheepfold The Godlings of the Holy Hill Then drank, but were not sated. (35) And so, for their own well-being in the goodly sheepfold They gave them to Mankind as sustenance. ^c
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¹ For the status of these introductions see Van Dijk 1953:39; Pettinato 1971; Vanstiphout 1990a:289-295; Bottéro 1991:20-21; Clifford 1994:25-32.

² Vanstiphout 1992b.

³ Alster and Vanstiphout 1987.

⁴ The Hill of Heaven and Earth is the primeval birth and dwelling place of the gods. See in general Van Dijk 1964 and Pettinato 1971.

⁵ The Weaver is the goddess Uttu. See Vanstiphout 1990b.

⁶ The god of the wild animals of the plains.

⁷ Where do these people come from?

Then Enki spoke to Enlil:
 Father Enlil, Ewe and Wheat
 Were well settled on the Holy Hill;
 (40) Let us now send Ewe and Wheat down from
 the Holy Hill."
 Enki and Enlil, having agreed on this, their sacred
 word,
 Sent down Ewe and Wheat from the Holy Hill.
 Ewe, fenced in by her sheepfold,
 They richly endowed in grass and herbs.
 (45) For Wheat they made a field
 And bestowed on her Plow and Yoke and Team.
 Ewe, standing in her sheepfold,
 Was a shepherd full of the sheepfold's splendor;
 Wheat, standing in her furrow,
 (50) Was a shapely girl radiating beauty ^d
 Lifting her noble head high above the field
 She was suffused with bounty from the skies.
 Thus both Ewe and Wheat were radiant in appear-
 ance
 And among the gathered people they caused abun-
 dance,
 (55) And in the Land⁸ they brought well-being.
 The ordinances of the Gods they fulfill with care;
 The store-rooms of the Land they fill with abun-
 dance,
 So that the barns of the Land are bulging with
 them.
 Even in the home of the needy, who are crouching
 in the dust,
 (60) When they enter there, they bring about
 wealth.
 Both of them, wherever they direct their steps,
 Add to the riches of the household;
 Wherever they stand, they bring satisfaction;
 Wherever they sit, they are embellishment.⁹
 And so they gladden the heart of An and the heart
 of Enlil.
 (65) They drank sweet wine,
 They drank tasty beer;
 And when they had drunk sweet wine
 And sated themselves on tasty beer
 They started a quarrel in the midst of the watered
 fields;
 (70) They held a wrangle in the Dining Hall.^{10 e}
 Wheat calls out to Ewe:
 "Sister, I am your better; I take precedence!
 I am the most splendid of the jewels of the Land!
 I give strength to the Chief Warrior

d Cant 7:3

e Hab 2:15

f Ps 78:25;
Hos 9:4;
Prov 12:9g Lev 16:4;
16:32;
Num 4:6-8h Jer 11:19;
Isa 5:37;
Ps 44:23

(75) So that he fills the palace with awe,
 And people spread his fame to the confines of the
 Land!
 I am a gift of the Gods;
 I am the strength of princes!
 When I grant my power to the warrior
 (80) And he enters the lists,
 He knows not fear nor faltering,
 For I make him march out as to a playing field.
 Yet I also foster neighborliness and friendship,
 As I sort out neighbors' quarrels.^f
 (85) And when I come out to the captive youth,
 And give him my blessing,
 He forgets his despondent heart
 As if I broke his fetters and shackles.
 I, I am wheat, the Holy Blade; I am Enlil's
 daughter (everywhere),
 (90) In the shacks, in the shepherds' huts,
 scattered over the plain,
 What can you put against this? What can you
 reply? Answer me that!"
 Thereupon Ewe replied to Wheat:
 "Sister, what are you saying?
 An, king of the Gods,
 (95) Made me descend from the holy and most
 precious place!
 All the yarns of the divine Weaver, the splendor
 of royalty, are mine! Shakan, lord of the
 Mountain,
 Adorns the king's emblem with incrustations,
 And puts his implements in order.
 (100) Against the mighty peaks of the rebel land
 he twists a rope,¹¹
 He readies the big sling, the quiver and the long-
 bow.
 Also the watch over the elite troops is mine,
 As is the sustenance of the workers in the field,
 And the water-skin of refreshing drink and the
 sandals — all that is mine!
 (105) Sweet oil, the fragrance of the Gods,
 Mixed oil, pressed oil, herbal oil, cedar oil of the
 offerings — these are mine!
 In his gown, which is my cloth of shining wool,
 The king rejoices on the throne
 My sides gleam on the flesh of the Great gods!^g
 (110) Together with the bathed purification and
 incantation priests
 When they have dressed for purifying me,
 I walk to my holy meal!^h

⁸ The Land (Sumerian KALAM) always refers to Babylonia (or Sumer and Akkad).

⁹ The pair "to sit/to stand" is a frequent expression denoting the totality of all possible situations and actions.

¹⁰ Apparently the banquet is held at the same time in heaven (the gods partake) and *sur l'herbe*, in the midst of the fields. Was the actual festival also held in the fields?

¹¹ Very probably an allusion to Mount Ebikh, the first line of mountains to the east of the Mesopotamian plain, which is said to contain the rebellious mountaineers. It is also a mythological being in its own right. See Vansitphout 1991b.

But your harrow, plowshare, rein —
 These are but tools of the all-devouring bog!
 (115) What can you put against this? What can you
 reply? Answer me that!"

Again Wheat addressed Ewe:

"When the beer bread has been well cooked in the
 oven,
 Yea, when the mash has been prepared in the
 oven, . . .

Ninkasi¹² herself mixes them for me.

(120) Your big billy-goats and rams
 Are then finished for my banquet.

On their thick legs they stand apart from my
 produce,

And even your shepherd from the desert lifts his
 eyes towards my things!

As to me, when I stand in the furrow in the midst
 of the field

(125) My farmer chases away your shepherd's lad
 with his cudgel.

When they are looking for you in fields and
 desolate places,

Fear does not leave you.

Snakes, scorpions, robbers that dwell in the
 plain —

They all threaten your life in the high desert!

(130) Every day your number is totalled
 And your tally-stick put up,
 So that your shepherd can tell how many ewes are
 left, and how many lambs;

How many goats and how many kids!

When the breeze passes through the towns,

(135) And the strong winds are buffeting,

They have to construct a shed for you.

But when the breeze passes through the towns,

And the strong winds are buffeting,

Then I, as an equal, stand up to Ishkur!¹³

(140) I, I am Wheat, born for the warrior; I do not
 give up!

The churn, the vat on legs, those adornments of
 herding, these are your attributes!

What can you put against this? What can you
 reply? Answer me that!"

Again Ewe replied to Wheat:

"You, like heavenly holy Inana,

(145) You love horses!¹⁴

The criminal and his mate, the foreign slave,

And the forced laborer, those of the poor wives
 and indigent children,

When, bound with the elbow-rope,

They come to the threshing floor,

(150) Or are taken away from the threshing-floor,
 When their flail hits your face, strikes your
 mouth,

Then your ears ... like a pestle ...

And you are carried away by the south or the
 north wind.

The millstone ...

(155) It makes your body into flour as if it were
 pumice,

In order to fill the kneading trough.

Then the baker's girl flattens you out broadly,

And you are put in the oven

And taken out of the oven again.

(160) "When you are finally put on the table,
 I come before you, and you are behind!

Wheat, watch yourself!

You, just as I, are meant to be eaten.

Therefore, looking at what you really are,

(165) Why should I come second?

The miller, is he not evil to you?

What can you put against this? What can you
 reply?"

Then wheat was hurt in her pride; she bowed her
 head for another attack.

Wheat replied to Ewe:

(170) "You, Ishkur is your master, Shakan your
 herdsman, and your bed is the arid
 wasteland!

Like fires beaten out in houses and fields,

Like sparrows chased from the door of a house,

You are turned into the lame and the weak of the
 Land!

I can indeed bow my neck to the ground;

(175) But you are put into various containers;

When your innards are taken away by the buyers
 in the market,

And your neck is wrapped with your very own
 loin-cloth,

One man says to the other: 'Fill the measure with
 grain for my sheep!'"

Thereupon Enki spoke to Enlil:

(180) "Father Enlil, Ewe and Wheat, both of them,
 Should walk together!

Of their combined metal [the alloy] should never
 cease;

Yet of these two Wheat should be the greater!

May the other one kneel before Wheat;

(185) May ... kiss her feet!

And from sunrise to sunset

The name of Wheat be praised!"

¹² The goddess of beer.

¹³ God of wind and storm.

¹⁴ See *Gilgamesh Epic* VI ii 53-56.

[May you put Ewe's neck to the yoke] of Ashnan! For whosoever has gold, or silver, or cattle, or sheep, (190) Shall ever wait at the door of him who has grain, and so pass his days!" ¹⁵	Dispute of Ewe and Wheat Because Ewe is left behind and Wheat comes out (winning), Praise be to father Enki!
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¹⁵ These lines are known as an independent proverb. See Alster 1975:155 and above text 1.175 and n. 8.

REFERENCES

Alster and Vanstiphout 1987; Bottéro 1991:7-22; Clifford 1994; Pettinato 1971; van Dijk 1953; 1964; Vanstiphout 1990a; 1990b; 1991b; 1992a; 1992b.

THE DISPUTATION BETWEEN THE HOE AND THE PLOW (1.181)

H. L. J. Vanstiphout

This piece is undoubtedly the finest example of the genre. It has long been recognized as one of the first poetic, if heavily rhetorical, statements of the case of the common man against the rich and mighty.¹ But its most striking qualities are the sheer excellence of the argumentation (plow is deftly hoist with its own petard),² the heavy satire on the pretences of the mighty, the earthy but clever humor,³ and most of all the irreverent but highly effective "reworking" of the format: the traditional cosmogonic introduction is turned into a story the workmen tell at night, when resting and drinking! It is to be regretted that we still have no adequate edition.⁴ The present translation is based upon all published texts⁵ and some quotes from secondary literature.

(1) Hey! Hoe, Hoe, Hoe, tied up with string; Hoe, made from poplar, with a tooth of ash; Hoe, made from tamarisk, with a tooth of sea- thorn; Hoe, double-toothed, four-toothed; (5) Hoe, child of the poor, <i>bereft even of a loin- cloth</i> ; Hoe picked a quarrel with Plow. Hoe and Plow — this is their dispute. Hoe cried out to Plow "O Plow, you draw furrows — what is your fur- rowing to me? (10) You make clods — what is your clod making to me?" ^a You cannot dam up water when it escapes. You cannot heap up earth in the basket. You cannot press clay or make bricks. You cannot lay foundations or build a house. (15) You cannot strengthen an old wall's base. You cannot put a roof on a man's house. O Plow, you cannot straighten a street! ^b O Plow, you draw furrows — what is your fur- rowing to me? You make clods — what is your clod making to me?"	a Ezek 17:14; 29:14-15; Dan 7:24 b Isa 32:19 c Ps 96:11; Prov 8:16; 1 Chr 16:31	(20) The Plow cries out to the Hoe "I, I am Plow, I was fashioned by the great powers, assembled by noblest hands! I am the mighty registrar of the god Enlil! I am the faithful farmer of Mankind! At the celebration of my harvest-festival in the fields, (25) Even the King slaughters cattle for me, adding sheep! He pours out libations for me, and offers the collected liquids! Drums and tympan sound! (30) The king himself takes hold of my handle-bars; My oxen he harnesses to the yoke; Great noblemen walk at my side; The nations gaze at me in admiration, The Land watches me in joy! ^{6 c} (35) The furrow I draw is set upon the plain as an adornment; Before my sheaves, erected in the fields, Even the teeming herds of Shakan kneel down! Before my ripened grain, ready for harvesting ... (40) ... ⁷
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¹ See Kramer 1981:342-347 and Vanstiphout 1992a:344-347.

² See Vanstiphout 1984 *passim*.

³ See Vanstiphout 1991a *passim*.

⁴ M. Civil's 1960 dissertation remains unpublished. Provisionally the fullest rendering is Kramer 1975.

⁵ See Vanstiphout 1984:239. All known material can be found in Artinger 1993:38-39.

⁶ This passage apparently alludes to a ceremony, probably at the beginning of the plowing season, and alluded to in a calendrical text. The point is that Hoe will turn the *cameo* into its opposite image in lines 91ff.

⁷ These two lines I cannot understand on the basis of the published material.

The shepherd's churn is filled to the brim;
With my *sheaves* scattered over the fields
The sheep of Dumuzi are sated.

My stacks adorning the plains
(45) Are like so many yellow hillocks inspiring
awe.^d

Stacks and mounds I pile up for Enlil;
Dark emmer I amass for him.
I fill the storehouses of Mankind;
Even the orphans, the widows and the destitute
(50) Take their reed baskets
And glean my scattered *grains*.^e
My straw, piled up in the fields
People even come to *collect* that,
While the beasts of Shakan go about.

(55) O Hoe, miserable hole-digger, with your
pathetic long tooth,
O Hoe, always burrowing in the mud,
O Hoe, whose head is always in the dust,
O Hoe-and-brickmold, you spend your days in
mud, nobody ever cleans you!

Dig holes! Dig crevices! O navel-man, dig!
(60) O Hoe, you of the poor man's hand, you are
not fit for the hand of the noble!
The slave's hand is adorned with your head!
And you dare to insult me?
You dare to compare yourself to me?
When I go out to the plains, *every eye is full of*
admiration,

(65) ...
...⁸

Then the Hoe cried out to the Plow

"O Plow, my smallness — what is that to me? My
humble state — what is that to me? ^f
My dwelling at the river bank - what is that to me?
At Enlil's place, I precede you!
In Enlil's temple, I stand in front of you!

(70) I make ditches, I make canals;
I fill the meadows with water;
And when the water floods the canebrake,
My small baskets carry it away.
When a canal is cut, or a ditch,

(75) And the water rushes out as a rising flood,
Making everything into a swamp,
I, the Hoe, dam it in,
So that neither southern nor northern storm can
blow it away.

The fowler samples eggs;
(80) The fisherman catches fish;
And they all empty bird-traps

^d Deut 24:19;
Cant 7:3

^e Exod 22:21;
Ruth 2:7;
2:15

^f Isa 10:33;
Prov 16:11;
29:23

Thus is wealth spread everywhere by my doing.

Moreover, after the water is drained from the
meadows

And the work in the moist earth is to be taken in
hand,

(85) O Hoe, I come out to the field before you!
The opening up of the field — I start that before
you!

The sides and the bottom of the dyke I clean for
you!

The weeds in the field I heap up for you!

Stumps and roots I heap up for you!

(90) Only then you work the field, you have your
go!

Your oxen are six, your people four — you
yourself are merely the eleventh!

The side-boards *take away* the field.

And you want to compare yourself with me?

When you finally come down to the field after me,
Your single furrow already gladdens your eye!

(95) When you finally put your head to the task,
Your *tongue gets caught* by brambles and thorns.
Your tooth *breaks*, and your tooth is renewed;
You will not keep it for long.

Your plowman calls you "This Plow is broken
again!"⁹

(100) And, again, carpenters have to be hired,
people ...

The whole chapter of workers is milling around
you.

The harness-makers scrape another green hide for
you,

Twisting it with pegs for you.

Without stopping they turn the tourniquet for you,
(105) And finally a foul hide is put upon your
head.¹⁰

Your *work* is slight, though your ways are great!

My turn of duty is twelve months;

Your effective term is four months;

The time you are idle is eight months;

(110) So you are absent twice as long as you are
present!

And then, on the boat you make a hut;

When you are put aboard, your 'hands' sever the
boards

So that your face has to be pulled out of the water
like a wine-jar.

And only after I have made a pile of logs

(115) Can my smoke and fire dry you out!

Your seeding-funnel — what is then its importance?

Your 'important ones' are thrown upon a pile

⁸ See previous note.

⁹ For the passage 95-99 see Civil 1994:74-75.

¹⁰ For 103-105 see now Civil 1994:73.

As implements to be destroyed.
 But I, I am the Hoe, and live in your city!
 (120) No one is more honored than I am.
 I am but a servant following his master;
 I am but the one who builds the house for his king;
 I am but the one who broadens the stalls, who
 expands the sheepfolds!

I press clay, I make bricks;
 (125) I lay foundations, I build houses;
 I strengthen the base of an old wall;
 I repair the roof of the honest man;
 I, I am Hoe, I lay out the streets!

When I have thus gone through the city and built
 its solid walls,
 (130) And have made appear the temples of the
 great gods therein,
 Embellished them with red, yellow and streaked
 wash,
 I go to construct the royal dwelling in the city,
 Where overseers and captains dwell.

When the weakened clay has been built up, the
 fragile clay buttressed,
 (135) They can rest because of me in a cool, well-
 built dwelling.

And when the fire-side makes the hoe gleam, and
 they lie on their side,
 You are not to go to their feast!
 They eat and drink;
 Their wages are paid out to them
 (140) Thus I enable the laborer to support his wife
 and children.⁸

For the boat-man I make an oven, I heat pitch for
 him;
 And when I have fashioned Magur and Magilum
 boats,
 I have enabled the boatman to support his wife and
 children.

For the householder I plant the garden;
 (145) And when the garden has been encircled, the
 fences been put up,
 the agreements reached,
 People again take up the hoe.

When wells have been dug, and poles set up,
 The bucket-bar hung, I straighten the beds
 And fill their ditches with water.

(150) When the apple-tree has blossomed and the
 fruits appear,
 These fruits are put up as an ornament in the
 temples of the gods.

Thus I enable the gardener to support wife and
 children!

When I work at the river with the plow, strengthen-
 ing the banks,

g Prov 12:11

Building a hut on its banks,
 (155) Those who have passed the day in the fields
 And the shift which has done the same at night,
 They enter their huts.
 They revive themselves as in a well-built city;
 The water-skins I made they use to pour water
 (160) And so they put life into their hearts again.

And you, Plow, think to insult me (by saying) 'Go,
 dig a hole!?'
 On the plains, where no moisture is found,
 When I have dug up the sweet water,
 The thirsty ones come back to life at the side of my
 wells!

(165) And what then says the one to the other?
 What do they tell one another?¹¹
 'The shepherd's hoe is surely set up as an
 ornament on the plains!

For when An had ordered his punishment,
 And the bitterness had been ordained over Sumer,
 And the waters of the well-built house had
 collected in the swamp,

(170) And Enlil had frowned upon the Land,
 Even the shepherd's crook of Enlil had been made
 felt,

When great Enlil had acted thus,
 Enlil did not restrain his hand.
 Then the Hoe, with its single tooth, struck the dry
 earth!

(175) As for us, the winter's cold, as the locust
 swarm, you lift!
 The heavy hand of summer as of winter you take
 away.

O Hoe, you binder, you bind the sheaf!
 O bird-trap, you binder, you bind the reed-basket!
 The lone workman, even the destitute, is provided
 for;

(180) The grains ... are spread."
 Then the Storm¹² spoke a word

"The millstone lies still, while the pestle pounds!
 From side-plate and foot-plate good results may be
 had!

Why should the sieve quarrel with the strainer?
 (185) Why make another angry?
 Ashnan, can a single one reap your neck?
 Ripe grain, why should you compare?"

Then Enlil spoke to the Hoe

"O Hoe, do not be so angry!
 (190) Do not cry out so loud!
 Of the Hoe, is not Nisaba its overseer, its captain?
 Hoe, whether five or ten shekel make your price,
 Or whether one-third or one half mina,
 (195) Like a maid-servant, always ready, you will

¹¹ Civil 1994:140 interprets this passage as referring to "a catastrophic flood, menacing the harvest." This is almost certainly right as it stands; but the point is that the workmen interpret it as a cosmic or primeval flood *at the same time*.

¹² Probably here an epithet for Enlil.

fulfill your task!"
Dispute of the Hoe and the Plow.

Because the Hoe was greater than the Plow,
Praise be to Nisaba.

REFERENCES

Attinger 1993; Civil 1994; Kramer 1975; 1981; Vanstiphout 1984; 1991a; 1992a.

THE DISPUTATION BETWEEN BIRD AND FISH (1.182)

H. L. J. Vanstiphout

This composition is remarkable not only because it stresses the importance of pleasant and beautiful things in life over dour seriousness,¹ but also because of its peculiar format. It intentionally mixes the generic features of the disputation with those of a fable.² Since fish is unable to win by force of argument, it attempts to do so by force *tout court*. Fish's violent attack introduces an element of narrativity which breaks through the argumentative structure. The burden seems to be that stern moral righteousness can never excuse violence anyway. Apart from a couple of more or less complete translations³ there is no edition, though barring a few possibly crucial lines at the end the text can be reconstructed almost completely. The present translation is based upon an edition prepared for the PSD project, and uses unpublished material.⁴

(1) [In long gone, far off days], after the kind fate had been decreed, [After An and Enlil] had set up the rules of heaven and earth, ^a	a Ps 139:24	(15) [In the lagoons?] he gave all kinds of living creatures as their sustenance, [...] and so placed the abundance of the gods in their charge.
[Nudimmud, ⁵ noble prince], the lord of broad insight, — [Lord Enki,] decreeing [the fates], their third one he surely is! —	b 2 Sam 7:7	Nudimmud, noble prince, the lord of broad insight, When he had fashioned Bird and Fish, He filled canebrake and marsh with Fish and Bird, (20) Selected their stations
(5) [The waters ...] he collected, founded dwelling-places; [Life-giving (waters)?] which beget fecund seed he held in hand;	c Ps 89	And made them acquainted ⁶ with their rules. Upon that time Fish laid its eggs in the swamp; Bird built its nest in an opening of the thicket. But Bird frightened Fish (dwelling) among its property.
[Tigris and] Euphrates he laid out side by side, and brought in them (the water of) the mountains; [The smaller] streams he scoured, and put in ditches too.		(25) [Fish to Bird] cried out; [...] started a wrangle. [Fish ...] stood up in pride, ⁷ [...] shouted at him, turning up his nose:
[Father] Enki also made wide pens and stalls, and provided shepherd and herdsman; (10) He founded cities and villages, and so made mankind thrive;		"[...] who knows no peace; (30) [...] constantly wailing; [...] face? [...] heart dripping with evil!
A king he gave them for shepherd, and raised him to sovereignty over them; ^b The king rose as daylight over the countries.		Standing on the plain you keep picking — they chase you away!
[Father] Enki tied up the marshes, growing there reeds young and old; ^{5a}		In the furrows the farmer's sons lay a snare for your neck;
[In ...] ponds and large lakes he made birds and fishes teem; ^c		The gardener in garden and orchard sets up a net against you!

¹ See Vanstiphout 1992a:347-348.

² There should be no longer a misunderstanding about the difference between a fable, which is essentially a *narrative* form, and a disputation, which is essentially a *rhetorical* form. Therefore the chapter heading "Fables or Contest Literature" in Lambert (1960) is misleading, doubly so since in that chapter we find only disputations, while the real fables appear in the two subsequent chapters ("Popular Sayings" and "Proverbs").

³ Kramer 1964 and Krispijn 1993:138-144.

⁴ For the material see Attinger 1993:49-50 and Vanstiphout 1991c.

⁵ An epithet of the god Enki.

^{5a} See the "Epic of Creation," text 1.111, p. 390 above.

⁶ Lit., perhaps "made them face the rules."

⁷ Perhaps better "in an overbearing manner."

(35) He cannot rest his arm from the sling, cannot sit down in peace!

For in the vegetable rows you cause damage; you are displeasing;

On the fields along the banks there are your unpleasing⁸ footprints.

Bird, you know no shame; you fill the courtyard with your droppings

The sweeper-boy, who cleans the courtyard, chases you with ropes!

(40) By your call the household is disturbed; they flee from your din;^d

And enter the house of the shrine!

Mooring like cattle, bleating like sheep

They pour out cool water in narrow jugs for you

And then drag you away to the daily sacrifice!

(45) The fowler carries you away with fettered wings,

(The fisherman brings you to the palace;)

Having bound your wings and beak.

Chatterer, whose mooring has no ...; what are you flapping about?

With your ugly screech you disturb⁹ the night; no one sleeps sweetly.

(...)¹⁰

(52) Bird, get out of the swamp! Take this racket of yours off my back!

Go, creep into your hole on top of the rubbish heap — this befits you!

Thus did Fish insult Bird on that day.

(55) But Bird, with dappled coat and glittering face, and convinced of its own beauty,^e

Took not to heart the insults Fish had hurled at it.

As if it had been but a nursemaid singing a lullaby,

It did not give in to that speech, but still angry words rose from it.¹¹

And then did Bird answer Fish:

(60) "How has your heart become so arrogant, while you yourself are so lowly?

Your mouth is a hillock; your mouth goes all the way round, but you cannot see behind you.

Your hips are cut off, as are your arms, hands and feet — try to put your neck to your feet!

Your smell is awful; you make people throw up, they wrinkle their nose at you!

No trough would hold the kind of prepared food you eat;

(65) And he who has carried you dares not let his hand touch his skin!

^d Ezek 3:12;
Job 39:24

^e Isa 33:17;
Ezek 28:12;
28:17;
Ps 45:12

In the great swamp and the broad marshes, I am your persecuting demon;

The sweet plants there you cannot eat, they are near to my mouth!

You cannot travel with safety in the river, my storm-cloud covers you.

Underneath my eyes you wriggle through all the reeds!

(70) Your young, every one of them, constitute my daily allotment; you give them to me for my food.

Your big ones are just as certain my *provision* at my banqueting hall.

While I, I am beautiful Bird, the wise one!

Beautiful artistry was put into (the finishing of) my adornment

But no skill has been applied even to begin your rough shaping!

(75) Strutting about in the Royal Palace befits me; My warbling is as a decoration in the courtyard;

The sound I produce, the sweet chanting of my voice,

Is made into a delicious ornament for Shulgi's¹² person!

Produce and fruits of all orchard and gardens are my plentiful daily ration;

(80) Finest groats, peeled barley, emmer wheat and dates are sweet things to my mouth.

How do you not recognize my greatness? Bow your neck to the ground!"

Thus Bird insulted Fish on that day.

Fish became angry and, trusting in its heroic strength and worthiness,

Swept over the bottom like a heavy rain cloud. It took up the quarrel.

(85) It took not to heart the insults Bird had hurled at it.

"Upon your own neck be it!" it spoke unrestrainedly,

And again did Fish reply to Bird:

"Long beak, long legs, dwarfed feet, cleft bill, slit mouth!

You are clattering from ignorance; you have not reflected!

(90) Glutton, freak(?), filling the courtyard with droppings —

The little sweeper-boy sets nets in the house and chases you with ropes! —

^a A sly hint in reverse? We know that Fish will be the loser because it is much too proud and self-opinionated; is this an allusion to the chicken-track aspect of cuneiform signs?

^b Lit., "you frighten." But since there is no personal direct object the literal translation ["you frighten the night"] would be nonsense.

^c Study by autopsy of the tablets has revealed that the line numbering of the translations and consequently also that of quotes in secondary literature is out by two numbers from line 48 onwards. Still, since there is no edition it is better provisionally to keep to the traditional numbering.

^d I.e. from Bird.

^e Shulgi is the greatest king of the Third Dynasty of Ur.

The baker, the brewer, the porter, all those who live in the house are annoyed with you!¹³

Bird, you did not examine(?) the case of my greatness, you did not take due account of its nature;

My weakness and my strength you did not consider; yet you spoke inflammatory words!

(95) Once you have really looked into my achievements, you will humble yourself exceedingly!

Now your speech contains grave errors; you have not thought about it!

I, I am Fish; I deliver altogether the abundance of the pure shrine,

Even to the great offerings to lustrous Ekur — I stand proudly with my head raised high!

Just like Ashnan I am here to satisfy the hunger of the Land — I am her aide!

(100) And therefore people pay attention to me, they keep their eyes upon me!

As at the harvest festival, they always rejoice over me, and take care of me!

Bird, whatever great deeds you may have done, I will teach you their pretense!

The harshness and evil speech you held, I shall hand back to you!"

Thereupon Fish conceived an evil plot against Bird.^f

(105) Silently, furtively, it slithered alongside And when Bird arose from its nest to fetch food for its young

Fish searched for the most discreet of the silent places.

Its well-built nest, made from brushwood it made into a derelict house;

Its well-built house it destroyed, tore down the storeroom;

(110) The eggs it had laid it smashed, and threw them into the sea.

Thus did Fish strike at Bird — and then fled into the waters.

Then came Bird, lion-faced, and with an eagle's talons,

Winging towards its nest. It stops in mid-flight; Like a hurricane whirling in the midst of heaven, it circles in the sky;

(115) Bird, looking about for its nest spreads open wings and legs.

Its well-built nest, made from brushwood, it now tramples over it as if it were the broad plain.

Its mouth cries out in the midst of heaven as does the priestess!

^fExod 15:7;
Zech 10:11

Bird now seeks around for Fish, searching the marshes;

Bird peers into the river, watches it closely.

(120) As if snatching into the water, it stretched out its legs,

Clasped its *claws*² together and did not open them again.

Thus Bird took vengeance.

Again did Bird reply to Fish:

"Utter fool, dumb one, muddle-headed one, Fish, you are out of your mind!

(125) Those who circle the quay — their mouths never eat enough; you spend your day with fodder!

Swine, rascal, gorging yourself upon your own dung, *freak*!

You are like a watchman living on top(?)¹⁴ of a house, dripping(?) by itself!

Fish, you kindled something like fire against me, you planted henbane;

Your stupidity caused devastation; you have sprinkled your hands with blood!

(130) Your arrogant heart, by its own deeds, will destroy itself!

But I, I am Bird, flying in heaven and walking upon earth;

Wherever I travel, I am there for the joy of everyone¹⁵ under the sky;

[...] o Fish, the greatest princes gave them.

[...] New Year(?) [...] my [...] it is the first born young; [...] to [...] of Enlil.

(135) [...] walks with uplifted head;

[...] ... until distant days.

[...] ... he speaks to the multitudes.

[How] can you not recognize my pre-eminence? Bow your neck to the ground!"

Thus again Bird had hurled insults at Fish.

(140) Then did Fish shout at Bird, looking at it in anger:

"Let not words ...! Our judge should take it up!"

To our judge and umpire, to Enki, let us take our case!"

And so the two of them, jostling and continuing the evil quarrel,

In order to establish, the one over the other, his pre-eminence,

(145) In ... Eridu (they?) registered the litigation, and, having performed the argumentation,

[...] confused(?), as if by their (own) noise,

[...] crept (before him) like ...;

¹³ Or perhaps "are fleeing from you"?

¹⁴ "Top" or "roof" is normally UR, while the text has UR "base." I do not understand the second hemistich, and the translation is merely an (unlikely) approximation.

¹⁵ Lit., "everyone named."

[From Shulgi], son of Enlil,
 (149) [...] peace, they request a verdict.
 (150) ["You (Enki),¹⁶ whose] speech is true —
 Please, your ear to my words!
 I had placed [my nest in the marshes]; eggs had
 been laid.
 [Food(?) of the marshes(?)] was given for free, was
 put there for their sustenance.
 [After Fish] had set up [the quarrel(?)]
 [...] it has destroyed my house;
 (155) [My well-built nest] made from brushwood he
 made into a derelict house;
 [My well-built house he destroy]ed, my storeroom
 he tore down;
 [The eggs I laid he] smashed and threw them into
 the sea.
 [O judge ...¹⁷] examine my speech, return my
 verdict!"

[Before(?) the judge who was(?)] looking closely
 into [the matter, he] prostrated himself to the
 ground.
 (160) Now [their judge] announces(?) the word;
 [He whose word is] great, spoke from the heart
 ["... I am accepting their appeal!"¹⁸
 [The contestants,] quarrelling, come along.
 Like one passing (?) a [...], (one) came out
 supreme.
 (165) Like goring [oxen(?)] they jostled each other.

"[Whatever word you speak], let it be favorable to
 me!

You know the rules and ordinances of the broad
 earth!

When you search for the right decision, you are
 immensely wise in knowing the (right) word
 for that!"

He answered Bird and Fish

(170) "To stand in the Ekur is fitting for Bird, its
 voice is sweet [indeed].

At Enlil's holy table, Bird should take precedence
 over you [...]

In the temple of all the great gods (Bird's) voice is
 pleasing;

The Anunna-gods rejoice in its voice.

It is suitable for the banquets in the great dining
 hall of the gods;

(175) It [provides] good cheer in Shulgi's palace.
 It should stand with raised head, in the [house] of
 Shulgi, son of Enlil!"

King Shulgi¹⁹ [...]

[...]

Fish [...]

(180) Thereupon²⁰ [...] ...²¹

(190) In the dispute held by Bird and Fish,
 Because Bird was victorious over Fish,
 Father Enki be praised!

¹⁶ Or perhaps (Shulgi)?

¹⁷ Or perhaps (Shulgi)?

¹⁸ Lit., "[...] their appeal is surely sweet to my mouth!"

¹⁹ Direct speech or narrative?

²⁰ Clearly a new and final narrative episode.

²¹ There are a number of missing lines. The tablet which contained the immediately preceding lines could easily have had ten lines before the end.

REFERENCES

Attinger 1993:49-50; Kramer 1964; Krispijn 1993:131-148; Lambert 1960; Vanstiphout 1991c; 1992a.

THE DISPUTATION BETWEEN SUMMER AND WINTER (I.183)

H. L. J. Vanstiphout

As far as we know, this altercation between the two most natural opposites imaginable, was the longest of all Sumerian disputations.¹ But it is in a much worse state of preservation than the previous three pieces.² Here also there is a mixture of generic features: the text starts with a long list of "destinies" or proprieties allotted to the contestants by the gods. It is obvious from the start that basically the two contestants are equal in value, and that the quarrel can only start because of unwarranted jealousy (indeed, it starts on a point of procedure, or literally precedence). The dispute as such remains unresolved, since the verdict insists that they are complementary and should remain so. Yet the matter is resolved on a point of simple justice: Winter (Enten) ought not to be jealous of Summer (Emesh), but Summer should not be allowed to profit from Winter's efforts. So the main feature of this piece is that it is about undue rivalry resolved.³

¹ 318 lines have been calculated.

² For the published material see Vanstiphout 1987b.

³ See Vanstiphout 1992a.

(1) The Lord lifted his head in pride, bountiful days arrived. Heaven and earth he regulated, and the population spread wide; Enlil, like a mighty bull, placed his feet on the earth. To make bountiful times of abundance,^a (5) To make manifest ... nights of splendor, To make legumes grow, to make wheat spread out, To make 'the carp-flood' appear regularly at the quays, To make the people lengthen their days in abundance, To make Emesh bind the dykes of heaven, (10) To make Enten show regularly the abundant waters at the quays, — This was what Enlil, king of the Mountainland, wanted to achieve.⁵ With the great Hursag-hill he copulated, yes, gave that mountain her share; He thus made her pregnant with Emesh and Enten, welfare and life of the Nation; Enlil, when he copulated, roared like a bull; (15) Hursag spent the day at that place, and at night she opened her loins.⁶ Emesh and Enten she bore as (smoothly as with) princely oil;^b As great bulls (s)he made them eat pure plants in the enclosures of the hills; (S)he reared them in the mountain meadows. Then Enlil cast the lots for Emesh and Enten⁷ (20) To Emesh the founding of settlements; The bringing in of abundant harvests to great mountain Enlil;^c To send out laborers to the great fields; to make settle the ox on the acre. To Enten abundance, the early flooding, the bounty and life of the Nation;^c The placing of wheat on the fruitful acres; to gather in everything. (25) This Enlil decided for Emesh and Enten as their destiny. Enten, from the brink of the hill country Took in hand the early flooding, bounty and life of the Nation. He set his foot upon Tigris and Euphrates like a big bull, And let them free upon the fruitful fields of Enlil. (30) The sea he fashioned (into)	<i>a</i> Prov 3:10 <i>b</i> Ps 74:17 <i>c</i> Prov 10:5 <i>d</i> Deut 28:4-5; Ezek 16:13	Enten (also) brought forth The bull (he) surrounded with reeds both young and old (...). Ninurta, Enlil's heroic son, Took away the water from the great fields (35-45 broken) (46) The ox shakes its head in the yoke. (47-49 broken) (50) ... the goat (bore) kids. Cows and calves he made teem; he gathered ghee and milk; In the high steppe deer and buck rejoice. The birds of heaven build their nests all over. The fish of the swamps lay their eggs in the reed thickets. (55) In the orchards honey and wine are dripping onto the ground;^d The orchards are in full fruit. The gardens grow legumes and sprout vegetables. The grain becomes heavy in the furrow Ashnan appears as a fair young maid⁸; (60) And thus did the Harvest, the great feast of Enlil, raise its head towards heaven. Emesh made a barn; he widened sheepfold and stall; He added to the abundance in the great fields; And all the produce he put aside The abundant harvest he brought into the estate, he gathered the heaps of grain. (65) He founded cities and villages; he built the temple of the Nation. He caused the House of the gods to appear like a hill on a pure place. The House-of-Life, holy abode of kingship, fit for the lofty dais, He founded in abundance for great mountain Enlil. Emesh, heroic son of Enlil, (70) Then decided to bring offerings to the House-of-Life, Enlil's abode. Wild animals, cattle and sheep of the hill country, Wild rams, deer and buck, all fully grown, Mountain sheep, noble sheep, fat-tailed sheep he brought. Pigs grown fat in the midst of the reed thicket, porcupine and tortoise, (75) Birds on their nest, brooding their eggs. All harvest produce, flour and malt for mixing, ghee and milk from sheepfold and stall; Rye, egg-beans, small beans, large beans in
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^a The traditional name of the all-important flooding at the beginning of the agricultural cycle.

⁵ In a way this is somewhat strange. Usually it is the god Enki who explains the purpose behind his creative acts.

⁶ For this motif (and the lines 12-15) see Cooper 1989.

⁷ The following passage is reminiscent of Enki's actions in the programmatic piece "Enki Orders the World," for which see most recently Bottéro and Kramer 1989:165-188.

⁸ See the Disputation between Ewe and Wheat (text 1.180 above) lines 49-52.

basketfuls;
Onions which took sweetness when in their
furrows, garlic and shallots,
Beet, cress,
(80-89 broken)
(90) Enten, proud son of Enlil,
(91 broken)
(92) For the sheep which is being disputed — it is
fattened but at its side there is a scorpion⁹
(93-98 broken)
The fattened Bibra-bird, the Esig-bird, the Shurra-
bird and the Ushtur-bird,¹⁰
(100) The carp ... which Enlil made grow up;
The pomegranates which he gathered ...;
Large beets, a large GUG-loaf cut, garlic cut with
the cleaver;
Enten himself carried the offerings he brought.
Emesh, heroic son of Enlil
(105) Then decided to bring offerings to the House-
of-Life, Enlil's abode
Bucks and lambs of the mountain-sheep.
Emesh and Enten drove together the gift of young
cattle;
The two of them, like butting bulls they reared
themselves for battle.
Enten, because of his tired arms and shoulders
(110) From all the grain grown heavy in the furrow
which he had been watering,
Turned from them as (from) a stranger; he did not
want to draw near.
Anger overcame Enten, and he started a quarrel
with Emesh.⁶
"Emesh, my brother, do not praise yourself!"
Whatever you carry to the Palace as a gift
(115) Has not been made through your effort - Do
not brag!
As if you yourself had done the hard work;
As if you yourself had done the farming work;
As if your own water-inspection at the early flood
had brought life to the Nation;
As if you yourself had caused grain to appear on
the fields with the dew from the skies —
(120) You are about to enter the Palace in this way
with my efforts!
As if you yourself had brought ... the wild animals,
the cattle and sheep from the hill country";
(122-139 broken; 140-152 very fragmentary)
Thus had Enten then insulted Emesh.
Emesh, the hero whom one does not ..., he

e Amos 3:15

searched for rude insults;
(155) On harvest day he trusted in his heart, he left;
Like a mighty bull, he ate hay, and raised his head.
Emesh thereupon replied to Enten:
"Enten, do stay at the side of the oven ...; when ...
their words;
You should not place these heavy insults (against
one?) who does not lead a sitting life;
(160) For carrying out the task, with its difficulties,
of furrowing the Nation
You do not raise the cry in the GUNE, you do not
inspect the estate.
The young scribe is absent, which is an abomina-
tion; no grass is pulled out for the bed.
The singer does not embellish the banquet; at its
side
Enten, do not speak insults; to the steppe
(165) I shall reveal my force to the estate, so that
even you may perceive it!
In my working tour of seven months in a year
... does not whisper softly to
(168-171 broken)
(173) Enten, do not ... noise
When you have taken away the water from the
fields, when the tubs are placed,
(175) When you have made ready the fishing
places, and heaped up the fish,
I am Enlil's great comptroller;
And I harrow the field into a fruitful field!
When the oxen have stopped working the field
When I have put force to the damp earth; when I
have fulfilled the necessary assignment,
(180) I do not work for you in the fields and
plantations early in the season.¹²
The early grain will bend its neck in the hollow of
the furrow; but no one makes a fence.
Your plowboy, wherever he walks the ox, will
not make the ox angry with me."
(183-188 fragmentary)
Enten thereupon replied to Emesh:
(190) "Emesh, the mule grazing on the harvest-field
makes an ear-splitting noise!
(191 broken)
The harvest ox which chafes its neck at the yoke-
block shakes its head!
The ale-seller going down to the harvest field is
holding the jug!
The flour-roaster ...
(195) The laborer though constantly boasting does

⁹ Note that in the Disputation between Ewe and Wheat the same notion occurs; see above, text 1.180, line 127.

¹⁰ We do not know exactly which birds these are.

¹¹ Note that Emesh has not been bragging so far.

¹² See Civil 1994:79 and 83 for this line and the next.

not know the extent of the field!¹³
 Emesh, my brother, after you have boasted with
 my exertions,
 At the end of the year the grain is brought in to the
 estate, and the granaries are filled up.
 After you have brought the excess, and your Bardul
 and your Niglam¹³ garments are woven,
 An axe ... to your strength?
 (200) Emesh, opening up the field, do not forget the
 wet earth!
 (201-207 broken)
 (208) Reed-cutter about to prune with the Barhuda,¹⁴
 split the grown reed!
 (209 broken)
 (210) Potter, dig up clay, light the fire, carry fag-
 gots, and ... the pot!
 Weaver, weave your Bardul garment with the
 strength⁷ of your Aktum cloth!
 Brewer, bake beer bread at the harvest place as is
 your assignment!
 ... let Emesh leave!
 ... he threw
 (215) Men wear boots and sandals
 Emesh, my brother, as long as you go with⁷ my
 own tour of duty,
 Small and great order you about; your string is
 never cut.
 Though you have gathered all things in the Nation,
 and filled the granaries,
 It is with my effort of your capital², I am complete-
 ly the rightful owner!
 (220) When the clouds brought abundance down
 from the skies,
 And the water for the first greening had descended
 from the hillsides;
 When the new grain, being added to the old grain,
 is put in the granary;
 The good farmer, having seen to his fields, shouts
 for joy,
 Harnesses his carrier donkeys, and sets out proudly
 for the city.
 (225) My brother, when you have put away the holy
 plow in the barn,
 The granary, all that you have gathered, you make
 roar like fire⁷;
 You sit down to plentiful food and drink;
 You obtain the choicest goods from the Nation.
 The king named by Nanna, son of Enlil,
 (230) Ibbi-Sin,¹⁵ when you have clothed him with
 the Shutur and the Hursag¹⁶ garments,
 Adorned him with the Bardul and the Niglam gar-

f Isa 10:15;
 60:21

g Amos 3:15

ments,
 When you have made a perfect feast for the gods,
 The Anuna clothe their holy bodies with a garment.
 And in his House-of-Life, the holy abode of king-
 ship founded by An,
 (235) When you have prepared at that place of
 heart's content a succulent banquet;
 With tambourine, drum, trumpet and lute playing
 for him as by themselves,
 And Tigi and Zamzam¹⁷, they who gladden your
 heart, while away the day,
 It is I who have made the plentiful wine, who de-
 liver lots of drink;
 I who perfect the garments with fine oil;
 (240) I who bring out the [...], the Shutur and the
 Aktum cloths!
 In order to safeguard⁷ them for Emesh, the first in
 Sumer, at the heavy
 That resting place in the bosom of the Blackheads,
 where they were put away,
 Moths have destroyed the blankets, eaten the
 Aktum carpet for you!
 (244-253 fragmentary; 254-256 broken)
 (257) The gardener does not know how to grow
 purslain, your basket for cut (vegetables) ...;
 You, how can you compare with me, while seeking
 a roof for resting?"
 Thus had Enten then insulted Emesh.
 (260) Emesh, heroic son of Enlil
 Was convinced of his own power, and trusted in
 his heart.
 To the insults Enten had spoken to him
 It was as if he acted friendly.
 Emesh thereupon replied to Enten:
 (265) "Enten, do not yourself praise your overriding
 force after you have explained your
 importance!
 In the city I shall speak about your abode, which I
 shall always protect⁷;
 You may seem a chief, but you are a helpless one.
 Your faggot is for brazier, hearth and oven,
 So shepherd's boy and shepherd with your heavy
 sheep
 (270) The helpless ones, from brazier to oven, from
 oven to brazier
 They run about like sheep in your
 In sunshine you lay your plans ...;
 But now in the city teeth are chattering because of
 you.⁸
 When the day is only half, nobody walks the streets.

¹³ We do not know precisely what kinds of garment these are.

¹⁴ An agricultural implement; mattock?

¹⁵ Last king of the Ur III Dynasty.

¹⁶ Unknown garments.

¹⁷ Musical instruments.

(275) The servant, glad of his oven, (remains) in the house till the sun sets. The maid, not employed in the flooded fields, passes the day with (making?) garments; In the field, which Enten does not work,¹⁸ Where no furrows have been cut, Its grain, not being put in its wholesome place, is taken away by the fat crow; (280) The produce of the vegetable cutter — of these vegetables the market-price is bad; Bearing only old reeds, the reed-bearers get cuts in their bare feet. Do not speak about overriding power — I will make known its shape and essence!" Emesh thus replied to Enten. Then ... Sumer in abundance, (285) Both of them stretch their legs, stand up as for a fight. (285a) Enten ... a word ... raises his head: "Father Enki, you gave me the control of the watership, you brought me the water of abundance!" (287-290 fragmentary) The grain grew heavy in the furrows. (292-295 broken) (296) Enten admires the heart of your ... in words." Emesh collects everything in his head, and calms down. Emesh speaks respectfully to Enlil: "Enlil, your judgment is overpowering, your word	h Job 42:11 i Zech 14:8	is the highest. (300) Your verdict cannot be altered - who could change it? Brother has started a quarrel with brother, but now they are calm again. As long as you enter the palace the people will speak their awe. When you live there, I shall not mock anything, but praise everything." Enlil replies to Emesh and Enten: (305) "Of the life-giving waters from the midst of the mountains, Enten is the director. The farmer of the gods, who gathers everything. Emesh, my son, how can you compare with Enten, your brother?" Enlil — the gist of his mighty word is perfect; The verdict he pronounced cannot be altered — who could change it? (310) Emesh bowed before Enten, said prayers to him. In his house he prepared beer and wine for him. At its side they pass the day with a succulent banquet. Emesh gives gold and silver to Enten;^h In brotherly love and friendship they will alternate (315) And they shall comfort their minds by speaking sweet words, and so gratify each other.ⁱ In the disputation between Emesh and Enten Enten, the farmer of the gods, was greater than Emesh; Therefore great mountain Enlil be praised.
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¹⁸ Obviously, which are not worked in winter; see Civil 1994:79.

REFERENCES

Bottero and Kramer 1989; Civil 1994; Cooper 1989:87-89; van Dijk 1957b; Vanstiphout 1987b:15-16; 1992a.

6. SCHOOL DIALOGUES

This section has been included for a very special reason. The Scriptural parallels here might be few in number, and inherently vacuous, if not nugatory. And that is precisely the point: the rich 'school literature' in Sumerian from Old Babylonian Mesopotamia shows a striking and very meaningful contrast between the two cultures. In the Mesopotamian case the perception, ordering and evaluation of conscious culture is governed by an organized system of education in the scribal school, or Eduba, as is shown by its structure, its curriculum, and its products. What is more, in a significant number of compositions they have laid down — though mostly in a jocular vein — their attitudes towards this system, including that of intellectual freedom, with its consequent cynicism, within the closed group of *literati*. This unexpectedly 'modern' idea is absent from the neighboring cultures, and only represented in a much watered down version in Mesopotamia itself after the Kassite period. The only meaningful point(s) of comparison would be some periods in Egyptian cultural history. And this is all the more reason for including, by way of stark contrast, some samples in this collection.¹ The three pieces have been chosen because each of them

¹ On the schools in general, their curriculum and their methods, see Van Dijk 1953:21-27; Gadd 1956; Sjöberg 1975; Römer 1977; Vanstiphout 1979 with earlier literature; Civil 1985; Waetzoldt 1986, 1988 and 1989.

highlights a different aspect, not only of the school, but of the internal and external implications of being a "scholar"; furthermore, they present a marked gradation in subject matter and seriousness for the pupils involved.

THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN TWO SCRIBES (1.184)

H. L. J. Vanstiphout

This provisionally fragmentary¹ composition focuses on the competition between two scribes, one being more advanced than the other, and using his seniority to bully and insult the younger one — after which the teacher, apparently a stickler for school tradition, takes the side of the senior student (the "Big Brother"). But in the meantime we learn a number of practical and methodological details about schooling, its aims and its eventual rewards. The two opponents in this quarrel are identified by name. And the piece cleverly takes over some of the structural features of a poetical disputation.²

(GIRINE-ISAG)

(1) "Well fellow student, what shall we write today on the back of our tablet³?"

(ENKI-MANSUM)

"Today we will not even write a single word from our lesson!"

(GIRINE-ISAG)

"But then surely the teacher will know and be angry with us because of you!

What will we say to him?"

(ENKI-MANSUM)

(5) "Come now, I shall write what I want! I will set the task!"

(GIRINE-ISAG)

"If you set the task, I am not your 'big brother'! Why do you encroach on my status of 'big brother'?"

I have become excellent in the scribal art; I have fulfilled the function of 'big brother' to perfection!

You are slow of understanding and hard of hearing; you are but a novice in the school!

(10) You are deaf to the scribal art, and silent in Sumerian!

Your hand is crippled; it is unfit for the writing reed

And unfit for the clay; (your) hand cannot keep up with the mouth.

And you would be a scribe like me?"

(ENKI-MANSUM)

"[Why should I] not be a scribe like you?"

(15-18 lost or fragmentary)

(GIRINE-ISAG)

"You wrote a tablet, but you cannot grasp its

a [Talmud:
sin^a at chin-
nam!]

meaning.

(20) You wrote a letter, but that is the limit for you!

Go to divide a plot, and you are not able to divide the plot;

Go to apportion a field, and you cannot even hold the tape and rod properly.

The field pegs you are unable to place; you cannot figure out its shape,

So that when wronged men have a quarrel you are not able to bring peace,

(25) But you allow brother to attack brother.^a

Among the scribes, you (alone) are unfit for the clay.

What are you fit for? Can anybody [tell] us?"

(ENKI-MANSUM)

"Why should I be good for nothing?

When I go to divide a plot, I can divide it;

(30) When I go to apportion a field, I can apportion the pieces,

So that when wronged men have a quarrel, I soothe their hearts and [...].

Brother will be at peace with brother, the(ir) hearts [...]."

(33-58 lost or fragmentary)

(GIRINE-ISAG) (?)

"As to subtracting and adding the daily quota of the weaving girls,

(60) And the finished order of the apprentice smith⁴ of his master — I know its procedure.

My father speaks Sumerian; I am the son of a scribe;

But you are the son of a vile one, a barbarian.

You cannot shape a tablet, nor knead an exercise tablet.

You cannot even write your own name; the clay is

¹ For the published material, see Römer 1988:235. He gives a partial edition of the text based on the published manuscripts, and cites earlier studies.

² More or less balanced speaking time; arguments which are answered point for point in places; intervention of a "judge" — although his decision seems to be left in abeyance.

³ Also possible "after our tablet." But since the back of exercise tablets is regularly used for other texts than the front this translation seems to make better sense.

⁴ The meaning is probably that he is able to calculate the relation in weight or value between the raw material the apprentice smith has received and the finished product.

not suited to your hand.	(145) And cursed and insulted him?"
(65) Stop hacking away! Is it a hoe you are wielding? ⁵	The teacher, who knew about everything Frowned sternly (saying) "Do as you wish!"
Clever fool, cover your ears, cover them!	(GIRINE-ISAG?)
Do you pretend to speak Sumerian as I do?"	"If I could really do as I wished,
(ENKI-MANSUM) (?)	Then a fellow acting like you, attacking his 'big brother,'
"Why do you keep repeating to me 'cover your ears, cover them?'"	(150) After I had given him 60 strokes with the cane,
(68-133 lost or fragmentary)	Put his feet in fetters,
"Why do you act like this?" ⁶	Confined him to the house so that he cannot go out for two months,
(135) Why do you push one another, and hurl insults at one another?	Your (his!) crime would certainly not yet have been expiated!" ⁷
You raise a clamor in the school!	As from this day, their eyes keep staring (in hatred).
I have been teaching Sumerian as required,"	(155) The one acts meanly towards the other.
(138-139 fragmentary)	Brother fights with brother, takes him on.
(140) "Even in those long gone days, when you were still beaten and ...,	Since between the quarreling Enki-Mansum and Girine-Isag, both of them,
No shouting reached me (like this)!	The teacher will give the verdict,
Why, to him who is your 'big brother,'	Praise be to Nisaba!
Who knows more about the scribal art than you,	
Why have you spoken to him so arrogantly,	

⁵ This seems a clever allusion to the Dispute between the Hoe and the Plow (text 1.181 above), where one of the underlying ideas may have been that the work of the Hoe in the soft earth is to be compared (also in importance) to that of the stylus on clay!

⁶ Perhaps the teacher himself or one of his senior staff is speaking now. But it is also possible, and perhaps more plausible in view of lines 146-147, that this is the Big Brother upbraiding the pupil in front of the teacher.

⁷ The different manuscripts show some hesitation between the 2nd and the 3rd person in these lines.

THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN A SUPERVISOR AND A SCRIBE (1.185)

H. L. J. Vanstiphout

This piece is not unlike the preceding one in that it consists of an altercation between a senior and a junior member of the Eduba. Still, the relationship is subtly different: the senior one is not just a more mature student, but a regular supervisor (an UGULA). He submits the pupil, who is obviously aspiring to higher things at this moment, to a kind of examination which deals not only with the capabilities ensuing from the pupil's schooling, but also with his moral stance within the Eduba system. If one were to posit a background or location in reality, the examination could represent a test of Sumerian style and rhetoric. The final part consists of a eulogy of the pupil, who has apparently done well. There is no edition as yet; this translation is based upon the published material, with the proviso that unpublished material shows the existence of another and appreciably longer version.¹

(Supervisor)	a 1Kgs 14:15	plied myself to the work.
(1) "(Old) schoolboy, come here, come to me quickly!		The [word] of my master I did not forget; I did not ...
What my teacher taught me, I will teach you.		My big brother was delighted with my (work at the) assignment.
Like you, I was once a youth, who had a big brother.		My humility made him so happy that he spoke ...
[The teacher] selected me from the other men, and assigned me a task.		Whatever I was ordered to do, I did; and everything was always in its place.
(5) Like the trembling reed I trembled, ^a but I ap-		(10) From his counsels only a fool would deviate.
		He guided my hand properly on the clay, and kept

¹ The published texts are A: HS 1546+1582 = *TMH NF* III 38 + IV 77; B: Ni 4243 + Ni 4092 = *SLTNi* 114 + *ISET*, 84; C: Ni 2507 = *SRT* 28; D: HS 1441 = *TMH NF* III 37; E: CBS 13106 = *HAV* 19; F: CBS 14070 = *SEM* 59; G: Ni 2506 = *SRT* 27; H: Ni 4133 = *ISET* 1, 135; I: Ni 9679 = *ISET* 2, 84; a: 3N-T 917, 388 = *SLFN* 47; b: 3N-T 917, 399 = *SLFN* 47; c: 3N-T 906, 231 = *SLFN* 47; d: 3N-T 927, 517 = *SLFN* 47.

me on the straight line.

He opened my mouth to all the words; he showed me the (wisest) counsels.

He filled my eyes with the rules of him who correctly fulfills the assignment.

Zeal is the lot of the assignee; time-wasting is a shame.

(15) He who tarries (on his way) to the place of work neglects his duty.

One should not not exalt one's knowledge, but should control one's speech.

When one exalts one's knowledge in splendor, people raise their eyes in astonishment.^b

Do not idle away the day! Do not rest in the evening! Go to work this moment!

[Neither graduate nor] freshman may give himself over to levity!

(20) ... your words must be serious.

Again, do not put your trust in your own unopened eyes

Thus you would greatly scorn obedience, which is the honor of humanity.

[A modest man] has a peaceful heart; his sins are absolved.

A poor man's gift is honorable to all minds.

(25) Even he who has nothing still kneels and holds the sacrificial kid to his breast

Bowing to the powers that be, and containing myself — that is what gratifies me!

These things my teacher taught me, I recited them to you; do not scorn them!

Pay attention; take these thing to heart; this will be to your profit."

The learned scribe respectfully answered his master:

(Scribe)

(30) "Now you have recited, incantation-like, I shall give you the response thereto.²

And to your bullish "sweet chant" its rebuttal.

You shall not turn me into a know-nothing; I shall answer but once.

Once a puppy, my eyes are wide open now, I act with humanity.

So why is it that you keep setting up rules for me, as if I were a shirker?

(35) Those who hear your words will revile me!

Whatever you showed me from the scribal art has been given back to you!

You appointed me over your household; you cannot accuse me of a single instance of neglect.³

I always assigned the tasks of the slave girls, the slaves and other personnel of your household.

I soothed their hearts with rations of food, clothing

^b Prov 15:12

and oil.

(40) I assigned the order of their tasks. It is said "Do not pursue the servant in the house of the master!"

But every morning I did — I followed them like sheep.

You ordered the preparations for the offerings; and on the same day I performed them for you.

I prepared the sheep and the banquets expertly, so that your god was overjoyed.

The day when the ship of your god arrived it was greeted with great respect.

(45) You ordered me to the edge of the field; the work force was already toiling there.

In the contest of labor there was no rest, night or day.

The journeymen, sons of the plowmen, were strongest.

I brought back quality to your field; but the people admire [you!]

However great the assignment for the oxen, I always brought in more; their burden [...]

(50) Since my youth you have watched me, and inspected my ways.

I am polished like fine metal; a better product [there is not?]

I do not use big words, as is your mistake; I wait upon you.

Belittling oneself is what causes people to be ignored; therefore I want to make (my true worth?) apparent for you: learn this!"⁴

(Supervisor)

"Earlier, you were but a child. Now, hold up your head!

(55) Your hands were turned to the grown-ups; now fulfill (your own) task!

Accept this prayer of blessing; [a good?] fate [I will proclaim?]

Your counsels have penetrated my body as if I had taken milk and oil.

[Your] unceasing service [...]

May the good results thereof be regular; the bad results [...]

(60) May the teachers, these wise men, encourage you (further).

In this house, that foremost place, may [...]

Your name may be elected with honor; its power and excellence [...]

The cattlemen may [fight for?] for your pleasurable songs;

I myself want to fight for your pleasurable song; I want to [...]

(65) The teacher with joyous heart will bless you.

² See Vanstiphout 1996:1-2 for this and the next two lines.

³ See Vanstiphout 1996:2.

⁴ See Vanstiphout 1996:2.

You are a young man who listened to my words;
my heart is glad.
The worthiness of Nisaba which the teacher has
placed in your hands
(Makes you) into the good hand of Nisaba; [lift

up?] your head to heaven!
Let this become (your) fate with a joyous heart; let
downheartedness [lift?].
(70) The Eduba, the place of all wisdom there is
[...]⁵

⁵ There follow half a dozen fragmentary lines.

THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN AN EXAMINER AND A STUDENT (1.186)

H. L. J. Vanstiphout

In this composition we again have a dialogue, but now it takes the form of a *viva voce* examination. One might say that it looks like a final examination, wherein the student may be said to try for graduation. Apparently it takes place before an external examiner: the student keeps referring to his teacher. In a second part, not translated here, the piece takes on the format of a flyting — which in various guises can also be found in other, related compositions. There is a very good edition of the first part of the text.¹

(Examiner and Student)

(1) "Young man, [are you a student?" — "Yes, I am a student."]

(Examiner)

"If you are a student
Do you know Sumerian?"

(Student)

"Yes, I can speak Sumerian."

(Examiner)

(5) "You are so young; how is it you can speak so well?"

(Student)

"I have listened constantly to the words of my teacher;
So I can answer you."

(Examiner)

"All right, you may be able to answer me, but what do you write?"

(Student)

"If you would just examine what I write!

(10) [The time] I still have to spend in school is less than three months.

The [texts] in Sumerian and Akkadian, from A-A ME-ME²

[To ...] I can read and write.

All lines from ⁴INANA-TEŠ₂³

Till the 'beings of the plain' at the end/beginning of LU₂-šū I wrote.⁴

(15) I can show you my signs,

Their writing and their interpretation; and this is how I pronounce them."

(Examiner)

"Right, follow me!

I will not give you things that are too complicated."

(Student)

"Even if I am assigned LU₂=šū on an exercise tablet
(20) I can give the 600 LU₂ entries in their correct sequence.⁵

The schedule of my schooling was like this:

My holidays were three every month;

Various feasts averaged three per month;

With all that, there were 24 days per month

(25) That I spent in school. But this time never seemed long.

In a single day the teacher would give me the same *pensum* four times.

In the final reckoning, what I know of the scribal art will not be taken away!

So now I am master of the meaning of tablets, of mathematics, of budgeting,

Of the whole scribal art, of the disposition of lines, of evading omissions, of

(30) My teacher approved (my) beautiful speech.

The companionship (in the school) was a joyful thing.

I know my scribal art perfectly;

Nothing flusters me.

My teacher had to show me a sign only once,

(35) And I could add several from memory.

¹ Civil 1985.

² A beginner's sign list.

³ A lexical list.

⁴ A lexical list. See Civil 1985:74 for this line.

⁵ There are no 600 entries in the lexical series LU-šū(ša)!

Having been in school for the required period,
I am now an expert in Sumerian, in the scribal art,
in interpretation, and in budgeting.
I can even speak Sumerian."

(Examiner)

"That may be so, but the sense of the Sumerian is
hidden from you!"

(Student)

(40) "I desire to start writing tablets (professional-
ly);

Tablets of one measure of grain till those of 600
measures;

Tablets of one shekel till those of twenty minas;
Also any marriage contracts they may bring;
And partnership contracts — I can specify verified
weights up to a talent,

(45) And also deeds for the sale of houses, gardens,
slaves,

Financial guarantees, field hire contracts, ...

Palm growing contracts, ...

Adoption contracts — all those I can draw up."

(49-55 fragmentary)

(Examiner? Student?)

"We are of the same birth, we are⁶

He and I have [compared] our hand tablets

Both have drawn up budgets ...

And regarding the budget ...

(60) The budget ...

He who cannot understand the accounts like scribes

....

About the tablets' meaning, the scribal art, the
signs with difficult readings,

Let them have a fight.

If he wins, he shall take whatever is mine;

(65) But if I win, what shall I get?"

(66-69 fragmentary)

(70) "We will shout insults at one another!

One will exchange insults with the other!"

⁶ It is certainly possible that the real or imaginary situation is that the pupil of our text is applying for a job at an administrative center, and that in the lines lost just before the examiner has told him that there is another candidate — whence the sudden change of tack in the composition which ends in a string of insults.

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THE CONTEXT OF SCRIPTURE

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THE CONTEXT OF SCRIPTURE

Canonical Compositions, Monumental Inscriptions,
and Archival Documents from the Biblical World



General Editor	William W. Hallo
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PREFACE

The second volume of *The Context of Scripture* appears at the beginning of the new millennium rather than the end of the old one as planned but it has benefitted from the interval by incorporating some of the desiderata voiced by the reviewers of the first volume. They have, on the whole, been generous in their praise, both of the goals of the project and of the extent to which these goals have been met. Some of them have questioned the title and subtitles as to their meaning¹ — a matter addressed to a certain extent in the Introduction to the present volume — or their validity,² or both.³

In particular, it has been asked why comparison or contrast with biblical passages should dictate the choice of ancient Near Eastern texts here presented. To rephrase the question: what is the relevance, not of the ancient Near Eastern texts for the Hebrew Bible — a matter addressed in the Introduction to Volume I — but of the Bible for the study of (other) ancient Near Eastern texts.

Methodologically, this question could be answered by stressing the value of avoiding the approach of *obscurum per obscurius* or, to put it more positively, of approaching the less familiar via the more familiar — and the Bible remains by far the most familiar ancient Near Eastern text in wide circles of the English-speaking or English-reading world. A fuller answer to the question must be reserved for the Introduction to Volume III. In the meantime, it may be pointed out that, in fact, the scope of the project extends to many texts which display no obvious parallels to the Bible. A glance at the column of biblical comparisons (positive and negative) will reveal many such texts.⁴ They were chosen for other reasons, some of them listed in the Preface to Volume I.

While the procedural outlines of the first volume have continued to characterize the second, there is a noticeable disparity in size between the two. This disparity was planned from the beginning, though both volumes have grown beyond initial estimates. Within the present volume, there is a further disparity between the Akkadian and the Sumerian sections, though it is (slightly) more apparent than real. Given the resort to both languages in the monumental inscriptions of some dynasties, especially in the Old Babylonian period, sometimes involving bilingual versions of one and the same inscription, it was decided to accommodate *all* the building and display inscriptions of the dynasties of Isin I, Larsa, Uruk and Babylon I in the Akkadian section regardless of their language(s).

Other bilingual inscriptions have been dealt with variously: the bilingual edict of Hattushili I (2.15) in the Hittite section without special reference to the Akkadian version; the treaties between Hatti and Amurru (2.17A-C) in the Hittite section with significant variants from the Akkadian versions in the footnotes; the Hadad-yith^ci stele (2.34) on the basis of its Aramaic version, with variants from the Akkadian noted in the footnotes; and the Azatiwada inscriptions separately in the (hieroglyphic) Hittite and Phoenician sections respectively (2.21 and 2.31).

The third and concluding volume will include full indices that will illustrate further connections, not only between the biblical text and the various other corpora, but among the different corpora themselves. The reader's patience is asked as we move to consummate these efforts.

It remains to thank the many people who have helped to keep this project on track: the contributors, the consultants, David Orton who first conceived the project and Marijke Wiersma who took it over when Dr. Orton left Brill to begin his own publishing enterprise, Mattie Kuiper who coordinated Brill's efforts, and, above all, K. Lawson Younger, Jr., without whose tireless labors at every stage this project could not have been realized.

William W. Hallo
February 9, 2000

¹ See e.g. D. I. Block, *Review and Expositor* 94 (1997) 607f.

² See e.g. O. Loretz, *UF* 28 (1996) 791-793.

³ See e.g. N. Wyatt, *JSOT* 79 (1998) 168f.

⁴ So noted e.g. by R. S. Hendel, *BR* 14/4 (1998) 14f.

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Texts 2.7 (pp. 42-51): Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*. 3 Volumes. The University of California Press, © 1973-1980. Regents of The University of California.

Texts 2.4A-G and 2.5A-B (pp. 23-39): K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated, Translations*. I. Oxford: Blackwell Reference, 1993; and *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated, Notes & Comments*, II. Oxford: Blackwell Reference, 1996.

Texts 2.130; 2.131; 2.132; 2.133; 2.153; 2.154; (pp. 332-361, 408-414): Martha T. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*. SBLWAW 6. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1995.

ADDITIONAL ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

(* For abbreviations not listed here, please consult volume 1)

AaG	S. Segert. <i>Altaramäische Grammatik. Mit Bibliographie, Glossar.</i> Leipzig: Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1975.	DMOA	Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
ABAW	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.	DP	F.-M. Allotte de la Fuyé, Editor. <i>Documents présargoniques.</i> Paris, E. Leroux, 1908-1920.
AbB 13	W. H. van Soldt. <i>Letters in the British Museum.</i> Part 2. Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung 13. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994.	EAEHL	M. Avi-Yonah, Editor. <i>Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land.</i> Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1975.
AC	J. J. Koopmans, Editor. <i>Aramäische Chrestomathie. Ausgewählte Texte (Inschriften, Ostraka und Papyri) bis zum 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.</i> Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1962.	EMRT	W. W. Hallo. <i>Early Mesopotamia Royal Titles: a Philologic and Historical Analysis.</i> AOS 43. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1957.
AHI	G. I. Davies. <i>Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions. Corpus and Concordance.</i> Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.	ENES	B. Buchanan. <i>Early Near Eastern Seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection.</i> Introduction and Seal Inscriptions by W. W. Hallo. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981.
AJBI	<i>The Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute.</i>	EPE	B. Porten. <i>Elephantine Papyri in English: Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change.</i> Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996.
AKM	Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.	ESE	M. Lidzbarski. <i>Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik.</i> Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1902, 1915.
AMI	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran.</i>	EVO	<i>Egitto e Vicino Oriente.</i>
ANE	Ancient Near East(ern).	Glossar	W. Erichsen. <i>Demotisches Glossar.</i> Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard, 1954.
ANEP ²	J. B. Pritchard. <i>The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament.</i> 2nd Edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.	GPP	S. Segert. <i>A Grammar of Phoenician and Punic.</i> München: Beck, 1976.
ARINH	F. M. Fales, Editor. <i>Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons in Literary, Ideological and Historical Analysis.</i> <i>Oriens Antiqui Collectio</i> 17. Rome: Istituto per l'Oriente.	HAL	W. Baumgartner, et al. <i>Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum alten Testament.</i> Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967-.
ARRIM	<i>Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project.</i> Toronto, 1983-1991.	HAR	<i>Hebrew Annual Review.</i>
Assyria 1995	S. Parpola and R. M. Whiting, Editors. <i>Assyria 1995. Proceedings of the 10th Anniversary Symposium of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, Helsinki, September 7-11, 1995.</i> Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1997.	HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik.
AT	D. J. Wiseman. <i>The Alalakh Texts.</i> Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara 2. London: British Institute of Archaeology, 1953.	HML 1	Paul Åström, Editor. <i>High, Middle or Low? Acts of an International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology Held at the University of Gothenburg 20th - 22nd August 1987.</i> Part 1. Gothenburg: Paul Åströms Förlag, 1987.
BAT 1990	A. Biran, et al., Editors. <i>Biblical Archaeology Today 1990.</i> Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993.	HML 3	Paul Åström, Editor. <i>High, Middle or Low? Acts of an International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology Held at the University of Gothenburg 20th - 22nd August 1987.</i> Part 3. Gothenburg: Paul Åströms Förlag, 1989.
Bib	<i>Biblica.</i>	HNE	M. Lidzbarski. <i>Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik.</i> Weimar: E. Felber, 1898.
BiMes 6	M. Gibson and R. D. Biggs, Editors. <i>Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East.</i> BiMes 6.	IAK	E. Ebeling, B. Meissner, and E. F. Weidner. <i>Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige.</i> Leipzig: Quelle and Meyer, 1924.
BIN	Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies.	Ist. Mit.	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen.</i>
BMB	<i>Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth.</i>	ITP	H. Tadmor. <i>The Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III King of Assyria.</i> Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1994.
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen.</i>	JA	<i>Journal Asiatique.</i>
BSMS	<i>Bulletin of the Society for Mesopotamian Studies.</i> Toronto.	Mariette, Mon. div.	A. Mariette. <i>Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie.</i> Paris: F. Viewig, E. Bouillon, 1872-1889.
CAI	W. E. Auffrecht. <i>A Corpus of Ammonite Inscriptions.</i> Ancient Near Eastern Texts and Studies 4. Lewiston/Queenston/Lampster: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1989.	MDAIA	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung.</i>
CHLI 1	<i>Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions.</i> Volume 1: J. D. Hawkins. <i>The Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions of the Iron Age.</i> UISK 8.1. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2000.	MDP	Mémoires (de la) Délégation en Perse. Paris: E. Leroux.
CHLI 2	<i>Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions.</i> Volume 2: H. Çambel. With a contribution by W. Röllig and tables by J. D. Hawkins. <i>Karatepe-Aslantaş. The Inscriptions: Facsimile Edition.</i> UISK 8.2. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1999.	MFA	Boston Museum of Fine Arts.
DAE	P. Grelot. <i>Documents araméens d'Égypte.</i> LAPO 5. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1972.	Moscatti	S. Moscati, Editor. <i>The Phoenicians.</i> New York: Abbeville Press, 1988.
DCPP	E. Lipiński, Editor. <i>Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique.</i> Leuven: Peeters, 1992.	MPAIBL	<i>Mémoires présentées par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.</i>
DISO	C. F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer. <i>Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest.</i> Leiden: Brill, 1965.	NAG	M. Liverani, Editor. <i>Neo-Assyrian Geography.</i> <i>Quaderni di Geografia Storica</i> 5. Rome: Università di Roma "La Sapienza," 1995.
DLE	L. Lesko. <i>A Dictionary of Late Egyptian.</i> 5 vols. Providence: BC Scribe, 1982-1990.	NBK	P.-R. Berger. <i>Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften.</i> AOAT 4/1. Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973.
		NDB	J. D. Douglas, Editor. <i>New Bible Dictionary.</i> Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1982.

- NEAEHL** E. Stern, Editor. *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society & Carta, 1993.
- NEASB** *Near Eastern Archaeology Society Bulletin*.
- NSI** G. A. Cooke. *A Textbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1903.
- OEANE** E. M. Meyers, Editor. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*. 5 volumes. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
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- PPG** J. Friedrich and W. Röllig. *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*. AnOr 46. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1970.
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- RTC** F. Thureau-Dangin. *Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes*. Paris: E. Leroux, 1903.
- RTAT** W. Beyerlin, et al. *Religionsgeschichtliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975.
- SBLMS** SBL Monograph Series.
- SD** *Studia et Documenta ad Iura Orientis Antiqui Pertinentia*.
- SHCANE** *Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East*. Leiden: Brill.
- SJOT** *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*.
- SO** Samaria Ostraca. G. A. Reisner, et al., *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*. 2 Vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924, and idem, *Israelite Ostraca from Samaria*. Harvard University, Palestinian (sic) Expedition. Boston, n.d.
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- TRE* *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1971-.
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- VS 1* Vorderasiatische Schriftendeknaler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin 1. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1907.
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- 3 R* H. C. Rawlinson and G. Smith. *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia. Volume 3: A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria*. London, 1870.
- 5 R* H. C. Rawlinson and Th. G. Pinches. *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia. Volume 5: A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria*. London, 1880.

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

(* For abbreviations not listed here, please consult volume I)

BH	Biblical Hebrew
MT	Masoretic Text
NH	New Hittite

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INTRODUCTION

THE BIBLE AND THE MONUMENTS

William W. Hallo¹

More than a century ago, a book appeared under the title of *The Bible and the Monuments*. It was subtitled *The Primitive Hebrew Records in the Light of Modern Research*, and its author bore the impressive name of William Saint Chad Boscawen.² His was only one in a long line of books that capitalized on the fruits of archaeological exploration of the Near East to bring new life to biblical history and literature. But in common with other works of its time and type, it used the term "monuments" loosely to describe whatever in the way of written or artistic evidence had been turned up by the spade of the excavator. Thus he dealt in one chapter with creation legends, in another with the Deluge, and in a third with the Egyptian Book of the Dead and other evidence of beliefs in an afterlife. When students of the ancient Near East speak of monuments today, they tend to have a more restricted category of evidence in mind. In my case, I have developed a particular taxonomy of documentation based on the cuneiform writings of Mesopotamia, which the projected three volumes of *The Context of Scripture* proposes to extend to the Egyptian, Hittite and West Semitic evidence as well. It has been defended in print in several places,³ but needs to be presented here afresh.

In ancient Mesopotamia, clay was abundantly available and was thus the writing medium of choice. If a document was intended to be preserved for a limited length of time, it was typically inscribed on a clay tablet in one or at most two copies and deposited in an archive for subsequent retrieval. Such documents as letters, accounts, contracts, and court-cases answer these descriptions and may be called archival. If, on the other hand, a composition was intended for long-time preservation, it might still be inscribed in clay, either on a tablet shaped much like an archival text, or on a variety of other shapes such as cylinders, prisms, round or square "school-tablets" or extract tablets which were wider than they were long; but regardless of their shape, such compositions typically appear in multiple copies. They were ultimately the product of the scribal schools, and constituted their curriculum or canon. They may therefore be labelled canonical, though not in the sense in which that term is usually employed in biblical scholarship, that is to say with the implications of divine inspiration or binding authority attached to the biblical canon. Rather, the term is here used in its more general, literary sense, as when literary critics speak of the Chaucer canon to identify all the works that can safely be attributed to that author, or of the Western canon to identify the different authors whose works constitute by general consent the shared literary heritage of the Western tradition.

When using the term in this sense, one can detect several successive canons in the millennial literary tradition of ancient Mesopotamia. The individual compositions that make up those successive canons exhibit certain common distinctive traits, a dozen of which I have summarized elsewhere.⁴ They include the standardization of such external features as the length of each composition, its division into lines and chapters, the ordering of separate compositions in a fixed sequence, their study in that sequence in the schools, whether in whole or in part, the creation of commentaries and other scholastic explanatory texts, their augmentation with other compositions copied from archival or monumental sources, and above all their replication in numerous exemplars as a result of their use in the school curriculum or, occasionally, for private libraries.

Multiple copies in clay also served to preserve another sort of text, namely bricks and cones, typically employed in temples, palaces and other public buildings. Clay was, however, not the only medium for writing, even in Mesopotamia. Thus other building inscriptions, such as foundation deposits and door-sockets, resorted to imported stone or even metal to achieve durability. So did additional genres such as votive inscriptions, weights, and seals. From the largest to the smallest, these genres all alike constitute monuments — structures or objects intended to last for all time as memorials to those kings and other mortals who built or dedicated them, or to those deities to whom they were

¹ The essence of this paper was first presented to Kenrick Theological Seminary, St. Louis, November 11, 1999, Anne Marie Kitz presiding. It was revised for presentation to the Midwest meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature/American Oriental Society, Chicago, February 13, 2000.

² 2nd ed. (London/New York, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1895). For some of Boscawen's other publications, see F. H. Weissbach, *RIA* 2 (1938) 60; R. Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur* 1 (1967) 32, 2 (1975) 22; D. B. Weisberg, *YOS* 17 (1980) xix and n. 18.

³ Notably W. W. Hallo, *The Ancient Near East: a History* (New York, Harcourt Brace, 1971) 154-158; 2nd. ed. (1998) 154-157.

⁴ W. W. Hallo, "The Concept of Canonicity in Cuneiform and Biblical Literature: A Comparative Appraisal," in *SFC* 4 (1991) 1-19.

dedicated. All became parts of the structures or objects which they commemorate. They may therefore be called monumental inscriptions. In special cases, uninscribed monuments may also be added to this category if their iconography bore mute witness to a comparable commemoration.

While thus carefully delineating the three principal categories of documentation from each other by the combined criteria of form and function, the proposed taxonomy allows for some intermediate genres. Thus for example the ancient records of land sales which are sometimes designated in modern terminology as "boundary-stones" (*kudurrû*) are formally monumental in that they are inscribed on stone but functionally archival in that they deal with real estate transactions.⁵ The taxonomy also leaves room for transitions from one category to another. More specifically, the curriculum included instruction in the writing of archival texts, and for this purpose drew on the archives to create textbooks of contracts, court cases, letters, including royal correspondence, etc. And the curriculum specifically included the copying of monuments, as attested in descriptions of the life of the Old Babylonian scribal schools.⁶ Such monuments thus often found their way into the canon as can be demonstrated for royal inscriptions, "law codes," cadastres, treaties and other genres preserved either as models of good style or for their intrinsic value. Often enough, archival or monumental texts are preserved for us *only* in their canonical guise. They may nevertheless be legitimately included among the archives and monuments to which they presumably go back rather than among the canonical texts with which they have been found.

To what extent do these classifications apply beyond the borders of Mesopotamia? On the face of it, it should not be difficult to do so in the case of the Hittites, who essentially adopted the cuneiform writing conventions of Mesopotamia. It must, however, be added at once that the discoveries in Hattusha have been overwhelmingly of canonical compositions. Only the more recent excavations at Hittite sites outside the capital city have begun to turn up archival documents in significant numbers; this has notably been the case at Maşat.⁷ As for monumental texts, these are nearly all clay tablet copies of what must have been originally inscriptions on stone or metal. This is presumably true of the Hittite Laws, and is certainly true of some or all of the Hittite treaties, as most dramatically shown by the bronze version of the treaty between Tudhaliya IV and his cousin Kurunta, the ruler of the petty kingdom of Tarhuntashsha.⁸ According to the end of this text, it was prepared in seven copies, one for Kurunta and the others deposited before various deities, i.e., presumably, their statues. None of the other copies, whether on metal or clay, has survived.

The Egyptian situation is different but also capable of being correlated with the Mesopotamian taxonomy. Whether Mesopotamia inspired the first attempts at writing in Egypt or not, certain it is that Egypt used clay tablets as a writing surface only much later when, in the Amarna period, Akkadian became the *lingua franca* of the Near East. Rather, Egypt discovered papyrus as an ideal medium for its archival documents and canonical compositions, with clay potsherds or ostraca as a distinctly less popular alternative. As for monuments, there was no lack of stone or metal to preserve these for all time. Much the same situation prevailed in most of the West Semitic speaking area — with one notable exception, namely Israel.

What then of the Israelites? As far as the biblical text itself is concerned, it is of course quintessentially canonical in its entirety — and that in both senses of the term. But a closer look suggests at least the hypothetical possibility that its present canonical shape may have developed out of other categories, as demonstrably happened often in Mesopotamia. In other words, it may harbor what in some cases may be regarded as originally archival and monumental texts. Long ago, James A. Montgomery wrote an article on what he called "Archival data in the Book of Kings."⁹ He was referring to passages in the Books of Kings which seemed to emanate from royal archives, such as the lists of Solomon's officers and provincial lieutenants (1 Kgs 4), or of the cities he built (1 Kgs 9:15, 17), or of his building activities in Jerusalem (1 Kgs 7:2-8). More recently, Baruch A. Levine identified what he called "The descriptive ritual texts of the Pentateuch,"¹⁰ using a term which he and I had previously applied to certain Ugaritic and Mesopotamian account texts.¹¹ His parade example was Numbers 7, a chapter often consigned to oblivion because of its seemingly endless and pointless repetition of identical entries in the long list of offerings brought by the leaders of the twelve tribes at the dedication of the desert tabernacle.¹² Levine showed graphically that the material could be represented in two-dimensional format and then resembled comparable account texts from Babylonia. If it was not a genuine copy of an archival document, it certainly suggested the existence of such texts as a model for the biblical author.

⁵ I. J. Gelb, P. Steinkeller and R. M. Whiting, Jr., *Earliest Land Tenure Systems in the Near East: Ancient Kudurrus* (OIP 104) (1991).

⁶ Hallo, *SIC* 3 (1990) 9-11; *SIC* 4 (1991) 8 and 17, nn. 79f.

⁷ J. Klinger, "Das Corpus der Maşat-Briefe," *ZA* 85 (1995) 74-108.

⁸ Below, *COS* 2.18. Cf. the review article of Otten's edition by Dietrich Sörenhagen, *OLZ* 87 (1992) 341-371.

⁹ *JBL* 53 (1934) 46-52.

¹⁰ *JAOs* 83 (1965) 307-318.

¹¹ Hallo, *SIC* 3 (1990) 9f.

¹² Cf. also J. Milgrom, "The Chieftain's Gifts: Numbers, Chapter 7," *HAR* 9 (1985) 221-225.

What is true of archival origins is equally valid, *mutatis mutandis*, for monumental origins. I am not suggesting the Decalogue in this connection. But analogies have been drawn, again some time ago, between certain biblical psalm genres, notably the psalms of thanksgiving, and West Semitic inscriptions on steles such as the Aramaic stele of King Zakkur of Hamath; Zobel, Ginsberg and Greenfield all commented on this analogy.¹³ More recently I entered the lists with a proposal to add the prayer of Hezekiah in Isaiah 38 to the list.¹⁴ It is called a "writing" (*mktb*) in the Hebrew text, and a *proseuché* in the Septuagint, but it may be related to the Psalm genre (16, 56-60) called a *mkam* in Hebrew, and consistently rendered by "writing on a stele" (*stélographia*) in the Greek versions. If so, these six historical or rather biographical psalms of the Psalter may be added to the roster. It may be noted that most modern translations leave the word *mktm* untranslated, but the New Jerusalem Bible ventures "In a quiet voice," while Buber and Rosenzweig proposed "Sühngedicht," a prayer about sin. Perhaps these translations were influenced by the root meaning of *ktm* in Akkadian and Arabic, i.e. to cover, conceal.

The appeal to the Zakkur Stele reminds us that the finite corpus of the biblical canon has been supplemented and illuminated by a ceaseless accretion of other West Semitic writings in the form of monuments from all over the soil of Israel and its immediate neighbors. Since the very beginnings of modern exploration of the Levant, these have furnished evidence in Ugaritic, Phoenician, Aramaic and every other kind of West Semitic language and dialect. The majority of them have involved royal inscriptions.

We may cite by way of illustration the famous Mesha Stele found at Dhiban in Jordan in 1868 and recording the triumph of that Moabite king over his Israelite oppressor, presumably Ahab (874-853) and/or his son Joram (Jehoram) (852-841).¹⁵ More recently the record has been enriched by a find from the same period (i.e. the late ninth century BCE) but from the northern frontier of Israel. There the ongoing excavations at Tell Dan have unearthed two fragments of an Aramaic stele celebrating the triumph of a Syrian king, probably Hazael of Damascus, over the combined forces of the kings of Israel and Judah, the latter referred to there, interestingly enough, as "[the kin]g of the house of David."¹⁶ (This phrase has now also been tentatively identified in the Mesha Stele by the simple restoration of a single lost letter.)¹⁷ And it is only a couple of years since the excavation at Eqrn, once one of the five principal Philistine cities, turned up an inscription of Achish son of Padi king of Eqrn that fits into the history of the seventh century as recorded both in the Bible¹⁸ and the Assyrian monuments, where both Padi and Achish appear, the latter as Ikausu.¹⁹ The Assyrian inscriptions have mostly been found in Assyria itself, of course, but it is worth recalling that some were erected in Palestine and have turned up there; for example fragments of standard victory steles of Sargon II from Samaria and Ashdod.²⁰ Similarly, Egyptian royal inscriptions were erected in Palestine to commemorate Egyptian triumphs there. One may mention in this connection two steles of Seti I (1289-1278 BCE) found at Beth Shan.²¹ The second of these even mentions Apiru in conflict with Asiatics (*amu*) of *rh*m, sometimes interpreted as the basis for an assumed tribe of *banu rahāmi* with an eponymous ancestor called *Abu-Rahāmi* = Abraham!²²

What then of the comparable harvest, from the biblical period, of Hebrew monuments in general, and of royal inscriptions in particular? Here we come up against the curious fact that it has been meager to the point of non-existence! Let us look at the evidence. Probably the single most familiar Hebrew monument is the so-called Siloam Inscription.²³ It was found in 1880 when Palestine was still under Ottoman rule, and to this day the original remains housed in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul despite all attempts to reclaim it for Israel.²⁴ It records the completion of the tunnel whereby water was to be brought securely from the Pool of Siloam into the walled city of Jerusalem, presumably in the event of a siege.²⁵

Because of its unique character as virtually the only monumental inscription of its kind from Israel or Judah in the

¹³ See the references in Hallo, *Studies Kramer* (1976) 209f. and below, 2.35.

¹⁴ W. W. Hallo, "The Royal Correspondence of Larsa: I. A Sumerian Prototype for the Prayer of Hezekiah?" in *Studies Kramer* (1976) 209-224.

¹⁵ Below, 2.23.

¹⁶ Below, 2.39.

¹⁷ A. Lemaire, "'House of David' restored in Moabite inscription," *BAR* 20/3 (1994) 30-37; idem, "La dynastie Davidique (*Byt Dwd*) dans deux inscriptions ouest-sémitiques du IX^e S. Av. J.-C." *SEL* 11 (1994) 17-19.

¹⁸ Achish is familiar as king of Gath in the time of Saul (1 Sam 21:27-29) and Solomon (1 Kgs 2:30f.)

¹⁹ Below, 2.42. S. Gitin, T. Dothan and J. Naveh, "A Royal Dedicatory Inscription from Eqrn," *IEJ* 47 (1997) 1-16. Cf. A. Demsky, *BAR* 24/5 (1998) 56; V. Sasson, "The Inscription of Achish, Governor of Ekron, and Philistine Dialect, Cult and Culture," *UF* 29 (1997b) 627-639.

²⁰ See the illustrations in Mordechai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor, *II Kings. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1988) pl. 11.

²¹ Below, 2.4B and 2.4D.

²² Mario Liverani, "Un'ipotesi sul nome di Abramo," *Henoch* 1 (1979) 9-18; ref. courtesy Oded Tammuz.

²³ Below, 2.28.

²⁴ H. Shanks, "Returning Cultural Artifacts — Turkey Is All Take, No Give," *BAR* 17/3 (1991) 12; "Please Return the Siloam Inscription to Jerusalem," *BAR* 17/3 (1991) 58-60.

²⁵ Cf. J. A. Hackett, *BAR* 23/2 (Mar/Apr 1997) 42f.

biblical period, there have been recent attempts to reassign it to the early post-biblical period, when such inscriptions become more common. But these attempts have been decisively refuted by the palaeographic evidence. In fact, there is general consensus that the inscription belongs to the reign of Hezekiah who, as the Book of Chronicles informs us (II Chr 32:30; cf. 2 Kgs 20:20), "stopped the upper outlet of the waters of Gihon and directed them straight down on the West side of the City of David. He said in effect: why should the king of Assyria come and find much water?" (cf. 2 Chr 32:4). The siege envisaged was that of Sennacherib and the Assyrian army in 701 BCE. Granted all this, it becomes all the more curious that the king is mentioned neither by name nor by title in the entire inscription! It seems to be the exception that proves the rule!

Another exception is provided by the mortuary inscription of King Uzziah (= Azariah) of Judah (792-740).²⁶ Mortuary inscriptions are fairly standard in the biblical world. Both kings and commoners have left us examples; those in cuneiform have been conveniently catalogued and described by Bottero,²⁷ those in West Semitic by Müller.²⁸ It has even been suggested that the Bible preserves an allusion to an epitaph in Job 19:23-27.²⁹ But the funerary inscription of Uzziah turns out to be something else: the record of a reburial. Dating to the first century BCE and inscribed in Aramaic, it says in effect: "Here were brought the bones of Uzziah, king of Judah. Do not open!"³⁰ Whether this had something to do with his leprosy as implied by the Chronicler (2 Chr 26:23) I leave for others to ponder.

There is, it is true, a class of inscriptions that mentions the king by title, and another that mentions him by name. In the former category are the stone stamp seals inscribed "Belonging to the king" (*lmlk*) which are presumed to have existed (though none have ever been found) on the basis of the impressions they have left on the handles of numerous clay jars which were used to hold and transport wine or olive oil during the period of the Divided Monarchy, more specifically during the reign of — again — Hezekiah.³¹ More than 1700 such impressions have been found from some 65 different sites, nearly all adding one of four place-names.³²

In the latter category are all those stamp seals and seal impressions inscribed by servants of such Judahite kings as Azariah, Ahaz and Hezekiah, and such Israelite kings as Jeroboam.³³ Such inscriptions are typically of the form "belonging to Ushna servant of Ahaz";³⁴ we can recognize the royal name but it is never accompanied by the royal title. This is in conformity with long-standing Near Eastern usage, but it also seems to fit neatly into a recognizable Israelite pattern. It is almost as if to the Decalogue had been added an eleventh commandment: thou shalt not commemorate the royal name and title in a monumental inscription! There is not even a word for royal inscription in biblical Hebrew, as there is in Sumerian (MU-SAR) and Akkadian (*musarû*, *šumu šatru*).

Of course there was one form of monument identified by name and specifically condemned and that was the commemorative stele or *maššeba*.³⁵ It was originally regarded as a legitimate sign of the divine presence, as in the case of Jacob's *maššeba* at Bethel (Gen 28:18 etc.)³⁶ and as the designation of a Jewish gravestone to this day. But it was proscribed elsewhere in the Pentateuch and was seen under the monarchy as a symbol of Canaanite idol worship, on a par with the image (*pesel*) of the decalogue with which it was often paired.³⁷

The peculiarities of the Israelite situation can be adduced to account for the absence of certain other elements familiar from the Mesopotamian repertoire of royal monuments.³⁸ The Israelites did not normally build in clay, the favorite medium for bricks and cones; they did not use pivot stones for the doors of monumental buildings, nor construct

²⁶ Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, 167 and pl. 11.

²⁷ "Les inscriptions funéraires cunéiformes," in *La Mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes* (Actes du Colloque sur l'Idéologie Funéraire, Ischia, 1977) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

²⁸ Hans-Peter Müller, "Die phönizische Grabinschrift aus dem Zypern-Museum KAI 30 und die Formgeschichte des nordwestsemitischen Epitaphs," *ZA* 65 (1975) 104-132.

²⁹ Kurt Gallig, "Die Grabinschrift Hiobs," *WO* 2 (1954) 3-6.

³⁰ Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings* 167 and fig. 5.

³¹ This date is suggested, i.e., by "the fact that most of these jars were found in destruction levels caused by the retaliatory Assyrian invasion of 701 BCE" according to J. H. Tigay, below, 2.77.

³² Hebron and Ziph in Judah, Socho in the Shephelah, and an otherwise unknown place *mmš*; cf. Tigay, below, p. 202 and n. 67.

³³ A. R. Millard below, 2.70R.

³⁴ N. Avigad and B. Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals* (Revised and completed by B. Sass, Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Israel Exploration Society, and Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1997) No. 5 and frontispiece.

³⁵ My thanks to John Ahn for reminding me of this fact.

³⁶ R. Kutscher, "The Mesopotamian god Zaqar and Jacob's Maššebāh," *Beer Sheva* 3 (1988) 125-130 (in Hebrew).

³⁷ See Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*, tr. John McHugh (New York etc., McGraw-Hill, 1961) 285f.; Trygve N. D. Mettinger, *No Graven Image? Israelite Aniconism in its Ancient Near Eastern Context* (Coniectanea Biblica, Old Testament Series 42; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1995) esp. p. 24.

³⁸ Hallo, "The Royal Inscriptions of Ur: A Typology," *HUCA* 33 (1962) 1-43; E. Sollberger and J.-R. Kupper, *Inscriptions Royales Sumeriennes et Akkadiennes* (Paris: Cerf, 1971) 25-36: "L'inscription royale comme genre littéraire."

elaborate foundation boxes filled with inscribed stone foundation tablets (in the guise of model bricks) and other foundation deposits. But that still leaves room for other royal monuments: building inscriptions in stone; votive dedications; seals inscribed to or by the king; weights royally authorized and guaranteed, mortuary inscriptions and others. Their total absence remains to be explained.

If there has been little attention paid to the fact of this absence, there is even less discussion of its possible cause or causes. Perhaps the question has been ignored on the grounds of the old truism that absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. Most scholars feel safer explaining the presence of phenomena than their absence. Perhaps that would be my safest course too. But I have long preached the contextual approach, in which contrast is as important as comparison, and here is a contrast worthy of the name. Scholars have periodically assembled great compendia of monuments from Egypt, Syria, Assyria and Babylonia, culminating in such stately series of volumes as *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia* from the University of Toronto. But there is never going to be even a single volume of "The Royal Inscriptions of Judah and Israel." Even the most recent and comprehensive *Handbook of Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions* is mostly devoted to seals and ostraca, the latter more properly at home among archival texts.³⁹ Why are there no royal inscriptions among them?

We can rule out the accidents of discovery. The soil of the Holy Land is the most carefully and thoroughly excavated real estate on the face of the earth, and has been such for over a century. (This is assuming we date the beginnings of scientific excavation no earlier than Sir Flinders Petrie in 1890.)⁴⁰ The chance that future discoveries will turn up a whole genre of Hebrew (or Aramaic) inscriptions overlooked so far is remote at best, especially given the many discoveries of non-Israelite monuments already made. Nor need we be long detained by a second possibility, namely that all traces of such inscriptions have been destroyed by the many wars the land of Israel has experienced and the many enemies it has faced. Other peoples of the biblical world faced just as much conflict and hostility yet their monuments have survived or reemerged.

A third possible explanation is equally unconvincing, namely that the period of the monarchy was so short on literacy that monumental inscriptions would have lacked a readership. But this is, to begin with, the wrong way to phrase matters. Monumental inscriptions are not addressed to a literate readership but rather to a largely illiterate audience, who would be read to by the minority of trained scribes and other literate alumni of the scribal schools. This is well known from Babylonia where literacy was limited to the elite classes even in periods such as that of Hammurapi's when such schooling was more widely available than at other periods. In the famous stele(s) inscribed with his laws, Hammurapi specifically says:

Let any wronged man who has a lawsuit come before the statue of me (*šalmia*), the king of justice, and let him have my inscribed stela (*nart šatram*) read aloud to him, thus may he hear my precious pronouncements and let my stela reveal his lawsuit for him.⁴¹

Moreover literacy was vastly easier to achieve in areas of West Semitic speech using "alphabetic" writing than it had ever been in the areas of cuneiform (and hieroglyphic) writing. Investigations by Aaron Demsky and others have shown that Israel, in particular, did not lag behind in the spread of literacy, and even the biblical text preserves traces of a spelling lesson, albeit in sarcastic form, when the prophet is mocked as a would-be school teacher, with "*šaw* for *šaw*, *qaw* for *qaw*, a little one here a little one there" (Isa 28:9-13).⁴²

The real reason for the absence of royal monuments from Israel must be sought elsewhere. Again the contextual approach can guide us. One of the most salient contrasts between Israel and its Near Eastern context is seen in the role of the king in the respective spheres. In the high civilizations of Mesopotamia and Egypt and in the Syrian, Anatolian and other areas in contact with them, kingship had arrived on the scene together with the other chief ingredients of civilization — urbanism, capital formation, writing, and metallurgy. In Egypt, the early kings were put on a virtual par with the gods themselves; in Mesopotamia, there was only a reluctant and temporary flirtation with the notion of divine kingship; among the Hittites, royalty had to die before being accorded divine honors.⁴³ But everywhere kingship was held in high honor; the king was the warrant for his country's weal or woe; his cultic leadership was a prerequisite; his death meant disaster,⁴⁴ especially if premature, as for instance in the case of Sargon II of Assyria.⁴⁵

³⁹ Shmuel Ahituv, *Handbook of Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions* (The Biblical Encyclopaedia Library 7; Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1992) (in Hebrew).

⁴⁰ W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine* (Hammondsworth: Penguin Books, 1949) 29.

⁴¹ M. T. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (SBLWAW 6; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995) 134; below p. 352.

⁴² A. Demsky, "Abecedaries," *COS* 1 (1997) 362-365; Hallo, "Isaiah 28:9-13 and the Ugaritic Abecedaries," *JBL* 77 (1958) 324-338; *Origins: the Ancient Near Eastern Background of Some Modern Western Institutions* (SHCANE 6; Leiden: Brill, 1996) 37f.

⁴³ Hallo, *Origins* 207.

⁴⁴ W. W. Hallo, "The Death of Kings: Traditional Historiography in Contextual Perspective," *Studies Tadmor* (1991) 148-165.

⁴⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 162; Hallo, "Disturbing the Dead," *Studies Sarna* (1993) 185-192, esp. pp. 190f.

Not so in Israel. There the norm was theocracy: God was the only legitimate king ever since the exaltation of God celebrated in the archaic Song of the Sea (Exod 15; esp. v. 18). He assumed most of the roles played by the king, and especially the divine king, in the surrounding cultures; the other royal roles were shared in Israel by priesthood and laity. Only the military role was not so easily assigned elsewhere. When Samuel reluctantly agreed to institute a mortal kingship — more reluctantly, according to the biblical record, than God himself — it was in response to the popular demand: “Give us a king to judge us, like the other nations” (1 Sam 8:5). So far from being an institution coeval with the beginnings of (its) history, kingship was regarded as a late aberration, an accommodation to foreign norms forced on the people by external circumstances such as the threat of annihilation at the hands of enemies under more permanent dynastic leadership and more united than the disparate tribes of Israel. Samuel’s warnings of the excesses of kingship were so nearly fulfilled already in the United Monarchy, specifically under Solomon, that critics tend to regard them as inspired by that experience. And when the monarchical experiment had run its course after the failure of the divided monarchy, first in the North then in the South, it was not long before theocracy was reestablished. There were attempts to restore the Davidic monarchy as well but they ended in abject failure, and the hopes for a future restoration were relegated to a distant Messianic time which in Jewish belief is yet to come, despite or perhaps because of periodic attempts to hasten its arrival or even to declare it arrived.

In such an essentially anti-monarchic setting, there was little or no room for the type of royal propaganda that emanated from the royal chanceries elsewhere in the ancient Near East. In Israel, kings were well advised to ruffle as few feathers as possible. Other Near Eastern kings celebrated their achievements and the “sacraments” of their own lifetimes not only in monumental inscriptions but also in royal hymns, date formulas, and statuary. The bombastic tones in which they glorified their roles is unmistakable even when they assigned due credit to their deities. Israel may have tolerated an occasional hymn thought to be in honor of an unnamed king such as Psalm 45. But the lion’s share of its hymns were composed in honor of God, including the Psalms which began “The Lord reigneth” (*yhwh mlk*) as if in defiant assertion of the theocratic ideal.

In fact, Israel kept a critical eye on its monarchs: the northern kingdom which favored a kind of charismatic kingship was ever ready to throw over an unsatisfactory monarch in favor of a whole new dynasty; the southern kingdom, while it adhered to the dynastic principle of succession, passed severe judgement on its kings and, if the Deuteronomic point of view is taken as a guide, found the great majority of them wanting. Bombastic royal inscriptions, or other monuments to royal pride, might only have jeopardized the whole idea of monarchy, fanning the flames of distrust of and dissent from it that simmered just below the surface.

Was there, finally, room for some uninscribed or non-royal monuments? The recent discovery of a prototype of the priestly blessing, familiar from Numbers 6:24-26, inscribed on two small silver amulets in the form of scrolls from the cemetery at Ketef Hinnom, and dating to the mid-seventh or early sixth century alerts us to this possibility.⁴⁶ One may also cite the occasional weight inscribed with its size though never with the authority of a king or other official who had established that weight as in the ancient Near Eastern pattern.⁴⁷ References to *ʔšyw* and *ʔšyh* the king in newly published votive inscriptions have been tentatively linked to Joash of Israel and Joash of Judah respectively.⁴⁸ But we virtually lack the votive inscriptions or even the mortuary inscriptions which are the most common examples of private monuments in the Near Eastern context.⁴⁹

So to return to our starting point: when we speak today of “the Bible and the monuments,” we are no longer referring indiscriminately, like Saint Chad Boscawen a century ago, to all the evidence that archaeology has unearthed from the ancient Near East. Nor, certainly, do we refer to monuments of biblical Israel itself turned up by the spade on Israel’s own soil — seeing that these are virtually non-existent. Rather we mean those inscriptions from the surrounding cultures which were intended by their authors for all time, whether royal or private, building or votive or mortuary, weights or seals, rediscovered on their original stone and metal surfaces or preserved in copies on clay and papyrus. These monuments often throw welcome new light on the biblical record; they form a significant part of “the context of scripture.”

⁴⁶ G. Barkay, “The Divine Name Found in Jerusalem,” *BAR* 9/2 (1983) 14-19. Below, 2.83.

⁴⁷ Below, 2.81.

⁴⁸ Below, 2.47 and 2.50.

⁴⁹ For some examples, see below, 2.47B-D, 48, 52-54.

EGYPTIAN MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS

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A. ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS

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1. EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY INSCRIPTIONS

THE TOMB BIOGRAPHY OF AHMOSE OF NEKHEB (2.1)

James K. Hoffmeier

Ahmoose, the son of Baba and Abena, was a highly decorated naval officer from ancient Nekheb. In his tomb biography, he offers one of the most important historical witnesses to the rise of the 18th Dynasty. His distinguished career lasted from the reign of King Ahmose (1550-1525 BCE) into that of Thutmose I (1504-1492 BCE). Most significantly, his references to the battles against Avaris remain the only surviving records of the so-called "expulsion of the Hyksos." Following the fall of Avaris, Ahmoose speaks of besieging the city of Sharuhén in southern Canaan, thought to be the place to which the Hyksos elite fled. The three-year campaign in Canaan appears to have laid the foundation for Egypt's empire in the Levant upon which Thutmose I and III built.

The text of this biography has a number of grammatical complexities because the standard rules of Middle Egyptian grammar are not always followed, while Late Egyptian is not as yet in full bloom.

Introduction (lines 1-4a)

The naval commander, Ahmoose son of Abena, the justified (i.e. deceased), says, "let me speak to you, everyone and let me inform you of the honors that happened to me. I was rewarded with gold seven times in the presence of the entire land, and (given) male and female servants likewise. I was endowed with many great fields. The name of the brave is in that which he has done.¹ It will not perish from this land forever."

Service under Ahmoose (lines 4b-8)

He spoke the following: "I was reared in the city of Nekheb.² My father was a soldier of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Seqenenre,³ the justified, whose name is Baba, son of Rainet. Then I was made a soldier in order to replace him on the boat, 'Wild Bull,' during the lifetime of the Lord of the

Two Lands, Nebpehtyre,⁴ the justified. While I was a lad, before I had taken a wife, I slept in a net hammock.⁵

After this, I established a home. Subsequently I was taken to the northern fleet because of my bravery. Then I accompanied the Sovereign, life, prosperity, and health,⁶ on foot,⁷ following his travels on chariot."⁸

War against the Hyksos (lines 8-14)

"When the city of Avaris⁹ was besieged, I was brave on foot in his majesty's presence. Subsequently I was assigned to the boat 'Coronation in Memphis.'¹⁰ Then there was fighting on the water of Pajdku¹¹ of Avaris. Subsequently I made a capture, I having carried off a hand which was reported¹² to the Royal Herald. Then the gold of valor

¹ Rather than being a relative form (*irt.n.f*), this could be perfective pass. part., i.e. "what is done for him." Goedicke (1974:33) has argued for this understanding.

² Ancient Nekheb is located near modern el-Kab, south of Luxor.

³ Seqenenre Tao is the 17th Dynasty Theban ruler who apparently initiated the conflict with the Hyksos, and may have died in the process. His two sons, Kamose and Ahmoose followed him to the throne, the latter being the one credited with ousting the Hyksos and founding the 18th Dynasty.

⁴ The pre-nomen of Ahmoose, the first king of the Dynasty 18th according to Manetho's reconstruction.

⁵ The translation of *smi šnw* is problematic. "Hammock" is the translation first proffered by Gardiner (Gardiner and Gunn 1918:49) and has been followed by several subsequent translators (*ANET* 233; *CDME* 225). This rendering has been questioned by Goedicke (1974:34-35) who argues that Gardiner read into the Egyptian terms "a quaint projection of traditions of H. M. Navy onto ancient Egypt." He suggests this sentence might be translated: "I spent the night in clothing the ropes," acknowledging he is not certain what it means.

⁶ "life, prosperity, and health." This is the standard blessing after allusions to the living Pharaoh [Ed.]

⁷ Lit., "on my feet." Ahmoose might be considered a "marine." Once he sailed to the point of conflict, he fought on land.

⁸ This is the first occurrence of the word *wrrt*, "chariot," in an Egyptian text (Hoffmeier 1999:193).

⁹ The Greek vocalization of Egyptian *Hwt w'rt*, Avaris, the capital of the Hyksos, is identified with the site of Tell el-Dab'a (Bietak 1996).

¹⁰ Goedicke (1974:38) may be correct in proposing that *h'm Mn-nfr* refers to a secondary coronation ceremony for King Ahmoose at Memphis. However, his idea that the boat determinative after this expression refers to the journey to Memphis for this event rather than the name of the boat to which Ahmoose was assigned is not particularly convincing. Alternatively, perhaps, the name of the boat simply commemorates the coronation ceremony in Memphis.

¹¹ Recent investigations at Tell el-Dab'a have revealed that in ancient times, the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, a number of tributaries, canals and pools were in proximity to the city. "The water of Pajdku" is likely one of these phenomena.

¹² The grammatical form of "report," *smi*, is problematic. Below in line 13 of this text, the same construction occurs, but *smiw* is written. In the case of the first example, the *i* ending is peculiar, and may be an archaic writing for *t*. In which case, an inf. (Gardiner 1969 §281) or

was given to me. Subsequently there was more fighting in this (same) place and I again made a capture there and carried off a hand. Then the gold of valor was given to me again. Then there was fighting in the south of Egypt¹³ in this city. Subsequently I carried off a prisoner of war after I went down to the water. Look, he was carried off as a prisoner on that course¹⁴ of the city, after I carried him across the water. It was reported to the Royal Herald. Subsequently¹⁵ I was rewarded with gold again. Then Avaris was plundered and I carried off plunder from there: a man, three maidservants, for a total of four, and his majesty gave them to me as servants."

Campaign to Canaan (lines 15-16a)

"Then Sharuhen¹⁶ was besieged for three years.¹⁷ Then his majesty plundered it. Subsequently I carried off plunder from there: two maid servants and a hand. Then the gold of valor was given to me. Look, the plunder of the men servants was given to me."

Nubian Campaigns (lines 16b-24a)

"After his majesty slew Asian Bedouin,¹⁸ he then sailed south to Khenet-hen-nefer¹⁹ in order to destroy Nubian tribesmen.²⁰ Then his majesty made a great heap of corpses from them. Subsequently I carried off plunder from there: two live men and three hands. Then I was rewarded with gold again.

a Josh 19:6

b Gen 10:6-7; 2 Kgs 19:9; Esth 1:1; 1 Chr 1:8; Isa 18:1; 20:3; Ezek 29:10, 30:4

c Josh 10:20

Look, two maid-servants were given to me. His majesty sailed north,²¹ he being joyful at the bravery and victory, because he had seized southerners and northerners.

Then Aata came to the South, his fate bringing about his doom, the gods of Upper Egypt taking hold of him. He was found by his majesty in Tenet-taa.²² His majesty carried him off as the prisoner-of-war, and all his people being easy prey. Subsequently, I carried off two Nubian fighters²³ as captives from the boat of Aata. Then one gave to me five persons as shares and a field of five *str*²⁴ in my city. The same was done for all the sailors.

Subsequently that enemy, whose name is Tetian, came, after he had gathered to himself trouble makers.²⁵ Then his majesty slaughtered him and his crew was annihilated.²⁶ Subsequently three people and a field of five *str* in my city were given to me."

Service under Amenhotep I (lines 24b-29a)

Then I transported the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Djeserkare,²⁷ the justified. He sailed to Kush²⁸ b in order to expand the border of Egypt. His majesty struck down that Nubian tribesman in the midst of his army. They were carried off in neck constraints, without losing one of them.²⁹ The one who fled was laid low like those who did not exist.³⁰ c

perfective pass. part. (Gardiner 1969 §361) are possibilities. For this translation, the latter option is followed. The *w* ending in the second occurrence might indicate the pass. *sdm.f* form, with the subject, "it" being understood. While the sense of both sentences is fairly evident, the precise grammatical understanding is uncertain.

¹³ *Knu*.

¹⁴ *W^{et}* usually means path, but could mean a water course (Wb 1:246-247). Ahmose's bravery is particularly noteworthy because he crossed over this canal (or tributary) to capture the prisoner who would have been closer to the city of Avaris.

¹⁵ This line (13) reads, "h^c. n rw mk. The placement of the particle *mk* after the initial element in the sentence is a problem, since it should stand at the beginning of a sentence (Gardiner 1969 §234). In lines 16 and 18, the formula *wn.in rw* begins the sentences followed by one beginning with *mk*. Perhaps a scribal error occurred in line 13 in which two lines, like those in 16 and 18, were conflated.

¹⁶ Sharuhen is located in southern Canaan to judge from Josh 19:6 which locates it within Simeon, the southernmost Israelite tribal territory. Albright (1929:7) proposed that Tell el-Farah (S) was Sharuhen. This identification has been challenged by a number of archaeologists in recent years who prefer Tell el-'Ajjul. Those arguing for this position include Kempinski (1974:145-152), Stewart (1974) and Weinstein (1981:241; 1991:106). Despite the compelling case that has been made for Tell el-'Ajjul, the case remains to be settled, as the archaeological evidence is too ambiguous (Hoffmeier 1989:182-184; 1991:117-120). It will likely take an inscription from one of these sites to confirm the identification of Sharuhen. [Rainey (1993) suggests the possibility of locating Sharuhen at Tell Abū Hurcira (Tel Haror).] (KLY)

¹⁷ Goedicke (1974:40-41) argues that *m rnpwt hmt* should be read as "in three years." For him this does not represent a three year long siege, but three consecutive years of campaigning. His reason for doing so is that the preposition *m* is not typically used to indicate duration of time. Gardiner (1969 §162.2), however, points to this very text to illustrate that *m* can be used to express time duration.

¹⁸ I.e. *Mntyw str*.

¹⁹ A region within Nubia (Gardiner AEO 1:48).

²⁰ I.e. *hwnw-stryw*.

²¹ Lit., "Sailing north by his majesty."

²² The determinative used with this toponym is the water sign, suggestive of a body of water, but its location is uncertain.

²³ These are *Mg²*, apparently a tribal name that subsequently came to refer to a specific para-military fighting force (Schulman 1964:25).

²⁴ Approximately 3.3 acres.

²⁵ I.e. *h^ckw ibw*, "disaffected ones" (CDME 200).

²⁶ Lit., "into that which does not exist."

²⁷ The pre-nomen of Amenhotep I, the second king of the 18th Dynasty.

²⁸ During the New Kingdom, Kush is situated south of the Third Cataract (Trigger, Kemp, O'Connor and Lloyd 1983:256).

²⁹ Lit., "without a loss of them."

³⁰ Line 25 ends by saying that none were lost, followed immediately by "the one who fled." While to a western audience, such statements appear to be contradictory, clearly it was not to the Egyptians. A similar juxtaposition regarding enemies is present in Josh 10:20 where reference is made to the total annihilation of the populace of Makkedah, followed immediately by the mention of survivors. For further discussion of this phenomenon, see Hoffmeier 1997:41.

Now I was at the head of our army. I fought truly well, his majesty having seen my bravery. I carried off two hands which were presented to his majesty. Then his people and his cattle were sought out. Subsequently I carried off a prisoner of war who was presented to his majesty. From the 'Upper Well' I brought him back to Egypt in two days. Subsequently I was rewarded with gold. I carried off two maid servants as plunder, besides these which I had presented to him. Then I was appointed as a 'Warrior of the Ruler'."

Thutmose I's Nubian Campaign (lines 29b-35)

"Then I transported the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperkare,³¹ the justified. He sailed south to Khenet-hen-nefer in order to destroy insurrection throughout foreign lands and to subdue those who enter from the dessert region.

I was brave in his presence in the rough water while pushing boats over the rapids.³² Then I was appointed as crew commander. Then his majesty, life, prosperity, and health, [...] Then his majesty raged like a panther concerning it. His majesty fired his first arrow, sticking in the neck of that enemy. Then these [enemies (?) [...]] fled, weakened by his Uraeus³³ which in a moment turned them

*d Gen 24:10;
Deut 23:4;
Judg 3:8;
Ps 60:2;
1 Chr 19:6*

into carnage. Their subjects were carried off as prisoners-of-war. His majesty sailed north with foreign lands in his grip. That feeble Nubian tribesman was hung upside down at the bow of his majesty's boat. They docked at Karnak."

Thutmose I's Euphrates Campaign (lines 36-39)

"After these things, there was an expedition to Retenu³⁴ in order to take vengeance throughout foreign lands. His majesty arrived at Naharin.³⁵ His majesty, life, prosperity, and health, discovered that enemy rallying troops. His majesty made a great heap of them. Countless were the prisoners-of-war which his majesty carried off from his victories.

Now I was at the head of our army. His majesty saw how brave I was when I carried off a chariot, its horse, and the rider³⁶ as a prisoner-of-war who was presented to his majesty. Then I was rewarded with gold again."

Conclusion (line 40)

"I am (now) elderly, having reached old age. My honors are before (me) a second time. [Bel]oved by my [lord?]. I [rest] in the tomb that I myself made."

³¹ The prenomen of Thutmose I, successor to Amenhotep I.

³² Sailing through the hazardous waters of the 1st and 2nd cataracts was notoriously dangerous. There was always the potential for loss of ships and human life. Hence, Ahmose's courage at this point of the journey was noteworthy.

³³ This is the cobra that is perched on the brow of king or attached to his crown.

³⁴ Retenu is a general term that include the area of Lebanon and Syria. Egyptian scribes could distinguish between upper and lower Retenu, but the dividing line between the two regions is unclear (Gardiner *AEO* 2:142*-149*).

³⁵ Aram Naharaim is attested in the Bible (see *d* above), referring to the land between the Euphrates and Balih or Habur. Nahar is a Semitic word for river, attested in Heb., Ug. and Akk. (*KB* 599).

³⁶ Lit., "the one who was on it."

REFERENCES

Text: Loret 1910; Sethe *Urk.* IV:1-11. Translations and studies: Albright 1929; *ANET* 233-234; Bietak 1996. Gardiner and Gunn 1918; Goedicke 1974; Hoffmeier 1989; 1991; 1997; 1999; Kempinski 1974; Lichtheim *AEL* 2:12-15; Schulman 1964; Stewart 1974; Trigger, Kemp, O'Connor and Lloyd 1983.

THUTMOSE III (2.2)

THE ANNALS OF THUTMOSE III (2.2A)

James K. Hoffmeier

These annals are among the most celebrated of ancient Egyptian historical texts. The annals are carved in raised relief on walls that surrounded the bark shrine of Amun which likewise was erected by Thutmose III. K. Sethe's collation of the annals (*Urk.* IV:625-756), despite its predisposition to offer speculative restorations, has served as the standard transcription. The historical and geographical aspects of the annals have been widely studied, and so have the forms and sources used in the composition of the annals. Earlier studies by M. Noth (1943) and H. Grapow (1947) laid the foundation for the more recent investigations of A. J. Spalinger (1974; 1977; 1982) and Redford (1986). Grapow believed that the principal source behind the annals was the daybook. Surviving daybooks date back to the Middle Kingdom and continue to be found through the New Kingdom. Redford (1986:103-121) was able to identify 16 examples of daybooks for study. The *Tagebuchstil* or "daybook style" is rather mundane with log-like records, characterized by the use of bare infinitives. A good example of this form is found in the 6th campaign, a translation of which is offered below.

Spalinger argued for the existence of a second source along with the daybook, viz. "the scribal war diary." Lines 93-94 of the annals refers to daily recording of the events of the campaign on a leather scroll. Unfortunately for Spalinger's ingenious suggestion, the scroll is not given a name. The fact that no Egyptian text mentions a "scribal war diary" leads Redford (1986:122) to reject Spalinger's hypothesis. Instead, Redford suggests that behind the detailed record of the first campaign stands a special document that complemented the daybook, "the Daybook (*hrwyt*) of the King's Palace" (1986:124-125). There is little doubt that military scribes recorded the acts of the king and other significant events while on the campaign, even "daily" as suggested by the statement in line 93. Additionally, the military scribe (*ss mscw*) Tjaneny reports that he followed Thutmose III on his campaigns, and states: "I saw the victories of the king which he made over every foreign land ... It was I who recorded the victories which he achieved over all foreign lands, it being put into writing according to what was done" (*Urk.* IV, 4, 9-10). Thus it is evident that whatever the name of the source or sources behind the annals may be, they were based upon eye-witnesses who immediately recorded salient details for future editing, expansions and recording on stelae and temple walls.

The same combination of long, detailed reports, like the Megiddo expedition, and short terse accounts, like most of the succeeding campaigns (cf. the 5th and 6th campaigns), is a feature also attested in Israel's military narratives in the book of Joshua (see Hoffmeier 1994). Joshua 1-8 contain lengthy, detailed reports about the initial Israelite campaigns in Canaan, whereas Joshua 10:28-11:14 is recorded in very stylized, repetitive expressions that look intriguingly like the *Tagbuchstil*. In a comprehensive, comparative study of ancient Near Eastern military writings of the 2nd Millennium BCE, Younger (1990) has shown that features they exhibit are very similar to those found in Hebrew military reports found in the Bible. This work, along with a study comparing the Joshua narratives with the Annals of Thutmose III (Hoffmeier 1994), demonstrates that the style and structuring of Hebrew military writings was influenced by ancient Near Eastern scribal tradition rather than an Israelite innovation by the Deuteronomistic Historian as some biblical scholars have opined (e.g. Weinfeld 1972; Van Seters 1990).

The First Asiatic Campaign

Introduction (lines 1-6a)

Horus, Strong Bull arising in Thebes; [Two Ladies, Enduring of Kingship like Re in the Sky; Horus of Gold, Mighty in Strength and of Holy Diadem]; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre; Bodily [Son of Re, Thutmose (III), of Beautiful Form, given life forever].

His majesty commanded that the [victories which his father Amun gave him be recorded as]¹ an inscription in the temple which his majesty had made for [his father Amun in order to record] each campaign along with the booty [which his majesty]

a Josh 19:6

brought [from it and the tribute of] every [foreign land] which his father Re gave to him.²

The Initiation of the First Campaign (lines 6b-13a)

Regnal year 22, fourth month of winter, day 25: [His majesty passed by the fortress of] Tjaru³ on the first victorious campaign, [in order to drive off the attackers] of Egypt's borders in bravery, [in victory, in strength and justice].⁴ Now for a [great] period of years [...] anarchy, every one [showing hostility towards]⁶ his [neighbor] [...].⁷ Now it happened in other times that the troops which were there are (now) in the city of Sharuhem,⁸ while

¹ Throughout the Annals, the names of Amun and Amun-Re have been deliberately expunged by the iconoclasts of the Amarna period.

² The name of the sun-god Re is not obliterated here as with the case of Amun throughout this text. Clearly, Re's name was not offensive to the Aten iconoclasts.

³ Traditionally, Tjaru has been identified with Tell Abu-Sefeh, a few km east of Qantara East. Recent excavations at the site have revealed an impressive fort. However, only remains of the Greco-Roman periods have surfaced thus far. Around five kilometers north of Tell Abu Sefeh, excavations at Tell Hebua have unearthed a major New Kingdom site, including a massive fort. Hebua now appears to be the more likely site for Tjaru, Egypt's frontier town. For a recent discussion of these sites and the identity of Tjaru, see Hoffmeier 1997:83-188 and Abd El-Maksoud 1999.

⁴ This line can be restored with some certainty because of its appearance in lines 15-16.

⁵ The reading of this critical lacuna is disputed. Its importance lies in the description of the condition of the empire in Syria-Palestine that prompted Thutmose's immediate attention after his gaining full control of the throne upon the death of Hatshepsut. Redford (1979:338) made a careful study of this text and rejected Sethe's restoration (*hḳꜣꜣ.n.sn ꜥꜣ pn wn m* — "they ruled this land which was in"). Instead he proposes the reading to be *iw rṯnw hṯyt* — "Retenu was terrified." More recently still, Murnane (1989) has questioned the restoration of Retenu because the *ꜥ* sign is not clear, but still thinks the provenance for the unrest is Asia. He restores *Sṯr* later in the line.

⁶ This is Redford's restoration (1979:339).

⁷ This lacuna, like the one in the previous line, is very critical because it gives details about the conditions in Canaan that prompted Thutmose's military action. A number of different readings have been offered for the partially legible text. Sethe (*Urk.* IV, 648.4) restored it as *wr.sn nty m hwt ꜣꜣꜣ*, "their chieftains who had been in Avaris." This reading lays the blame for the current rebellion on descendants of Hyksos chieftains who had lived in Egypt until ca. 1540 BCE. While it is true that Hatshepsut in the Speos Artemidos inscription at a slightly earlier date blamed the Hyksos for the conditions of temples in Egypt, it seems unlikely that a century later, and several generations removed from the expulsion of the Hyksos, the current crisis in Canaan could be connected with the "chieftains who had been in Avaris." Because of the speculative nature of Sethe's restoration, it is now largely rejected, although for many decades, his understanding influenced some Egyptologist and Syro-Palestinian archaeologists into thinking that the destruction of MB II sites in Canaan resulted from systematic, vengeful attacks on cities associated with the Hyksos (for a recent defense of this views, see Weinstein 1981; 1991; for a critique of this position, see Hoffmeier 1989).

beginning at Yursa⁸ to the farthest northlands are in rebellion against his majesty.⁹

Celebration of the anniversary of the king's coronation at Gaza (lines 13b-18a)

Regnal year 23, the first month of summer, day four, the day of the Festival of the King's Coronation at the city "That which the Ruler Captured," [whose Syrian name] is Gaza.¹⁰ [Regnal year 23], first month of summer, day five, departing from this place in bravery, [in victory], in strength and justice, in order to overthrow that feeble enemy and in order to expand the borders of Egypt¹⁰ according to what his [brave] and victorious father [Amun-Re] ordained that he conquer.

War Counsel at Yehem (lines 18b-56a)

Regnal year 23, first month of summer, day 16 at the city of Yehem.¹¹ [His majesty] ordered a consultation with his victorious army in order to say the following: "That feeble enemy of Kadesh¹² has entered Megiddo,¹³ and he is [there] at this moment, having rallied to himself the chieftains of [every] foreign land [who had been] allies of Egypt,¹³ as well as (those) from as far away as Naharin in (or being) [...], Kharu¹⁴ and Kedy,¹⁵ their horses, their armies and [their people].¹⁶

b Gen 10:19;
Deut 2:23;
Josh 11:22;
13:3; 15:47;
Judg 1:8;
1 Sam 6:17

c 2 Sam 24:6

d Josh 12:21,
etc.

e Josh 12:21;
17:11; 21:25;
Judg 1:27;
5:19; 1 Kgs
4:12; 1 Chr
7:29

f Num 14:21;
14:28; Deut
32:4; Pss
63:4; 104:33;
116:2; Isa
49:18; Jer
22:24; 46:18;
Ezek 5:11;
14:16

And he says, so it is rumored, "I will take a stand to [fight against his majesty here] at Megiddo. (Now) tell me [what is your opinion?]"¹⁷ They said to his majesty, "What is it like, traveling on this road which becomes narrow, since it is reported, the enemies are there, standing [outside],¹⁸ [and they are] becoming more numerous? Will not the horses have to go in single file¹⁹ and [the army] and people likewise? Will our lead troops²⁰ be fighting (there) while those at the rear are standing around here in Aruna,²¹ not able to fight. Now there are two (other) [roads] here. One of the roads, it [is favorable to (?)]²² our [lord] and it comes [out] at Taanach?²³ The other is at the road north of Djefii,²⁴ so that we would come out north of Megiddo. Now then, let our victorious lord proceed on whichever of [them] is bes[t in] his opinion,²⁵ but do not make us go on th[at difficult²⁶ road."

Then intelligence reports [were brought] concern[ing that feeble enemy],²⁷ [...] concerning [that] plan which they had discussed previously.²⁸ What was said in the majesty of the palace,²⁹ "I [swear]³⁰ as Re loves me and my father [Amun] praises me, as my nose is refreshed by life and

⁸ Identified with Tell Jemmeh, located around 13 km. south of Gaza (Ahituv 1984:202-203).

⁹ This statement is somewhat obscure, but it appears to be reporting that the garrison which had been stationed at a point further north had been forced to retreat to the south, viz. Sharuh. It might be that when the Prince of Kadesh, the ringleader of the rebellion, occupied Megiddo (cf. line 20), he ousted the Egyptian troops.

¹⁰ *Kmt*.

¹¹ Yehem's name is preserved in the Arabic toponym Khirbet Yamma, situated 3 km. north of Sochoh, Tell er-Ras (Ahituv 1984:198). The distance traveled by Thutmose III and his army since the departure from Gaza is 72 km. in eleven days. Subsequently, Amenhotep II camped at this site.

¹² Not to be confused with Kadesh-Barnea in northeastern Sinai, but northern Kadesh, on the Orontes River, in Syria. The site is identified with Tell Nebi Mend (Gardiner AEO 1:137).

¹³ Lit. "who had been on the water of Egypt."

¹⁴ A general term for Syria, perhaps equivalent to Retenu (Gardiner AEO 1:180-183).

¹⁵ The land north of Alalakh and Aleppo, and west of Carchemish, running to the Mediterranean (Gardiner AEO 1:132-136).

¹⁶ The expression "army and people (*rmj*)" occurs several times in the Annals. "People" apparently refers to non-combat, support personnel essential to the mission.

¹⁷ This line was restored by Sethe as *ntt m ib.tn*, lit. "what is in your heart."

¹⁸ It is unclear whether this means the rebel forces are waiting at the other end of the Kina Valley, or in a general sense, outside of Megiddo. Regarding the former, Faulkner (1942:14) argued "'standing ready at its mouth'" (his translation) should not be taken too literally, "because Thutmose was able to lead this troops through the valley "virtually unopposed."

¹⁹ Lit. "horse after [horse]."

²⁰ *Hf* lit. means in front, and here "those in front," and hence has been translated "vanguard" (CDME 162; Lichtheim AEL 2:31).

²¹ The king's strategy session occurs at Yehem. Aruna, where the narrow pass begins, was still approximately 20 km ahead. Thus "here" (°) does not mean "here in Yehem," but at Aruna. Aruna is identified with Khirbet 'Arah, situated near the modern village by the same name (Ahituv 1984:67).

²² Sethe restored this break as "[beneficial to] our lord," a reading rejected as "certainly wrong" by Faulkner (1942:5), but he offers no alternative. Lichtheim (AEL 2:31) speculates a reading "[to our east]."

²³ Taanach is identified with Tell Ta'innik, located about 8 km southeast of Megiddo (Ahituv 1984:184-185), guarding one of the entrances to the Jezreel Valley. The close relationship between Megiddo and Taanach is well reflected in the Bible. Of the seven references to Taanach cited in note e, only Josh 21:25 does not also mention Megiddo.

²⁴ For Hebrew *sphath*, a town located at Khirbet Sitt Leila which looks out upon the northern road proposed by Thutmose's general (Ahituv 1984:204-205).

²⁵ Lit. "on the best for his heart of them."

²⁶ The word used here is *šr*, most commonly meaning secret or mysterious, but also difficult or hard, "schwierig" (Wb 4:551).

²⁷ Faulkner (1942:5 n. g) believes that Sethe's restoration is quite plausible.

²⁸ Apparently Thutmose's spies returned with a report on the placement of the rebel forces, which apparently influenced the king's decision on the route to take.

²⁹ *šp s* is an expression meaning protection (Wb 4:339), with the addition of the house determinative for the royal court or palace (Wb 4:340-341). Faulkner (1942:3) renders *šp s* as "royal tent," since on a military campaign, the king's tent was his traveling palace,

³⁰ Lit. "As I live." This oath formula is the same one used in Israel (cf. references in note f).

dominion. My majesty will proceed on this Aruna road. Let whoever desires among you to go on those roads of which you speak, and let whoever desires among you to come in the following of my majesty. Do not let them say,³¹ those enemies who are an abomination to Re, 'Has his majesty proceeded on another road because he is afraid of us,' so they will say."

They said to him, "May your father Amun, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands who is foremost at Karnak, do [what is in your heart]. See here, we are followers of your majesty: anywhere that [your majesty] goes, there a servant will be, behind [his] lord."

[His majesty gave the] (following) command to his whole army: ["Your victorious lord will] protect³² [your march on th]at road which becomes narrow[er]."] [His majesty had made] an oath, saying, "I will not let [my victorious army] go out in front of my majesty in [this place]." Now his majesty had determined³³ that he would go out leading his army in person. [Everyone] was briefed³⁴ on the marching orders, horses in single file, [his majesty] being at the head of his army.

The Stop-over at Aruna (lines 56b-82)

Regnal year 23, first month of summer, day 19,³⁵ awaking in [life] in the tent of life,³⁶ prosperity, and health at the city of Aruna. Journeying northwards by my majesty under <my> father [Amun-Re Lord of the thrones of the two lands] that he may [blaze the trail]³⁷ in front of me, Re-horakhty

encourag[ing]³⁸ my victorious army], <my> father [Amun s]trengthened the powerful ar[m of my majesty]. [... Horus(?) as protection]³⁹ over my majesty.

Exiting (the narrow pass) by [his majesty] [at the front of] his [army], organized in many divisions, [without encountering] a single [enemy].⁴⁰ [Their] southern flanks were in Taanach, [while their] northern flank was in the sou[thern] bend [of ...].⁴¹ [Then] his majesty cried out concerning [this] r[oad] [...] "They are defeated," while that [feeble] enemy [...] ⁴² [text is virtually unreadable through the end of line 69] [Give] praise to him, [extol the power] of his majesty on account of the greatness of his powerful arm more than [any king].⁴³ [...] of⁴⁴ the army of his majesty in Aruna. Now the rear of the victorious army of his majesty was (still) at the [city] of Aruna, while the front was coming out into the Valley of Kina, they having filled the mouth of this valley.

Then they said to his majesty (life, prosperity, and health), "Look here, his majesty and his victorious army have come out and have filled the valley. Let our victorious lord listen to us this time. Let our lord guard for us the rear of his army and his people. When the rear of our army comes outside (the valley) to us, then we will fight against these foreigners and we will not be concerned for the rear of our army." His majesty secured the outside. [He] sat [...] there, guarding the rear of his victorious army. Now when the [le]ad troops had

³¹ Here this line is understood as *m di k² sn*, the negative *m* + negational complement, *di*, "do not let" (cf. Gardiner 1969 §341). Lichtheim (*AEL* 2:31) and Faulkner (1942:3) understand the first two signs to read as *ink*, "behold."

³² This word is partially preserved, the first sign, *n*, is preserved, while the smaller sign beneath it is obliterated. Sethe (*Urk. IV* 652 n. a) indicates that a number of signs could fit, including *h*, but he opts for *h* reading the word as *nhm*, meaning, "guard and protect" (*Wb* 2:296). Alternatively, if *h* is the missing sign, the word would be *nh*, also meaning "protect" (*Wb* 2:304). Either reading makes good sense in view of the fear of Thutmose's officers to go through the Aruna pass.

³³ If Sethe's restoration is correct, the line lit. reads, "his majesty placed in his heart," hence the meaning "determined" (*CDME* 155).

³⁴ Lit. "caused to know."

³⁵ Three days had passed since the consultation had taken place in Yehem. This distance from Yehem to Aruna should only have taken a day to travel. Since this date marks the beginning of day 19, Thutmose and his army might have arrived the night before.

³⁶ It has been suggested that this formula, which occurs elsewhere in the annals, as well as in the military documents of Amenhotep II and Ramesses II (see Hoffmeier 1977:16-17 for references and discussion), signaled the beginning of a new day in the daybook which served as the source for the Annals (Spalinger 1975:222). See also *COS* 2.1, note 6.

³⁷ The idiom, *wpt w²wt* (lit. "open the ways") occurs in the Armant Stela (line 12), but it is the king who blazes the trail whereas here in the Annals, it is Amun-Re who "blazes the trail."

³⁸ Lit. "making firm the heart."

³⁹ The falcon on the standard, a determinative that often accompanies the writing of Horus, is visible. The appearance of Horus here makes sense since the falcon usually flies over the head of the king in the iconography.

⁴⁰ Sethe's restoration is possible, but, in the absence of evidence, was rejected by Faulkner (1942:7). Lichtheim (*AEL* 2:31), however, follows it.

⁴¹ Understanding this critical line is problematic because of two lacunae. Sethe posits "of the Kina Valley" for the second break. It is hard to believe, however, that Thutmose could lead his troops right by the coalition's forces in the narrow pass without a skirmish. Lichtheim (*AEL* 2:35 n. 6) thinks that restoring Kina Valley may be erroneous.

⁴² The break at this critical juncture prevents one from knowing with certainty why the king was so elated. Thutmose's excitement may stem from either seeing no defenders as he exits the ravine, hence, "they are as good as defeated," or, there was such a small force posted that they were quickly overwhelmed. This latter point is preferred by Faulkner (1942:9 n. v) because he finds it unlikely that the Prince of Kadesh would not have placed some troops at this possible point of egress.

⁴³ Sethe restores this as [*ntrw nbw*] "all the gods." This reading is unlikely because the king is never described in terms superior to deity.

⁴⁴ Sethe's restoration reads: "[He guarded the rear of] the army of his majesty ..." Faulkner (1942:9 n. y) left this space blank, while acknowledging that the reading is possible. Lichtheim (*AEL* 2:31) adopts the reading.

finished coming out on this road, it was noon.⁴⁵

Setting up camp at Megiddo (lines 83-84a)

His majesty arrived south of Megiddo, on the banks of the Kina Brook, at seven in the evening. Then the camp was set up there for his majesty. Then he made the following command to the entire army, [saying]: "Make your preparations, get your weapons ready because one will engage in fighting with that feeble enemy in the morning,⁴⁶ because one [...]"

Resting in the enclosure⁴⁷ of life, prosperity, and health.⁴⁸ Making provisions for the officers and distributing rations to the attendants. Sentries were posted for the army, saying to them: "Be courageous, be courageous, keep awake, keep awake!"

Awaking in life in the tent of life, prosperity, and health. One came to brief his majesty,⁴⁹ "the coast is clear⁵⁰ and the troops north and south are also (safe)."

The Battle at Megiddo (lines 84b-89)

Year 23, first month of summer, day 21.⁵¹ The exact day of the festival of the new moon.⁵² The appearance of the king at dawn. Now orders were given to the entire army to deploy⁵³ [...]. His majesty set off on his electrum chariot, equipped with an impressive array of weapons, like a strong-armed Horus, Lord of Action, like Montu of Thebes, his father [Amun] making his arms victorious. The southern flank of his majesty's army was at the southern mountain [by?] the Kina [brook], and the northern flank was northwest of Megiddo, while his majesty was in the middle of

them, [Amun] protecting his body in the melee and the strength of [Seth fills] his limbs. Then his majesty overpowered them while leading his army. They saw his majesty overpower them. They fled, falling headlong [toward] Megiddo with fearful faces, they having abandoned their horses and chariots of gold and silver in order that they be dragged and hoisted by their clothes into this city.

Now because the people had sealed this city against th[em],⁵⁴ they let down garments in order to hoist them up into this city. Now if only the army of his majesty had not set their minds to looting the possessions of those enemies,⁵⁵ th[ey] would have [taken] Megiddo at that time. Now (even) the feeble enemy of Kadesh and the feeble enemy of this city were being dragged, scrambling, to get them into their city. The fear of his majesty had penetrated [their limbs], their arms were exhausted, [for (?)] his Uraeus overpowered them.

Meanwhile, their horses and chariots of gold and silver were taken easily as [booty].⁵⁶ Their troo[ps] were lying around on (their) backs⁵⁷ like fish in the bight of a net as his majesty's victorious army tallied their possessions.

Now the tent belonging to [that] feeble [enemy] which was dec[orated with gold]⁵⁸ was plundered.⁵⁹ [...] The whole army was shouting, giving praise to [Amun for the victor]ies which he gave to his son [today, and they gave thanks] to his majesty, extolling his victory. They presented the plunder which they had carried off, hands, prisoners of war, horses, gold and silver chariots and pla[ti]

⁴⁵ Lit. "the shadow turned."

⁴⁶ Lit. "seven hours from the turning of the day," i.e. seven hours after noon, since the king and the lead battalion reached the exiting point of the valley at noon. In his commentary on this passage, Faulkner (1942:10 n. bb) proposes that Thutmose and the lead battalion departed Aruna around 7:30 A.M., arriving at noon, and the last battalion would have departed around 2:30 P.M. in order to cover the ca. 15-16 km by 7:00 P.M.

⁴⁷ The word here is *ḥny*. Three different words are used to describe the royal camp and tent. *hy* (line 83), *ḥny* (line 84) and *im* (lines 57 and 84) which apparently reflects a tripartite structure. When this terminology is viewed in the light of Ramesses II's camp at Kadesh, depicted at Luxor and Abu Simbel Temples (Wrezinski 1938-41:82, 170), the three-fold structure is evident. An outer wall marks the perimeter of the camp. *hy* appears to be the general term for this enclosure. The *ḥny* is possibly a smaller enclosure within the camp in which the king's tent (*im*) is located (Hoffmeier 1977:16, 18).

⁴⁸ This formula is the opposite of "awaking the tent" which pointed to the beginning of the day in the daybook (cf. note 36 above). The "resting" formula, which also occurs in the Memphis Stela of Amenhotep II (see COS 2.3 below), could be denoting the end of the daybook entry (Hoffmeier 1977:17).

⁴⁹ Lit. "one came to say." The formula "one came" (*iw.nw*) is a standard formula for introducing a report (Spalinger 1982:1-33).

⁵⁰ Lit. "the desert or waste-land is safe." Faulkner's translation, "the coast is clear," beautifully captures the meaning of this expression (1942:11 n. gg).

⁵¹ The reading "day 21" has been questioned by Faulkner (1942:11 n. hh) and others (e.g. Parker 1957) because if Thutmose's army had passed through the Aruna Valley on the 19th, they could not possibly have stayed undetected for another day before the battle began on the morning of the 21st. There is no doubt that this missing day poses a problem.

⁵² This lunar date is a pivotal datum in establishing Thutmose III's accession date, with 1504 BCE and 1490 BCE being favored by some (cf. Parker, 1957; Lello 1978; Casperson 1986), while others prefer 1479 BCE (Kitchen 1987; 1989; Hornung 1987).

⁵³ The verb *ss*, or *smi*, assuming the walking legs sign is lost in the lacuna, means "pass" or "spread out" (CDME 246; Wb 3:454). In the "Tale of Sinuhe" (B 123), in a military setting, this word appears to mean "draw" weapons. Hence, "deploy" here makes good sense.

⁵⁴ *ḥr.s* is visible, but there appears to be room for the *n* over the plural strokes. The reading would be *sn*, the third pl. suffix-pronoun.

⁵⁵ i.e. from the camp outside the city and the chariotry that was abandoned.

⁵⁶ Lit. "taken, made as easy prey." Faulkner (CDME 29) considered the expression *ḥ²ḥ* to mean "easy prey."

⁵⁷ Lit. "lying down in prostration." The determinative for both words shows a figure lying on its back.

⁵⁸ This restoration is likely correct, based upon the booty list. Line 97 mentions the seven tent poles that were decorated in silver.

⁵⁹ The seizure of the enemy's tent may have special military significance in Near Eastern context (cf. Hoffmeier 1991:18-19).

ones].⁶⁰

The Siege of Megiddo (lines 90-94a)

[...] [His majesty gave] orders to his army, saying, "Capture w[ell], capture w[ell], Oh my v[ic]torious [army!] Look, [all foreign lands are] placed [in this city according to the decree] of Re today, because every chieftain of all [northe]rn lands is bottled up within it, and because the capture of Megiddo is the capture of 1000 cities, so capture firmly, capture firmly. Lo[ok ...] [...] troop [comman]ders to equi[p their army in order to inform] every [man] of his position, they having measured [this] city, encircling (it) with a ditch, enclosing (it) with fresh branches of all their fruit trees.⁶¹ His majesty himself was at a fort east of th[is] city, [keeping wa]tch [over it, night and day]. [...] its enclo]sure being a thick wall [...] was its thickness. It was named "Menkheperre-Trapper-of-Asiatics." People were put on guard at his majesty's enclosure.⁶² They were told, "Be courageous, be courageous, keep awake, keep awake!" [Now] his majesty [...] Not o]ne of them [was allowed to go] out beyond this wall, except to come in order to knock on the door of their fortress.⁶³

As a matter of fact, everything which his majesty did to this city, to that feeble enemy and his feeble army, was recorded daily by its name, by the name of the expedition, and [by the] name[s] of the tr[oo]p commanders. [...] in order to put it into writing according to this command]. They are recorded on a leather scroll that is in the temple of [Amun] today.

The Surrender of Megiddo (lines 94b-95)

Now the chieftains of this foreign land came on their bellies in order to kiss the ground because of the awe of his majesty, in order to beg for the breath of their nostril because of the greatness of his powerful arm and the vastness of the awe [of Amu]n over every foreign land [...] foreign land. Now [all] the chieftains, [ca]rried off by the awe of his majesty, bore their tribute of silver, gold, lapis lazuli and copper, bearing grain, wine, cattle and flocks for the army of his majesty; one company of them carried tribute on the journey south. Now his majesty reappointed the chieftains of [every city ...].

g Deut 20:19-20

h 1 Kgs 22:34; 2 Chr 18:33

The Booty List (lines 96-102a)

[The list of booty which his majesty carried off from the city of] Megiddo:

3400 prisoners-of-war
83 hands
2041 horses
191 foals
6 stallions
... colts
The gold decorated chariot and golden (chariot) pole of that enemy.
The fine, gold decorated chariot of the chieftain of [Megiddo].
[...]
892 chariots of his feeble army, totalling 924.
The fine, bronze mail coat⁶⁴ of that enemy.
The fine bronze mail coat of the chieftain of Megiddo.
20 mail [...] coats of his feeble army.
502 bows
7 fine silver decorated tent poles of the tent of that enemy.
Now [his majesty's] army captured [the livestock of this city]
[...]
387 [...] cows
1929 cows
2000 goats
20,500 sheep

The list of that which was carried away afterwards by the king of the possessions of the palace of that enemy from Yenoam,⁶⁵ from Inuges, from Herenkaru,⁶⁶ and the property of those cities which had been loyal to him which were carried away because of [the awe of his majesty].

[...]
[the wives of that enemy along with those who were with him ...]
and 38 [Marayanu]⁶⁷ belonging to them.
87 children of that enemy and the chieftains who were with him and 5 Marayanu belonging to them.
1796 male, female servants and their children.
103 who surrendered and defected from that enemy because of hunger.
A total of 2503.

⁶⁰ The reading *ncc* seems certain (Faulkner 1942:14 n. rr), and means "smooth" or "undecorated" (CDME 126; Wb 2:208), and seems to refer to undecorated or plain chariots over against decorated types used by the kings or highest ranking officers.

⁶¹ The mention of "fruit trees" is especially interesting in that the Egyptians felt no obligation to preserve fruit bearing trees as a humanitarian gesture to the local population whereas the Hebrews are specifically instructed to discriminate between fruit and non-fruit bearing trees for siege equipment (Deut 20:19-20). They were not to cut down the former. Cf. also COS 2.2B, note 19a. and COS 2.113C, note 3.

⁶² Cf. note 47.

⁶³ This expression apparently means to surrender (cf. Lichtheim AEL 2:35, n. 8).

⁶⁴ Lit. "bronze tunic for fighting." The word "tunic" (*mss*) is written with a leather hide determinative, suggesting that the leather coat had small bronze plates attached to it. This type of armor is depicted on a Canaanite charioteer in the scene on Thutmose IV's chariot body.

⁶⁵ Located in southern Bashan (Ahituv 1984:199), possibly el-'Abadiyeh (Aharoni 1979:443). See COS 2.6, note 4.

⁶⁶ A city-state in Upper Retenu, Syria (Gardiner AEO 1:169).

⁶⁷ An Indo-European word for an elite chariot warrior (Gardiner 1961:203).

Additionally, precious stones, gold, bowls, and a variety of vessels. [...], a large jar of Syrian workmanship, vases, bowls, plates, a variety of drinking cups, large vessels, [x +]27 knives, adding up to 1784 *deben*.⁶⁸ Golden disks which were hand crafted and many silver disks, adding up to 966 *deben* and one *kite*.⁶⁹ A silver statue being formed [... statue of that enemy who] was there (?). A (statue) head of gold. 3 human-headed staves. 6 carrying chairs of that enemy (made) of ivory, ebony, *ssndm*-wood and decorated in gold. 6 footstools⁷⁰ of theirs. 6 large offering tables (made) of ebony and *ssndm*-wood. A bed of *ssndm*-wood decorated with gold and gems, (made) in the form of a bed⁷¹ belonging to that enemy, and decorated with gold entirely. An ebony statue of that enemy which was decorated with gold, the head of which is (made) of lapis lazuli. [...] bronze vessels, and many clothes of that enemy.

Harvesting the Fields of Megiddo (lines 102b-103a)

Now the fields were divided into plots and assigned to royal agents⁷² in order to reap their harvest. A list of the harvest which was taken away for his majesty from the fields of Megiddo: 207,300 [x + x] sacks of wheat, apart from gleanings taken⁷³ by the army of his majesty. [...]

The Fifth Asiatic Campaign (lines 3-5)⁷⁴

Regnal year 29. Now [his] majesty[was in Dja]hy⁷⁵ destroying foreign nations which had been re-

bellious towards him on his fifth victorious campaign. Now his majesty plundered the city of War[t]jet. [...] Giving praise to his majesty by his army. Giving adoration to [Amun] for the victories [which he] had given to his son. They were happy and pleased with his majesty more than anything. Thereafter, his majesty proceeded to the offering storehouse. Giving offerings to [Amun]-Re-Harakhty consisting of oxen, fowl, short-horned cattle [...] [on behalf of, life, prosperity, and health, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt], Menkheper[re], given life forever.

The list of the plunder which was brought from this city and from the troops of that enemy of Tunip:⁷⁶ 1 chieftain of this city; 329 Syrian warriors, 100 *deben* of fine gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise, and vessels of bronze and copper ...

The Sixth Asiatic Campaign (lines 9-10)⁷⁷

Regnal year 30. Now his majesty was in the foreign land of Retenu⁷⁸ on this 6th victorious campaign of his majesty. Arriving at the city of Kadesh, destroying it, cutting down its trees and plucking its barley. Proceeding from Shesryt,⁷⁹ arriving at the City of Djamer,⁸⁰ arriving at the city of Irtjet (*Irtwt*).⁸¹ Doing likewise against it.

The list of the gifts⁸² which were brought by the chieftain of Retenu because of the awe of his majesty ...

⁶⁸ One *deben* weighs 91 grams.

⁶⁹ This measurement is a tenth of a *deben*.

⁷⁰ The Egyptian word is *hdm*, a Semitic loan word (*KB* 225).

⁷¹ Apparently this word refers to a type of couch or bed (*DLE* 4:44). This word survives into Coptic where it means "bed, bier" (Černý 1976:330).

⁷² Lit. "agents of the palace, life, prosperity, and health."

⁷³ Lit. "cuttings which were taken."

⁷⁴ Text in *Urk. IV*, 685-687.

⁷⁵ This term seems to generally apply to the area of Palestine/Canaan, as compared with Syria, *Hrw* (Gardiner *AEO* 1:182*), but it is admittedly vague (Redford 1992:255).

⁷⁶ Located in Naharin (Gardiner *AEO* 1:179*).

⁷⁷ Text in *Urk IV*, 689-690.

⁷⁸ See *COS* 2.1, note 34.

⁷⁹ A north Syrian city in the region of Kadesh.

⁸⁰ A coastal city in North Syria (Gardiner *AEO* 1:136*).

⁸¹ A north Syrian city in the region of Kadesh.

⁸² The word used here is *inw*, lit. "that which is brought." Bleiberg (1996) has argued that the traditional translations, tribute and booty, do not take into account ancient economic considerations, and thus he opts for the meaning "official gift."

REFERENCES

Text: *Urk. IV*, 647-667, 685-687, 689-690. Translations and studies: *ANET* 234-238; Lichtheim *AEL* 2:12-15.

THE GEBEL BARKAL STELA OF THUTMOSE III (2.2B)

James K. Hoffmeier

Found in the temple built by Thutmose III at Gebel Barkal in the Fourth Cataract region, this stela offers an overview of Pharaoh's military accomplishments and hunting heroics. While much of what is reported on the stela is recorded in the Annals, it does, nevertheless, provide important supplemental information. For instance, the duration of the siege of Megiddo, not mentioned in the Annals, is given as seven months (line 20). The text moves back and forth between sober historical statements and grandiose claims, a common historiographic practice in Egyptian royal inscriptions (Hoffmeier 1992).

Of special interest is the mention of a miraculous star (a shooting star?) which appeared while on a foreign campaign. This "miracle" (*bi(?)yr*) overwhelmed the enemy, and spooked the horses, resulting in an impressive victory for Thutmose III. This miracle is clearly attributed to Amun-Re who was acting on the king's behalf (lines 36-37). On the use of divine intervention in ancient Near Eastern historiography, as well as the use of hyperbolic statements about military prowess and success, see Hoffmeier 1994; 1997:38-43; Weinfeld 1983:121-147; Younger 1990:165-266.

Royal titles (line 1a)

Regnal year 47, third month of the inundation season, day 10 under the majesty of Horus, Strong Bull arising in Thebes; Two Ladies, Enduring of Kingship like Re in the Sky; Horus of Gold, of Holy Diadem, Mighty in Strength; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre; the Beloved, Bodily Son of Re, Lord of Every Foreign Land, Thutmose (III), of Beautiful Form.

The king's bravery and might reviewed (lines 1b-8a)

He made it as his monument for his father [Amun-Re],¹ Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands in the fortress (called) "Destroying Foreigners," making for him an eternal dwelling since he magnifies the victories of my majesty more than any king who ever existed, I having seized Southerners through the order of his *Ka*² and Northerners in accordance with his governance.

He created the Son of Re, Thutmose, Ruler of Thebes, may he be granted life like Re forever, the good god who captures with his powerful arm, smiting southerners and beheading northerners, who shatters the heads of evil characters, slaughtering Asian Bedouin³ and overthrowing

defiant desert dwellers, who subdues the marshlands and strikes down the tribesmen of Ta-Seti,⁴ and vanquishes the foreign lands who attacked him.

He is one who faces aggressively the battlefield in a state of rage, all foreign lands being united, standing as one prepared to fight; there is no coward⁵ (among them) because of trust in (their) numerous squadrons, and no end of people and horses. With fearless hearts they came, their hearts being charged. The mighty powerful one overthrew them, the strong-armed one⁶ who tramples his enemies.

He is a king who fights alone, without a multitude to back him up. He is more effective than a myriad of numerous armies. An equal to him has not been, (he is) a warrior who extends his arm⁷ on the battlefield, no one can touch him.⁸ He is one who immediately overwhelms all foreign lands while at the head of his army, as he shoots between the two divisions of troops, like a star he crosses the sky, entering into the throng, [while a bl]ast⁹ of his flame is against them¹⁰ with fire, turning into nothing¹¹ those who lie prostrate in their blood. It

¹ Throughout this stela, the name and epithets of Amun-Re were erased during the period of Akhenaten's iconoclasm.

² The *kꜣ* or *ku* is one of the attributes of humans and deities. The traditional translation "spirit" is inadequate for it assumes Greek or Judeo-Christian anthropology. Some prefer rendering it as alter ego.

³ *Šꜣt mntyw šft*.

⁴ This is the name of the first southern nome of Egypt that included the area of present day Aswan (Montet 1961:13-14). This area served as the dividing line between Egypt and Nubia, and in earlier periods, Ta-Seti may have been considered to be within Nubia, and hence, during the New Kingdom, the name appears to include Nubia. Thutmose was hunting in the *hꜣst* of Ta-seti, either the desert or highlands region, the area away from the Nile Valley.

⁵ The word *bhw* means "fugitive," i.e. one who flees (*Wb* 1:467). In this military context, the word "coward" seems appropriate.

⁶ *Tmꜣꜣ*.

⁷ *Prꜣ*, lit. "extending the arm." This idiom may have its counterpart in the Bible; viz. Heb. *š'roa' n'tūyā*, "outstretched arm" in the Exodus narratives (Hoffmeier 1986:378-387; Görg 1986:323-330). The use of this expression, and its counterpart, *yād h'zāqāh*, "strong hand, to describe the struggle between Yahweh and Pharaoh, may deliberately have been chosen because of the Egyptian symbolic significance.

⁸ Lit. "there is not standing in his vicinity."

⁹ There is a small break in the text, which almost certainly reads *wn thy*.

¹⁰ The pronoun is feminine singular, referring back to *wnu* which we have rendered as "throng."

¹¹ *Ir st m tm wn*, lit. "making them into that which does not exist."

is his uraeus¹² that overthrows them for him, his flaming serpent that subdues his enemies, with the result that numerous armies of Mitanni were overthrown in the space of an hour, annihilated completely like those who had not existed, in the manner of those who are burned, because of that which the arms of the good god performed, great of might in the mêlée, who slaughters everyone, by himself alone, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, may he live forever.

He is Horus, the strong-armed one, an excellent fortress for his armies, a refuge for the people,^a one who subdues all lands when they invade,¹³ one who rescues^b Egypt on the field of battle, a defender who is not afraid of ravenous ones. He is a stout-hearted bull. His southern border is to the Horns of the Earth,¹⁴ to the southernmost part of this land, and the northern to the far reaches of Asia,¹⁵ towards the supports of heaven.^c With heads bowed they come to him in quest of his breath of life.¹⁶

Campaign to Mesopotamia (lines 8b-16a)

He is a king who is valorous like Montu,¹⁷ who captures but no one captures from his hand, who tramples all rebellious foreign lands, there was no one to protect them in that land of Naharin¹⁸ because its lord had fled out of fear. I hacked up his cities and villages¹⁹ and set fire to them, my majesty having reduced them to mounds. They will not be repopulated, my majesty having carried off all their people as prisoners of war and their cattle without limit and their property as well. From it I took grain and plucked their barley. I cut down all their orchards and all their fruit trees.^{19a} Their territory has been cut off, my majesty demolished it, it having turned into [...] on which there are no trees. Now my majesty traveled to the far reaches of Asia. I had many boats built of Ash-wood²⁰ on the moun-

^a Deut 33:27;
Pss 9:10[9];
46:2[1]; 62:8

^b Pss 18:17;
22:8; 143:9

^c 2 Sam 2:8;
Job 26:11

^d Jer 1:18;
Ezek 4:3

tains of the god's land²¹ in the vicinity of the Lady of Byblos²² which were placed on wagons²³ and oxen carted (them). They traveled in fro[nt ...] of my majesty in order to cross that great river which flows in between this foreign land and Naharin. But he is a king to be hailed because of his arms in the mêlée, who crossed the Euphrates after the one who had attacked him, at the head of his armies seeking that feeble enemy [from] the land of Mitanni. Now he is the one who flees in fear before his majesty to another distant land.

Then, my majesty set up my siela on that mountain of Naharin being hewn from the mountain on the western side of the Euphrates. There is no opponent of mine in the southern lands, northerners come bowing because of my awe. It was Re who ordained it concerning me, I having surrounded that which his eye has encircled. He gave to me the length and breadth of the land, I having bound together the Nine Bows,²⁴ the islands in the midst of the sea, the Aegean and rebellious foreign lands. I turned back in a southerly direction to Egypt,²⁵ having strong-armed Naharin, great was the terror in the mouths of the desert dwellers, their gates being sealing because of it, and they do not come outside in fear of the bull. He is a king who is a champion,²⁶ an excellent fortress for his armies, a rampart of iron^d [...], he attacks every land with his powerful arm, without a myriad of men to back him up, who shoots to hit each time he takes aim, his arrows do not miss, a strong arm, its like has not existed, a Montu who is brave on the battlefield.

Hunting Elephants in Syria (lines 16b-18a)

Here is another act of victory which Re ordained for me. He repeated for me great acts of bravery by the Lake of Ny.²⁷ He allowed me to corral a (herd) of elephants. My majesty fought them, a herd

¹² The cobra that regularly appears on the king's crown.

¹³ Lit. "when smiting the land before his face" (*m hwi r² r hr f*).

¹⁴ Also in line 28. The location and identity of this designation is uncertain, but it clearly represents the southern counterpart to the "supports of heaven" in the north. These expressions likely mean the northern and southern extremities of the earth.

¹⁵ The term used here is *Sr*.

¹⁶ Williams (1969:93-94) suggested that the Heb. expression "breath of life" (e.g. Gen 2:7; Lam 4:20; 2 Chr 35:25) was an Egyptianism.

¹⁷ War-god of Thebes whose cult gained prominence beginning with the 11th Dynasty.

¹⁸ See COS 2.1, note 35 above.

¹⁹ *Wrry* when written with the people determinative usually means "family" or "tribe" as is the case here. However, when the city-sign is used, the meaning is "village." We have rendered *why* as villages, despite the fact that the "peoples" sign is used, because of the parallelism with "cities" which immediately precedes it.

^{19a} See COS 2.2A, note 61.

²⁰ Traditionally, *ʿš* was thought to be "cedar" (*Wb* 1:228; *CDME* 49), although juniper has also been suggested (Gardiner *AEO* 1:8 n. 1).

²¹ This expression is often used for the land of Punt (*Wb* 5:225; *CDME* 293). Here, however, a Phoenician context is obvious. "God's land" seems to signify a place where exotic goods are obtained.

²² The local deity associated with the Egyptian goddess Hathor (Bleeker 1973:72).

²³ *Wrry* is the common word for chariot. Given the light frame and thin wheels of Egyptian chariots, their value for transporting heavy materials would have been limited. Clearly a cart is the vehicle in question.

²⁴ A popular expression for the enemies of Egypt.

²⁵ *T² mri*.

²⁶ *Pr^c*, lit. "one who extends his arm," i.e. is active, athletic.

²⁷ This land is located in Syria, somewhere south of Alalakh and north of Kadesh (Gardiner *AEO* 2:167*).

of 120! Never had the like been done by any king since the time of god, those who had worn the white crown. It is without exaggeration and without falsehood that I have said this. <I> did it in accordance with that which [Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands] ordained for me, who leads my majesty on the right path according to his excellent plans. For me he has united the Black Land and Red Land,²⁸ and that which the sun-disc²⁹ encircles is in my grasp.

The First Asian Campaign (lines 18b-27a)

Now let me report to you, pay attention folks! On the first campaign, he ordained for me the lands of Retenu³⁰ when they came in order to engage (in battle) with my majesty with a myriad of men, hundreds of thousands with the headmen of all foreign lands, standing on their chariots, comprising 330 chieftains, each one with their armies.

Now they were in the Kina Valley,³¹ ready, indeed, in a narrow pass. A fortunate thing occurred by my hand against them. My majesty attacked them. Whereupon they immediately fled, falling headlong. They entered Megiddo³² and my majesty shut them up for a period of seven months before they came out, imploring my majesty, saying "Give us your breath O our Lord. The people³³ of Retenu will never again rebel against you."

Then that feeble enemy and his chieftains who were with him, had all their children sent out³⁴ to my majesty with gifts and bearing much tribute of gold and silver, all their horses which were with them, their magnificent chariots of gold and silver, and those which were undecorated, all their mail armor,³⁵ their bows, their arrows and all their weapons of combat. It is these with which they came bearing (arms) in order to fight from afar against his majesty. Instead they brought them as tribute to my majesty. Now they were standing on their walls, giving praise to my majesty, seeking that the breath of life be given to them. Then my majesty had an oath of allegiance administered,³⁴

e Josh 12:21;
17:11; Judg
1:27; 5:19;
etc.

J Gen 33:4-9

g Gen 10:6-
7; 2 Kgs 19:9;
Esth 1:1;
1 Chr 1:8;
Isa 18:1;
20:3; Ezek
29:10; 30:4

saying, "Never again will we do evil against Menkheperre, may he live for ever, our lord in our lifetime, since we have seen his awe. It was because of his love that he gave us breath. It was his father [Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands?] who performed it, it was indeed not a human hand." Then my majesty permitted them to set out on the roads to their cities. Since I had taken their chariotry, they all set out on donkeys. I carried off their citizens to Egypt and their property also. It was my father who gave them to me, [Amun-Re] the magnificent god, the one who accomplishes successfully, whose plans do not fail, who sent my majesty in order to seize lands. All foreigners who were united, I overthrew them in accordance with his decree in the way he is accustomed to doing. He caused me to smite all foreigners without there being one to challenge him. It was my mace which overthrew the Asiatics,³⁵ my club which smote the Nine Bows. My majesty subdued all lands, Retenu being under my sandals, and Nubians being the vassals of my majesty.

Nubian and Levantine Tribute (lines 27b-32)

They pay me taxes as a unity, a levy of millions of taxes of numerous products of the Horns of the Earth, abundant gold of Wawat,³⁶ there being no limit to its amount. (Boats) were built there for the palace (life prosperity and health), each and every year, viz. Khementy-w-ships and boats, more than (the available) crews of sailors, besides the tribute of the Nubians which consisted of ivory and ebony.³⁷ An abundance of timber comes to me from Kush,³⁸ including beams of dome-palm, limitless furniture made of acacia from the Southland. My armies in Kush which are there in great number, hewed them [...] the multitude of dome-palm boats which my majesty brought in victory. [Timber] is also hewed for me in Djahy³⁹ each and every year, including real 'Ash-wood of Lebanon which was brought to the palace (life prosperity and health). An abundance of timber comes to me in Egypt⁴⁰

²⁸ I.e. Egypt.

²⁹ I.e. *aten*, the Aten.

³⁰ See COS 2.1, note 34.

³¹ This valley is identified with Wadi es-Sitt which leads into the Jezreel Valley (Ahluv 1984:159).

³² Lit. "foreigners."

³³ Lit. "all their tunics for fighting."

³⁴ Merschauer (1988:93-103) has made a compelling case for the expression *sdf tryt* meaning "to pardon"; however, the traditional interpretation remains a viable option.

³⁵ *mw*.

³⁶ During the New Kingdom, Wawat is located south of the First Cataract, and probably included the Second Cataract region (Trigger, Kemp, O'Connor and Lloyd 1983:256).

³⁷ The Egyptian word is *hby*, the source of the English word, ebony.

³⁸ During the New Kingdom, Kush is situated south of the Third Cataract (Trigger, Kemp, O'Connor and Lloyd 1983:256).

³⁹ This term seems to generally apply to the area of Palestine/Canaan, as compared with Syria, *h³rw* (Gardiner AEO 1:182*), but it is admittedly vague (Redford 1992:255).

⁴⁰ *Kmt*, lit., "the Black Land," a reference to Egypt's Nile Valley.

which is shipped south, real [...] of Negu⁴¹ with the choicest of the God's Land,⁴² sturdy [...] timber] reaching the palace without its season passing each and every year. My troops which are from the garrisons in Ullaza⁴³ come [...] which consist of 'Ash-wood from victories of my majesty according to the plan of my father [Amun-re] who ordained for me all foreigners. I let none (remain) of it for the Asiatics;⁴⁴ it is wood that he loves. He subdues in order that they testify to my lordship, they being troubled so that [...] might be pacified.⁴⁵

The Miraculous Star (lines 33-37a)

[...] my [majesty]. Pay attention, oh people of the south land, who are in the pure mountain, which is called "Thrones of the Two Lands"⁴⁶ among people, (yet) it is unknown; then you will know the miracle of [Amun-Re] in the presence of the Two Lands.⁴⁷ [...] not [...] sentries were in the very act of being posted at night in order to do their regular watch. There were two astronomers (present). A star approached, coming to the south of them. The like had not happened before. It shot straight toward them (the enemy), not one of them could stand [...] falling headlong. Now then [...] was behind them with fire in their faces. Not one of them retaliated;⁴⁸ no one looked back. Their chariotry is gone, they (the horses?) having bolted⁴⁹ in [...] in order that all foreigners might see the awe of my majesty.

With joyful heart I turned back in a southerly direction, having celebrated for my lord [Amun-Re] who had ordained the victories and who put the dread [of me?] [...] in my life time. Among the foreigners he placed the fear of me so that they might flee far from me. Everyone on whom the sun shines is bound under my sandals.

The king addresses his courtiers (lines 37b-42a)⁵⁰

My majesty myself says: [...] victory, that I was greatly skilled because of the valor and victory

which my august father, Amun[-Re], Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, gave to me, he having made me lord of the five divisions, the ruler of that which the sun-disc encircles. Victory [...] the northerners, dread of my majesty to the southern territories. There is no road against me, he having sealed up for me the entire land. There was no limit to what accrued to me because of victory, he having placed my awe in Upper Retenu. [...] they [brought (?)] their gifts every season to me at the place where my majesty is. The mountainous areas mine for me what is in them comprising every fine product. What it concealed from other kings has revealed itself [for me (?) ...] every valuable precious stone, all kinds of sweet smelling plants which flourish in Punt, every fine product of the southland. Everything arriving as trade for my majesty belongs to him that I might fill his house and that I might compensate him (for) his protection. [...] on the battlefield. Moreover, I will put wonderful gifts of all lands from [...] which his valorous arm had taken, he having ordained it for me from every foreigner.

The courtiers respond (lines 42b-44a)

These courtiers [replied? ... Amun-Re, Lord] of the thrones of the Two Lands, the Great God of the beginning of time,⁵¹ the Primeval One who created your beauty and gave to you every land. Govern it for him, knowing that you have come from him. It is he, moreover, who led your majesty on the [right]⁵² path [...]

The king speaks (lines 44b-48a)

[I have placed] dread of me in the farthest reaches of Asia, without my messenger being hindered. It was my army who cut down the flag poles of the terraced-foothills of 'Ash-wood [...]. [...] for the monuments of my fathers, all the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt. My majesty hewed rowing boats of 'Ash-wood [...] on the shore of Lebanon in the fort [...] All of the chieftains of Lebanon [made ?]

⁴¹ The geographical area in which the city of Byblos (*kpn*) was situated (Redford 1992:43).

⁴² This expression is elsewhere used for Punt and the Byblos area, and thus seems to refer to a distant land from which exotic and precious materials and objects were obtained.

⁴³ A Levantine coastal city (Redford 1992:91).

⁴⁴ *Stryw*.

⁴⁵ The lacuna at the beginning of line 33 makes the translation of this sentence uncertain. An alternative to the translation offered here is "[their crime (?)] is pardoned." Faulkner also offers the meaning "pardon" for *hnp* (CDME 179), a meaning that could fit this context.

⁴⁶ This is the Egyptian name of the mountain called in Arabic "Gebel Barkal."

⁴⁷ *Tmw* is an imperfective pass. part. of the negative verb *tm*. Helck suggested a likely restoration for the lacuna — "the like of which had never been seen before" (1955:7).

⁴⁸ *N gm* = *drt.f* lit. means "could not find his hand," i.e. could not respond, and thus, retaliate.

⁴⁹ The word *h²rw* is extremely rare. It is not listed in *Wb*. Faulkner (CDME 184) includes it as a hapax, rendering it "bolt?"

⁵⁰ The following is an address by Thutmose, apparently to his courtiers, judging by the fact that the *smrw* appear to respond beginning at the end of line 43. Unfortunately, the verb associated with *smrw hnp*, "these courtiers," is also missing.

⁵¹ The reading of this lacuna is uncertain. Helck offered the meaning "the finest," but offered no explanation for the reading (Cummings 1982:5).

⁵² Lit. "the first occasion," *sp tpy*, a synonym for creation.

⁵³ In line 18 it is stated that "(Amun-Re) leads my majesty on the right path according to his excellent plans" — *šm hm.i hr mn nfr m šrw.f mnj*. In some form this line is apparently being repeated by the courtiers.

⁵⁴ Believing that Egyptian naval operations were based at Byblos, Helck thought that this city might have been named in the lacuna (1961:11).

the royal boats in order that their workers⁵⁵ sail south in order to bring all the wonderful things [...] belonging to the [...] ⁵⁶ land to the Palace (life, prosperity, and health). The chieftains of [...]. [It is] the chieftains of Retenu who drag the flagpoles with oxen to the shore; it is they who come with tribute to the place where his majesty is, the Royal Residence in [...] bearing all the fine products which are brought as wonderful things of [the south], being taxed from the required, annual tri-

bute just like all the underlings of my majesty.

The people extol the king (lines 48b-50)

What the people said [...] [...]. Foreigners [...] your awe. Your battle-cry reaches to the Horns of the Earth, respect of you makes their hearts quiver, reaching (?) [...] the people [...] [...] all [Nub(?)]ians who would transgress your plans. It is your father [...]. His majesty was in [...].

n. 3).

⁵⁵ Lit. "those with them," *int(y).sn*. "Them" must refer back to the chieftains of Lebanon, a reference to their servants or workers who transported the tribute back to Egypt.

⁵⁶ The sign is unclear.

REFERENCES

Text: MFA 23.733; Reisner 1933:24-29, pls. iii-v; Helck 1955: §§1227-1243 and de Buck 1970:56-63; Translations: ANET 238; Cummings 1982:1-7.

THE ARMANT STELA OF THUTMOSE III (2.2C)

James K. Hoffmeier

The Armant Stela of Thutmose III was discovered in the temple of Montu at Armant, near ancient Thebes. The inscription can be classified as a summary or collection (*shwy*) of the king's athletic prowess, and it recalls the heroic events of the first campaign. "Summaries" are well attested as a scribal reporting device.¹ As with the Annals and the Gebel Barkal Stela, reference is specifically made to the narrow Kina Valley through which Thutmose led his troops to attack the rebel alliance at Megiddo. Mention is also made to the Euphrates campaign, the king's eighth which occurred in year 33. While there are two year 22 dates in the text, towards the end of the stela, year 29 also appears. The span of time covered by the collection of reports, then, is at least eleven years. The Armant Stela does not provide historical information beyond what is known from the Annals and Gebel Barkal Stela, but its reports on the king's hunting exploits are the most thorough, and references to shooting arrows through a copper target set the standard for Amenhotep II to emulate.

Introduction (lines 1-3)

Long live the Horus: Strong Bull arising in Thebes; Two Ladies, Enduring of Kingship like Re in the Sky; Horus of Gold, of Holy Diadem, Mighty in Strength; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of Action, Menkheperre; the Bodily Son of Re, Thutmose (III) Ruler of Truth, who is loved by Montu of Thebes who resides in Armant,² may he live eternally. Regnal year twenty-two, second month of winter, day 10. A summary of the acts of bravery and victory of that which this good god performed comprising every act of athleticism³ beginning with the first generation of that which the Lord of the gods and the Lord of Armant, who exulted in his victories, did for him in order to

have his bravery recounted for millions of years to come, besides the acts of athleticism which his majesty performed through time. If they were reported specifically by occurrence,⁴ they would be too many to record.

Body (lines 4-17)

When he fired (arrows) at a metal ingot, every shaft was split like marsh papyrus. Subsequently he placed an example of it in the temple of Amun, (it) being a target of hammered copper three fingers thick,⁵ his arrow in it, it having passed through it, he causing three palms⁶ to come out the back in order to cause his followers to pray for the strength of his arms in valor and victory. It is without

¹ See Younger 1990:249-253.

² Egyptian *Int mnt*, the temple site where this stela was discovered. The present day town of Armant is located 13.5 km south of Luxor (Gardiner AEO 2:22*).

³ See The Gebel Barkal Stela" (COS 2.4), note 7 above.

⁴ Lit. "according to its name."

⁵ Approximately 56 mm.

⁶ Approximately 225 mm.

deception and fabrication, and without exaggerated claims that I state the truth regarding that which he performs among and in front of his whole army. Should he take time for recreation in (the form of) hunting in any foreign land, more numerous is the amount which he bags than the take of his entire army! He slew seven lions by shooting arrows in an instant and carried off a herd of twelve wild bulls in one hour after breakfast time occurred, their tails being (displayed) behind him.⁷ As he was returning from Naharin,⁸ he finished off 120 elephants in the highlands of Ny.⁹ He ferried across the Euphrates River¹⁰ and trampled the cities on both sides, they being destroyed forever with fire. On the [east] side he erected a victory stela. He felled a rhino by shooting (arrows) on the southern highland of Ta-Seti,¹¹ after he proceeded to Miu¹² in order to search for the one who had rebelled against him in that land. He set up a stela there, just as he had down in the farthest reaches of [Asia]. His majesty didn't delay in going to the land of Djahy¹³ in order to slay the rebels who

a Gen 24:10;
Deut 23:5;
Judg 3:8;
Ps 60:2[1];
1 Chr 19:6

b Josh 12:21;
17:11; Judg
1:27, 5:19

were there and to give gifts to those who are loyal to him. Indeed, the names attest [...] every [...] at its season. His majesty returns each occasion, his attack happens in bravery and victory, he causing that Egypt be in its (original) state, just as it was when Re was in it as king.¹⁴ [Regnal year 22, fourth month of winter, day 20(?)] from Memphis¹⁵ in order to slay the lands of feeble Retenu¹⁶ on the first occasion of victory. It was his majesty who blazed the trail and broke open all its roads for his army after [...] made [...] Megjiddo.¹⁶ At the head of his whole army, his majesty entered on that road which narrows greatly, while all foreign lands gathered and were standing ready at its opening [...] falling exhausted, fleeing headlong toward their cities along with the chieftain who was in [...] for them, begging [...], bearing their gifts on their back. With a joyful heart, his majesty returned, this entire land having become [his] vassal [...] Asiatic[s] at one time bearing tribute [...] Regnal year 29, 4th month of winter, day [...] [the rest of the text is completely lost]

⁷ From the earliest portrayals of Egyptian kings, e.g., the Scorpion and Narmer mace heads, they are shown wearing a bulls tail behind them. Even earlier, on the "Hunters Palette," each hunter is shown with a tail attached to the back of their kilts. Apparently, this very early practice was continued in the New Kingdom too.

⁸ See COS 2.1, note 35 above.

⁹ Thutmose I had also hunted elephants in the land of Ny. This land is located in Syria, somewhere south of Alalakh and north of Kadesh (Gardiner AEO 2:167*).

¹⁰ Eg. *irw ph r wr*.

¹¹ See COS 2.2B, note 4.

¹² An unidentified Nubian site in the Third Cataract region (Trigger, Kemp, O'Connor and Lloyd 1983:257).

¹³ This term seems to generally apply to the area of Palestine/Canaan, as compared with Syria, *h³rw* (Gardiner AEO 1:182*), but it is admittedly vague (Redford 1992:255).

¹⁴ In column I of the Turin Canon (COS 1:37D) the pre-dynastic rulers are listed, and they are the gods, including Osiris, Seth, Horus and Thoth. Re may well have been the first god listed, but the top of column I is completely lost. It appears that the statement used here alludes to this glorious age when the gods ruled on earth.

¹⁵ Lit. "White Walls," another name for Memphis (Montet 1957:27-29).

¹⁶ See COS 2.1, note 34.

REFERENCES

Text: Mond and Myers 1940:182, pls. ciii, lxxxviii; Helck 1955 §§1244-1247; de Buck 1970:64-65. Translations and studies: ANET 234; Cummings 1982:7-9.

THE MEMPHIS AND KARNAK STELAE OF AMENHOTEP II (2.3)

James K. Hoffmeier

Amenhotep II (1427-1400 BCE) succeeded his father, Thutmose III, and continued his father's military policy in Syria-Palestine. In so doing, Amenhotep assured that the empire he received would be successfully maintained by his successors. He conducted at least two military campaigns into the Levant which are reported on two nearly identical stelae, the one discovered at Karnak, and the other at Memphis. The translation offered here is based upon the Memphis text. The campaigns are dated to regnal years 7 and 9, and are especially of interest to students of historical geography of Syria-Palestine. The content of the stela combines the more sober reports of the annalistic style, mingled with some of the exaggerated claims of accomplishment, like those of Thutmose III in his Gebel Barkal stela. For a discussion of the differences in style and implications for Biblical studies, see the introductory comments on the Annals of Thutmose III.

Date and introduction (lines 1-3a)

Regnal year 7, 1st month of summer, day 25 under the majesty of Horus, Strong Bull with Sharp Horns; Two Ladies, of Mighty Splendor who was coronated in Thebes; Golden Horus, Who Conquers with His Might in all lands; The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Aakherperu-re; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Possessor of a Powerful Arm,¹ Amenhotep, Divine Ruler of Heliopolis,² may he be given life forever.

The Good God, the likeness of Re, the Son of Amun upon his throne. He formed him with strength and might more than that which exists. His mace struck Naharin,³ while his bow trampled Nubia,⁴ who conquered with strength and might like Montu,⁵ being armed with his weapons. His heart is satisfied when he sees them after he decapitated the trouble makers.

Campaign to Shamashu-Adom (lines 3b-4a)

His majesty went to Retenu⁶ on his first victorious campaign in order to widen his border and to give gifts to those who were loyal to him. His face was powerful like Bastet,⁷ like Seth⁸ in his moment of rage. His majesty arrived at Shamashu-Adom.⁹ He hacked it up in a brief moment like a lion roaming the hills, his majesty being in his chariot which is called, "Amun is Valiant ..."¹⁰

A record of that which [his majesty] captured [on that day]: 35 live Asiatics and 22 bulls.

Campaign in Syria (lines 4b-15a)

His majesty crossed the Orontes (River) on water,

a Exod 6:25, etc.

b Ezek 30:17

c Deut 32:24, etc.

wading like Resheph.¹¹ Subsequently he turned himself around to view the rear guard of his army. He noticed a few Asiatics¹² coming, creeping forward, equipped with weapons for fighting in order to attack the army of the king. His majesty charged after them like the swoop of the divine falcon. They halt, their hearts becoming weak, as one after the other fell on his companion, including their commander. There was no one with his majesty except himself with his valiant, powerful arm.¹³ His majesty slew them with arrows.

It was in a state of elation that he returned, like valiant Montu he celebrated. A record of that which his majesty captured on that day: 2 chieftains, 6 Maryanu,¹⁴ including their chariots, horses and all their weapons of war.

Journeying south, his majesty arrived at Ny.¹⁵ Its chieftain and all his people, male and female alike surrendered to his majesty, their eyes fixed on staring.

His majesty arrived at Ugarit.¹⁶ He surrounded all those who defied him. He slew them like those who did not exist, being placed beside those who lay prostrate. Resting in the tent¹⁷ of his majesty in the area of Tjarkha¹⁸ on the east of Shasherem. Mendjat was plundered.

His majesty arrived at Hatjera.¹⁹ Its chieftain surrendered²⁰ to his majesty, with his children and his possessions. Peace offerings were presented to his majesty by (the land) of Inka.

¹ *Nb* *hps*. The use of this expression may have a counterpart in the Bible, viz. *yad k'zakah*, "strong hand." It is used to describe the struggle between Yahweh and Pharaoh in the Exodus narrative, and may deliberately have been chosen because of the Egyptian symbolic significance (Hofmeier 1986:378-387; Görg 1986:323-330).

² Eg. *imnw*, the cult center of the sun-god Atum-Re, located north of Memphis. The biblical writers were aware of this important city (Gen 41:45, 50; 46:20), calling it *ḥn*, and symbolically "house of the sun" (Jer 19:8).

³ See COS 2.1, note 35 above.

⁴ *nhsy*, "land of Nehesy." The name Phinehas, Aaron's grandson, is derived from this word (Exod 6:25; Num 31:6; Judg 20:28; etc.) (Kitchen 1982a).

⁵ Cf. above, COS 2.2B, note 17.

⁶ COS 2.1, note 34.

⁷ Cat goddess whose name is reflected in her cult center, Bubastis, a northeast Delta city. This name is attested as Pi-Beseth (Ezek 30:17).

⁸ The deity who was associated with storm (and hence identified with Canaanite Baal) and the desert regions.

⁹ While attested with some frequency in Egyptian texts, the identity of this site remains uncertain. It has been identified with Beth-Shemesh of Josh 19:22 in northeastern Issachar which might be Tell el Abeidiyeh (Ahituv 1984:174-176).

¹⁰ The remainder of the name appears to be corrupt. While several different readings have been proposed, there is no consensus about the reading (see Helck's note on *Urk.* IV, 1302.3 in Cummings 1982:32).

¹¹ A Levantine storm-god who is also associated with warfare.

¹² *Sryw*.

¹³ Cf. note 1.

¹⁴ See COS 2.2A, note 67.

¹⁵ See COS 2.2B, note 27.

¹⁶ Read *ik²fy*, but is thought by some to be the famous coastal city of northern Syria (Cummings 1982:30; Gardiner *AEO* 1:164*), while recognizing that the 'r' is omitted. Ugarit is located at modern Ras Shamra on the coast of Syria, north of Byblos.

¹⁷ This formula is the opposite of "awaking the tent" which pointed to the beginning of the day in the daybook (cf. COS 2.2A, note 36). The "resting" formula, which also occurs in the Annals, line 49, could be noting the end of the day book entry (Hofmeier 1977:17).

¹⁸ The identity of the toponyms in line 9 are not known, but they appear to be in the vicinity of Ugarit.

¹⁹ The location of Hatjera and Inka is uncertain; however, Amenhotep appears to be moving from Ugarit and the coastal area of Syria-Lebanon in a southwesterly direction towards Kadesh (cf. n. 21).

²⁰ Lit., "came out in peace."

His majesty arrived at Kadesh.²¹ " Its chieftain surrendered. They were made to swear an oath of allegiance.²² and all their children [likewise]. Then his majesty shot (arrows) at a target of hammered copper in their presence on the south side of this town. Then one (i.e. the king) went hunting in woods of Lebiu.²³ Gazelles, *m²swt*,²⁴ hares, an endless number of wild ass were bagged.

His majesty went by chariot²⁵ to Khasbu, alone, without a companion. In just a short time he returned from there. He carried off 16 live Maryanu at the rear of his chariot, 20 hands at the foreheads of his horses, and 60 bulls being led in front of him. Gifts were given²⁶ to his majesty by this city.

Now at that time, his majesty traveled south within the Valley of Sharon.²⁷ He discovered a messenger of the chieftain of Naharin carrying a document around his neck. He carried him off as a prisoner-of-war at the rear of the chariot. His majesty went from Sibyn²⁸ on chariot²⁹ to Egypt,³⁰ a Marya(n)u being a prisoner-of-war on his horse alone with him.³⁰

The Arrival at Memphis and the Record of the Booty (lines 15b-17a)

His majesty arrived at Memphis, he being elated [as] a strong bull.³¹ A record of this booty: 550 Maryanu, 240 of their wives; 640 Canaanites; 232 sons of chieftains; 323 daughters of chieftains; 270

2 Sam 24:6

6 Isa 33:9;
35:2; 1 Chr
5:16; 27:29

6 Josh 12:18;
13:4; 19:30;
1 Sam 4:1;
29:1; 1 Kgs
20:26, 30;
2 Kgs 13:17

concubines of the chieftains of every foreign land, including 2214 of their festive, silver and gold arm jewelry; 820 horses, 730 chariots including all their weapons of war. Now at that time the divine wife, the queen and princ[ess] [...] were watching the victories of his majesty.

Second Asiatic Campaign (lines 17b-20a)

Regnal year 9, 3rd month of winter, day 25. His majesty went to Retenu on his second victorious campaign to the city of Aphek.³² " It (i.e. the people of the city) came out with gifts because of the great victories of pharaoh,³³ life, prosperity, and health. His majesty [we]nt on his chariot, equipped with weapons of combat to the city of Yehem.³⁴ At this time his majesty plundered the villages of Mapesin³⁵ and the villages of Khatjen and the two cities on the west of Socho.³⁶

Now at that time the ruler raged like a divine falcon, his chariots were shooting like a star in the sky. His majesty entered (the fray). Its chieftains, children and wives were carried off as prisoners-of-war, and all its inhabitants likewise, and all its property without end: its cattle, its chariots, and all the herds in front of him.

The King's Dream (lines 20b-22a)

A Pleasant thing which happened to his majesty: The majesty of this august god, Amun-Re, Lord of the Throne of the Two Lands came before his

²¹ COS 2.2A, note 12.

²² Morschauser (1988:93-103) has made a compelling case for the expression *stf tryt* meaning "to pardon"; however, the traditional interpretation remains a viable option.

²³ Situated near one of the sources of the Orontes river in Syria. The name is preserved in the Arab village of Labwe (Ahituv 1984:131).

²⁴ An unidentifiable wild animal.

²⁵ Only the horse sign is written, leading Helck to translate this line as "His majesty set out on horseback" (Cummings 1982:31). The fact that he returns from this solo mission with captives behind his chariot (*wrrt*) suggests that rather than reading *ssm*, for horse, it is an abbreviation for *hry*, chariot. Edel (1953:116) also reads the horse sign as *hry*. This interpretation makes sense in view of the fact that horseback riding during the New Kingdom was rather limited (Schulman 1957).

²⁶ Read *rdi.t(w) htpw*. This could mean "peace was offered," i.e. they surrendered, or, as we have rendered it "gifts were given." *Htpw* can mean both gifts or offerings, and peace (CDME 179-180). There are numerous examples in the Bible of kings presenting gifts, usually gold and silver, to an advancing king as a sign of capitulation. Toi of Hamath sent his son, Joram, to David after the Israelites had defeated Hadadezer of Damascus. 2 Sam 8:10 mentions that utensils of silver, gold and bronze were offered. Similarly, Ahaz of Judah sent "silver and gold" as a present to Tiglath-pileser III (2 Kgs 16:8), thus becoming his vassal so that the Assyrian would fight against Israel and Damascus who had been attacking Jerusalem. Likewise, Hezekiah of Judah gave gold and silver to Sennacherib to prevent him from further destruction of his kingdom (2 Kgs 18:14-15). Based on this practice, the ruler of Khasbu may have been doing the same to Amenhotep II.

²⁷ It is unclear whether this is the name of a settlement, which is otherwise unattested, or a geographical feature of some sort.

²⁸ Cf. n. 25.

²⁹ *T² nri*.

³⁰ In this case the horse sign could actually be read *ssm*. On a stela showing the triumphant Amenhotep III returning from a Nubian campaign in his chariot (Petrie 1897 pl. x), four Nubian captives are depicted on backs of the two horses, and another prisoner is riding on the chariot pole between the chariot body and the rear ends of the horses. Based upon this scene, Amenhotep II may have been displaying his captives similarly.

³¹ The epithet "strong bull" plays on the king's Horus name (cf. line 1).

³² Located in the Valley of Acco, south of the city of Acco, and north of the Carmel range (Ahituv 1984:62).

³³ The title, Pharaoh, *pr* ², lit. "great house," is an epithet that initially applied to the palace as early as the Old Kingdom (WB 1:516) and only becomes attached to the king sometime in middle of the 18th Dynasty. From Genesis onwards in the Bible, the title "Pharaoh" is the Heb. vocalization of this Eg. expression.

³⁴ Yehem's name is preserved in the Arabic toponym Khirbet Yamma, situated 3 km. north of Sochoh which is found at Tell er-Ras (Ahituv 1984:198). Thutmose III mentions stopping over at this site on his way to Megiddo. Cf. COS 2.2A, note 11.

³⁵ Villages were scattered throughout the land of Canaan; most of their names have not survived. In Amenhotep's records he mentions several. Villages were linked to urban centers, a point not missed in the Bible (Num 21:25, 32; Deut 2:23; 3:5; Josh 13:28; 15:32-62; Judg 1:27).

³⁶ Socho is an important site on the Via Maris. It is identified with Tell er-Ras/Khirbet Shuweikat (Ahituv 1984:178).

majesty during sleep, in order to encourage³⁷ his son, Aakheperure. His father Amun-Re was the guardian of his body, while protecting the ruler.

Military Campaign in the Levant (lines 22b-29a)

His majesty went out on his chariot at dawn to the city of Iturn and Migdalen.³⁸ Subsequently, his majesty, life, prosperity, and health, was powerful like the power of Sakhmet³⁹ and Theban Montu. He carried off 34 of their chieftains, 57 Maryanu, 231 living Asiatics, 372 hands, 54 horses, 54 chariots, including all their weapons of war, all their champions of Retenu, their children, their wives and all their property. After his majesty reviewed the very great amount of booty, they were turned into prisoners-of-war. Two trenches were made all around them and, look, they were filled with fire. His majesty watched over them until the break of day, his battle axe being in his right hand, he being alone with no one with him. At that time, the army was far from him, except for the personal servants of pharaoh.

Now after daybreak of the second day, his majesty set out on his chariot at dawn, equipped with the power and panoply of Montu on the anniversary of his majesty's coronation.

Then Anakharat⁴⁰ was plundered. A record of that which his majesty alone captured on that day: 17 living Maryanu, 6 children of the chieftains, 68 living Asiatics, 123 hands, 7 teams of horses, 7 chariots of silver and gold including their weapons of war, 443 bulls, 370 cows, and all sorts of cattle beyond counting. His entire army was

d Josh 19:19

e Josh 1:3;
Ps 110:1

f Gen 10:10;
11:2; Josh
7:21; Isa
11:11; Dan
1:2; etc.

bringing away very much booty beyond counting.

His majesty arrived <at> Hukti. The chieftain of Giboa-Shemen,⁴¹ whose name is Kaka, his wife, his children and all his subjects likewise were carried off. Another⁴² chieftain was appointed in his place.

Return to Memphis (lines 29b-33)

His majesty arrived at the city of Memphis, he being satisfied because every foreign country and every land is under his sandals.⁴³ A record of the plunder which his majesty carried off: 127 chieftain <s> of Retenu, 179 brother <s> of the chieftains, 3600 Apiru,⁴⁴ 15,200 live Shasu,⁴⁵ 36,000 Syrians,⁴⁶ 15,070 live Nagasutes,⁴⁶ 30,652 of their family members, totaling 89,600⁴⁷ and their endless property likewise. All their herds and all their endless cattle, 60 gold and silver chariots, 1032 painted chariots, including all their weapons of war being 13,500, through the might of Amun-Re, his august father who loves him and who is your protection, and who decreed valor for him.

Now at that time the chieftain of Naharin, the chieftain of Hatti,⁴⁸ and the chieftain of Sangar⁴⁹ heard of the great victories which <his majesty> had accomplished. Each one tried to outdo his counterpart with gifts of every foreign land. They thought on account of their grandfathers to implore his majesty, to go that the breath of life⁵⁰ be given to them. "We shall carry our taxes to your palace, Son of Re, Amenhotep, divine ruler of Heliopolis, ruler of rulers, a panther who rages in every foreign land and in this land forever."

³⁷ Lit., "in order to give valor or bravery to his son." Dreams were seen as a vehicle of divine communication throughout the Near East (e.g. see the Gudea cylinders below, COS 2.155) as well as among the Hebrews.

³⁸ Identified with Khirbet el-Majdal, which preserves the ancient name, in the northern end of the Sharon Plain. However, there is no corresponding archaeological evidence from this site. Nearby Tell edh-Dhūr does have evidence for the Late Bronze Age, and evidence of multiple destructions during this period (Ahluv 1984:142).

³⁹ Sakhmet is the leonine goddess who is known for her violent outbursts and sending plagues, as well as being a protectress against plague.

⁴⁰ This site is identified with Anaharat of Josh 19:19, within the tribal territory of Issachar. Tell el-Ajjul (N) and Tell Mukharkhash have been suggested as the location of this site, with the latter being more likely (Ahluv 1982:59).

⁴¹ Could mean "Hill of Eight," (Rainey 1973:74-75) or "Hill of Oil" which is thought to be identified with Tell es-Samn, by the Kishon Brook, just south of the Carmel Range (Ahluv 1984:100).

⁴² The text reads *dhnw.k*, which makes no sense. Edel (1953:123) rightly emends *k* (2nd person suffix) to *ky* (demonstrative adjective).

⁴³ This is the Eg. writing for the Akk. *habiru/hapiru* of the Amarna letters. Earlier generations of biblical scholars believed that this word was to be equated with *ḥbrī*, Hebrew. This equation has been largely rejected on the grounds that *habiru* appears to have a sociological rather than ethnic application. Moreover, the Habiru are found at different locations and times around the Near East, proving that the term could not be limited to the Hebrews of the Bible ("Habiru" ABD 3:6-10). Scholars have not completely abandoned the idea that the term *habiru* could be applied to the Israelites (Lemche 1985:421-429). It could be that *habiru* originally designated groups of outlaws or was a derogatory expression, and yet it is clear from the occurrence in the stela of Amenhotep II that they were identified as a specific group like the other ethnic groups taken prisoners by the king. If the large numbers are to be believed, Apiru/Habiru were not just small bands of marauders in Amenhotep's day.

⁴⁴ A generic term used by the Egyptians of desert dwellers, bedouin (WB 4:412).

⁴⁵ I.e. *h³rw*.

⁴⁶ Nabasse of the Amarna letters, located within Upper Retenu, not far from Aleppo (Gardiner AEO 1:146*).

⁴⁷ The total given, 89,600, is actually wrong, the correct total being 101,128! The use of large numbers in this section has given rise to a number of explanations: 1. The figures are exaggerated and thus not reliable. 2. They represent a grand total for all the king's expeditions. 3. The large figures represent a change in strategy by Amenhotep from selective to mass deportations like the Neo-Assyrians. For a review of the different views see, Hoffmeier 1997:113.

⁴⁸ Hatti is the term from which the English term "Hittites" is derived. Hatti is located in central Turkey, the capital being Hattusa. The people of Hatti may be one and the same as the *b'nē ḥet* of the Bible (Gen 10:14; 15:20; 23:3; Josh 1:4; Judg 3:5).

⁴⁹ Sangar is equated with *Sanhar*, i.e. Babylonia, Shin'ar of the Bible (Gardiner AEO 1:209*).

⁵⁰ See COS 2.2B, note 16 above.

REFERENCES

Text: *Urk.* IV., 1300-1309; Edel 1953:97-175. Translations: Edel 1953:97-175; Helck 1961:1300-1309; *ANET* 245-247; Cummings 1982:29-33.

2. NINETEENTH DYNASTY INSCRIPTIONS

SETHOS I (2.4)

KARNAK, CAMPAIGN FROM SILE TO PA-CANAAN, YEAR 1 (2.4A)
(East Side, Lower Register)

K. A. Kitchen

To celebrate his northern wars, about 1294/85 BCE, Sethos I placed three registers of scenes on either side of the north doorway into the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak temple in Thebes. On the east side, the registers read from bottom to top (normal in the New Kingdom), but the top register is lost. On the west side opinions differ as to whether one should read also from bottom to top or the reverse. Here, in the east side's bottom register, the scenes divide from the middle. Very appropriately, the first three scenes move left/eastward, along the north-Sinai coast road (clearing off the wandering Shasu folk on the way), then to tribute at a town [name lost], and finally action near "the city of Canaan," probably Gaza. Then, from the mid-point to the right/westward, the king returns to Egypt in triumph, then offers to the gods in gratitude. In each scene, rhetorical praise of the king accompanies his figure. As appropriate, topographical data are given (settlements, wells, etc.).

Defeat of the Shasu tribesmen (KRI I 6.15-7.9)

(i. Rhetorical text over king)

The Good god, Sun^a of Egypt, Moon^b of all lands,
Montu in the foreign lands, who is not repulsed,
Bold-hearted like Baal,

there is none who can retreat from him,
on the day of marshalling for the battle.

He has extended the boundaries of Egypt to the
limits of heaven on every side.

(As for) the hil[ls of the] rebels, — none could [get
pas]t them, because of the fallen ones of Shasu¹
who had attacked [him?]. His Majesty cap[tured
th]em totally, so that none escaped.

(ii. Minor epigraphs: a. cartouches)

Menmare, Sethos I Merenamun.

(b. Vulture)

Nekhbet, White One of Nekhen.

(c. Over the horses [... lost ...].

(iii. Forts and wells at bottom of scene)

(Fort I) The Stronghold of Menmare, "The ... is his
Protection."

(Below I at J) The Fort of Sethos I [Merenptah].

(Fort K) Settlement [which] His Majesty [built]
a[new].

^a Ps 84:12
[11]

^b Ps 89:37-
38 [36-37];
Cant 6:10

^c Gen 49:24

(Water L) The Well Ibseqeb (²*Ibsqb*)²

(Below fort M) The Well of Sethos I Merenptah.

(At right edge of scene) [...]mat.

Receipt of tribute at town [X] (KRI 7.10-8.4)

(i. Rhetorical text over the king)

The Good god, achieving with his arms, archer^c
like Montu who resides in Thebes, [strong bull,
sharp-horned, bold-heart]ed, who tramples Asia,
setting his boundaries according as his heart
dictates; his arm is not repulsed in all lands.

Victorious King who protects Egypt, who breaches
the wall(s) in rebellious foreign lands. He causes
the chiefs of Khurru (i.e. Syria-Palestine) to cease
from all boasting by their mouths; his strong arm³
is mighty in valor and victory, and his power like
(that of) the Son of Nut.

(ii. Minor epigraphs: a. cartouches) Lord of Both Lands,
Menmare, Lord of Crowns, Sethos I [Mer]jen-
a[mun].

(b. Over the horses) First Great (Chariot-)Span of His
Majesty, "Amun decrees him Valor," which is
(also) named "Anath is Content."

¹ The Shasu were encountered by the Egyptians all the way from the margins of the East Delta along the North Sinai coastal zone through the eastern fringes of Palestine and Syria. For the main documentation on them, see Givón 1971; but their name is not Semitic (or the *s* would have appeared as *š* — it is most easily taken as deriving from Egyptian *š*(*ʿ*)*š*, "to wander," hence "wanderers." It is not an ethnic term, but was applied to semi-nomadic groups (such as the Edomites of Papyrus Anastasi VI:54-56), but not provenly to early Israel.

² The name of this well may be NW Semitic, e.g. ²*eb segub*, "exalted greenery," perhaps referring to its surrounding vegetation.

³ The "strong arm" of Pharaoh seems to be reflected in biblical usage, esp. the phrase "outstretched arm" found mostly in Exod-Deut, with later echoes in Pss and the prophets. See Hoffmeier 1986; 1997:151; and Görg 1986 for discussions.

(iii. Forts and wells)
 (Below fort N) The Well, "Menmare Great of Victories."
 (Water O) The Well, "Sweet (Water)."^d
 (Upper fort P) Settlement which His Majesty built anew, with/at the Well Hu[.]ututi (*h-f.jwrtwti*)
 (Below P fort at Q) The Fort of Menmare, Heir of Re. (Circular feature R) "Wide Pool" (*[y]m rbr*).^e
 (Lower left fort S) The Well (of) Menmare.
 (Water T) *Nhs* of the Chief.^f
 (Upper left fort U) Settlement of [Raphia??]

Victory near the city of Pa-Canaan, Year 1 (KRI I 8.5-8.15)

(i. Dated rhetorical text over fallen foes)

Year 1 (of) the King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Menmare. The destruction which the sturdy arm of Pharaoh, LPH,^g made <among> the fallen foes of Shasu, beginning from the fortress of Sile as far as Pa-Canaan.

His Majesty seized upon them like a terrifying lion,^h turning them into corpses throughout their valleys, wallowing in their blood as if (they) had never existed. Any who slip through his fingers tell of his power to (far-)distant foreign countries — "it is the might of Father Amun who has decreed for you valor and victory over every foreign country."

(ii. Minor epigraphs: a. cartouches) King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Menmare, Son of Re, Sethos I Merenptah, given life like Re, and beloved of Montu (and) Astarte.

(b. Horus-Falcon) The Behdetite, Lord of heaven — may he give life, stability, dominion and health like Re. (c. Vulture) Nekhbet, White One of Nekhen — may she give life.

(d. Over the horses) First Great (Chariot-)Span of His Majesty, "Victory in Thebes."

(iii. Fort, upper left) Settlement of Pa-Canaan.

Triumphal return to Egypt (KRI I 9.1-10.9)

(i. Rhetorical text over king)

Year 1, "Renaissance," (of) the King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Lord of Both Lands, Menmare, given life.

Now, one came to tell His Majesty: "The fallen (foemen) of Shasu are plotting rebellion. Their tribal chiefs are united in one place, stationed on the mountain ridges of Khurru. They have lapsed into confusion and quarrelling; each slays his fellow. They disregard the edicts of the Palace."

The heart of His Majesty, LPH, was pleased at it.

Exod 15:25

* Num 20:11; 24:7

f Gen 49:9; Num 24:9; Deut 33:20; 22; Jer 49:19

g Josh 10:24

Now, as for the Good god, he rejoices at beginning a fight, he is glad about his attacker, his heart is satisfied at seeing blood — he cuts off the heads of the dissidents. More than a day of jubilation loves he a moment of trampling (such) down. His Majesty slays them all at once, he leaves no heirs among them. Who(ever) escapes his hand is (but) a prisoner brought to Nile-land.

(ii. Minor epigraphs: a. cartouches) King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Lord of Both Lands, Menmare, Son of Re, Lord of Crowns, Sethos I Merenamun, given life like Re.

(b. Vulture) Nekhbet, the White One of Nekhen; may she give life, stability and dominion like Re.

(c. Over horses) First Great (Chariot-)Span of His Majesty, LPH, "Amun, he gives strength."

(iii. Prince behind the king) Following the King at his forays in the foreign countries of Syria (Retenu), by the Hereditary Noble and Count, grandee of who[se name] one boasts, true King's Scribe, beloved of him, [General?], bodily King's Son, beloved of him, [Ramesse]s,⁷ [justified?].

(iv. Canal, forts and wells [from right to left, i.e., west to east]) (Canal A) The (boundary) Canal.

(Building before canal B) The Fortress of Sile.

(Fort D) The Dwelling of the Lion.

(Middle fort E) The Keep (*migdol*)⁸ of Menmare.

(Well F) The Well of Hapan/Hatjan (*Hpn/H₁n*).⁹

(Fort G) Udjo of Sethos I Merenptah.

(Well H) The Well of the District of Imy-^ca(?).

(v. Dignitaries welcoming the king) The prophet <s>, grandees, leaders of the South and North are come to acclaim the Good god on his return from the land of Retenu (Syria) bringing great and abundant plunder, the like of which has never been seen since the time of the god.

[They] say in adoring His Majesty, in magnifying his might: "Welcome you are, from the foreign countries, your attack has succeeded! You are triumphant, your enemies are beneath you.⁸ Your duration as King is like Re in heaven, in slaking your heart <against> the Nine Bows. Re has set your boundaries, his arms are (magical) protection around you. Your mace was upon the head(s) of every foreign land, the <ir> chiefs are fallen to your sword!"

Presentation of prisoners and spoil to Amun (KRI I 10.10-11.9)

(i. Text over the spoils)

[Presentation] of tribute by His Majesty [to his father] Amun, when he returned from the foreign land of despised Retenu (Syria): "The chiefs of the

^d Cp. Heb. and Ug. *ym*, "sea/lake," and Common Semitic *rb(b)*, "great/wide"; or render as "many waters," and cf. Num 20:11, 24:7.

^e The word *nhs* may be related to Akk. *nūḫṣu*, "abundance" (here, of water), for the "chief."

^f LPH is the abbreviation for the blessing formula, "life, prosperity, health."

^g Replacing an earlier (non-royal) name and epithets: "[X, who traverses] foreign [count]ries [for] his lord?"

^h Using a term for "tower/keep," familiar also in BH, used as, and as part of, place-names, including in the East Delta.

⁹ The name "Hatjan" may be related to Heb. *ḥṣn*, "wealth/abundance," again of water and/or surrounding vegetation at the well so named.

foreign lands are prisoners, with their tribute on their backs — of every sort of precious vessel from their lands, of silver, gold, real lapis-lazuli, through the valor that you gave me over every foreign land." ^h (ii. Cartouches) Lord of Both Lands, Menmare, Lord of Crowns, Sethos I Merenamun. (Vulture) [Udjo]. (iii. Text over upper row of prisoners) The chiefs of the foreign countries who knew not Egypt, whom His Majesty brought (back) by his victory from the land of despised Retenu. They said, in magnifying His Majesty, in praising his victories: "Hail to you! How great is your name, how powerful your strength! The (foreign) land that is loyal to you has joy; who(ever) infringes your	^h Josh 6:19, 24	boundaries is fettered(?). As your Spirit endures! We knew not Egypt, and our fathers did not tread it. Grant us the breath of your giving!" (iv. Text over lower row of prisoners) The spoils which His Majesty brought (back) from the Shasu, whom His Majesty himself vanquished in Year 1, "Renaissance." (v. Speech of Amun) [Words spoken by Am]un-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands: "My bodily S[on], (my) beloved, Lord of Both Lands, Menmare! I put the fear of you into every foreign land, your mace is upon the head(s) of their chiefs. They come to you, united as one, with a (tribute) load on their backs because of your war-cry."
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REFERENCES

Text-editions: definitive, Epigraphic Survey 1986 pls. 2-8; handbook ed., *KRI* 1:6-11; 7:422-423. Translations: Epigraphic Survey 1986:3-26; Kitchen 1993a:6-9. Older references plus notes, Kitchen 1993b:12-17.

FIRST BETH-SHAN STELA, YEAR 1 (2.4B)
(Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem, S.884)

K. A. Kitchen

On his campaign in Year 1 (1294 or 1290 BCE), Sethos I probably penetrated as far as Phoenicia. Then on his return southward, he found disturbances in the Beth-Shan district, just south of the Sea of Galilee. The local chiefs of Hammath and Pella (W and E of the Jordan) had blockaded nearby Rehob and seized the important center of Beth-Shan. So the pharaoh sent out three strike-forces: against rebel Hammath, the captured Beth-Shan, and neighboring Yenoam. Beth-Shan is Tell Husn (at modern Beisan), where this stela was found.

Scene (KRI I 11.10-14)

(Winged disc at top) The Behdetite, great god, with dappled plumage, Lord of heaven.

(King offers incense and libation to Re-Harakhti)

(Over king) The Good god, Lord of Both Lands, Menmare, given life like Re.

(Behind king) All protection and life attend him!

(Between king and deity) Performing incense^a and libation.

(Over deity) Re-Harakhti, great god, Lord of heaven; may he give all life.

Main text (KRI I 11.15-12.14)

Year 1, 3rd month of Shomu, Day 10. (Long) live: *Horus-Falcon*, Strong Bull, Appearing in Thebes, Bringing life to Both Lands;

Nebry-Ruler, Renewing birth, Powerful of arm, Subduing the Nine Bows;

Golden Horus, Repeating epiphanies, Rich in forces in all lands;

King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Lord of Both Lands, Menmare Made by Re,

Son of Re, Lord of Crowns, Sethos I Merenptah, beloved of Re-Harakhti, the great god.

^a Deut 33:10

^b Isa 52:15

The Good god, sturdy in wielding his sword, hero valiant like Montu;

abounding in captures(?), knowing his ability, skilled wherever he is;

who speaks with his mouth and acts with his arms.

Valiant leader of his army, valiant warrior amid the battle,

a Bast who grasps as a warrior, who enters into the mass of Asiatics,

who makes them prostrate, who tramples down the chiefs of Retenu (Syria),

who vanquishes who(ever) transgresses his path.

He causes the chiefs of Khurru to go back on all the boasting of their mouth(s);^b

every foreign land of the far north, their chiefs (say): "Where can we (go)?"

They spend nights, made witness(?) in his name, frantic(?) in their minds.

It is the power of his father Amun which decrees for him valor and victory.

On this day, one came to inform His Majesty thus:

"The despicable chief who is in the town of

Hammath¹ has gathered to himself many people, seizing the town of Beth-Shan, and is joined up with those from Pahil (Pella)²; he is preventing the chief of Rehob³ from coming out."

Then His Majesty sent out the First Division of Amun, "Rich in Bows," against the town of Hammath; the First Division of Re, "Abounding in

Valor," against the town of Beth-Shan; and the First Division of Sutekh, "Strong of Bows," against the town of Yenoam.⁴ And so, when the span of a day had elapsed, they were (all) fallen to the might of His Majesty, the King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Menmare, Son of Re, Sethos I Merenptah, given life.

¹ Ancient Hammath is the present large Tell el-Hammeh (not excavated), some 15 miles south of Beth-Shan.

² Pahil (classical Pella) is to be located at Khirbet Fahil, some 7 miles south-east of Beth-Shan, across the Jordan; for excavations there, cf. *NEAEHL* 3:1174-1180.

³ Rehob is at modern Tell es-Sarem, some 4 miles due south of Beth-Shan; for excavations there, see Mazar 1999.

⁴ Yenoam's location is much discussed. The likeliest site is still Tell el-Abeidiyeh (or Ubeidiyeh), about 15 miles north of Beth-Shan, at a fitting distance, in a loop of the Jordan with trees, rather like the setting by water with trees in the Sethos relief-scene (references, Kitchen 1993b:18). The proposal by Na'aman (1977) to place it nearly 30 miles away across the Jordan at Tell esh-Shihab is theoretically possible, but the supposed evidence is not watertight.

REFERENCES

TEXT: Rowe 1930:26-29, pls. 41, 47:3; *KRI* 1:11-12. Translation: Kitchen 1993a:9-10, and notes and older references, Kitchen 1993b:17-19.

KARNAK, CAMPAIGN TO YENOAM AND LEBANON (YEAR 1 OR LATER) (2.4C) (East Side, Middle Register)

K. A. Kitchen

In this register, two successive war-scenes have Sethos I conquering Yenoam and [X-1], then *Qdr* in a land *Hnm* and [X-2] in [Lebanon]. Lebanese chiefs fell timber for him. The mention of Yenoam may link the scenes with Year 1 (cf. Yenoam on the Year 1 stela, just above), but there is no guarantee that Yenoam did not feature in a later campaign. *Qdr* and *Hnm* are geographically obscure; *Qdr* might possibly be Gadara on the Yarmuk river (east of the Jordan), on the way to Tell esh-Shihab, where a stela of Sethos I was found.

Victory at Yenoam (*KRI* I 13.1-4)

(i. City of Yenoam) Town of Yenoam.

(ii. Over the horses) (1st Version): First Great (Chariot-) Span of His Majesty, "Amun [subdu]es the Nine Bows [for] him."

(2nd Version): First Great (Chariot-)Span of His Majesty, "Amun [silenc]es(?) the Nine Bows."

(All other texts in this scene are lost).

Submission by the chiefs of Lebanon (*KRI* I 13.5-14.9)

(i. Main texts above king and chariot)

(a. Before the king) [The chiefs of] Lebanon, they cut [timbers "for] the great river-barge U[serha]t, and likewise for the great flagstaves of Amun.

(b. Cartouches) [King of Southern and Northern Egypt, M]en[ma]re, Son of Re, Sethos I Merenptah], given life. (c.i. [Vulture]). [Nekhbet ...], may she endow him [with ...], with life and dominion, [... like] Re every day.

(c.ii. Over the horses and chariot) [(Long) live:]

[Falcon-King, Strong Bull, Appearing in Thebes, Bringing life to Both Lands:]

Nebty-Ruler, Renewing birth, [Powerful of arm, Subduing the Nine Bows:]

a 2 Sam 5:11;
1 Kgs 5:6, 10

[Golden Horus], Repeating [epiphanies], Rich in forces [in all lands:]

[King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Menmare, S]on of [Re], Sethos I Merenptah, given life.

[The Good god ..., Sovereign] satisfied with victory; mighty [in power, like the Son of Nut? ...] [strong-]armed, who achieves [with his arms, ..., who protects?] his army.

[Hero? ... (etc.) ...]; one [breath]es [the breath of his giving; ...]. More than a day [of jubilation, he loves tramp]ling (them) down. [... a Montu?] when he sees the battle-line, [...] his heart is satisfied at making [slaughter? (in) extending] the boundaries of Egypt. [He takes Asiatics as servant]s(?), to fill the workshops, [...] conifers [...].

(ii. Speech of fanbearer) Said by the Fanbearer on the King's Right Hand, (in) his reply to the Good god: "It is done according to all that you say, O Horus who brings life to Both Lands! You are like Montu against every foreign country. The chiefs of Retenu behold you, and your renown (pervades) their (very) bodies."

(iii. Speech of the Lebanese chiefs)

The great chiefs of Lebanon, they say in adoring the Lord of Both Lands, in magnifying his power: "You are seen like your father Re, and one lives by beholding you."

(iv. Forts: a. Over the chiefs' speech) [Town of X, in the land of ?Lebano]n.

(b. Below the horses) Town of Qader, in the land of Hinuma.

King binds captives (KRI I 14.10-12)

(i. Before the king)

[Captures] which His Majesty has [brought] off, on his own two feet. Every foreign country, he has brought them off as prisoners — Menmare, Sethos I Merenamun.

(ii. Behind the king)

Horus, strong in arm, Lord who performs the rituals, and who overthrows his enemies.

King returns, carrying and leading captives (KRI I 14.13-16)

(i. Rhetorical text) [... val]lor and [victory? ...] Nine Bows.

[...] he has/to him [...] seized? [...] Montju [...].

(ii. Over the horses) First Great (Chariot-)Span of His Majesty, "Great of Victories."

(iii. Over lower group of prisoners)

Great chiefs of Retenu, whom His Majesty brought off as prisoners.

Presentation of Prisoners and Spoils to the Theban Triad (KRI I 15.1-14)

(i. Speech of Amun) Words spoken by Amun-Re, Lord

b Josh 6:19,
24

of the Thrones of Both Lands:

"Welcome in peace, O Good god, Lord of Both Lands, Menmare! I set your victories over every foreign country, and the fear of you in the hearts of the Nine Bows. Their chiefs come to you as one, with a (tribute) load on their backs. I grant you the lands in fear of you, and the Nine Bows bowing down at your war-cry."

(ii. Mut and Khons) Mut the Mighty, Lady of Asheru, Lady of heaven, Mistress of all the Gods, — may she give all life like Re.

Khons-in-Thebes, Neferhotep, the great god, Lord of heaven.

(iii. Vulture and king) Nekhbet. King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Menmare, Son of Re, Sethos I Merenamun, given life like Re forever.

(iv. Presentation of gifts) Presentation of tribute by His Majesty to his father Amun, when he returned from the land of despicable Retenu, (consisting) of silver, gold, lapis-lazuli, turquoise, red jasper, and every (kind of) precious stone.^b The chiefs of the foreign lands are enclosed in his grasp, to fill the workshops of his father Amun — "by the valor that you granted me!"

(v. Upper file of prisoners) His Majesty returned from Upper Retenu, after extending the boundaries of Egypt, [and after?] destroying [the land of the Men]tiu(?), [their chiefs] being [prisoners], with [their] tribute [on their backs ...] [... rest lost ...]

(vi. Lower file of prisoners) Chiefs of foreign countries that knew not Egypt, whom His Majesty brought off as prisoners, [their] tribute [on their backs? ...].

REFERENCES

Text: definitive, Epigraphic Survey 1986: pls. 9-14; handbook ed., KRI 1:13-15; 7:423-424. Translations: Epigraphic Survey 1986:27-43, and Kitchen 1993a:10-12, with notes and older references in Kitchen 1993b:19-20.

SECOND BETH-SHAN STELA, [YEAR LOST] (2.4D) (Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem, S.885A/B)

K. A. Kitchen

Regrettably, the year-date is broken away on this monument, but is likely to have been [Year 2 or later]. Again, on his way back south, the king was obliged to quell dissidents, seemingly in Lower Galilee, as his troops "turned back" to deal with the matter. The 'Apiru are here given the determinative of an armed man; so they were regarded in this case as armed bands by the Egyptians.

Scenes (KRI I 15.15)

(lost - king worships deity, either side)

Main text (KRI I 16.1-15)

[Year x, month/season y, Day z. (Long) live:]

Horus-Falcon, Strong Bull, Appearing in Thebes, [Bringing life to Both Lands;]

[Ne]bty-Ruler, Renewing birth, Powerful of] arm, [Subduing the Nine Bows;]

[Golden Horus], Repeating epiphanies, Rich in forces in all lands;

King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Lord of Both Lands, Menmare Heir of Re, [Bodily Son of Re, his beloved], Lord of Crowns, [Sethos I Merenptah], beloved of Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of Both Lands, and given life like Re [forever].

[The Good god who achieves with] his arms, an iron rampart ^a on the field on the day of battle, [who calms(?) the heart] of the people, who knows his ability, resolute on behalf of his army on the day of battle like a young bull;^b powerful lion,^c falcon of Khepri in the Mansion of the Prince, Son of Sekhmet, beloved of Bast.

Sphinxlike image¹ amid the foreign countries that infringe his boundary, he has curbed all lands by reason of the dread [of him in the]ir [hearts]. He causes the Asiatics to retreat, who had drawn their bows — a king to [be boasted of] to the height of heaven, a master to be bragged about forever.

On this day, now, [one came to inform His Majesty, LPH, thus:

“The ^aApiru of the mountain of Yarmutu,² along with the Tayaru³ [folk, they] are arisen, attacking the Asiatics of Ruhma.”

Then said [His Majesty]: “Who [do they] think

^a Jer 1:18;
Ezek 4:3

^b Deut 33:17

^c Gen 49:9;
Deut 33:20,
22

^d Job 40:18;
Isa 48:4

they are, these despicable Asiatics, in [taking up] their [arms] for yet more trouble? They shall find out about him whom they did not know — [the Ruler val]iant like a falcon *and* a strong bull wide-striding and sharp-horned, [spreading his wings (firm)] as flint, and every limb as iron,^d to hack up the [entire] land of Dja[hy]!” ⁴

Then His Majesty, LPH, commanded a detachment of men from his ample [infantry and ch]ariotry to turn back against the land of Djahy. When a period of two days had elapsed, [they returned in peace] from the land(?)/mountain(?) of Yarmutu, bringing the impost [?from these Asiatics?, and] prisoner(s) as plunder [wrought by His Majesty?] — it was/by the power of his father Amun-Re that decreed for him valor and vic[tory [forever?] — (even) the King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Lord of Both Lands, Menmare Heir of Re, Son of Re, Lord of [Crowns], Sethos I Merenptah, like Re.

¹ Cp. the pharaoh shown as a sphinx with kingly head, vanquishing foes, as of Tutmosis IV (ca. 1390 BCE; *ANEP* no. 393) and Tutankhamun (ca. 1330 BCE; Desroches-Noblecourt 1963:61, pl. xix), with derived motif on gold bowl at Syrian Ugarit (14th/13th centuries BCE; Smith 1965: fig. 48), as well as in earlier and later periods.

² Yarmutu may be related to the northern Yarmuth, Josh 21:29 (with its possible name-variants, Remeth, Ramoth, in Josh 19:21, and 1 Chr 6:65), near the later “Belvoir” of the crusaders.

³ Tayaru and Ruhma are (so far) unknown entities; Albright (1952:30-31) did compare Tayaru with the Tiria of 1 Chr 4:16, in name but not location (much further south).

⁴ Djahy is a rather elastic term in Egyptian, covering a fair-sized area including Canaan and up into Lebanon (cf. Gardiner *AEO* 1:145'-146').

REFERENCES

Text: Rowe 1930: pls. 42-44, 45:1; Grdseloff 1949; Albright 1952; handbook edition, *KRI* 1:15-16. Translation, notes, other references: Kitchen 1993a:12-13, and 1993b:20-21.

KARNAK, CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE HITTITES (UNDATED) (2.4E)
(West Side, Lower Register)

K. A. Kitchen

Originally, two whole registers on the west half of this wall dealt with northern wars of Sethos I: the bottom one, a clash with the Hittites, and the top one the king's attack on Qadesh and Amurru. It is significant that the two are separated by a middle register that focuses on a wholly different locale — a war in the west with the Libyans. This suggests that the top and bottom registers may commemorate two separate campaigns, before and after a Libyan war. Which came first is uncertain. Artistic convention would favor bottom-to-top (Hatti, then Qadesh/Amurru), but allusions in the texts, and geographical progression may rather favor a clash in Amurru and Qadesh first, then with Hatti from the north.

(Scene hidden behind 22nd-Dynasty Wall — not accessible.)

Sethos I in battle with the Hittites (*KRI* 1 17.10-18.4)
(i. Over the Hittites) The despicable land of Hatti, amongst whom His Majesty, LPH, has wrought great slaughter.

(ii. Rhetorical text)

Horus-Falcon, Strong Bull, Appearing in Thebes, Bringing life to Both Lands, King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Lord of

Both Lands, Menmare, Son of Re, Sethos I Merenamun.

The Good god, strong in power, a hero valiant like Montu;

Powerful one, powerful like him who begot him,

illuminating Both Lands like Him of the Horizon.

Mighty in strength like the Son of Nut,

the strength of the Two Lords is in his actions;

Who stalks the battlefield like Him of Ombos,

great of terror like Baal against the foreign lands.
Uniter of Both Lands, (even) while he was in the nest,
his power has protected Egypt.

Re has made his boundary for him to the limits of what the Sun-Disc illumines;

Divine Falcon of dappled plumage,
traversing the heaven(s) like the majesty of Re.

Southern jackal, fast, circling this land in an hour;
Fearsome Lion who travels the difficult paths of every foreign land.

Strong Bull,^a sharp-horned, stout-hearted,
who treads down the Asiatics, who tramples the Hittites,

who slays their chiefs, (left) wallowing in their blood,

who enters among them like a fiery flame,
reducing them to non-existence.

(iii. Minor epigraphs: a. Falcon) The Behdetite, great god — may he give [all] valor [and victory ...]; may he give [all] life, stability and dominion, [... rest lost ...].

(b. King) The Good god, powerful and res[olute?], Lord of Both Lands, [Menmare], Lord of Crowns, Sethos I Merenamun, Image of Re at the head of Both Lands.

(c. Winged disc) The Behdetite. (d. Vulture) Nekhebet, the White One of Nekhen; — may she give life and dominion. (e. Behind king) (Magical) protection, life, stability and dominion. [(f. Over horses) lost].

Triumphal return with prisoners (KRI I 18.5-19.6)

(i. Rhetorical text over prisoners and king's chariot)

The Good god, in strength manifest,
mighty in power like Montu residing in Thebes;

Young Bull,^a the sharp-horned,
resolute, trampling down hundreds of thousands;

Strong Lion,^b
roaming the difficult paths of every foreign land;

Southern jackal, speeding and roaming,

circling this land in an hour,

seeking out his foes in every foreign land.

Valiant warrior without equal, archer^c who knows his ability;

who projects his might like a mountain of copper;

(when) he is pacified, they can breathe his breath (of life).

There comes Retenu to him in obeisance,

(and) the land of Lib<ya>¹ on their feet.

He lets go(?) seed as he wishes, in this despicable land of Hatti,

their chiefs are fallen to his sword, reduced to non-existence.

How mighty is his power against them,

a Deut 33:17

(just) like fire when he destroys their towns.

(ii. Further text behind the king)

Victorious King, mighty in power, whose battle-cry is like the Son of Nut's; he has returned triumphant, he has hacked up the foreign lands, he has trampled down the Hatti-land. He puts an end to the rebels, and every foreign land languishes, becoming peaceable as dread of His Majesty has entered into them. His scourge(?) has broken their will ("heart"), and the foreign lands are bound before him; he cares nothing for even hundreds of thousands gathered (together).

(iii. Cartouches) Lord of Both Lands, Menmare, Lord of Crowns, Sethos I Merenamun.

(iv. Over the horses) First Great (Chariot-)Span of His Majesty, "Amun grants him the strong arm."

(v. Over lower row of prisoners) Chiefs of foreign lands who knew not Egypt, whom His Majesty has brought as prisoners (with) their tribute on their backs, (it) being all the choicest of their countries.

Presentation of prisoners and spoils to Amun and the Gods (KRI I 19.7-20.11)

(i. Presentation by the king) [Presentation] of tribute by the Good god to his father Amun-Re, Lord of [the Throne]s of Both Lands, [when] he returned from the land of Hatti — hacking up the rebels and trampling down the Asiatics in their places — with silver and gold, lapis-lazuli and turquoise, [with every kind of] noble [gemstone],^d according as he decreed for him valor and victory over all foreign lands.

(ii. Vulture and cartouches) Udjo; may she give life and dominion. King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Menmare, Son of Re, Sethos I Merenamun, chosen by Re in the Bark of <millions>.

(iii. Over upper file of prisoners) The great chiefs of despicable Retenu, whom His Majesty has brought off by his victories from the land of Hatti, so to fill the storehouse(s)^e of [his] noble [father] Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of Both Lands, according as he has granted (him) valor against the South and victory over the North.

The chiefs of the foreign countries, they say in extolling His Majesty, LPH, and in magnifying his strength: "Hail to you, King of Egypt, Sun of the Nine Bows! Mighty is your power, Lord of the Gods! You have brought (captive) the (far) limit(s) of the foreign lands, and you have bound them under the feet^f of your son, the Horus-falcon who brings life to the Two Lands."

(iv. Over lower row of prisoners) Mighty is your power, O Victorious King! How great is your power! You are like Montu over every foreign land, your force

¹ The mentions here of Syria ("Retenu") and of Libya might be held to indicate that campaigns in Syria and Libya carved above this register had occurred earlier than the Hittite conflict shown here; however, there is always the possibility that we simply have a flight of rhetorical language normal in these label-texts to war-scenes.

is (just) like his.

(v. Speech of Amun) Words spoken: "I grant you all valor and all victory. I grant you all flat lands and all foreign countries under your sandals. I grant you the lifespan of Re and the years of Atum. I grant you an eternity in jubilees like Re. I grant you all food and provision. I grant you all life, stability and dominion, and all health." — (So), Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of Both Lands, presiding over Karnak.

(vi. The other gods: a. Mut-Bastet) Mut the Mighty, [Lady] of Asheru, Bast Mistress of Karnak, Lady of charm, sweet of love: — "I grant you the [thro]ne of Geb, and the lifespan of Re in heaven." (b. Khons) Khons in Thebes, Neferhotep, Falcon (or Horus), Lord of joy.

(c. Maat) Words spoken by Maat Daughter of Re: "My bodily son, (my) beloved, Lord of Both Lands, Lord of the strong arm, Menmare — I grant you an eternity in jubilees like Re."

REFERENCES

Text-editions: definitive, Epigraphic Survey 1986: pls. 33-36; handbook ed., *KRI* 1:17-20; 7:424-425. Translations and notes: Epigraphic Survey 1986:103-114; and Kitchen 1993a:14-17; 1993b:22-23.

KARNAK, CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE LIBYANS (UNDATED) (2.4F) (West Side, Middle Register)

K. A. Kitchen

As with all three registers on this western side, an initial scene is now hidden away around the corner, under later (22nd Dynasty) stonework that was part of the masonry for the great forecourt built by Shoshenq I, ca. 925 BCE. The visible scenes are limited to a victorious battle, the king killing a Libyan leader, and the triumphal return to Egypt.

(Scene hidden behind 22nd-Dynasty Wall - not accessible.)

Sethos I in Battle with the Libyans (*KRI* 120.15-21.4)

(i. Minor epigraphs: a. cartouches) Lord of Both Lands, Menmare, Lord of Crowns, Sethos I Merenamun.

(b. Over the horses) First Great (Chariot-)Span of His Majesty, "Trampling down the Foreign Lands."

(c. Behind the king) Horus strong in arm, Lord who performs the rituals — may all protection, life, stability and dominion attend him!

(ii. Rhetorical text) [The Good god ...], [the strong arm]ed,¹ Lo[r]d of po[w]er, val[ia]nt li[ke] Montu, who fights and captures in every foreign land; a hero without equal, who achieves with his strong arm, so that the Two Lands know, and so that the entire land shall see (it).

He is like Baal¹ (as) he treads the mountains. Dread of him has crushed the foreign lands, his name is victorious, and his power is strong; there is none who can withstand him.

Sethos I spears a Libyan Chief (*KRI* 121.6-17)

(i. Rhetorical text) [The Good god ...], who overthrows those who rebel against him, who smites the tribesfolk and tramples down the Mentiu/Beduin and the distant foreign lands of Libya (*Tehenu*), [?making a great slaughter] amongst them, [... fall]en, their chiefs, [... under] the feet of the Falcon.

a Exod 3:19-20; 6:1

b Exod 3:19-20; 6:1

(ii. Before the king) Striking down the chiefs of Libya.

(iii. Minor epigraphs: a. cartouches) [...], Men[mare], [...], Sethos I [Merenamun], given dominion like Re. (b. Falcon) May he give life and dominion.

(c. Fan) May all protection, life, stability and dominion attend him like Re!

(d. Above and behind the king) Horus strong in arm, Lord of Both Lands, Lord who performs the rituals, smiting every foreign land, Lord of the strong arm, trampling down the Nine Bows.

(e. Terminal text) Shall endure the King, Lord of Both Lands, Lord of the strong arm,² Menmare, trampling down the chiefs of the foreign lands of Lib[ya] (*Temehu*) like Re.

(iv. Prince Ramesses added behind king at left) Hereditary Prince, Senior King's Son, of his (own) body, beloved of him, Ramesses.

(v. Prince [formerly, an official] behind Libyan chief at right) (Original text [*KRI* VII 425:6]): Troop-Commander and Fanbearer, Mehy.]

(Added text of prince): Hereditary Prince, Eldest King's Son, of his (own) body, [...].

Triumphal Return with Prisoners (*KRI* 122.1-13)

(i. Rhetorical text, before and above the prisoners)

[The Good god who returns, having triumphed over the chiefs of every land; he has trampled down the rebellious foreign countries] who had transgressed his boundaries. He is like Montu, [he has taken up

¹ Comparisons of the pharaoh with Baal are quite frequent in the Ramesside period, as here and above *COS* 2.4A, (i). Likewise with the goddess

² Astarte, as in *COS* 2.4A.

the mace, like Horus in his panoply], his bow is with [him like Bast], his arrow is like (that of) the Son of Nut. No foreign land can stand before him, the dread of him is in their hearts, all foreign lands ..., have become at peace — he causes them to cease standing on the battlefield, (as) they forget (even how) to draw the bow, spending the day in the caves,^c hidden away like foxes. Dread of His Majesty [is in all lands, pervading their hearts, [?inasmuch as his father Amun has given him] valor and victory.

(ii. Text above lower file of prisoners) [Chiefs of the foreign lands that knew not Egypt, whom His Majesty brought off as] prisoner(s) from the [foreign land]^d of Lib<ya>, by the power of his father Amun.

(iii. Minor epigraphs. a. Over the horses) First Great (Chariot-)Span <of> His Majesty, "Valiant is Amun."

(b. Cartouches) Lord of Both Lands, Menmare, Lord of Crowns, Sethos I Merenamun, given life.

(c. Vultures at right): Nekhet, White One of Nekhen. (At left): [... lost ...].

Presentation of prisoners and spoil to the Theban triad (KRI I 23.1-24.4)

(i. Text above the spoils) Presentation of tribute by His Majesty to his father Amun-Re, (consisting) of silver and gold, lapis-lazuli and turquoise, and of every noble gemstone^e — "by the valor which you give me over every foreign land."

(ii. Text before the king) Presentation of tribute by the Good god to his father Amun, from the rebellious chiefs of the foreign lands ignorant of Egypt, (with) their tribute on their backs, to fill every workshop with slaves male and female — "by the victories which you gave me over every land."

(iii. Text above upper file of prisoners) His Majesty has

c Josh 10:16

d Josh 6:19, 24

returned from the foreign lands, his at[tack] having succeeded. He has plundered Retenu (Syria), he has slain their chiefs. He has caused the Asiatics to say: "Who is this? He is like a flame in its shooting forth, unchecked by water!" He causes all rebels to desist from all boasting with their mouths — he has taken away the (very) breath of their nostrils.

(iv. Text above lower file of prisoners) Chiefs of the foreign lands of Libya (*Tehenu*) [...].

(v. Minor epigraphs: a. cartouches) King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Lord who performs the rituals, Menmare, Son of Re, Lord of Crowns, Sethos I Merenamun, given life like Re.

(b. Vultures, at left) May she give life, stability and dominion like Re. (At right): Nekhet, White One of Nekhen; may she give all valor.

(vi. Speech of Amun)

Words spoken by Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of Both Lands: "(My) bodily son whom I love, Lord of Both Lands, Menmare! My heart is glad through love for you, and I rejoice at the sight of your beauty. I set the war-cry of Your Majesty upon every foreign land. [Your mace] is upon the head(s) of their chiefs — [they] come to you in unison, to Nile-land, carrying all their goods loaded on their backs."

(vii. Mut) Mut, Lady of Asheru, Lady of heaven, Mistress of all the Gods: "[I grant to you] eternity as King of the Two Lands, you having appeared like Re."

(viii. Khons-Thoth) Khons in Thebes, Neferhotep, Horus, Lord of joy, Thoth Lord of Karnak: "I give to you valor against the South and victory over the North" — may all protection, life, stability and dominion attend him like Re.

REFERENCES

Texts: definitive, Epigraphic Survey 1986: pls. 27-32; handbook ed., KRI 1:20-24. Translations with notes and older references: Epigraphic Survey 1986:87-101; Kitchen 1993a:17-19, 1993b:23-25.

KARNAK, CAMPAIGN AGAINST QADESH AND AMURRU (UNDATED) (2.4G)

(West Side, Top Register)

K. A. Kitchen

Here, except for an inaccessible scene round the corner (walled-over in the 22nd Dynasty), only one scene remains, of the king in battle, the scenes of his return to Egypt and presentation to the gods being now lost. But the remaining scene has him vanquishing Amurru, a kingdom in the Lebanon mountains that bears the name of the Amorites, and Qadesh, focus of an epic battle in his son's reign (COS 2.5 below).

(Scene hidden behind 22nd-Dynasty wall — not accessible)

Sethos I attacks Qadesh and Amurru (KRI I 24)

(i. Rhetorical text) [The Good god who slays] te[ns of thousands],^a raging [like the Son of] Nut, (with

a 1 Sam 18:7; 21:12; 29:5

b Jer 1:18; Ezek 4:3

Montu at [his right and Seth] at his left, a hero [without his equal], a warrior worth ("of") millions, [who protects] his army, a rampart^b for myriads; [stout-hearted?] (when) he sees multitudes,

[he cares] nothing for myriads en masse; one who enters [into the mass of Asiatics, and who makes them [prostra]te, who tramples down [their] settlements, [and devas]tates [their] villages [upon] his paths, [a strong bull, sharp-horned?] who crushes [myriads ...].

(ii. Text on the fort) The ascent which Pharaoh, LPH, made to destroy the land of Qadesh (and) the land of Amurru.¹

(iii. Text at right of fort) Town of Qadesh.

(iv. Over the horses) <First> Great Chariot-Span [of] His majesty, ["..."].

(v. Terminal line at right; KRI VII 426) [Shall endure the King, Lord of Both Lands, Menmare, arisen upon the] Horus-throne, and destroying the rebellious

foreign lands [...].

Text of obliterated official (KRI VII 426)

The Troop-commander and Fanbearer, Me[hy, justified].²

Triumphal return (KRI VII 425)

[...] according as he gives him valor against every foreign land.

Prisoners to the gods (KRI VII 425)

(i. Amun): [...] to see me.

(ii. Mut): [... I give you ...] everlasting as joyful ruler.

(iii. Behind Mut): [... all ...] attend her like Re.

¹ Qadesh and Amurru are here close neighbors, as is geographically true; Qadesh-on-Orontes closely adjoined the north-east border of the mountain-state of Amurru. The text here speaks of "the land of the Amurru"; or probably better, of "him of Amurru," meaning the Amurrite ruler, which foreshadows well-attested usage in the Qadesh-texts of Ramesses II. Originally, "Amurru" had been a Mesopotamian term for the area of Syria west of the River Euphrates and Gebel Bishri, and for people in that area ("Amorites"); but already in texts from Mari and Alalakh (early 2nd millennium BCE) it had begun to have a more restricted use, culminating in the specific 14th/13th-century kingdom of Amurru in Lebanon envisaged in the Amarna letters, in Hittite and Ugaritic records and in these texts of Sethos I and Ramesses II. See Klengel 1969:178-183; 1992:39-43, 160-161, with references.

² The high official Mehy was originally present in three scenes on these walls — in the Year I (bottom) register, west side; in the Libyan war series and in this series (east side), in each case replaced by a figure of Ramesses II as Prince (not king). Mehy must have played an important role at court and probably in these wars, to be honored with a place in these great temple-scenes; on his emergence into a political role next to his father (as prince-regent), young Ramesses evidently considered that he (not a mere commoner) should feature here, especially if he went on his father's later campaigns.

REFERENCES

Texts: definitive, Epigraphic Survey 1986: pls. 22-26; handbook ed., KRI I:24; 7:425. Translations, notes and older references: Epigraphic Survey 1986:79-85; Kitchen 1993a:19-20; 1993b:25-26.

RAMESSES II (2.5)

THE BATTLE OF QADESH — THE POEM, OR LITERARY RECORD (2.5A)

K. A. Kitchen

In this epic clash of arms between Muwatallis II of Hatti and Ramesses II of Egypt in the latter's Year 5 (1275 BC), it is now clear that Ramesses won the battle on the day, but Egypt lost politically by its results: Qadesh was not taken, Amurru returned to Hatti, and the Egyptian province of Upe (around Damascus) fell into Hittite control temporarily. However, as his personal valor had in some measure saved the day (but aided by the timely arrival of reinforcements), the pharaoh felt justified in presenting his narrow personal triumph to Egypt and its gods in a suitably grandiose composition in both image and word. Thus, two great tableaux were carved upon the temple walls, one of the Egyptian camp as attacked by the Hittites as the Egyptian relief-force arrived, and one of the king triumphantly pushing back the Hittite forces into and over the River Orontes. Alongside these scenes was engraved a 'literary record', the so-called Poem (most of it actually poetical, but with prose segments as needed), and in the first tableau a supplementary text, now known as the Bulletin, mainly prose but with a touch of poetry as needed. The entire work was inscribed on major temples in Egypt and Nubia: so, at Thebes (Karnak, Luxor, Ramesseum), at Abydos, at Abu Simbel in Nubia; northern temples are too destroyed to preserve copies. The Poem also was copied as a purely literary piece (without the scenes) on papyrus.

(1-6)¹ Beginning of the Triumph of the King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Usimare Setepenre, Son of Re, {beloved of the Gods},
 Ramesses II Meriamun,² given life forever, which he achieved: against the Hatti-land, Naharina, and against the land of Arzawa; against Pidassa, (and) against the Dardanaya (land);
 against the land of Masa, against the land of Qarqisha, and Lukka;
 against Carchemish, Qode, (and the) land of Qadesh;
 against the land of Ugarit, (and) Mushnatu.³

(7-24) Now, His Majesty was a youthful lord, a hero without peer;
 arms were powerful, his heart bold,
 his strength (was) like Montu's in his hour:
 Fine in appearance like Atum,
 at seeing his beauty, one rejoices.

Mighty in victories over all foreign countries,
 one never knows when he may begin to fight.

Strong rampart ^a around his army,
 their shield on the day of fighting.

An archer unequalled,^b
 more valiant than hundred-thousands rolled into one.

Going straight ahead, entering the throng,
 his heart confident in his strength.

Ruthless in the hour of combat,
 like fire in the instant that it devours.

Determined like a bull poised in the arena,
 he thinks nothing (even) of every land combined.

Even a thousand men ^c cannot withstand him,
 hundred-thousands despair just at the sight of him.

Master (through) fear, great of war-cry,
 in the hearts of all lands.

Mighty in renown, rich in splendour,
 like Sutekh on the mountain-tops.

[Dreaded] in the hearts of foreigners,
 like a fierce lion in a valley of wild game.

Going forth bravely,
 returning after triumphing personally,
 without speaking boastfully.

Effective in counsel,
 good at planning,
 one finds (the needful) in his first reply.

^a Jer 1:18;
 Ezek 4:3

^b Gen 49:24

^c 1 Sam 18:7;
 21:12; 29:5

Rescuer of his infantry on the day of battle,
 great protector of his chariotry.

Bringing his followers (safe home), saving his troops,

his heart (steady) as a mountain of copper.

(Such is) the King of Southern and Northern Egypt,
 Usimare Setepenre,
 the Son of Re,⁴ Ramesses II, given life.⁵

(25-40) So now, His Majesty issued supplies to his infantry and chariotry, (and the) Sherden-warriors that His Majesty had captured, when he brought them in by the triumph of his strong arm; they being kitted-out with all their weapons, and the plan of campaign given to them.

Thus, His Majesty travelled north, his infantry and chariotry accompanying him. He made a good start to the march in Year 5, 2nd month of Shomu, Day 9, {to the despised land of Syria, on his 2nd campaign of victory}.

His Majesty passed the fortress of Sile, he being strong as Montu at his forays. All foreign lands trembled before him, their chiefs presenting their tribute; and every (would-be) rebel submitting through fear of the wrath of His Majesty. His army went through the (narrow) passes just like someone on the (open) roads of Egypt.

Some time after this, see, His Majesty was in Ramesses II the Town, which is in the Valley of the Conifers. His Majesty travelled on northwards. Now when His Majesty had reached the ridge of Qadesh, then His Majesty went straight on, like his father Montu, Lord of Thebes; and he crossed the ford of (the river) Orontes, with the 1st Army-Division of Amun who gives victory to Usimare Setepenre.⁶ (Thus) His Majesty arrived at the town of Qadesh.

(41-55) Now, the despicable Fallen (chief) of Hatti had come; he had gathered round himself all foreign countries to the (furthest) limits of the sea: The entire land of Hatti had come; that of Naharina likewise, and that of Arzawa;

Dardanaya, that of Gasgas, that (*var.*: those) of Masa;
 those of Pidassa, that of Arwanna, that of Qarqisha, (and) Lukku;

¹ The "line-numbers" given in the text are the modern P(oem) paragraph-numbers applied to the text since Kuentz's edition; for typographical neatness, the cipher "P" is omitted.

² Hereinafter abbreviated to "Ramesses II."

³ The home locations of most of the Hittite allies can be defined, even if sometimes only broadly. Naharina is the Eg. term for Mitanni/Hanigalbat in the great west bend of the Euphrates. Arzawa is in the south part of Anatolia, and Pidassa to the north of Arzawa. Dardanaya, Masa, Qarqisha and Lukka (cf. Lycia) were all in the western parts of Anatolia. Qode is an Eg. term that loosely embraces north Syria and perhaps Cilicia (Kizzuwatna). North-Syrian Carchemish on the Euphrates was the Hittite administrative capital for their Syrian vassals; Ugarit was the seaport city-state near modern Latakia; Mushnatu (for Mushanipa?) was also probably in north Syria.

⁴ P. Ch. Beatty adds: {Beloved of the Gods} here.

⁵ P. Ch. Beatty adds: {forever and eternally, like his father Re}.

⁶ P. Ch. Beatty here adds {L.P.H., [Son of Re, Ramesses II, L.P.H.]}

Kizzuwatna, Carchemish, Ugarit, Qode;
the entire land of Nuhasse; Mushnatu; (and)
Qadesh;⁷

he left not (even one) country which was not
brought, of every distant land.

Their rulers were there with him, each man with
his forces;

their chariotry was vast in extent, unequalled;
they covered hill and valley, they were like the
locust-swarm in their multitude;^d

he left no money ("silver") in his land, he had
stripped himself of all his property;

he gave it to all the(se) countries, to bring them
with him, to fight.^e

Now, the despicable Fallen (chief) of Hatti, along
with the many lands that were with him, stood
hidden and ready, on the North-East of the (town)
of Qadesh.

(56-74) Now, His Majesty was all alone, with (just)
his followers,

the division of Amun marching behind him;

the division of Pre crossing the ford, in the area

South⁸ of the town of Shabtuna, at a distance
of 1 iter from where His Majesty was;

the division of Ptah being to the South of the
town of Arnam;

(and) the division of Seth (still) marching along
the road.

His Majesty had drawn the first battle-line from all
the leaders of his army.

Now, they were on the shore (or bank) in the land
of Amurru.

Now, the despicable Ruler of Hatti stood amidst
the army which was with him,

he could not come out to fight, for fear of His
Majesty.

So, he sent out men and chariotry, abundant, ex-
ceedingly numerous like the sand,

they being three men to a chariot-span,^f

{they formed their units of three, every runner of
the land of of the fallen ones of Hatti},

they being armed with every (kind of) weapon of
war.

See, they had been made to stand hidden behind the
town of Qadesh. Then they emerged on the South
side of Qadesh, and attacked the division of Pre at
its middle, as they were marching, unaware, and
not prepared for fighting. Then His Majesty's
troops and chariotry collapsed before them.

(75-91) Now His Majesty was established on the
North of the town of Qadesh, on the West side of

^d Judg 6:5;
Joel 1:4-7

^e 1 Kgs 15:18-
19; 2 Kgs
16:7-9

^f Exod 14:7;
Josh 11:4

^g 1 Kgs 8:20

^h 1 Kgs 8:62-
64

the Orontes. Then one came to report it to His
Majesty. Then His Majesty appeared (gloriously)
like his father Montu, he took his panoply of war,
and girded himself in his coat of mail; he was like
Baal in his hour. The great (chariot)-span which
bore His Majesty was (named) *Victory in Thebes*,
of the Great Stable of Usimare Setepenre, *Beloved*
of Amun, of the Residence.

Then His Majesty set forth at a gallop, he plunged
into the midst of the forces of the Hittite foe, he
being entirely on his own, no-one else with him.

So, His Majesty went on to look around him; he
found 2,500 chariot-spans hemming him in, all
around him, even all the champions ("runners") of
the Hittite foe, along with the numerous foreign
countries who were with them:

from Arzawa, Masa and Pidassa; {from Gasgas,
Arwanna and Qizzuwatna; from Aleppo, Ugarit,
Qadesh and Lukka;} they were three men to a
chariot-span, acting as a unit. But there was no
high officer with me, no charioteer, no army-
soldier, no shield-bearer. But my army and my
chariotry melted away before them, none could
withstand them, to fight with them.

(92-120) Then said His Majesty:

"Indeed, what's up with you, my father Amun?

Has a father ever ignored his son?

Now, have I done anything without you?

Do I not go and stop at your word?

I have not disobeyed a(ny) plan that you
commanded!⁹

How (much) great(er) is he, the great Lord of
Egypt,

(than) to allow foreigners to approach his path!

What are they to you, O Amun,

these Asiatics, despicable and ignorant of God!

Have I not made for you monuments in great multi-
tude?

I have filled your temple with my captures!

I built for you my Memorial Temple,¹⁰ ^g

and I assigned you all my property by testament.

I presented to you every land in (its) entirety,

to supply your sacred offerings.

I caused to be offered to you myriads of cattle,

with all sweet-smelling herbs.^h

I neglected no good deed,

to fail to do them in your courts.

I built for you great {stone} pylon-towers,

and erected their flagstaves myself.

I brought for you obelisks from Elephantine,

⁷ The Gasgas or Gasgaeans were unruly tribesfolk who lived north of the Hittite central homeland, and Arwanna adjoined the Gasgaean zone. Kizzuwatna was a former kingdom centered on Cilicia (around Tarsus), while Nuhasse comprised lesser Syrian states neighboring on the northern course of the Orontes.

⁸ Raïfé: "West."

⁹ In his devotion to the god Amun, Ramesses II was the perfect "Deuteronomist"! He repeatedly emphasizes his obedience to the divine will and commands (here; and Poem. 108-110, 120ff.), cf. Deut. passim. Cf. Kitchen 1970:16-19.

¹⁰ Lit., "my Temple of Millions of Years."

it being I who acted as stone-carrier.
 I directed for you ships on the sea,
 to ferry for you the products of foreign
 countries.
 What will people think, if (even) a minor mishap
 befalls him that depended on your counsel? Do
 good to him who counts on you — then people will
 serve you with a will.
 I have called on you, O Amun,
 while I am amidst multitudes whom I know not.
 All the foreign countries have united against me,
 I being (left) entirely alone, no one else with me.
 My regular troops have abandoned me,
 not one of them has looked for me, from my
 chariotry.
 When I kept on shouting out to them,
 none of them heeded me, as I called out.
 Amun I found more help to me than millions of
 troops,
 than hundred-thousands of chariotry,
 than ten-thousands of men, whether brothers or
 offspring,
 (even) if united in one will.
 There is no achievement of (however) many men,
 but Amun is more help than them!
 I have attained this (much), O Amun, by the
 counsels of your mouth;
 I have never ("not") overstepped your counsel.
 (121-127) See, I made petition from the back of
 beyond,¹¹
 my voice echoing in Thebes.¹²
 The moment I called to him, I found Amun came,
 he gave me his hand, being with me, and I was
 happy.
 As (close as) face to face, he spoke out (from)
 behind me:
 "Forward! I am with you, I am your father, my
 hand is with you!
 I am more useful to you than hundred-thousands of
 men,
 I am the Lord of Victory, who loves bravery."
 (128-142) My heart I found strong, my mind joyful,
 All I did came off (well), I was just like Montu.
 I shot to my right, and captured to my left,
 I was like Seth in his moment,¹³ in their sight.
 I found that the 2,500 chariots, in whose midst I
 was, fell prostrate before my horses.
 None of them was able to fight,
 their hearts quailed in their bodies through fear
 of me.
 All their arms were weak, they could not shoot,
 they could not steady their minds, to seize their
 javelins.

J 1 Kgs 8:29-
 30, 42, 44

I made them plunge into the water, as crocodiles
 plunge,
 so, they fell on their faces, one on (top of)
 another.
 I slaughtered them just as I wished,
 none looked behind him, no other turned around,
 whoever of them fell, he did not rise again.
 (143-165) Now, the despicable Ruler of Hatti was
 standing amidst his infantry and chariotry,
 watching the attack by His Majesty, alone, on his
 own,
 having with him neither his infantry nor his
 chariotry;
 so he [=the Hittite] just stood, — turning back,
 cringing, fearful.
 Then he sent forth many chiefs, each of them with
 his chariot-spans,
 equipped with their weapons of war:
 the Ruler of Arzawa and the one of Masa;
 the Ruler of Arwana, the one of Lukku, the one
 of Dardanaya;¹³
 the Ruler of Carchemish, the Ruler of Qarqisha,
 and the one of Aleppo;
 the brothers of Him of Hatti, all assembled as one.
 They united as one thousand chariot-spans,
 and came straight on forward into the fire!
 I launched myself against them, being like Montu;
 I gave them a taste of my fist ("hand") in the
 space of a moment.
 I wrought mayhem among them, slain on the spot.
 One cried out to another amongst them, (saying):
 "He is no mere man, he that is among us!
 (it's) Seth great of power, (very) Baal in person!
 Not the acts of a mere man are the things that he
 does,
 they belong to one utterly unique!
 One who defeats myriads, no troops with him,
 no chariotry.
 Let's come away quickly, let's flee before him,
 let's seek life for ourselves, that we may breathe
 air!
 See, he who would venture out to approach him,
 at once, his hand and all his limbs go weak.
 None can draw a bow or even (wield) a spear,
 when they see him coming, striding in from a
 distance."
 (166-204) Now, His Majesty was after them like a
 griffon,
 I slaughtered among them, without letting up.
 I raised my voice to call out to my troops, saying:
 "Stand firm, be bold-hearted, my troops,¹⁴
 see my triumph, (all) on my own,
 with only Amun to be my protector, his hand

¹¹ Lit., "from the furthest end of the foreign lands."

¹² In some versions, Montu (at Abydos) and Baal (P. Sallier) are substituted for Seth.

¹³ P. Sallier adds: "the one of Gasgas."

¹⁴ P. Sallier adds (wrongly): "and my chariotry" (who are addressed in P173).

with me.
 And how cowardly are your hearts, my chariotry,
 it's no use trusting in you either!
 Was there not one of you, for whom I did good in
 my land?
 Did I not arise as Lord, when you were poor?
 I caused you to become great men by my benefi-
 cence daily.
 I set a son over his father's property, I expelled all
 evil that had been in this land.
 I left your servants for you(r use), I gave you
 (back) others who had been taken from you.
 (As for) anyone who requested petitions, "I'll do
 (it, — here) I am," I said to him daily.
 No master has done for his army, the things that I
 have done at your wish.
 I allowed you to dwell in your towns, without
 doing military service.
 My chariotry equally, I sent home on the road to
 their towns, saying:
 'I shall find them just as (easily as) today, in the
 hour of meeting for battle.'
 Now see — you did a rotten trick, all together as
 one:
 Not a man of you stood firm to give me a hand
 as I fought.
 As the spirit of my father Amun endures, O that I
 were in Egypt!
 Like the Forefather of my forefathers, they who
 saw no Syrians,
 (who never fought Him, even remotely!)
 And not one of you having come to boast of your
 ('his') service, in the land of Egypt."
 How much better, (just) to raise many monuments
 for Thebes, city of Amun!
 The wrong that my troops and chariotry did is
 greater than can be told.
 See, Amun has given me his victory,
 no troops being with me, and no chariotry.
 He has caused every distant land to see my victory
 by my strong arm,¹⁵
 I being alone, no high officer with me,
 no charioteer, no soldier of the infantry, no
 groom.
 The foreign lands that beheld me shall tell of my
 fame ("name")
 as far as distant lands yet unknown.
 As for any of them that escaped my hand,
 they stood, turning back, looking at what I had
 done.
 If I penetrated amid millions of them, their legs
 could not stay firm, and they fled.
 All those who shot in my direction, their arrows
 then scattered when they reached me.
 (205-213) Now when Menna my shield-bearer saw

J Exod 3:20;
 6:1

that a huge number of chariots hemmed me in,
 then he was dismayed, his heart sank, and stark
 fear possessed his body.
 Then he said to His Majesty:
 "My good Lord, O mighty Ruler,
 great Protector of Egypt on the day of battle,
 we stand alone in the midst of the foe!
 See, the troops and chariotry have abandoned us,
 why do you stay to save them?
 Let's get clear, save us, O Usimare Setepenre!"
 (214-223) Then said His Majesty to his shieldbearer:
 "Be firm, be bold-hearted, my shield-bearer!
 I shall go into them like the pounce of a falcon,
 killing, slaughtering, felling to the ground.
 What are these effeminate weaklings to you,
 for millions of whom I care nothing?"
 Then His Majesty set off quickly, and he went off
 at a gallop,
 into the midst of the foe, for the 6th time of
 attacking them.
 I was like Baal in the moment of his power,
 I killed among them, I did not let up.¹⁵
 (224-250) Then, when my troops and my chariotry
 saw me,
 that I was like Montu, my arm strong,
 Amun my father being with me instantly,
 turning all the foreign lands into straw before
 me,
 then they presented themselves one by one,
 to approach the camp at evening time.
 They found all the foreign lands, amongst which I
 had gone,
 lying overthrown in their blood,
 namely all the fine(st) warriors of the Hatti-(land),
 the children and brethren of their ruler.
 I had made white the countryside of the land of
 Qadesh,
 None could find space to tread, by reason of
 their sheer number.
 Then my army came to praise me,¹⁶
 their faces [amazed/averted], at seeing what I
 had done.
 My officers came to extol my strong arm,¹
 And likewise my chariotry, boasting of my
 name, thus:
 "What a fine warrior, who stiffens morale,
 that you should rescue your troops and chariotry!
 You are the son of Amun, achieving with his arms,
 you devastate the land of Hatti by your valiant
 arm.
 You are the fine(st) warrior, without your peer,
 the king who fights on his army's behalf, on the
 day of conflict.
 You are great-hearted, foremost in the battle-line,

¹⁵ P. Sallier adds (wrongly, P. 223 *bis & ter*): "Then His Majesty called to his troops and chariotry, likewise (to) his chiefs who could not fight; and His Majesty said to them:"

¹⁶ Or possibly, "to thank me" (praise me because of them).

you did not bother about any of the lands, (even) united as one.

You are great in victory in front of your army, in the presence of the entire land, without boastful claims.

O Protector of Egypt, who curbs the foreign lands, You have broken the back of Hatti forever!"

(251-276) Then said His Majesty to his troops and his officers, and likewise (to) his chariotry:

"What's wrong with you, my officers, my troops and my chariotry, who do not know (how to) fight?

Does a man not make himself honored in his city, at his return, when he has played the hero before his lord?

Fair indeed is fame ("name") won in battle, over and over, from of old, a man is respected because of his strong arm.

Have I done no good to (even) one of you, (for) your abandoning me, alone amidst the strife?

How lucky, indeed, is he among who is alive, (for) your sniffing the air, while I was (left) on my own!

Don't you know in your minds, that I am your rampart of iron? ^k

What will be said in gossip, when it is heard of, your abandoning me, I being (left) alone, without companion?

And neither high officer, chariot-warrior nor soldier came,

to give me a hand, as I fought!

I repulsed a million foreign lands, on my own, with (only) *Victory in Thebes* and *Mut is Content*, my great chariot-steeds.

It was they whom I found to help me, when all alone I fought with multitudinous foreign lands!

I shall stoop to feeding them myself, personally, every day that I am in the Palace!

It was they whom I found amidst the strife, with the charioteer Menna, my shield-bearer, and with my household butlers who were at my side,

those who are my witnesses regarding the fighting.

See, I found them!"

My Majesty desisted from (further) valor and triumph,

(for) I had overthrown myriads by my strong arm.

(277-326) When dawn came, I marshalled the battle-line in the fight,

I was prepared to fight like an eager bull.

^k Jer 1:18;
Ezek 4:3

^l Gen 15:17

^m Jos 10:24

I appeared against them like Montu, arrayed in the accoutrements of valor and victory.

I entered into the battle-lines, fighting like the pounce of a falcon, my Uraeus-serpent overthrowing my enemies for me, she spat her fiery flame in the face(s) of my foes.

I was like Re, in his appearing at the dawn, my rays, they burned up the bodies of the rebels.

One of them called out to his fellows:

"Look out, beware, don't approach him!

See, Sekhmet the Mighty is she who is with him, she's along with him, on his horse, her hand with him!

As for anyone who goes to approach him, then a fiery flame comes to burn up his body!"

Then they took (their) stand at a distance, doing homage with their hands before me.

Thereupon My Majesty seized them, killing among them, without letting up, (as) they sprawled before my horses, lying overthrown together in their blood.

Thereupon the despicable, defeated Ruler of Hatti sent (a message),

honoring my name like (that of) Re, saying:

"You are (very) Sutekh, Baal in person, dread of you is like a torch-brand ' in the land of Hatti."

Then he despatched his envoy, bearing a letter in his hand, in the mighty name of My Majesty, sending greetings to the majesty of the palace of: *Horus-Falcon*, *Strong Bull*, *Beloved of Maat*,

Sovereign who protects his army, valiant through his strong arm;

Rampart for his troops on the day of battle;

King of Southern and Northern Egypt, *Usimare Setepenre*,

Son of Re, *Lion*, possessor of the strong arm, *Ramesses II*, given life forever.

This (humble) servant speaks, he makes it known that:¹⁷

You are the (very) Son of Re, who came forth from his body;

he assigned to you all lands together, united as one.

As for the land of Egypt and the land of Hatti, they are yours,

your servants — they are under your feet,"

Pre your august father has granted them to you.

Do not overwhelm us!

See, your power is great.

your might lies heavy upon the land of Hatti.

Is it good that you kill your servants,

¹⁷ P. Sallier here needlessly adds: "O Pharaoh, my good Lord, fine son of Pre-Harakhiti."

your face fierce against them, without your pity (on them)?
See, you spent yesterday, slaughtering myriads."
You came today, and you left no heirs!
Do not be (so) harsh in your words, O Victorious king!
Peace is better than war; grant us breath!"
(321-330) So, My Majesty desisted in life and dominion.
I being like Montu his moment (of triumph), when his attack has succeeded.

Then My Majesty had brought in to me all the leaders of my infantry and my chariotry, and all my high officers, assembled all together, in order to let them hear the matter about which he [= Hittite king] had sent word. Then I caused them to hear the words that the despicable Ruler of Hatti had sent to me.

Then they spoke out in unison: "Excellent, indeed, is peace, O Sovereign our Lord! There is no dishonor ('blame') in peace, when you make it. Who shall resist you on the day of your wrath?"
(331-343) Then His [var.: My] Majesty decreed that his word be heeded.
I [var.: he] turned peacefully southwards.
His Majesty set off back to Egypt peacefully, with his troops and chariotry,
all life, stability and dominion being with him, the gods and goddesses being the talismanic protection for his body,

■ 1 Sam 18:7; 21:12; 29:5

○ Exod 1:11

and subduing for him all lands, through fear of him.
It was the might of His Majesty that protected his army,
all foreign lands praising his fair countenance.
Arrival peacefully in Egypt, at Pi-Ramesse Great-in-Victories,⁹
and resting in his Palace of life and dominion, like Re who is in his horizon.
The gods of the land <come> to him in greeting, saying:
"Welcome, our beloved Son, King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Usimare Setepenre, Son of Re, Ramesses II, given life! — according as they have granted him a million jubilees and eternity upon the throne of Re, all lands and all foreign lands being overthrown and slain beneath his sandals, eternally and forever.

(P. Salier, Colophon)
This text [was written] in Year 9, 2nd month of Shomu, Day <1>, of the King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Usima[re] Setepenre, LPH, Son of Re, Ramesses II, LPH, given life eternally and forever like his father Re.

It has come to completion successfully ... For the spirit of the Chief Archivist [of the Treasury of Pharaoh, LPH, Amenemone,] the Scribe of the Treasury of Pharaoh, [LPH], A[men]emwia, and [the Scribe of] the Treasury of Pharaoh, [LPH ...]. Made by the Scribe Pentaweret [...].

REFERENCES

Texts: Kuentz 1928-34; *KRI* 1:2-147. Translations: Gardiner 1960; Kitchen 1996:2-26; Davies 1997:55-96. Latest commentary: Kitchen 1999:3-55 with extensive bibliography.

THE BATTLE OF QADESH — THE "BULLETIN" TEXT (2.5B)

K. A. Kitchen

The so-called "Bulletin" is a compact text that gives details supplementary to the main account in the "Poem." By its position in the first great tableau-scene, it functions as a label-text to that part of the scene (the king interrogating two Hittite spies). But its length and cohesion also ranks it as almost an independent text within the overall composition.

(1-2)¹ Year 5, 3rd month of Shomu, Day 9, under the Majesty of:
Horus-Falcon, Strong Bull, Beloved of Maat;
King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Usimare Setepenre, Son of Re, Ramesses II, given life forever.
(3-6) Now, His Majesty was in Syria (*Djahy*) on his 2nd victorious campaign. A happy awakening in

life, prosperity and health, in His Majesty's tent, on the ridge South of Qadesh. After this, in the early morning, His Majesty appeared as when Re shines, and he assumed the accoutrements of his father Montu.
(7-28) The Lord [=the King] proceeded North, and (His Majesty) reached the area South of the town of Shabtuna. There came two Shasu, from the Shasu

¹ The "line-numbers" given in the text are the modern B(ulletin) paragraph-numbers used since Kuentz's edition; for typographical neatness.

tribesfolk, to say to His Majesty:

"It is our brothers, who are tribal chiefs with the Fallen One of Hatti, who have sent us to His Majesty, saying: 'We shall become servants of Pharaoh, LPH, and we shall separate ourselves from the Ruler of Hatti.'"

Then said His Majesty to them: "Where are they, your brothers who [se]nt you to speak of this matter to His Majesty?"

Then said they to His Majesty: "They are where the despicable Chief of Hatti is, for the Fallen One of Hatti is in the land of Aleppo, to the North of Tunip. He feared Pharaoh, LPH, too much to come southward, when he heard that Pharaoh, LPH, was coming northward."

Now, these (two) Shasu said these things, and lied ^a to His Majesty. (For) it was the Fallen One of Hatti who had sent them, to find out ("see") where His Majesty was, so as to prevent His Majesty's army from being prepared to fight with the Fallen One of Hatti.

Now, the Fallen One of Hatti had sent the Shasu to say these things to His Majesty, having come with his troops and chariotry, along with the rulers of every land that was in the territory of the land of Hatti, and their troops and chariotry, which he had brought with him as allies, to fight with His Majesty's army, he standing ready and prepared behind Old Qadesh — but His Majesty did not know that they were there. The two Shasu who were in the (royal) presence were interrogated(?).

(29-32) So, His Majesty travelled on northward, arriving at the North-West of Qadesh. The camp of His Majesty's army was pitched there, and His Majesty sat on the throne of electrum, to the North of Qadesh, on the West side of the (river) Orontes.

(33-51) Then came a scout ^b who was in His Majesty's service, bringing in two scouts of the Fallen One of Hatti; they were ushered into the (royal) presence.

Then said His Majesty to them: "What are you?" What they said: "We belong <to> the Ruler of Hatti — he it is who sent us, to see where His Majesty is."

His Majesty said to them: "Where is he himself, the Ruler of Hatti? See, I have heard that he is in the land of Aleppo, to the North of Tunip."

They said [to] His Majesty: "See, the despicable Ruler of Hatti has (already) come, along with the

^a Josh 9

^b Num 13;
1 Kgs 20:17

^c Josh 11:4

many foreign lands that accompany him, whom he has brought with him as allies, [from all the foreign lands who belong to the area of Hatti]:²

[the land of Dardanaya],³ the land of Naharina; that of Gasgas, those of Masa, those of Pidassa; the land of Qarqisa, and Lukku, (and) the land of Carchemish;

the land of Arzawa, the land of Ugarit, that of Arwanna;

the land of Alshe, Mushnatu, and Qadesh;

Aleppo, and the entire land of Qode.

They are furnished with their infantry and chariotry, [bearing their combat-weapons];⁴ they are more numerous than the sands of the seashore.⁵ See, they stand equipped, ready to fight, behind Old Qadesh!"

(52-80) Then His Majesty had the high officers summoned into the (royal) presence, to let them hear all the words that the Fallen One of Hatti's two spies had spoken.

Then said His Majesty to them: "You see the situation (in) which are the garrison-commanders and governors of foreign territories, together with the chiefs of the lands of Pharaoh, LPH, (that) they stand (there) saying daily to Pharaoh, LPH: 'The despicable Ruler of Hatti is in the land of Aleppo, north of Tunip, having fled before His Majesty, when he heard (the report): "See, Pharaoh has come!" — so they say, speaking to His Majesty daily!' But see, I have heard this very hour, from these two spies from the Fallen One of Hatti, that the despicable Fallen One of Hatti has (already) come, with the numerous foreign countries accompanying him, with men and chariotry, as many as the sand (of the shore).⁶ See, they stand hidden behind Old Qadesh — [so, it is said]⁵ — and my governors of foreign territories and my chiefs, in whose charge are the lands of Pharaoh, LPH, could not tell us that they [= Hatti] had arrived!"

The high officers who were in the (royal) presence spoke and replied to the Good [god] thus: "(This is) a great crime that the governors of foreign territories and chiefs (of Pharaoh, LPH) have committed, (in) not causing (the location) of the Fallen One of Hatti, wherever he is, to be reported to them, that they might report it to Pharaoh, LPH, daily."

Then the Vizier was ordered to hurry up His Majesty's army that was (still) marching (from) South of the town of Shabtuna, in order to fetch them to where His Majesty was.

the cipher "B" is here omitted.

² Bracketed wording in Luxor texts, omitted at Ramesseum and Abu Simbel.

³ Bracketed wording at Ramesseum and Abu Simbel, omitted at Luxor.

⁴ Bracketed wording at Ramesseum and Abu Simbel (omitted at Luxor), which omit Aleppo (included at Luxor).

⁵ Bracketed words in Ramesseum and Abu Simbel texts; omitted at Luxor.

But (even) as His Majesty sat talking with the high officers, the despicable Fallen One of Hatti came with his troops and his chariotry, and also the numerous foreign lands that were accompanying him. They crossed the ford (just) South of Qadesh, then they entered in amongst His Majesty's troops as they marched unawares.

(81-83) Then His Majesty's troops and chariotry quailed before them, on their way North, to where His Majesty was. Then the foes from the Fallen One of Hatti surrounded His Majesty's subordinates who were by his side.

(84-105) Then His Majesty caught sight of them, so he arose quickly.

(Then) he raged against them, like his father Montu (Lord of Thebes).

He took up his panoply of war, he girded himself with his coat of mail,

— he was like Sutekh [*var.*: Baal] in his moment of power.

Then he mounted ("Victory-in-Thebes"),⁶ his chariot-span [*var.*: horses],

he setting off quickly, being all alone.

His Majesty was strong, and his heart firm, none could stand before him.

All his patch blazed with fire, he burnt up every foreign land with his hot breath.

His eyes became savage when he saw them, his might flared like fire against them.

He paid no heed to (even) a million aliens, he looked upon them as on chaff.

Then His Majesty entered into the hostile ranks of the fallen ones of Hatti, along with the many foreign lands who were with them,

His Majesty being like Sutekh great in strength, like Sekhmet in the moment of her fury.

His Majesty slew all the hostile ranks of the despicable Fallen One of Hatti, along with all of his great chiefs and his brothers,

likewise all the rulers of all the foreign lands that came with him,

and their troops and chariotry, fallen on their faces, one upon another.

His Majesty slaughtered and slew them, fallen on the spot,

as they (lay) sprawling before his horses,

His Majesty being alone, none other with him.

So His Majesty forced the hostile ranks of the fallen ones of Hatti to plunge on their faces, sprawling, one upon another, plunging like crocodiles, into the waters of Orontes.

(106-110) "I was after them like a griffon, I defeated all the foreign lands, being alone, my troops and chariotry abandoned me, none of them stood looking back.

As Re lives for me and loves me, and as my father Atum favours me,

regarding everything of which My Majesty has spoken,

— I truly did them, in the presence of my troops and my chariotry."

(Luxor palimpsest continues — fragmentary):

[...] I was like Montu, his strength [being with me? ...] all [... *much lost* ...]

[...] like serpents [... *very large loss* ...] [...] them, alighting [...]

[remainder very fragmentary]

⁶ Name of chariot-span, in Luxor text, omitted in Ramesseum and Abu Simbel texts; the latter have "Baal" for "Sutekh," and Abu Simbel "horses" for "span."

REFERENCES

Text: Kuentz 1928-34; *KRI* 2:102-124. Translations: Gardiner 1960; Kitchen 1996:14-18; Davies 1997:86-96; and latest commentary, Kitchen 1999:3-55 passim, with extensive earlier references.

THE (ISRAEL) STELA OF MERNEPTAH (2.6)

James K. Hoffmeier

Discovered in 1896 by Sir Flinders Petrie in western Thebes, the Merneptah Stela instantly became one of the most important documents from the ancient Near East, thanks to the appearance on it of the name "Israel" (Petrie 1897, pl. 13-14). Now over a century later, this reference remains the earliest occurrence of Israel outside of the Bible. In recent years, as more minimalist readings of the Hebrew scriptures have increased, this stela's reference to Israel has considerable interest for biblical historians as they attempt to explain Israel's origins in Canaan apart from the Bible.

Merneptah, the thirteenth son of Ramesses II, reigned a decade, beginning in 1213 BCE. According to Kenneth Kitchen (1982b:215), a major military campaign against Libyan tribes occurred in summer of year 5. Thus the stela, which is dated to regnal year 5, was set up to celebrate this triumph. Hence the Libyan campaign occupies the majority of the stela. This means that the king's sortie to the Levant, in which the Israelites were encountered, must have occurred no earlier than year 2 and before the Libyan campaign (1211-1208 BCE). Consequently the earlier campaign to Canaan did not receive as much notice on this stela as the recently concluded victory over the Libyans. In all, the stela has 28 lines, 23 of which deal with the battle with the Libyans, while the closing paean in which Israel occurs, begins towards the end of line 26 and runs to the very end of line 27. Since this short hymn mentions Tehenu (the main Libyan tribe) first among the eight toponyms, the hymn must be regarded as celebrating all the king's victories, from his first campaign into the Levant up to the most recent victory against the Libyans. These factors must be kept in view because it was not the writer's intent to give a full report on the events in Asia. It could well be that earlier annals or victory stelae, which have not survived or await discovery, documented this campaign.

The stela as a whole is generally recognized to be hymnic in nature. John Wilson called it a "Hymn of Victory" (*ANET* 376), while Ronald J. Williams saw it as "a series of hymns" (*DOTT* 137), and Miriam Lichtheim refers to it as "The Poetical Stela of Merneptah" (*AEL* 2:73). Both the literary structure of the stela as well as that of the final paean, have attracted considerable scholarly study in recent years. While there is general agreement that the Israel pericope is chiastic in structure, and may reflect on Israel's geo-political status in the Levant, there is no consensus regarding how to relate the toponyms to each other. A number of scholars, however, believe that Israel and Hurru (a general term for Syria-Canaan) are used in parallelism. This association suggests that the Israelites are a significant enough presence to be compared with Hurru. It has long been noted that the writing of Israel uses the determinative (semantic indicator) for an ethnic group, and not for a geographic region or city. This scenario is in complete agreement with the picture portrayed in the books of Joshua and Judges, viz. the Israelites had no clearly defined political capital city, but were distributed over a region.

A concluding historiographic note needs to be made. In the "origins of Israel" debate of the 1980's and 1990's, many critical scholars rejected the historical value of the Joshua narratives on the grounds that they are tendentious, as well as theological and ideological in nature. These same tendencies permeate the Merneptah Stela. Nevertheless, these same scholars readily accept the historical value of this important text.

The (foreign) chieftains lie prostrate, saying
"Peace."¹ Not one lifts his head among the Nine
Bows.²

Libya is captured,³ while Hatti^a is pacified.

Canaan is plundered, Ashkelon^b is carried off, and
Gezer^c is captured.

a Gen 15:20;
23:3; 25:9;
Exod 3:8;
13:5; Josh
1:4; 3:10;
8 Josh 13:3;
Judg 1:18;
14:19; 1 Sam
6:17
c Josh 10:33; 12:12; Judg 1:29; 2 Sam 5:25; 1 Kgs 9:15, 16, 17

Yenoam⁴ is made into non-existence; Israel is
wasted, its seed⁵ is not; and Hurru⁶ is become a
widow because of Egypt.

All lands united themselves in peace. Those who
went about are subdued by the king of Upper and
Lower Egypt ... Merneptah.

¹ The Semitic word, *shalom* is written.

² A longstanding Eg. expression for its enemies.

³ The line reads, *ḥꜥ n thnw*. The problem with this text is the function of the preposition, *n*, which makes no sense grammatically, esp. given that all the verbs in this paean are either passive *sgm.f* forms or old perfectives, neither of which are written with *n* after the verb. This appears to be a scribal error (cf. Hoffmeier 1997:45, n. 27).

⁴ Identified with Tell el-Ubeidiya, south of the Sea of Galilee (Ahituv 1984:206-208). See also *COS* 2.2A, note 65; 2.4B, note 4.

⁵ The Eg. word *pṛt* can apply equally to seeds, i.e. grain, as to human offspring. The latter interpretation has been generally accepted. The former position has recently been advocated by Hasel (1994:48-50), but the traditional understanding seems to fit the context better (Stager 1985:61*; Hoffmeier 1997:28, 45 n. 26).

⁶ A generic, Egyptian term for Syria.

REFERENCES

Text: Petrie, 1887; *KRI* 4:12-19. Translations: *ANET* 376-378; Williams in *DOTT* 137-141; Lichtheim *AEL* 2:73-77. Studies: Fecht 1983; Ahlström and Edelman 1985; Stager 1985; Bimson 1991; Hasel 1994; Kitchen 1994-97; Hoffmeier 1997:27-31; Niccacci 1997.

3. LATE INSCRIPTIONS

THE VICTORY STELA OF KING PIYE (PIANKHY) (2.7)

Miriam Lichtheim

The great "Victory Stela of King Piye,"¹ on which the king narrates his conquest of all of Egypt, is the foremost historical inscription of the Late Period. It equals the New Kingdom Annals of Thutmose III in factualness and surpasses them in vividness. It also paints the portrait of a Nubian king who was forceful, shrewd, and generous. He meant to rule Egypt but he preferred treaties to warfare, and when he fought he did not glory in the slaughter of his adversaries in the manner of an Assyrian king. Like all members of his egyptianized dynasty, he was extremely pious and especially devoted to Amun, whom he worshiped in his Nubian residence, Napata, and of course in the god's own hallowed city, Thebes.

The large round-topped stela of gray granite was discovered in 1862 in the ruins of the temple of Amun at Napata, the Nubian capital at the foot of Gebel Barkal. The temple of Amun, erected in the New Kingdom, had been much enlarged by Piye. The stela measures 1.80 by 1.84 m and the sides are 0.43 m thick. It is inscribed on all four sides with a total of one hundred and fifty-nine lines.

The relief in the lunette shows on the left Amun enthroned, with Mut standing behind him and King Piye before him. Behind Piye, King Namart of Hermopolis leads up a horse. With him is his wife whose right arm is raised in a gesture of prayer. In the register below are the prostrate figures of Kings Osorkon IV, Iuput II, and Peftuaubast. Behind them, also kissing the ground, are five rulers: the prince Pediese and four chiefs of the Libyan Ma (or, Meshwesh): Patjenfi, Pemail, Akanosh, and Djedamenefankh. The words inscribed before these subjected rulers are mostly destroyed.

Piye, King of Nubia, was in control of Upper Egypt, with an army of his stationed there. While at Napata, the news reached him that Tefnakht of Sais, the Great Chief of the Ma, who ruled the entire western Delta, was extending his conquests southward. He had formed an alliance with a number of chiefs, including King Namart of Hermopolis, and had turned south to besiege Heracleopolis whose ruler, Peftuaubast, was allied with Piye. Piye first decided to send reinforcements to his army in Egypt, and when this army failed to win decisive victories, he himself led another army into Egypt.

In the twentieth year of his reign, ca. 734 BCE, Piye^{1a} sailed to Egypt. After halting at Thebes to celebrate the Opet festival of Amun, he tightened the siege of Hermopolis until King Namart surrendered. He then rescued the besieged Peftuaubast at Heracleopolis and received his homage. Thereafter he proceeded to capture the strongholds that stood between him and Memphis. The great walled city of Memphis, which refused to surrender, was stormed in heavy fighting. Then the rulers of the Delta hastened to surrender; only Tefnakht of Sais still held out. Eventually Tefnakht admitted defeat and, treating through an envoy, made his submission. Loaded with booty, a triumphant Piye sailed home to Napata.

The direct factual style of the inscription makes it a historical document of the first order. It is also the most important in a series of royal inscriptions of the Nubian Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

Introduction

(1) Year 21, first month of the first season, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Piye (Piankhy) [beloved-of-Amun], ever living. Command spoken by my majesty:

"Hear what I did, exceeding the ancestors,

I the King, image of god,
Living likeness of Atum!
Who left the womb marked as ruler,
Feared by those greater than he!
His father knew, his mother perceived:
He would be ruler from the egg.²

¹ In recent years several scholars reached the conclusion that the name of the king, hitherto read Piankhy, was really Pi or Piye. In the latest discussion of the name Vittmann proposed that, whereas the Nubian form was Pi or Piye, the Egyptians understood it as Piankhy. Thus some scholars now write Pi(ankhy). I have after some hesitation chosen Piye. The reading of the king's name: von Beckerath 1969; Janssen 1968:172; Leclant 1966:152; Parker 1966:111-114; Priese 1968:166-175; Vittmann 1974:12-16.

^{1a} [It is within this general historical context that the enigmatic "So" king of Egypt is mentioned in 2 Kgs 17:4. The identification of So is still debated. The following are the possibilities:

- 1) $\dot{S}d^p$ = Osorkon IV. The name "So" is a hypocoristic of Osorkon. See Kitchen 1986:372-374; Yoyotte 1961.
- 2) $\dot{S}d^p$ = Sais. $\dot{S}d^p$ is a rendering of "Sais" or perhaps a *nisbe* derived from the toponym. Hence the king would be Tefnakhte I of Sais. See most recently Redford 1992:346; Christensen 1989; Day 1992.
- 3) $\dot{S}d^p$ = a title. A) = $\dot{r}^p$ "vizier." See Yeivin 1952; B) *nsw* — "king." See Krauss 1978; Donner 1977:433.
- 4) $\dot{S}d^p$ = Pi(hanky). King $\dot{S}d^p$ is to be identified with Pi(hanky), the father of Shabako, the founder of the 25th Nubian Dynasty. See Green 1993; Na'aman (1990:216) uses the argument of option 3B above and identifies the king as Pi(hanky).] [KLY]

² I.e., born to be a ruler. [Gilula 1967 sees in these lines a close parallel to Jer 1:4, 5.] [WWH]

The good god, beloved of gods,
The Son of Re, who acts with his arms,
Piye beloved-of-Amun."

Tefnakht's advance

One came to say to his majesty: "The Chief of the West, the count and grandee in Netjer,³ Tefnakht, is in the nome of ...,⁴ (3) in the nome of Xoïs,⁵ in Hapy,⁶ in ...,⁷ in Ayn,⁸ in Pernub,⁹ and in the nome of Memphis. He has conquered the entire West from the coastal marshes to Itj-tawy,¹⁰ sailing south with a numerous army, with the Two Lands united behind him, and the counts and rulers of domains are as dogs at his feet.

"No stronghold has closed [its gates in] the nomes of Upper Egypt. Mer-Atum,¹¹ Per-Sekhem-kheperre,¹² Hut-Sobk,¹³ Permedjed,¹⁴ Tjeknesh,¹⁵ all towns of the West¹⁶ have opened the gates for fear of him. When he turned around to the nomes of the East they opened to him also: Hut-benu,¹⁷ Teudjoi,¹⁸ Hut-nesut,¹⁹ Per-nebtepih.²⁰

Now [he is] (5) besieging Hnes.²¹ He has encircled it completely,²² not letting goers go, not letting entrants enter," and fighting every day. He has measured it in its whole circuit. Every count knows his wall.²³ He has made every man besiege his portion, to wit the counts and rulers of domains." His majesty heard [it] with delight, laughing joyously.

Then those chiefs, the counts and generals who

a Josh 6:1

were in their towns,²⁴ sent to his majesty daily, saying: "Have you been silent in order to forget the Southland, the nomes of Upper Egypt, while Tefnakht conquers (all) before him and finds no resistance? Narmart,²⁵ [ruler of Hermopolis], (7) count of Hutweret,²⁶ has demolished the wall of Nefrusi.²⁷ He has thrown down his own town²⁸ out of fear of him who would seize it for himself in order to besiege another town. Now he has gone to be at his (Tefnakht's) feet; he has rejected the water of his majesty.²⁹ He stays with him like one of [his men in] the nome of Oxyrhynchos. He (Tefnakht) gives him gifts to his heart's content of everything he has found."

Piye orders his troops in Egypt to attack and sends reinforcements

His majesty wrote to the counts and generals who were in Egypt, the commander Purem, and the commander Lemersekny, and every commander of his majesty who was in Egypt: "Enter combat, engage in battle; surround ..., (9) capture its people, its cattle, its ships on the river! Let not the farmers go to the field, let not the plowmen plow. Beset the Hare nome; fight against it daily!" Then they did so.

Then his majesty sent an army to Egypt and charged them strictly:³⁰ "Do not attack by night in the manner of draughts-playing; fight when one can see.³¹ Challenge him to battle from afar. If he proposes to await the infantry and chariotry of

³ Netjer, not identified with certainty, may be the region of Buto; see Yoyotte 1961:154-155.

⁴ The scribe did not fill in the nome sign. Probably the Harpoon nome, the 7th nome of Lower Egypt, in the northwest corner of the Delta, was meant; see Yoyotte 1961:154.

⁵ The 6th nome of Lower Egypt.

⁶ A name for the double nome of Saïs; see Yoyotte 1961:155.

⁷ The sign is destroyed; a territory adjacent to Hapy must be meant.

⁸ A name for the marshy regions of Imau (or: Iamu), the metropolis of the 3rd nome of Lower Egypt.

⁹ This town has not been identified.

¹⁰ The old residence of the Middle Kingdom, south of Memphis. It marked the southern boundary of Tefnakht's domains at the beginning of his new campaign.

¹¹ Meidum in the Fayyum.

¹² "House of Osorkon I," near El-Lahun and Gurob; see Yoyotte 1961:135, n. 1.

¹³ Crocodilopolis, the capital of the Fayyum.

¹⁴ Oxyrhynchos, the metropolis of the 19th nome of Upper Egypt.

¹⁵ A town in the 19th nome of Upper Egypt.

¹⁶ I.e., on the west bank of the Nile. The towns are listed from north to south.

¹⁷ A town in the 18th nome of Upper Egypt.

¹⁸ Town in the 18th nome of Upper Egypt, modern El-Hiba.

¹⁹ Another town in the 18th nome.

²⁰ Aphroditopolis (modern Atfih), the metropolis of the 22nd nome of Upper Egypt. These four towns on the east bank are listed from south to north, thus showing that Tefnakht had made a circular sweep.

²¹ Heracleopolis Magna, the metropolis of the 20th nome of Upper Egypt.

²² Lit., "He made himself into a tail-in-the-mouth," i.e., he encircled the town like a coiled snake.

²³ I.e., each chief allied with him was encamped before a section of the wall.

²⁴ I.e., the Eg. petty rulers of Upper Egypt who were loyal to Piye.

²⁵ Narmart of Hermopolis was one of four Eg. rulers who claimed the title "king" at this time. His domain was the Hare nome, the 15th nome of Upper Egypt.

²⁶ Hutweret is Herwer, an important town in the Hare nome.

²⁷ Another town in the Hare nome.

²⁸ The fortress of Nefrusi.

²⁹ I.e., Narmart has joined Tefnakht and repudiated his allegiance to Piye.

³⁰ Piye's charge to his army was explained by Gardiner 1935.

³¹ I.e., they should not attack by stealth as in a game where one party tries to outwit the other.

another town, then sit still until his troops come. Fight when he proposes. Also if he has allies in another town, let (11) them be awaited. The counts whom he brings to help him, and any trusted Libyan troops, let them be challenged to battle in advance, saying: 'You whose name we do not know, who musters the troops! Harness the best steeds of your stable, form your battle line, and know that Amun is the god who sent us!'"³²

"When you have reached Thebes at Ipet-sut, go into the water. Cleanse yourselves in the river; wear the best linen.³³ Rest the bow; loosen the arrow. Boast not (13) to the lord of might, for the brave has no might without him.³⁴ He makes the weak-armed strong-armed, so that the many flee before the few, and a single one conquers a thousand men! Sprinkle yourselves with water of his altars; kiss the earth before his face. Say to him:

'Give us the way,
May we fight in the shade of your arm!
The troop you sent, when it charges,
May the many tremble before it!'"

Then they placed themselves on their bellies before his majesty:

"It is your name that makes our strength,
Your counsel brings your army into port;
Your bread is in our bellies on every way,
Your beer (15) quenches our thirst.
It is your valor that gives us strength,
There is dread when your name is recalled;
No army wins with a cowardly leader,
Who is your equal there?

You are the mighty King who acts with his arms,
The chief of the work of war!"

They sailed north and arrived at Thebes; they did as his majesty had said.

Sailing north on the river they met many ships going south with soldiers and sailors, all kinds of fighting troops from Lower Egypt, equipped with weapons of warfare, (17) to fight against his majesty's army. Then a great slaughter was made of them, whose number is unknown. Their troops

b 1 Kgs 11:40,
etc.

c Josh 6:1

and ships were captured, and taken as prisoners to where his majesty was.³⁵

Battle at Heracleopolis

They proceeded toward Hnes and challenged to battle. List of the counts and kings of Lower Egypt: check spelling of Hnes

King Namart and King Iuput.

Chief of the Ma, Sheshonq^b of Per-Usirnebdjedu³⁶
And Great Chief of the Ma, Djedamnefankh of Per-Banebdjedet³⁷

And his eldest son, the commander of Per-Thothweprehwy.³⁸

The troops of Prince Bakennefi and his eldest son, the Count and Chief of the Ma, (19) Nesnaisu of Hesbu.³⁹

Every plume-wearing chief of Lower Egypt.

And King Osorkon of Perbast⁴⁰ and the district of Ranofer.⁴¹

All the counts, all the rulers of domains in the west, in the east, and in the isles of the midst were united in their allegiance at the feet of the great Chief of the West, the Ruler of the domains of Lower Egypt, the prophet of Neith, mistress of Sais, the *setem*-priest of Ptah, Tefnakht.

They went forth against them; they made a great slaughter of them, exceedingly great. Their ships on the river were captured. The remnant made a crossing and landed on the west side in the vicinity of Perpeg. At dawn of the next day the troops of his majesty crossed over (21) against them and troops mingled with troops. They slew many of their men and countless horses. Terror befell the remnant and they fled to Lower Egypt from the blow that was great and exceedingly painful.

List of the slaughter made of them. Men: [...]⁴²

King Namart fled upstream southward when he was told, "Khmun is faced with war from the troops of his majesty; its people and its cattle are being captured." He entered into Un,⁴³ while his majesty's army was on the river and on the riverbanks (23) of the Hare nome. They heard it and surrounded the Hare nome on its four sides, not letting goers go, not letting entrants enter.⁴

³² The aim of Piye's charge was that his troops should fight a few large decisive battles rather than many small skirmishes. And he was confident that Amun was on his side.

³³ I take this to be the word *tpy* of Wb. 5:292.15-16, rather than Wb. 5:291.17.

³⁴ Gardiner rendered, "Boast not of being lords of might." But *nb*, "lord," is in the sing., and the "lord of might" is Amun, who is referred to in the next sentence.

³⁵ I.e., to Napata.

³⁶ Busiris, the metropolis of the 9th nome of Lower Egypt.

³⁷ Mendes, the metropolis of the 16th nome of Lower Egypt.

³⁸ Hermopolis Parva, the metropolis of the 15th nome of Lower Egypt.

³⁹ The 11th nome of Lower Egypt.

⁴⁰ King Osorkon IV of Bubastis.

⁴¹ Ranofer has not been definitely localized; see Gomaà 1974:132-134.

⁴² A blank space.

⁴³ Khmun and Un together formed Hermopolis Magna.

Piye resolves to go to Egypt

They wrote to report to the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Piye beloved of Amun, given life, on every attack they had made, on every victory of his majesty. His majesty raged about it like a panther: "Have they left a remnant of the army of Lower Egypt, so as to let some of them escape to report the campaign, instead of killing and destroying the last of them? I swear, as Re loves me, as my father Amun favors me, I shall go north myself! I shall tear down (25) his works. I shall make him abandon fighting forever!"

"When the rites of New Year are performed, and I offer to my father Amun at his beautiful feast, when he makes his beautiful appearance of the New Year, he shall send me in peace to view Amun at his beautiful feast of Ipet.⁴⁴ I shall convey him in his processional bark to Southern Ipet at his beautiful feast of 'Night of Ipet,' and the feast of 'Abiding in Thebes,' which Re made for him in the beginning. I shall convey him to his house, to rest on his throne, on the day of 'Bringing in the God,' in the third month of the inundation, second day. And I shall let Lower Egypt taste the taste of my fingers!"

Then the army that was here in (27) Egypt heard of the anger his majesty held against them. They fought against Permedjed of the Oxyrhynchite nome; they captured it like a cloudburst. They wrote to his majesty — his heart was not appeased by it.

Then they fought against "the Crag Great-of-Victories."⁴⁵ They found it filled with troops, all kinds of fighters of Lower Egypt. A siege tower was made against it; its wall was overthrown. A great slaughter was made of them, countless numbers, including a son of the Chief of the Ma, Tefnakht. They wrote of it to his majesty — his heart was not appeased by it.

(20) Then they fought against Hut-benu; its interior was opened; his majesty's troops entered it. They wrote to his majesty — his heart was not appeased by it.

d Judg 9:15

Piye goes to Egypt and besieges Hermopolis

First month of the first season, day 9, his majesty went north to Thebes. He performed the feast of Amun at the feast of Ipet. His majesty sailed north to the harbor of the Hare nome. His majesty came out of the cabin of the ship. The horses were yoked, the chariot was mounted, while the grandeur of his majesty attained the Asiatics and every heart trembled before him.

His majesty burst out to (31) revile his troops, raging at them like a panther: "Are you continuing to fight while delaying my orders? It is the year for making an end, for putting fear of me in Lower Egypt, and inflicting on them a great and severe beating!"

He set up camp on the southwest of Khmun. He pressed against it every day. An embankment was made to enclose the wall. A siege tower was set up to elevate the archers as they shot, and the slingers as they hurled stones and killed people there each day.

Days passed, and Un was a stench to the nose, for lack of air to (33) breathe.⁴⁶ Then Un threw itself on its belly, to plead before the king. Messengers came and went with all kinds of things beautiful to behold: gold, precious stones, clothes in a chest, the diadem from his head, the uraeus that cast his power,⁴⁷ without ceasing for many days to implore his crown.

Then they sent his wife, the royal wife and royal daughter, Nestent, to implore the royal wives, the royal concubines, the royal daughters, and the royal sisters. She threw herself on her belly in the women's house before the royal women: "Come to me, royal wives, royal daughters, royal sisters, that you may appease Horus, lord of the palace, great of power, great of triumph! Grant (35) ..."⁴⁸

(51) "Lo, who guides you, who guides you?⁴⁹ Who then guides you, who guides you? [You have abandoned] the way of life! Was it the case that heaven rained arrows?⁵⁰ I was [content] that Southerners bowed down and Northerners (said), 'Place us in your shade!' Was it bad that ... with

⁴⁴ I.e., after celebrating the New Year's feast at Napata, Piye would proceed to Thebes in time for the feast of Ipet (Opet), one of the principal feasts of Amun at Thebes.

⁴⁵ A fortress in the 18th nome; cf. Gardiner *AEO* 2:93*.

⁴⁶ Priese 1972:124, discussed the various translations of this sentence and proposed to render: "When the third day had begun — Hermopolis having become rotten to the nose in that it lacked the free breath of its nose — Hermopolis placed itself on its belly." I do not find this convincing. Neither the reading "three days" is probable, nor the reading *m sp n ndm fnd.s*, which is too wordy to suit the terseness and economy of this narrative style. I read *m hnm fnd.s*. Furthermore, it is not likely that the decisive result of the siege, i.e., the town's turning too foul to be habitable, would be told in a parenthesis; and *hw* probably introduces the main clause, since this is classical Eg.

⁴⁷ I.e., King Namart's crown.

⁴⁸ A long lacuna: lines 35-50 are almost entirely destroyed. This missing portion contained the intercession of Piye's women, Piye's acceptance of the surrender of Hermopolis, and King Namart's appearance before him.

⁴⁹ Piye is speaking.

⁵⁰ Piye makes the point that his rule of Egypt had been benign. He had not oppressed the people and had contented himself with the loyalty of their rulers.

his gifts?⁵¹ The heart is the rudder. It capsize its owner through that which comes from the wrath of god. It sees fires as coolness (55) He is not grown old who is seen with his father. Your nomes are full of children."

He⁵² threw himself on his belly before his majesty, [saying: "Be appeased], Horus, lord of the palace! It is your power that has done it to me. I am one of the King's servants who pays taxes into the treasury. ... (57) their taxes. I have done for you more than they." Then he presented silver, gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise, copper, and all kinds of precious stones. The treasury was filled with this tribute. He brought a horse with his right hand, and in his left hand a sistrum of gold and lapis lazuli.⁵³

His majesty arose in splendor (59) from his palace and proceeded to the temple of Thoth, lord of Khmun. He sacrificed oxen, shorthorns, and fowl to his father Thoth, lord of Khmun, and the Ogdoad in the temple of the Ogdoad.⁵⁴ And the troops of the Hare nome shouted and sang, saying:

"How good is Horus at peace in (61) his town,
The Son of Re, Piye!
You make for us a jubilee,
As you protect the Hare nome!"

His majesty proceeded to the house of King Namart. He went through all the rooms of the palace, his treasury and his storehouse. He (Namart) presented (63) the royal wives and royal daughters to him. They saluted his majesty in the manner of women, while his majesty did not direct his gaze at them.

His majesty proceeded to the stable of the horses and the quarters of the foals. When he saw they had been [left] (65) to hunger he said: "I swear, as Re loves me, as my nose is refreshed by life: that my horses were made to hunger pains me more than any other crime you committed in your recklessness!⁵⁵ I would teach you to respect your neighbors. (67) Do you not know god's shade is above me and does not let my action fail? Would that another, whoever he might be, had done it for me! I would not have to reprimand him for it.⁵⁶ I was fashioned in the womb, created in the egg of the god! (69) The seed of the god is in me! By his *ka*, I act not without him; it is he who commands me to act!"

* 2 Sam 22:6;
Ps 18:6

f Judg 9:15

Then his goods were assigned to the treasury, and his granary to the endowment of Amun in Ipet-sut.⁵⁷

Heracleopolis reaffirms its loyalty, other towns surrender

There came the ruler of Hnes Peftuaubast,⁵⁸ bearing tribute (71) to Pharaoh: gold, silver, all kinds of precious stones, and the best horses of the stable. He threw himself on his belly before his majesty and said: *check spelling of Hnes above and below*

"Hail to you, Horus, mighty King,
Bull attacking bulls!
The netherworld seized me,⁶
I foundered in darkness,
O you who give me (73) the rays of his face!
I could find no friend on the day of distress,
Who would stand up on battle day,
Except you, O mighty King.
You drove the darkness from me!
I shall serve with my property,
Hnes (75) owes to your dwelling;
You are Harakhti above the immortal stars!
As he is king so are you,
As he is immortal you are immortal;
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Piye ever living!"

His majesty sailed north to the entrance of the canal beside Re-hone,⁵⁹ and found Per-Sekhempheperre with its wall raised, its gate closed, and filled with all kinds of fighters of Lower Egypt. Then his majesty sent to them, saying: "O you who live in death, you who live in death; you poor wretches, you who live in death! If the moment passes without your opening to me, you will be counted slain according to the King's judgment. Do not bar the gates of your life, so as to be brought to the block this day! Do not desire death and reject life! (79) ... before the whole land."

Then they sent to his majesty, saying:

"Lo, god's shade^f is above you,
Nut's Son gave you his arms!
Your heart's plan happens instantly,
Like the word of mouth of god.
Truly, you are born of god,
For we see (it) by the work of your arms!
Lo, your town and its gates
[...];

⁵¹ Perhaps restore: "Was it bad that the King of the Hare nome came with gifts?"

⁵² King Namart.

⁵³ This is how Namart is depicted on the scene at the top of the stela, only the hands are reversed.

⁵⁴ The eight primeval gods whose cult center was Hermopolis.

⁵⁵ Hornung (1962:115-116) discussed the meaning of *kꜣ*-*ib* and proposed "profligacy, recklessness" for this instance. This is suitable here but not in some other cases. I have suggested that two different roots of *kꜣ* may be involved. See Lichtheim *AEL* 1:77-78, n. 27.

⁵⁶ If this is the correct translation, the meaning is obscure.

⁵⁷ In all conquered towns Piye allocated part of the booty to Amun of Thebes.

⁵⁸ The ruler of Heracleopolis was one of the four rulers who claimed the title "king" and the only one who had remained loyal to Piye.

⁵⁹ Modern El-Lahun; cf. Gardiner *AEO* 2:116*.

May entrants enter, goers go,
May his majesty do as he wishes!"

They came out with a son of the Chief of the Ma, Tefnakht. The troops of his majesty entered it, and he did not slay one of all the people he found. (81) [...] and treasurers, in order to seal its possessions. Its treasures were allocated to the treasury, its granaries as endowment to his father Amun-Re, lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands.

His majesty sailed north. He found Mer-Atum, the house of Sokar, lord of Sehedj, closed and unapproachable. It had resolved to fight. [...]; fear of (his) grandeur sealed their mouth. His majesty sent to them, saying: "Look, two ways are before you; choose as you wish. Open, you live; close, you die.⁶⁰ My majesty will not pass by a closed town!" Then they opened immediately. His majesty entered the town. (85) He sacrificed [...], [to] Menhy, foremost of Sehedj. Its treasury was allocated to the treasury, its granary as endowment to Amun in Ipet-sut.

His majesty sailed north to Itj-tawy. He found the rampart closed, the walls filled with valiant troops of Lower Egypt. Then they opened the gates and threw themselves on their bellies before [his majesty, saying to] his majesty:

"Your father gave you his heritage,
Yours are the Two Lands, yours those in it,
Yours is all that is on earth!"

His majesty went to offer a great sacrifice to the gods of this town: oxen, shorthorns, fowl, and everything good and pure. Its storehouse was allocated to the treasury, its granary as endowment to (85) his father Amun-Re.

Capture of Memphis

[His majesty proceeded to] Memphis. He sent to them, saying: "Do not close, do not fight, O home of Shu since the beginning! Let the entrant enter, the goer go; those who would leave shall not be hindered! I shall offer an oblation to Ptah and the gods of Memphis. I shall sacrifice to Sokar in Shetit. I shall see South-of-his-Wall.⁶¹ And I shall sail north in peace! [...]. [The people of] Memphis will be safe and sound; one will not weep over children. Look to the nomes of the South! No one was slain there, except the rebels who had blasphemed god; the traitors were executed."

They closed their fort. They sent out troops against some of his majesty's troops, consisting of artisans, builders, and sailors (87) [who had entered] the

g Deut 30:15

harbor of Memphis. And the Chief of Sais⁶¹ arrived in Memphis by night to charge his soldiers, his sailors, all the best of his army, consisting of 8,000 men, charging them firmly:

"Look, Memphis is filled with troops of all the best of Lower Egypt, with barley, emmer, and all kinds of grain, the granaries overflowing; with weapons [of war] of all kinds. A rampart [surrounds it]. A great battlement has been built, a work of skilled craftsmanship. The river surrounds its east side; one cannot fight there. The stables here are filled with oxen; the storehouse is furnished with everything: silver, gold, copper, clothing, incense, honey, resin. I shall go to give gifts to the chiefs of Lower Egypt. I shall open their nomes to them.⁶² I shall be (89) [...], [in a few] days I shall return." He mounted a horse (for) he did not trust his chariot,⁶³ and he went north in fear of his majesty.

At dawn of the next day his majesty arrived at Memphis. When he had moored on its north, he found the water risen to the walls and ships moored at [the houses of] Memphis. His majesty saw that it was strong, the walls were high with new construction, and the battlements manned in strength. No way of attacking it was found. Every man of his majesty's army had his say about some plan of attack. Some said: "Let us blockade (91) [...], for its troops are numerous." Others said: "Make a causeway to it, so that we raise the ground to its wall. Let us construct a siege tower, setting up masts and using sails as walls for it. You should divide it thus on each of its sides with ramparts and [a causeway] on its north, so as to raise the ground to its wall, so that we find a way for our feet."

Then his majesty raged against them like a panther, saying: "I swear, as Re loves me, as my father Amun favors me, ... according to the command of Amun! This is what people say: (93) '... and the nomes of the South opened to him from afar, though Amun had not put (it) in their hearts, and they did not know what he had commanded. He (Amun) made him in order to show his might, to let his grandeur be seen.' I shall seize it like a cloudburst, for [Amun-Re] has commanded me!"

Then he sent his fleet and his troops to attack the harbor of Memphis. They brought him every ship, every ferry, every *shry*-boat, all the many ships that were moored in the harbor of Memphis, with the bow rope fastened to its houses. (95) [There was not] a common soldier who wept among all the troops of his majesty. His majesty himself came to

⁶⁰ Ptah.

⁶¹ Tefnakht.

⁶² This probably means that Tefnakht would restore to the northern chiefs the towns he had captured from them, in order to gain their help for the defense of Memphis and the Delta.

⁶³ Gilula (1977:296) points out that *nhty* is the root *nht* "believe, trust," and not *nhi*, "wish, ask for."

line up the many ships.

His majesty commanded his troops: "Forward against it! Mount the walls! Enter the houses over the river! When one of you enters the wall, no one shall stand in his vicinity, no troops shall repulse you! To pause is vile. We have sealed Upper Egypt; we shall bring Lower Egypt to port. We shall sit down in Balance-of-the Two-Lands!"⁶⁴

Then Memphis was seized as by a cloudburst. Many people were slain in it, or brought as captives to where his majesty was.

Now (97) [when] it dawned on the next day his majesty sent people into it to protect the temples of god for him. The arm was raised over the holy of holies of the gods.⁶⁵ Offerings were made to the Council (of the gods) of Memphis. Memphis was cleansed with natron and incense. The priests were set in their places.

His majesty proceeded to the house of [Ptah]. His purification was performed in the robing room. There was performed for him every rite that is performed for a king when he enters the temple. A great offering was made to his father Ptah South-of-his-Wall of oxen, shorthorns, fowl, and all good things. Then his majesty went to his house.

Then all the districts in the region of Memphis heard (it). Hery-pedemy, (99) Peninewe, Tower-of-Byt, Village-of-Byt, they opened the gates and fled in flight, and it was not known where they had gone.

Three rulers surrender

Then came King Iuput,⁶⁶ and the Chief of the Ma, Akanosh,⁶⁶ and Prince Pediese,⁶⁷ and all counts of Lower Egypt, bearing their tribute, to see the beauty of his majesty.

Then the treasuries and granaries of Memphis were allocated as endowment to Amun, to Ptah, and to the Ennead in Memphis.

Piye visits the sanctuaries of Heliopolis

At dawn of the next day his majesty proceeded to

A Exod 30:10,
etc.

J Gen 41:45,
50; 46:20

the East. (101) An offering was made to Atum in Kheraha,⁶⁸ the Ennead in Per-Pesdjat,⁶⁹ and the cavern of the gods in it,⁷⁰ consisting of oxen, shorthorns, and fowl, that they might give life-prosperity-health to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Piye ever living.

His majesty proceeded to On⁷¹ over that mountain of Kheraha on the road of Sep⁷² to Kheraha. His majesty went to the camp on the west of Iui.⁷² His purification was done: he was cleansed in the pool of Kebeh; his face was bathed in the river of Nun, in which Re bathes his face. He proceeded to the High Sand⁷³ in On. A great oblation was made on the High Sand in On before the face of Re at his rising, consisting of white oxen, milk, myrrh, incense, and all kinds of (103) sweet-smelling plants.

Going in procession to the temple of Re.⁷⁴ Entering the temple with adorations. The chief lector-priest's praising god and repulsing the rebels from the king.⁷⁵ Performing the ritual of the robing room; putting on the *sdb*-garment; cleansing him with incense and cold water; presenting him the garlands of the Pyramidion House; bringing him the amulets.

Mounting the stairs to the great window to view Re in the Pyramidion House. The king stood by himself alone. Breaking the seals of the bolts, opening the doors; viewing his father Re in the holy Pyramidion House; adorning⁷⁶ the morning-bark of Re and the evening-bark of Atum. Closing the doors, applying the clay, (105) sealing with the king's own seal, and instructing the priests: "I have inspected the seal. No other king who may arise shall enter here." They placed themselves on their bellies before his majesty, saying: "Abide forever without end, Horus beloved of On!"

Entering the temple of Atum. Worshiping the image of his father Atum-Khepri, Great one of On.

Then came King Osorkon⁷⁷ to see the beauty of his majesty.

⁶⁴ Memphis.

⁶⁵ Iuput II, ruler of Leontopolis (*T³-rmw*, *Int-rmw*), one of the four "kings."

⁶⁶ This important Libyan chief ruled in Sebennytes (*Tb-ntr*), the metropolis of the 12th nome of Lower Egypt, and controlled a large territory around it, including the towns of Iseopolis (Per-hebyt) and Diospolis Inferior (Sema-behdet). See Yoyotte 1961:159-161, and Gomaà 1974:69-71. He had not joined Tefnakht's alliance, and along with Iuput and Pediese, he now came to make his submission.

⁶⁷ The ruler of Athribis. He too appears to have remained neutral; see Yoyotte 1961:162-163.

⁶⁸ A town south of Heliopolis called "Babylon" by the Greeks. See Gardiner *AEO* 2:131*-144*.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 141*-142*. Gardiner examined the question whether Per-Pesdjat, the "House of the Ennead," was a place distinct from Kheraha or merely another name for it, and he leaned to the latter view.

⁷⁰ The "cavern" means a source of the inundation. In addition to the "twin sources" of the Nile at Elephantine, Kheraha claimed possession of a source.

⁷¹ A god of the region, spelled Sepa in earlier texts.

⁷² Name of the canal of Heliopolis.

⁷³ An often-mentioned sacred place in Heliopolis.

⁷⁴ The principal temple of Heliopolis.

⁷⁵ A symbolic act.

⁷⁶ It is not clear whether the word is *ḏsr* and just what ritual act the king is performing.

⁷⁷ Osorkon IV of Bubastis, the last of the four kings to surrender.

Piye holds court at Athribis

At dawn of the next day his majesty proceeded to the harbor at the head of his ships. He crossed over to the harbor of Kemwer.⁷⁸ The camp of his majesty was set up on the south of Keheny, in the east (107) of Kemwer.

Then came those kings and counts of Lower Egypt, all the plume-wearing chiefs, all viziers, chiefs, king's friends from the west, the east, and the isles in their midst, to see the beauty of his majesty. Prince Pediese threw himself on his belly before his majesty, saying: "Come to Athribis, that you may see Khentikhety,⁷⁹ that Khuyet⁸⁰ may protect you, that you may offer an oblation to Horus in his house, of oxen, shorthorns, and fowl. When you enter my house, my treasury will be open to you. I shall present you with my father's possessions. I shall give you gold as much as you wish, (109) turquoise heaped before you, and many horses of the best of the stable, the choicest of the stall."

His majesty proceeded to the house of Horus Khentikhety. An offering of oxen, shorthorns, and fowl was made to his father Horus Khentikhety, lord of Athribis. His majesty went to the house of Prince Pediese. He (Pediese) presented him with silver, gold, lapis lazuli, and turquoise, a great quantity of everything, and clothing of royal linen of every number,⁸¹ couches laid with fine linen, myrrh and ointment in jars, and stallions and mares, all the best of his stable.

He purified himself by a divine oath before these kings and great chiefs of (111) Lower Egypt: "Anyone who hides his horses and conceals his wealth⁸² shall die the death of his father! I have said this in order that you bear out your servant with all that you know of me. Tell if I have concealed from his majesty anything of my father's house: gold bars, precious stone, vessels of all

kinds, armlets, bracelets of gold, necklaces, collars wrought with precious stones, amulets for every limb, headbands, earrings, all royal adornments, all vessels for the king's purification of gold and precious stones. All these I have presented (113) to the King, and garments of royal linen by the thousands of the very best of my house. I know you will be satisfied with it. Proceed to the stable, choose what you wish, all the horses you desire!" Then his majesty did so.

Then said these kings and counts to his majesty: "Let us go to our towns to open our treasuries, that we may choose according to what your heart may desire, and bring to you the best of our stables, the finest of our horses." Then his majesty did so.

List of the northern rulers

List of their names:⁸³

King Osorkon in Perbast and the district of Ranofer,⁸⁴

King Iuput in Tentremu and Taan,⁸⁵

Count Djedamenefankh (115) in Per-Banebdjedet⁸⁶ and Granary-of-Re,⁸⁷

His eldest son, the general in Per-Thothweprehwy,⁸⁸ Ankh-hor,

Count Akanosh in Tjeb-neter, Per-hebyt, and Sema-behdet,⁸⁹

Count and Chief of the Ma, Patjenfi in Per-Sopd and Granary-of-Memphis,⁹⁰

Count and Chief of the Ma, Pemai in Per-Usirnebdjedu,⁹¹

Count and Chief of the Ma, Nesnaisu in Hesbu,⁹²

Count and Chief of the Ma, Nekthor-neshnu in Per-gerer,⁹³

Chief of the Ma, Pentweret,

Chief of the Ma, Pentbekhent,⁹⁴

Prophet of Horus, lord of Khem,⁹⁵ (117)

Pedihorsomtus,

Count Herbes in Per-Sakhmet-nebetsat and in

⁷⁸ The 10th nome of Lower Egypt, the metropolis of which was Athribis.

⁷⁹ The principal god of Athribis who was identified with Horus.

⁸⁰ A local goddess.

⁸¹ Perhaps a reference to the number of threads in a fabric by which its fineness was determined.

⁸² Assuming that *ḥw* "worth, value, weight," could be used in the sense of a person's material worth, i.e., his wealth.

⁸³ The list is arranged according to rank.

⁸⁴ See nn. 40-41 and 77.

⁸⁵ See n. 65. Taan has not been identified.

⁸⁶ See n. 37.

⁸⁷ Location uncertain. See Gomaà 1974:88.

⁸⁸ Hermopolis Parva, see n. 37. On the two rulers see Gomaà 1974:86-89.

⁸⁹ See n. 66.

⁹⁰ Patjenfi's residence, Per-Sopd (modern Saft el-Henna) was the metropolis of the 22nd nome of Lower Egypt. His other town, "Granary-of-Memphis," has not been localized. This chief had not participated in Tefnakht's alliance. On the rulers of Per-Sopd, see Gomaà 1974:101-104.

⁹¹ Pemai was the ruler of Busiris. His predecessor, Sheshong, had been a member of Tefnakht's coalition. On these dynasts of Busiris, see Yoyotte 1961:165-172, and Gomaà 1974:60-67.

⁹² See n. 39. Nesnaisu had been an important member of Tefnakht's coalition.

⁹³ This chief has not been mentioned previously. His town in the eastern Delta has not been localized with certainty; see Gomaà 1974:105-106.

⁹⁴ Two minor chiefs not previously mentioned.

⁹⁵ Khem = Letopolis was the metropolis of the 2nd nome of Lower Egypt.

Per-Sakhmet-nebetrehsa,⁹⁶

Count Djedkhu in Khentnefer.⁹⁷

Count Pebes in Kheraha and Per-Hapy,⁹⁸

with all their good tribute [of] gold, silver, [precious stones], couches laid with fine linen, myrrh in (119) jars, [...] of good value, horses [...]

[...] [after] this one came to tell (121) his majesty: "[...] the wall [...]. He has set fire to [his] treasury [and to the ships] on the river. He has garrisoned Mesed (123) with soldiers"⁹⁹ Then his majesty sent soldiers of his to see what was happening there, he being the protector of Prince Pediese. They returned to report (125) to his majesty, saying: "We have slain every man we found there." Then his majesty gave it (the town) to Prince Pediese as a gift.

Tefnakht announces his submission

The Chief of the Ma, Tefnakht, heard it¹⁰⁰ (127), and a messenger was sent to where his majesty was with cajoling words, saying: "Be gracious! I cannot see your face in the days of shame; I cannot stand before your flame; I dread your grandeur! For you are Nubti, foremost of the Southland,¹⁰¹ and Mont, (129) the mighty bull! Whatever town you turn your face to, you will not be able to find your servant there, until I have reached the islands of the sea! For I fear your wrath on account of those fiery words which are hostile to me!"

"Is your majesty's heart (131) not cooled by the things you did to me? While I am under a just reproach, you did not smite me in accordance with (my) crime. Weigh in the balance, count by weight, and multiply it against me threefold! (But) leave the seed, that you may gather it in time. Do not cut down (133) the grove to its roots! Have mercy! Dread of you is in my body; fear of you is in my bones!"

"I sit not at the beer feast; the harp is not brought for me. I eat the bread of the hungry; I drink the water of (135) the thirsty, since the day you heard my name! Illness is in my bones, my head is bald, my clothes are rags, till Neith is appeased toward me! Long is the course you led against me, and your face is against me yet! It is a year (137) that has purged my *ka* and cleansed your servant of his fault! Let my goods be received into the treasury:

J Gen 17:14;
Exod 12:48;
1 Sam 17:26;
Isa 52:1

gold and all precious stones, the best of the horses, and payment of every kind.¹⁰² Send me (139) a messenger quickly, to drive the fear from my heart! Let me go to the temple in his presence, to cleanse myself by a divine oath!"

His majesty sent the chief lector-priest Pediamen-nest-tawy and the commander Purem. He (Tefnakht) presented (141) him with silver and gold, clothing and all precious stones. He went to the temple; he praised god; he cleansed himself by a divine oath, saying: "I will not disobey the King's command. I will not thrust aside (143) his majesty's words. I will not do wrong to a count without your knowledge. I will only do what the King said. I will not disobey what he has commanded." Then his majesty's heart was satisfied with it.

Final surrenders, Piye returns to Nubia

One came to say (145) to his majesty: "Hut-Sobk¹⁰³ has opened its gate; Meten¹⁰⁴ has thrown itself on its belly. No nome is shut against his majesty, of the nomes of the south and the north. The west, the east, and the islands in the midst are on their bellies in fear of him, (147) and are sending their goods to where his majesty is, like the subjects of the palace."

At dawn of the next day there came the two rulers of Upper Egypt and the two rulers of Lower Egypt, the uraeus wearers,¹⁰⁵ to kiss the ground to the might of (149) his majesty. Now the kings and counts of Lower Egypt who came to see his majesty's beauty, their legs were the legs of women. They could not enter the palace because they were uncircumcised¹ (151) and were eaters of fish, which is an abomination to the palace. But King Namart entered the palace because he was clean and did not eat fish. The three stood (153) there while the one entered the palace.

Then the ships were loaded with silver, gold, copper, and clothing; everything of Lower Egypt, every product of Syria, and all plants of god's land.¹⁰⁶ His majesty (155) sailed south, his heart joyful, and all those near him shouting. West and East took up the announcement, shouting around his majesty. This was their song of jubilation:

"O mighty ruler, O mighty ruler,
(157) Piye, mighty ruler!

⁹⁶ Two fortresses in the 2nd nome.

⁹⁷ A town in the nome of Memphis; see Gardiner *AEO* 2:120*-122*, and Gomaà 1974:51.

⁹⁸ Twin towns south of Heliopolis; see Gardiner *AEO* 2:131*-144.

⁹⁹ I.e., Tefnakht had occupied the town of Mesed (Mosdai) north of Athribis, on the border of Pediese's realm.

¹⁰⁰ When Tefnakht heard that the resistance of Mesed had been crushed he surrendered but without appearing in person.

¹⁰¹ The god Seth.

¹⁰² Or, "equipped with everything," referring to the horses.

¹⁰³ See n. 13.

¹⁰⁴ The nome of Aphroditopolis, the 22nd nome of Upper Egypt.

¹⁰⁵ The four kings: Namart, Pefnuabast, Iuput II, and Osorkon IV.

¹⁰⁶ This term for foreign regions south and east of Egypt seems to refer specifically to wooded areas. It could also be employed for woodlands within Egypt, as in the "Victory Stela of Psamtik II" (see Lichtheim *AEL* 2:86, n. 2).

You return having taken Lower Egypt,
 You made bulls into women!
 Joyful is the mother who bore you,
 The man who begot you!
 The valley dwellers¹⁰⁷ worship her,

The cow (159) that bore the bull!
 You are eternal,
 Your might abides,
 O ruler loved of Thebes!"

¹⁰⁷ The inhabitants of Upper Egypt.

REFERENCES

Text: Mariette 1872-89 pls. 1-6. *Urk. III*, 1-56. Additional fragments: Loukianoff 1926:86-89 and 2 pls.; Dunham 1970:12, 48, 77-81. Translations: Breasted 1906-07 4:§§796-883; Bresciani 1969:470-484; Lichtheim *AEL* 3:66-84 (reproduced here). Studies: Baer 1973:4-25; Gardiner 1935:219-223; Gomaà 1974; Kitchen 1986:362-398; Logan and Westenholz 1971-72:111-119; Priese 1972:16-32, 99-124; Yoyotte 1961:121-181.

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B. MORTUARY INSCRIPTIONS

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1. PYRAMID TEXTS

PYRAMID TEXTS 213 AND 219 (2.8)

("The Conquest of Death")

Robert K. Ritner

First carved in the Fifth Dynasty tomb of Unas (ca. 2350 BCE), the collection of 759 spells known as the "Pyramid Texts" was originally restricted to royal use, appearing in varying numbers in the pyramids of nine kings and queens of the Sixth to Eighth Dynasties. The texts stress the divinity and immortality of the monarch, and provide the earliest extensive commentary on the role of Osiris, the god of the dead. In spell 213, the individual body parts of the deceased are identified with divine counterparts, a technique that was to become a standard feature of Egyptian "magico-religious" practice.¹ The resultant image of the king is as an anthropomorphic Anubis, with the limbs of the primordial creator, Atum. In spell 219, the fate of the king is paired directly with that of the revived Osiris, initiating another fundamental technique of ritual pronouncements. Implicit here, though quite explicit elsewhere, is the threat that injury to the king would result in injury to the gods.²

Pyramid Text 213 (§§134-135)

Hail, King Unas! Not dead have you gone forth! Living have you gone forth! Be seated upon the throne of Osiris with your sceptre in your hand, so that you might issue commands to the living, and with your lotus-bud sceptre in your hand, so that commands might be issued to those whose places are secret ("the dead"). Your arm(s) are as (those of) Atum; your shoulders are as (those of) Atum; your belly is as (that of) Atum; your back is as (that of) Atum; your posterior is (that of) Atum; your legs are as (those of) Atum; your face is as (that of) Anubis. May you encircle the Mounds of Horus; may you encircle the Mounds of Seth.³

Pyramid Text 219 (§§167-193)

Recitation:

O Atum, this one is that (great-grand)son of yours, Osiris, whom you have caused that he be healthy and that he live. As he lives, so this king Unas lives. He doesn't die — this king Unas doesn't die. He doesn't perish — this king Unas doesn't perish. He doesn't mourn — this king Unas doesn't mourn.⁴ He mourns — this king Unas mourns.

O Shu, this one is that (grand)son of yours, Osiris, whom you have caused that he be healthy and that he live. As he lives, so this king Unas lives. He doesn't die — this king Unas does-

n't die. He doesn't perish — this king Unas doesn't perish. He doesn't mourn — this king Unas doesn't mourn. He mourns — this king Unas mourns.

O Tefnut, this one is that (grand)son of yours, Osiris, whom you have caused that he be healthy and that he live. As he lives, so this king Unas lives. He doesn't die — this king Unas doesn't die. He doesn't perish — this king Unas doesn't perish. He doesn't mourn — this king Unas doesn't mourn. He mourns — this king Unas mourns.

O Geb, this one is that son of yours, Osiris, whom you have caused that he be healthy and that he live. As he lives, so this king Unas lives. He doesn't die — this king Unas doesn't die. He doesn't perish — this king Unas doesn't perish. He doesn't mourn — this king Unas doesn't mourn. He mourns — this king Unas mourns.

O Nut, this one is that son of yours, Osiris, whom you have caused that he be healthy and that he live. As he lives, so this king Unas lives. He doesn't die — this king Unas doesn't die. He doesn't perish — this king Unas doesn't perish. He doesn't mourn — this king Unas doesn't mourn. He mourns — this king Unas mourns.

O Isis, this one is that brother of yours, Osiris,

¹ See Massart 1959 and Ritner 1993:40.

² For such "threats," see Grapow 1911; Sauneron 1951; Ritner 1993:22 and the references indexed on 311.

³ The "tells" or "settlements" of Horus and Seth denote the fertile and desert regions allotted respectively to these deities. For the notion of "encircling" as "controlling" mounds and other territory, see Ritner 1993:57-67. Following Sethe, earlier translators have preferred: "The Mounds of Horus go about for (= 'serve') you. The Mounds of Seth go about for (= 'serve') you."

⁴ Or "As he doesn't die — this king Unas doesn't die." The negative statements in this passage are taken as future forms in Allen 1984: 130.

whom you have caused that he be healthy and that he live. As he lives, so this king Unas lives. He doesn't die — this king Unas doesn't die. He doesn't perish — this king Unas doesn't perish. He doesn't mourn — this king Unas doesn't mourn. He mourns — this king Unas mourns.

O Seth, this one is that brother of yours, Osiris, who has been caused that he be healthy and that he live and that he punish you.⁵ As he lives, so this king Unas lives. He doesn't die — this king Unas doesn't die. He doesn't perish — this king Unas doesn't perish. He doesn't mourn — this king Unas doesn't mourn. He mourns — this king Unas mourns.

O Nephthys, this one is that brother of yours, Osiris, whom you have caused that he be healthy and that he live. As he lives, so this king Unas lives. He doesn't die — this king Unas doesn't die. He doesn't perish — this king Unas doesn't perish. He doesn't mourn — this king Unas doesn't mourn. He mourns — this king Unas mourns.

O Thoth, this one is that brother of yours, Osiris, who has been caused that he be healthy and that he live and that he punish you. As he lives, so this king Unas lives. He doesn't die — this king Unas doesn't die. He doesn't perish — this king Unas doesn't perish. He doesn't mourn — this king Unas doesn't mourn. He mourns — this king Unas mourns.

O Horus, this one is that father of yours, Osiris, whom you have caused that he be healthy and that he live. As he lives, so this king Unas lives. He doesn't die — this king Unas doesn't die. He doesn't perish — this king Unas doesn't perish. He doesn't mourn — this king Unas doesn't mourn. He mourns — this king Unas mourns.

O Great Ennead, this one is that Osiris, whom you have caused that he be healthy and that he live. As he lives, so this king Unas lives. He doesn't die — this king Unas doesn't die. He doesn't perish — this king Unas doesn't perish. He doesn't mourn — this king Unas doesn't mourn. He mourns — this king Unas mourns.

O Little Ennead, this one is that Osiris, whom you have caused that he be healthy and that he live. As he lives, so this king Unas lives. He doesn't die — this king Unas doesn't die. He doesn't perish — this king Unas doesn't perish.

He doesn't mourn — this king Unas doesn't mourn. He mourns — this king Unas mourns.

O Nut(?),⁶ this one is that son of yours, Osiris, regarding whom you have said: "One has been (re)born to your⁷ father," for whom you have wiped his mouth when his mouth was opened by his son Horus, whom he loves, when his limbs were numbered by the gods. As he lives, so this king Unas lives. He doesn't die — this king Unas doesn't die. He doesn't perish — this king Unas doesn't perish. He doesn't mourn — this king Unas doesn't mourn. He mourns — this king Unas mourns.

[Address to Osiris in his various forms]

In your name of "He who is in Heliopolis," who endures enduringly in his enduring necropolis. As he lives, so this king Unas lives. He doesn't die — this king Unas doesn't die. He doesn't perish — this king Unas doesn't perish. He doesn't mourn — this king Unas doesn't mourn. He mourns — this king Unas mourns.

In your name of "He who is in the Busirite nome," chief of his nomes. As he lives, so this king Unas lives. He doesn't die — this king Unas doesn't die. He doesn't perish — this king Unas doesn't perish. He doesn't mourn — this king Unas doesn't mourn. He mourns — this king Unas mourns.

In your name of "He who is in The Mansion of Selqet," the pacified spirit. As he lives, so this king Unas lives. He doesn't die — this king Unas doesn't die. He doesn't perish — this king Unas doesn't perish. He doesn't mourn — this king Unas doesn't mourn. He mourns — this king Unas mourns.

In your name of "He who is in the God's Booth,"⁸ who is within the fumigation, he of the coffer, he of the chest, he of the sack. As he lives, so this king Unas lives. He doesn't die — this king Unas doesn't die. He doesn't perish — this king Unas doesn't perish. He doesn't mourn — this king Unas doesn't mourn. He mourns — this king Unas mourns.

In your name of "He who is in the Mansion of the p³-r-wood mace." As he lives, so this king Unas lives. He doesn't die — this king Unas doesn't die. He doesn't perish — this king Unas doesn't perish. He doesn't mourn — this king Unas doesn't mourn. He mourns — this king

⁵ Seth, in company with Thoth, is punished for the murder of Osiris.

⁶ The signs are unclear, and may indicate the tomb addressed as "City" (so Faulkner 1969:41) or the goddess of the lower heaven, Naunet (so Sethe and, with hesitation, Wilson *ANET* 33). A slight correction in carving would yield Nut, noted in § 171 as the proper mother of Osiris.

⁷ Pl.

⁸ The embalming booth.

Unas mourns.

In your name of "He who is in Orion," with your season in heaven and your season on earth. O Osiris, turn your face that you might look at this king Unas, your effective seed that came forth from you. As he lives, so this king Unas lives. He doesn't die — this king Unas doesn't die. He doesn't perish — this king Unas doesn't perish. He doesn't mourn — this king Unas doesn't mourn. He mourns — this king Unas mourns.

In your name of "He who is in Dep." Your hand is around the offering, your daughter. Provide yourself with it. As he lives, so this king Unas lives. He doesn't die — this king Unas doesn't die. He doesn't perish — this king Unas doesn't perish. He doesn't mourn — this king Unas doesn't mourn. He mourns — this king Unas mourns.

In your name of "He who is in the Mansion of the Great Cow." Your hands are around the offering, your daughter. Provide yourself with it. As he lives, so this king Unas lives. He doesn't die — this king Unas doesn't die. He doesn't perish — this king Unas doesn't perish. He doesn't mourn — this king Unas doesn't mourn. He mourns — this king Unas mourns.

In your name of "He who is in Hermopolis Magna." Your hands are around the offering, your

daughter. Provide yourself with it. As he lives, so this king Unas lives. He doesn't die — this king Unas doesn't die. He doesn't perish — this king Unas doesn't perish. He doesn't mourn — this king Unas doesn't mourn. He mourns — this king Unas mourns.

In your name of "He who is in Hermopolis Parva." Your hands are around the offering, your daughter. Provide yourself with it. As he lives, so this king Unas lives. He doesn't die — this king Unas doesn't die. He doesn't perish — this king Unas doesn't perish. He doesn't mourn — this king Unas doesn't mourn. He mourns — this king Unas mourns.

In your name of "He who is in the City of Lakes." What you have eaten is the Eye (of Horus); your belly is encircled⁹ under it. Your son Horus has released it for you so that you might live by means of it. As he lives, so this king Unas lives. He doesn't die — this king Unas doesn't die. He doesn't perish — this king Unas doesn't perish. He doesn't mourn — this king Unas doesn't mourn. He mourns — this king Unas mourns.

The body of this king Unas is your body. The flesh of this king Unas is your flesh. The bones of this king Unas are your bones. As you go, so goes this king Unas. As this king Unas goes, so go you.

⁹ Signifying "protected." Following Sethe, translators have suggested "rounded out," meaning "to be full."

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Texts and Translations: Sethe 1908:80-81, 93-111; 1935:1-4, 72-99; Faulkner 1969:40-41, 46-48; Wilson 1969:32-33.

2. COFFIN TEXTS

COFFIN TEXT 261 (2.9)

("The Deceased as Divine Magician")

Robert K. Ritner

This spell provides the longest Egyptian theological discussion of Heka, eldest son of the creator and embodiment of the deity's ineluctable generative and destructive power (*heka*), conventionally termed "magic." By direct identification with Heka, the deceased controls the underlying force of the universe and gains command over the gods themselves.

TO BECOME THE GOD HEKA.

O noble ones who are before the Lord of the universe, behold, I have come before you. Respect me in accordance with what you know. I am he whom the Unique Lord made before two

things ("duality") had yet come into being in this land by his sending forth his unique Eye when he was alone, by the going forth from his mouth, when his myriads of *ka*-spirits were the protection

of his companions,¹ when he spoke with Khepri and himself that he might be more powerful than he, when he took authoritative Logos (Hu) upon his mouth.

I am indeed the son of Him who gave birth to the universe.² I am the protection of that which the Unique Lord ordained. I am he who caused the Ennead to live. I am one who does what he wishes, the father of the gods, whose standard is exalted, who endows a god in accordance with that which He who gave birth to the universe³ has

ordained, the noble god who eats, who speaks with his mouth. Be silent for me; Bow down to me! Shod have I come, O bulls of heaven. In this my great dignity of "Lord of *ka*-Spirits," heir of Re-Atum, have I seated myself, O bulls of heaven.

I have come specifically that I might take my seat and that I might receive my dignity; for to me belonged the universe before you gods had yet come into being. Descend, you who have come in the end! I am Heka.

¹ A var. adds: "who shone in his Eye."

² Or "who gave birth to Atum." A var. adds: "who was born before his mother yet existed."

³ Or "who gave birth to Atum."

REFERENCES

Text: de Buck 1947:382-389. Translations and Discussions: Ritner 1993:17; Faulkner 1973: 199-201; Barguet 1986:489-490.

COFFIN TEXT 159 (2.10)

("Spell for Knowing the Souls of the Easterners")

Robert K. Ritner

Depicting the wonders of the region from which the sun rises, this spell (with its parallel Coffin Text 161 and descendants Book of the Dead 109 and 149b) details the otherworldly paradise known as "The Field of Reeds" where both the grain and the blessed inhabitants are giants in size.

ENTERING AND EXITING FROM THE EASTERN GATES OF HEAVEN AMONG THE FOLLOWERS OF RE. KNOWING THE SOULS OF THE EASTERNERS.¹

I know that central gate² from which Re exits in the east - with its south as the Lake of Waterfowl, in the place where Re sails by the wind, with its north as the Pools of Geese, in the place where Re sails by rowing.³ I am the guardian of the halyard in the boat of the god. I am one who rows without wearying in the bark of Re.⁴

I know those two sycamore trees that are of turquoise, between which Re exits, which go casting

shade at every eastern gate from which Re shines. I know that Field of Reeds of Re. The wall that is around it is of iron. The height of its barley is four cubits.⁵ Its ear is one cubit. Its stalk is three cubits.⁶ Its emmer wheat is seven cubits. Its ear is two cubits. Its stalk is five cubits. It is the horizon dwellers, nine cubits in their height,⁷ who reap it beside the Souls of the Easterners.

I KNOW THE SOULS OF THE EASTERNERS. THEY ARE HARAKHTY, THE KHURER-CALF, AND THE MORNING STAR.⁸

¹ Common var.: "I know the souls of the Easterners."

² Var. adds: "of heaven."

³ As on the earthly Nile, one travels south by wind and sail and north by current and rowing.

⁴ The deceased claims a pivotal role in the solar bark, using either method of navigation.

⁵ Common var.: "five cubits."

⁶ Common var.: "four cubits."

⁷ Common var.: "horizon dwellers of nine cubits."

⁸ Common var.: "ONE (lit., "IT") IS HARAKHTY. ONE IS THE KHURER-CALF. ONE IS THE MORNING STAR."

REFERENCES

Text: de Buck 1938:363-372. Translations and Discussions: Wilson *ANET* 33; Faulkner 1973: 137-138; Barguet 1986:576.

3. THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

BOOK OF THE DEAD 109 (2.11)

(Variant of Coffin Text 159)

Robert K. Ritner

The New Kingdom vignette depicts the deceased standing behind the spotted *Khurer*-calf, with his arms raised in daily adoration of a seated Re-Harakhty. The spell is a counterpart to Coffin Text 160 (COS 1.21) and Book of the Dead 108 for "Knowing the Souls of the Westerners." For discussion, see Sethe 1924:1-20; and the bibliography in Hornung 1979:482.

As in the earlier Coffin Texts, the remarkable size of the underworld grain varies between sources, though the total height should equal the measure of the ear added to that of the stalk. Barley of five cubits (at 20.6 in. or 523 mm per cubit) would be over eight feet (2.615 m), while emmer of seven cubits would be just under twelve feet tall (3.661 m). Comparison of the Coffin Text and Book of the Dead versions shows that the latter follow many of the "variant" readings in the earlier source.

SPELL FOR KNOWING THE SOULS OF THE EASTERNERS.

It is NN who will say: "I know that eastern gate of heaven whose south is the Lake of Waterfowl, with its north as the Pool of Geese, in the place where Re sails by wind and by rowing. I am the guardian¹ of the halyards in the boat of the god. I am one who rows without wearying in the bark of Re.

I know those two sycamore trees of turquoise, between which Re exits, which go casting shadows at every eastern gate from which Re exits. I know the Field of Reeds. Its wall is of iron. Its

barley is five cubits. Its ear is two cubits. Its stalk is three cubits.² Its emmer wheat is seven cubits.³ Its ear is four cubits.⁴ Its stalk is three cubits. It is the blessed spirits, each one of nine cubits in height, who reap it beside the Souls of the Easterners.

I know the souls of the Easterners. One is Harakhty. One is the *Khurer*-calf. One is the Morning Star.

Adoring Re every day. NN has built the city of the god. I know it. I know its name. Its name is Field of Reeds.

¹ Var.: "one who tends the halyards."

² Var.: list barley of seven cubits, with a stalk of three or five cubits.

³ Variants include: "four" or "eight cubits."

⁴ Var.: "three cubits."

REFERENCES

Text: Naville 1886:247-248. Translations and Discussions: Barguet 1967:143; Allen 1974:86; Hornung 1979:209-210; and Faulker 1985:102.

BOOK OF THE DEAD 125 (2.12)

("The Negative Confession")

Robert K. Ritner

The most famous of all Book of the Dead chapters, Spell 125 contains the celebrated protestation of innocence by the deceased before an underworld tribunal of forty-two gods, corresponding to the like-numbered nomes, or provinces, of Egypt. The duality of the "Two Truths" also reflects geographical, not ethical, considerations, as the goddesses correspond to the dual nature of the Egyptian kingdom, with two regions (Upper and Lower Egypt), royal titles, tutelary deities, insignia, etc. Although Spell 125 does not specifically mention the weighing of the heart before this tribunal and its overseer Osiris, god of the dead,¹ the accompanying vignette regularly depicts this *psychostasis*. The address by the deceased serves as a preamble to this pivotal event, purifying him from all misdeeds (literally, "things protected against/excluded") that he may in fact have done. Since the list of

¹ Though surely indicated by "that day of the reckoning of characters in the presence of Wennefer" and by the placing of "the scale in its proper position in the Land of Silence."

infractions includes seemingly unavoidable actions such as winking, impatience, aggressiveness and wading in flowing water, as well as all forms of sexual activity, this "ethical code" is not absolute, but reflects restrictions and abstinence preparatory for entrance into a sacred space and state.

Following two declarations of innocence, the reciter defends his knowledge of religious mysteries in response to hostile questions posed by the constituent elements of the judgment hall itself. While cryptic, these responses detail ritual enactments of the mysteries of Osiris, slain by the severed leg of Seth, discovered in Phoenician Byblos, interred, shattered and scattered. The concluding rubric provides instructions for utilizing Spell 125 in ritual mysticism by the living. Attested from the Eighteenth Dynasty onward, Spell 125 survives well into the Hellenistic period, when it appears in a Demotic funerary papyrus written in the reign of Nero and in Greek translation as an initiatory recitation for priestly induction.

WHAT IS SAID WHEN ARRIVING AT THIS HALL OF TWO TRUTHS, PURGING NN OF ALL MISDEEDS THAT HE HAS DONE AND SEEING THE FACES OF THE GODS.²

RECITATION BY NN: "Hail to you, great god, Lord of the Two Truths! I have come before you, my lord, just so that you might bring me so that I might see your beauty. I know you and I know your name and the names of the forty-two gods who are with you in this Hall of the Two Truths, who live on those who preserve evil, who swallow their blood on that day of the reckoning of characters in the presence of Wennefer.³ Behold, The Two Daughters, His Two Eyes, {Lord} of Truth is your name. Behold, I have come before you bringing to you Truth, having repelled for you falsehood.

I have not committed wrongdoing against anyone.⁴
I have not mistreated cattle.⁴

I have not done injustice in the place of Truth.
I do not know that which should not be.
I have not done evil.

I have not daily made labors in excess of what should be done for me.

My name has not reached the bark of the Governor (i.e., Re).⁵

I have not debased a god.⁶

I have not deprived an orphan.

I have not done that which the gods abominate.

I have not slandered a servant to his superior.

I have not caused pain.⁷

I have not caused weeping.

I have not killed.

I have not commanded to kill.

I have not made suffering for anyone.

I have not diminished the offering loaves in the temples.

a Job 31

b-b Lev
19:35; Deut
25:13-16;
Amos 8:5;
Micah 6:10;
Prov 11:1;
20:10

I have not damaged the offering cakes of the gods.

I have not stolen the cakes of the blessed dead.

I have not copulated.⁸

I have not been lascivious.⁹

I have not added to nor have I subtracted from the offering measure.

I have not subtracted from the aroua measure.¹⁰

I have not encroached upon fields.¹¹

I have not added to the weight of the balance.

I have not tampered with the plummet of the scales.⁸

I have not taken milk from the mouths of children.

I have not deprived the flocks of their pasturage.

I have not snared birds of the branches of the gods.

I have not trapped fish in their marshes.

I have not diverted water in its season.

I have not erected a dam against flowing water.

I have not extinguished a fire at its critical moment.

I have not neglected the days concerning their meat offerings.

I have not driven away the cattle of the god's property.

I have not stopped a god in his procession.

I am pure, I am pure, I am pure, I am pure!

My purity is the purity of that great phoenix that is in Heracleopolis, because I am indeed that nose of the Lord of breath, who vivifies all the subjects on that day of filling the Eye of Horus in Heliopolis in the second month of winter, last day, in the presence of the Lord of this land. I am one who has seen the filling of the Eye of Horus in Heliopolis. Evil shall not happen against me in this land or in this Hall of the Two Truths

² Variants: "Spell for descending to the Hall of the Two Truths (and learning what is in it) by NN."

³ "The Perfect Being," an epithet of Osiris, now surviving as the surname Onofrio.

⁴ Common var.: "I have not mistreated associates."

⁵ Var.: "Governor of slaves."

⁶ Var.: "I have not debased a deed of the king in my time."

⁷ Common var.: "I have not caused hunger."

⁸ Var.: "I have not copulated with a boy."

⁹ Var.: "I have not been lascivious in the sanctuary of my local god."

¹⁰ Var.: "I have not subtracted from the palm-measure (1/7 of a cubit)."

¹¹ Var.: "I have not falsified the half-aroua of field."

because I know the names of the gods who are in it, the followers of the great god.¹²

O Wide-of-Stride, who has come forth from Heliopolis, I have not committed wrongdoing.

O Embracer-of-Fire, who has come forth from Egyptian Babylon, I have not robbed.

O Beaky,¹³ who has come forth from Hermopolis, I have not been envious.

O Swallower-of-Shadows, who has come forth from the cavern, I have not stolen.

O Rough of Face, who has come forth from the Memphite necropolis, I have not killed people.

O Twin-Lions, who has come forth from heaven, I have not damaged the offering measure.

O He-Whose-Eyes-Are-Flint, who has come forth from Letopolis, I have not committed crookedness.

O Firey-One, who has come forth backwards, I have not stolen a god's property.

O Smasher-of-Bones, who has come forth from Heracleopolis, I have not told lies.

O Sender-of-Flames, who has come forth from Memphis, I have not seized food.

O Cavern-dweller, who has come forth from the West, I have not been sullen.

O White-Toothed-One, who has come forth from the Faiyum, I have not transgressed.¹⁴

O Eater-of-Blood,¹⁵ who has come forth from the slaughtering-block, I have not slain sacred cattle.

O Eater-of-Entrails, who has come forth from the Court of Thirty, I have not committed usury.¹⁶

O Lord of Truth, who has come forth from The-Place-of-the-Two-Truths, I have not robbed bread-rations.

O Wanderer, who has come forth from Bubastis, I have not eavesdropped.¹⁷

O Pale-One, who has come forth from Heliopolis, I have not blabbered.¹⁸

O Doubly-Evil-Viper, who has come forth from Busiris, I have not disputed except concerning my own property.

O Wamemti-Viper, who has come forth from the place of execution, I have not copulated with a man's wife.¹⁹

O He-Who-Sees-That-Which-He-Has-Brought-Away, who has come forth from the House of Min, I have not been lascivious.

O Chief of the Nobles, who has come forth from Kom el-Hisn, I have not caused terror.

O Wrecker, who has come forth from Xoïs, I have not transgressed.

O Disturber, who has come forth from the sanctuary, I have not been hot-tempered.²⁰

O Child, who has come forth from the Heliopolitan Nome, I have not turned a deaf ear to words of truth.

O Proclaimer of Speech, who has come forth from Wensi, I have not made disturbance.

O Bastet, who has come forth from the shrine, I have not winked.²¹

O He-Whose-Face-Is-Behind-Him, who has come forth from the pit, I have not masturbated; I have not copulated with a catamite.²²

O Hot-Footed-One, who has come forth from the dusk, I have not dissembled.²³

O Dark-One, who has come forth from the darkness, I have not reviled.

O He-Who-Brings-Away-His-Offering, who has come forth from Sais, I have not been aggressive.²⁴

O Lord of Faces, who has come forth from the Heroonopolite Nome, I have not been impatient.²⁵

O Accuser, who has come forth from Wetenet, I have not transgressed my nature; I have not washed out a god.²⁶

O Lord of Horns, who has come forth from Siut, I have not been verbose in matters.

O Nefertum, who has come forth from Memphis, I have not sinned; I have not done wrong.

O He-Who-Is-Not-Abandoned, who has come forth from Busiris, I have not reviled the king.

O He-Who-Has-Acted-According-to-His-Heart, who has come forth from Antaeopolis, I have

¹² Var.: "Then you (Osiris) will protect NN from these gods who are with you in the Hall of the Two Truths."

¹³ An epithet of Thoth, the long-beaked ibis.

¹⁴ Address to the crocodile Sobek. Variants conclude: "regarding the property of Osiris" or "against another."

¹⁵ Used to signify "cannibal" in Coptic.

¹⁶ Translated variously "extorted," "profiteered," or "practiced usury," the infraction (*hnwy.t*) is perhaps related to "greed" (*hnf*). Faulkner's "perjury" derives from the Demotic substitution: "I did not commit falsehood [...]."

¹⁷ Var. concludes: "on another in his house."

¹⁸ Lit., "The speech/mouth of NN has not run on."

¹⁹ For this passage, see Heerma van Voss 1973.

²⁰ Var.: "My speech has not been heated."

²¹ Var. adds: "at another."

²² For this passage, see Heerma van Voss 1973.

²³ Lit., "I have not swallowed my heart." In medical texts, "swallowing the heart" is a physiological designation for "fainting."

²⁴ Elsewhere always a positive designation of a warrior: "champion."

²⁵ Lit., "my heart has not been hasty."

²⁶ Faulkner (1985:32) understands: "I have not washed out (the picture of) a god."

not waded in water.²⁷

- O Surging-One, who has come forth from the Abyss, I have not raised my voice.
- O Commander of the subjects, who has come forth from his shrine, I have not reviled a god.
- O Provider of goodness, who has come forth from the Harpoon Nome, I have not been puffed up.
- O Nehebka, who has come forth from Thebes, I have not made distinctions on my behalf.
- O Serpent-Whose-Head-Is-Erect, who has come forth from the cavern, my possessions have not increased except by my own property.
- O Serpent-Who-Has-Brought-Away-His-Portion, who has come forth from the Land of Silence, I have not debased the god in my town."

RECITATION BY NN:

"Hail to you, you gods.²⁸ I know you; I know your names. I shall not fall to your slaughter. You will not report my misdeed to this god in whose following you are. No fault of mine will come forth concerning you. You will speak Truth concerning me in the presence of the Lord of All, because I have done Truth in Egypt. I have not cursed a god. No fault of mine has come forth concerning a king who was in his reign.

Hail to you gods who are in this Hall of the Two Truths, who have no lies in their bodies, who live on Truth in Heliopolis, who swallow their putrifaction²⁹ in the presence of Horus who is in his Aten-disk. May you save me from Babai, who lives on the entrails of the great ones on that day of the great reckoning. Behold me; I have come before you without falsehood of mine, without guilt of mine, without evil of mine, without a witness against me, without anyone against whom I have done anything.³⁰ As I live on Truth, so I consume Truth. I have done what people say and that on account of which the gods are pleased. I have contented the god with that which he loves.³¹ I have given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothing to the naked, and a boat to the boatless. I have made divine

offerings for the gods, invocation-offerings for the blessed dead. Save me, then. Protect me, then. You will not report against me in the presence of the great god. I am pure of mouth, pure of hands, one to whom "Welcome!" is said at seeing him, because I have heard that speech³² said by the Donkey and the Cat in the house of the One of the Gaping Mouth.³³ I being a witness before him³⁴ when he gave a shriek. I have seen the splitting of the persea tree within the Memphite necropolis.³⁵ I am one who provides assistance in the presence of the gods, who knows the requirements of their bodies. I have come here specifically to testify to Truth, to place the scale in its proper position in the Land of Silence. O he who is high upon his standard, Lord of the *atef*-crown, who has made his name as Lord of Breath,³⁶ may you save me from your messengers, who inflict bloody injury,³⁷ who create punishment, who are without compassion, because I have done Truth for the Lord of Truth, since I am pure, my front clean, my back cleansed, my middle as a pool of Truth. There is no limb of mine lacking in purity. As I have washed in the pool of the South, so I have rested in the city of the North, in the field of grasshoppers in which the crew of Re bathes in that second hour of night and third of day, which soothes the hearts of the gods when they pass by it by night or day."

"Let him come," so they say regarding me.

"Who are you?" so they say regarding me.

"What is your name?" so they say regarding me.

"I am the stalk of the papyrus plant, He-Who-is-in-the-Moringa-tree is my name."³⁸

"By what have you passed?" so they say regarding me.

"By the city north of the moringa tree I passed."³⁹

"What did you see there?"

"It was the calf and the thigh."

"What did you say to them?"

"I have seen rejoicing in the lands of the Phoenicians."

"What did they give to you?"

"It was a firebrand and a column of faience."

²⁷ Var.: "in flowing water."

²⁸ Var. adds: "who are in this Hall of the Two Truths."

²⁹ Var.: "who swallow/consume Truth."

³⁰ Var.: "for I have not done anything against him."

³¹ Var.: "the gods with that which they love."

³² Var.: "great word/speech."

³³ A reference to the punishment of Seth in donkey form by the cat goddess Mafdet; see Borghouts 1978:38, no. 59.

³⁴ Var.: "He-Whose-Face-Is-Behind-Him being my witness."

³⁵ A reference to Re's victory against Apep described in Book of the Dead 17 (COS 1.10).

³⁶ Epithets of Osiris.

³⁷ See Ritner 1993:170.

³⁸ Epithet of Osiris.

³⁹ For the following Osirian mysteries, see Ritner 1993:150, n. 678.

"What did you do with them?"
 "I buried them on the bank of the lake of Two Truths in the evening meal rite."
 "What did you find there on the bank of the Two Truths?"
 "It was a scepter of flint, whose name is Breath-Giver."
 "What did you do with the firebrand and column of faience after you had buried them?"
 "I lamented over them. I dug them up. I extinguished the fire. I broke the column and threw it in the lake."
 "Come, then, enter by this portal of the Hall of the Two Truths, since you know us."
 "I shall not let you enter by me," so say the door-posts of this portal, "unless you have said my name."
 "'Plummet of Truthfulness' is your name."
 "I shall not let you enter by me," so says the right door-leaf of this portal, "unless you have said my name."
 "'Scale-pan which bears Truth' is your name."
 "I shall not let you enter by me," so says the left door-leaf of this portal, "unless you have said my name."
 "'Scale-pan of wine' is your name."
 "I shall not let you enter by me," so says the threshold of this portal, "unless you have said my name."
 "'Ox of Geb' is your name."
 "I shall not open for you," so says the bolt of this portal, "unless you have said my name."
 "'Toe of his mother' is your name."
 "I shall not open for you," so says the hasp of this portal, "unless you have said my name."
 "'Living Eye of Sobek, Lord of Bakhu' is your name."
 "I shall not open for you, I shall not let you enter by me," so says the door-keeper of this portal, "unless you have said my name."
 "'Breast of Shu which he placed as protection for Osiris' is your name."
 "We shall not let you pass by us," so say the cross-timbers of this portal, "unless you have said our name."
 "'Children of Renenutet' is your name."
 "You know us. Pass, then, by us."
 "You shall not tread upon me," so says the floor of this Hall of the Two Truths."
 "Why, then, since I am pure?"
 "Because we do not know the names of your feet

with which you would tread upon us. Say it to me then."
 "'He who is inducted into the presence of Min' is the name of my right foot. 'Flower of Nephthys'⁴⁰ is the name of my left foot."
 "Tread, then, upon us. You know us."
 "I shall not announce you," so says the door-keeper of this hall, "unless you have said my name."
 "'He who perceives hearts, who examines bodies' is your name."
 "To which god on duty shall I announce you, then?"
 "Tell it to the Interpreter of the Two Lands."
 "Who is the Interpreter of the Two Lands?"
 "It is Thoth."
 "Come," so says Thoth, "Why have you come?"
 "I have come here expressly to report."
 "What is your condition?"
 "I am pure from all misdeeds. I excluded myself from the strife of those who are in their days. I am not among them."
 "To whom, then, shall I announce you?"
 "To him whose roof is of fire, with its walls of living uraei, and the floor of whose house is in flood."
 "Who is he?"
 "He is Osiris."
 "Proceed, then. Behold, you are announced. Your bread is the Eye of Horus; your beer is the Eye of Horus; your invocation offerings on earth are the Eye of Horus," so says he regarding me.

What should be done when being present in the Hall of Two Truths. A man should say this spell when pure and clean, dressed in clothing, shod in white sandals, painted with black eye-paint, anointed with the finest myrrh-oil, and having offered fresh meat, fowl, incense, bread, beer, and vegetables. Now make for yourself this image⁴¹ in drawing upon pure ground with Nubian ochre, overlaid with soil on which neither pig nor goats have trod. As for the one for whom this book is done, he will flourish and his children will flourish. He will be a confidant of the king and his entourage. There shall be given to him a cake, a jug of beer, a loaf and a large portion of meat from upon the altar of the great god. He cannot be turned back from any portal of the West. He will be ushered in with the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt. He will be a follower of Osiris.⁴² Truly effective, millions of times.

⁴⁰ Var.: "He who opens heaven for Hathor."

⁴¹ Presumably the corresponding vignette of the weighing of the heart.

⁴² Var. adds: "He goes forth in any transformation that he desires, being a living *ba*-spirit forever and ever."

REFERENCES

Text: Maystre 1937; and Naville 1886:275-335 and plates cxxxiii-cxxxix. Translations and discussions: Wilson *ANET* 34-36; Barguet 1967:157-164; Allen 1974:97-101; Lichtheim 1976 3:124-132; Hornung 1979:233-245 and 491-493; Faulkner 1985:29-34; and Rosati 1991:88-96. For the Demotic version, see Lexa 1977. For the Greek translation, see Merkelbach 1968:7-30; 1987.

4. HARPER SONGS

CONTRASTING HARPER SONGS FROM THE TOMB OF NEFERHOTEP (2.13)
("The Good Fortune of the Dead")

Robert K. Ritner

Offering a traditional and a skeptical response to the fate of the dead, these banquet songs are part of a trio carved on the walls of Theban Tomb 50, dating to the reign of Horemheb (ca. 1319-1292 BCE). The first song to be read by the tomb visitor (conventionally termed the *second* Neferhotep song) forms a reaction to these contrasting approaches (see *COS* 1.31). Adjacent to this is the song extolling the rewards of piety and ritual (Neferhotep "III"), while the skeptical song (Neferhotep "I") is placed in the rear corridor. This last text continues the *carpe diem* philosophy of the Intef Harper Song (see *COS* 1.30), and is paralleled by a song in the Theban tomb of Paser.

Neferhotep Song "III"

Beginning of the Song:

Remember, O heart, that day of mooring (death),
Let it be placed in the heart of him who possesses
a burial, who reckons(?) ... [...] him,
For indeed, there exists none who evades it,
The strong and weak in the same manner.
He who sails north or south within a lifetime,
Moors at the bank thereafter.

O God's Father,¹ what a salvation is yours,
Since you united with the lords of eternity.
How enduring is your name forever,
Glorified in the necropolis.
Every god whom you have served since your
existence,

You have entered before them eye to eye,
They are prepared to receive your soul
And to protect your dignity.
They have doubled the work of your hands,
They shall purify your beauty.
They have established the altar of your mummy,
Every god bearing his food offerings.
They say to you: "Come in peace, O servant
beneficent for our spirits,"

Namely the God's Father of Amon, Neferhotep,
begotten by the judge Amenemone the
justified.

O God's Father, I have heard your praises beside
the lords of eternity.

It is said regarding you:

"He has dragged the bark of Sokar."
You have placed the Sokar bark on its sledge;
You have encircled the walls in his following,
When his breast acquires brilliance.

"He has erected the *djed*-pillar as a *setem*-priest
in his duty,
Who takes the hoe on the day of hacking the
earth."²

"He has recited the festival liturgy of Busiris."
Your existence is good before the gods.
You are remembered for your goodness,
Inasmuch as it is you who enters into Heliopolis,
Who knows the mystery within it,
Namely the lector priest, who satisfied the heart
of Amun, Neferhotep the justified.

O God's Father, your soul has advanced,
Your burial has passed.
Anubis has placed his hands upon you,
The Two Sisters³ have embraced you.
Purification is made for you anew,
You being assigned with crafts of eternity:
A stone deity in its true form,⁴
Ointment from upon the hands of Shesmu,⁵
Clothing from the work of Taiyt,⁶
The Children of Horus as your protection.
The Two Kites⁷ have seated themselves outside
for you;
They have mourned for your name,

¹ The priestly title of the tomb owner, Neferhotep.

² For these ceremonial activities associated with the festival of Sokar, inert deity of death, see Schott 1934.

³ Isis and Nephthys.

⁴ A possible designation of the *shawabty* (var. *ushebti*) figure, detailed in Chapter 6 of the Book of the Dead and intended to perform eternal tasks for the deceased in the underworld.

⁵ God of the wine press.

⁶ Goddess of weaving.

⁷ Isis and Nephthys.

Inasmuch as it is you whose existence was beneficent on earth for your lord Amun,
God's Father of Amun, Neferhotep the justified.

O God's Father, you are remembered in Heliopolis,

You are imaged⁸ in Thebes.

There need be no searching for you for eternity;

Your name shall not be forgotten,

Inasmuch as you are one who is justified in the Estate of Ptah,

Who enters eye to eye in the Great Place.

Who is skilled in dignity in His great processions,

Who ascertains the extent of eternity by his measuring rods.

You are more exalted and happier than you have ever been.

O praised Neferhotep the justified,

Your soul is justified,

And your enemies are overthrown forever.

Neferhotep Song "I"

Statement of the singer with the harp who is in the tomb of the Osiris Neferhotep the justified, who says:

"How still is this righteous lord!

The good fate has occurred.

Bodies pass away since the time of the god;

Generations come into their places.

Re presents himself in the mornings;

Atum sets in Manu (the western mountain).

Men beget;

Women conceive.

Every nose breathes the air;

Dawn comes, and all their children have come to their tombs.

Make holiday, O God's Father!

Place incense together with fine oil to your nose;

Garlands of lotus and mandragora flowers at your breast,

Your sister,⁹ who is in your heart, seated beside you.

Place song and music before you,

Let all evil be cast behind.

Recall to yourself only joy,

Until the coming of that day of mooring

At the Land that Loves Silence,

Where the Son-whom-He-Loves¹⁰ is not weary.

Make holiday, Neferhotep the justified,

O excellent God's Father,

Whose hands are pure!

They¹¹ have heard all that has happened to those:

Their houses are crumbled,

Their places do not exist,

They are like that which had never occurred since the time of the god.

The [... trees] on the bank of your lake,

May your spirit be seated beneath them,

May it drink their waters.

Follow your heart thoroughly!

[...]

Give bread to the one who has no field,

That you may acquire a good name throughout eternity.

You have looked at the *setem*-priests, [clad in] panther [skins],

As they libate to the ground, with bread as offering loaves,

[What is it for?]¹²

The chantresses crying [...]

Their mummies are set up before Re;

Their people are in mourning.

[...] does not [...] coming at its time,

Fate reckoning his days.¹³

Awake [...],

Sitting powerlessly in what was made for his shade.¹⁴

Make holiday, O you whose hands are pure,

God's Father Neferhotep [the justified!] [...]

There is no work for the granaries of Egypt;

Its court is rich in [...],

Return me(?) to learn what remains concerning him.

A brief moment has not been added to [...] desert.

Those who used to have granaries with bread for offerings,

[And those who had none (?)] likewise,

They will spend their happy hour in [...].

[...] the time gone forth, the day of breaking hearts,

The one that places the house in [...]

Recall to yourself the day of your being dragged,

To the land that mingles [people ...].

[Follow your heart (?)] thoroughly!

There is no coming back.

Beneficial to [you is ...]

You are a righteous and true one,

Whose abomination is falsehood.

There is love of rightness [...]

[... protect(?)] the weak from the powerful,

⁸ Earlier translations adopt an unsubstantiated meaning "protected."

⁹ A figurative term for "beloved" or "wife."

¹⁰ Epithet of Horus, who performs mortuary duties for his father Osiris.

¹¹ Translators have tacitly emended: "I have heard ..."

¹² Restored from the parallel in the tomb of Paser, see Schott 1950:135.

¹³ Even the pious priest is subject to death.

¹⁴ A description of the helpless corpse in the tomb.

The one who is in [...] doesn't hasten(?), [...] who has no protector, who binds the one who is constricted(?) [...]	The nourishment that gives [...] [...] you. In old age she dispatches you to the place of truth, Without [...]
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Text: Hari 1985:11-15 and 36-40 and pls. iv and xxvi; and Lichtheim 1945. Translations and discussions: Breasted 1912:185-188; 1933:166-168; Schott 1950:131-135; Müller 1899:31-33.

5. GRAVE INSCRIPTIONS

HYMN FROM THE TOMB OF AY (2.14)

Robert K. Rimer

This hymn of the God's Father, and later Pharaoh, Ay derives from the east wall thickness of his private tomb at Amarna. Reflecting the official theology of the contemporary Atenist cult, the prayer stresses the universality of Aten, the visible solar disk, and the prophetic role of his son, Akhenaten. The hymnist's figurative expressions of abundance in terms of human measures of the sand, the sea and the mountains are paralleled in the later text of Isaiah.¹

Adoration of the living Re-Harackhty, rejoicing in the horizon in his name as the Light (Shu) which is in the Aten (the sun disk), given life forever and ever, and of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Neferkheperure-Waenre,² son of the Sun, Akhenaten, long in his lifetime, and the great royal wife Neferneferuaten³ Nefertiti, living forever and ever.

Praises be to you when you rise in the horizon, O living Aten, lord of eternity!

Kissing the ground be at your rising in the heaven to illuminate every land with your beauty, with your rays on your son whom you love, your hands bearing millions of jubilees for the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Neferkheperure-Waenre, your child who came forth from your rays. May you confer on him your lifetime and your years. May you hearken for him to that which is in his heart. May you love him and cause him to be like Aten. May you rise to give him eternity; may you set to give him everlastingness. May you form him in the morning like your manifestations. May you fashion him in your image like Aten, the ruler of Maat, who came forth from eternity, the son of Re, who uplifts his beauty and who administers for him the production of his rays: the King of Upper and Lower Egypt who lives on Maat, Lord of the Two Lands, Ne-

ferkheperure-Waenre and the great royal wife Neferneferuaten Nefertiti, living forever and ever.

The God's Father, favorite of the Good god,⁴ fanbearer at the right hand of the king, overseer of all the horses of his Majesty, true royal scribe whom he loves, Ay, who says:

"Hail to you, O living Aten, who rises in heaven inundating hearts, at whose appearance all lands are in festival, their hearts glad in jubilation since their lord, who made himself, is risen over them. Your son presents Maat to your beautiful countenance as joyfully you behold him. From you he has come forth, an eternal son come forth from the Aten, an effective one for him who is effective for him, who gratifies the heart of the Aten when he rises in heaven. He rejoices for his son, as he embraces him with his rays and gives to him an eternity as king like the Aten: Neferkheperure-Waenre, my god who made me, who transformed my *ka*-spirit. May you cause that I be fulfilled by beholding you unceasingly. Your character is like the Aten's: abounding in property, an inundation surging daily, giving life to Egypt, with silver and gold like the sands of the banks, while the land awakens to acclaim the one powerful by means of his *ka*-spirit. O he whom the Aten has born, you will be eternal, Neferkheperure-Waenre, alive and healthy inasmuch as he

¹ For a comparison of the hymn with Isa 40:12, see Couroyer 1966.

² Throne name of Akhenaten: "Beautiful are the Manifestations of Re; The Unique One of Re."

³ Throne name of Queen Nefertiti: "Beautiful is the beauty of Aten."

⁴ The "good god" is an epithet of the king.

has born you."

The God's Father, fanbearer at the right hand of the king, overseer of all the horses of his Majesty, true royal scribe whom he {loves}, Ay, who says: "I was one true to the king, one whom he transformed, one scrupulous for the Lord of the Two Lands, efficacious for his lord. I followed the *ka*-spirit of His Majesty as his favorite who sees his beauty when he appears in his palace, while I was at the head of the great ones and the royal companions, the first of all the followers of his Majesty. He has placed Maat in my body. Falsehood is my abomination, for I know that Wahrenre, my lord who is knowledgeable like Aten and truly perceptive, has rejoiced at such. He has doubled for me my rewards in silver and gold, while I am the first of the great ones at the head of the subjects. My character, my good nature, has made my position there. My lord instructed me just so that I might enact his teachings. I have lived by adoring his *ka*-spirit; I have been fulfilled by following him - my breath by which I live, my north wind, my millions of inundations surging daily, Neferkheperure-Wahrenre. May you give to me a long lifetime in your favor. How prosperous is your favorite, O son of the Aten! All that he does is stable and thriving; the *ka*-spirit of the Lord of the Two Lands is with him forever. Thus he is fulfilled in life when he has reached old age.

O my lord, who fashions people, who transforms a lifetime, who makes a good fate for his favorite, who is satisfied by truth, whose abomination is falsehood, how prosperous is he who hears your teaching of life! May he be fulfilled by beholding you unceasingly, his eyes seeing the Aten daily. May you grant to me a goodly old age as your favorite. May you grant to me a good-

a Isa 40:12

ly burial by the decree of your *ka*-spirit in my tomb which you decreed for me that I rest therein in this mountain of Akhet-Aten, the place of the elect. May I hear your pleasant voice in the Mansion of the Benben, when you do that which your father the living Aten praises. May he cause you to be eternal! May he reward you with jubilees like the number of the sandbanks, measured in *oipe*-units, like the reckoning of the sea, measured by remainder-units. The itemization and counting of the mountains, weighed with the balance," or the feathers of birds or leaves of trees are like the jubilees of king Wahrenre, forever and ever, as an enduring king for the great royal wife whom he loves, who is united with her beauty, and who pacifies the Aten with a pleasant voice and with her beautiful hands bearing the sistra, the Lady of the Two Lands, Neferneferuaten Nefertiti, living forever and ever, while she is beside Wahrenre forever and ever just as heaven endures bearing what is in it.

Your father the Aten has risen in the heaven to protect you every day inasmuch as he has born you. May you give to me the pure offering bread that has gone forth from your presence from the surplus of your father Aten as the gift of your *ka*-spirit. May you grant that my *ka*-spirit exist for me stable and thriving as when I was on earth following your *ka*-spirit, after it has mounted up by name to the place of the elect in which you have caused that I rest. My mouth holds Maat; let my name be uttered because of it as you have decreed, for I am like all of your elect who follow your *ka*-spirit. May I go bearing your rewards after old age. For the *ka*-spirit of the fanbearer at the right hand of the king, the true royal scribe whom he loves, the God's Father Ay, who lives again.

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HITTITE MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS

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A. ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS

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1. EDICTS AND PROCLAMATIONS

BILINGUAL EDICT OF ḪATTUŠILI I (2.15)

Gary Beckman

The reign of one of the earliest Hittite Great Kings, Ḫattušili I, was plagued by dissension within his own family, culminating in several plots against his rule by members of the younger generation. In this document, which is presented in both Hittite and Akkadian in parallel columns,¹ Ḫattušili justifies his disinheritance of one adopted son, Labarna, and the nomination of another, Muršili, as successor to the throne. This edict was directed to various influential groups in Hittite society, whose active cooperation was necessary because the newly-designated heir was still a child. In places the discourse here is somewhat confusing, for it contains numerous quotations, which are not always introduced by verbs of speech. In §§11, 19, and 21b-22 the king addresses his new son Muršili, and in §23 his wife(?) Ḫaštayar. Although this proclamation is said to have been made by the king from his sickbed in the Anatolian town of Kuššar, and the tenor of the text indeed suggests that he lay near death, it is possible that Ḫattušili recovered from this crisis, since another tradition relates that he perished in battle in northern Syria. In any event, we know that Muršili I duly succeeded his adoptive father.

§1 (vii.1-7) [The Great King] Tabarna² spoke to the ranks of the army and to the dignitaries: I am now ill. I designated the young Labarna to you: "He shall sit securely (upon the throne)!" I, the king, had named him as my son. I continually instructed him³ and looked after him constantly. But he showed himself a youth not fit to be seen. He didn't shed tears. He didn't show mercy. He was cold. He was heartless.	commanded by the king. How can he then show sympathy on his [own] toward Ḫattuša?
§2 (vii.8-13) I, the king, apprehended him and had him brought to my couch: "What (is this)? No one will ever again raise his sister's child (as his own foster son)!" But he didn't accept the word of the king. He always took the advice of his mother, that snake. His brothers and sisters continually sent cool words to him, and he consistently listened to their words. I, the king, heard (of this), and I indeed quarrelled with him.	§4 (vii.20-25) His mother is a snake. Henceforth he will always heed (first) the words of his mother, and of his brothers and sisters. And when he draws near, it will be to take vengeance that he approaches! [And concerning my troops], my dignitaries, [and] my subjects who surround(?) the king, [he will vow]: "They will be massacred on account of the king!" So he will proceed [to destroy] them. He will begin to shed blood and will have [no] fear!
§3 (vii.14-19) "But enough!" (I said). "He is no longer my son!" Whereupon his mother bellowed like an ox: "They have torn my bull-calf⁴ [from] my living womb, (as if I were) a cow, and they have deposed him. (And now) you will kill [him]!" But have I, the king, done him any evil? [Haven't I elevated him] to the priesthood? I have always singled him out for goodness and kindness. [Yet] he showed no sympathy when	§5 (vii.26-29) It will come about that in regard to those who are citizens of Ḫattuša he will thus draw near to [take away] the cattle and sheep of whoever (owns any). [I ...ed my] external enemies [... and] I held [my land(?)] in peace(?). It shall not come about that he hereafter establishes [...] §6 (vii.30-36) [He] shall now in no way go down freely (in exile from Ḫattuša). I have now given my son Labarna a house. I have given him [arable land] in plenty. I have given him cattle in plenty. I have given [him sheep in plenty]. He shall continue to eat and drink (his fill). [As long as he is on his best behavior], he shall come up from time to time (to Ḫattuša to visit). But if he begins [to cause trouble(?)], or (if he spreads) any

¹ Columns i and iv are Akk., ii and iii Hittite.

² This title of the Hittite king, which has an alternate form Labarna, was also adopted as a personal name by certain members of the Hittite royal house. Some scholars believe that the development was in the opposite direction, and that like Latin Caesar, T/Labarna was originally the personal name of an important ruler and only later borrowed as a title by his successors. On this problem see Tischler 1988.

³ Read contra Sommer and Falkenstein 1938. Hoffner follows Forrer in reading the Akk. of i 4: *ar-ni-up ú-u'-ú-ri-šu*. See also the colophon.

⁴ Read i.15: GUD *bi-ri*.

- slander, [or] and [...], he will not be permitted to come up (again), but [shall remain on his own estate].
- §7 (i/ii.37-41) Muršili is now my son. [You must acknowledge] him. You must enthrone him. [...] In place of the lion, [the god will set up only] (another) lion. [And in the hour] when a call to arms goes forth, [or] when perhaps [a rebellion becomes serious], you, my subjects and high noblemen, must be [of assistance to my son].
- §8 (ii.42-47) [(Only) when] three years (have passed) shall he go on a campaign. [For the present] I will make [a valiant king of him]. If for the moment (this) is not yet (so), [honor him nonetheless(?)]. He is the progeny of your monarch. Raise him to be a valiant [king. If] you take him (with you) on campaign [while he is still a child], bring [him] back [safely]. Your clan shall be [united] like that of the *wetna*,⁵ and it shall be [...] His subjects are born [of one mother].
- §9 (ii.48-52) A single liver, a single set of lungs, and a single [ear] have been allotted [to you (all)].⁶ Don't vie with one another for preeminence. None of you shall be the opponent (of another). None of you shall transgress (this) command. You mustn't commit this [deed] of the cities of Šinahhuwa and Ubariya. Slander shall not be established (among you). (If it is), my son will carry out my (wishes) [against you].
- §10 (ii.53-57) [No] one shall think: "In secret the king [does] what he pleases (saying): 'I can justify it, whether it (really) is, or whether it is not.'" [Such] slander shall never be established as true. Rather, you [who yourselves] now acknowledge my advice and my wisdom, instruct my son in wisdom.
- §11 (ii.58-62) [Not] one (of you) shall hinder the other [in his own interests], nor shall one [promote] the other in his own interests. The elders shall not keep on speaking (to you courtiers). [My son] shall [not] be called [...] The elders of Hattuša shall not keep on speaking to you, (my son). No one shall speak to you at all — [not a man of Kuššar(?)], nor a man of Hemuwa, nor a man of Tamalikya, nor [a man of Zalpa(?)], nor (anyone of) the (general) population.⁷
- §12 (ii.63-67) [Consider (the case of)] my [son]
- a 1 Sam 12:3
- Huzziya: I, the king, [made] him [lord] over the city of Tappaššanda. But those (people there) got his attention, speaking abusively to him. They [acted] in a hostile fashion [against me] (saying): "Rebel against your father. The great estates [of Tappaššanda] — they [haven't been exempted (from taxes and corvée)], but you will grant an exemption."
- §13 (ii.68-74) So I, [the king], deposed [Huzziya]. Then [even in Hattuša itself] the citizens of Hattuša [became hostile (to me)]. They got the attention of a daughter (of mine). And [since she had male] offspring, they acted in a hostile manner [against me] (in regard to her, saying): "[There is no heir for] your father's [throne]. A subject will sit (upon it). A subject [will become king]." And furthermore [she made] the city of Hattuša and the great [households disloyal], so that [the high noblemen] and courtiers became hostile [to me. Thus] she incited [the entire land].
- §14 (i/ii.75-iii.5) Out of enmity she killed the citizens [of Hattuša ...], but these persons [...] she killed. (As for) the citizens of Hattuša: from him whose [ox was taken], from him whose ram was taken, from him whose [vine-yard] and fields were taken — (his) [threshing-floor(?)] and [servants(?)] were also taken.⁸ The ox which he harnessed — his ox [and his sheep(?)] were killed(?). [Now ...] both these [...] subjects of the king [...] them the men of [...] and the craftsmen [...] and their fields she took. ... Do I, the king, know nothing (of it) [...]?
- §16 (iii.6-12a) When [I] heard [that] she had put [the citizens] of Hattuša to death, I sought tears (i.e., remorse) for them [from her]. Had [I] not sought (them from her),⁹ you would have slandered me with (your) tongue (saying): "[He has] expelled [his daughter]." I, the king, did [not do] anything (to her). [Whereupon she said: "Why] have you given me so little?" (So, I, the king, replied): "[If I hadn't given] you only a little, if I had given you more cattle, if I had given [you more] sheep, I would have been drinking the blood (of the land)."⁹
- §17 (iii.13-22) [This daughter had debased my person(?)] and my name, [so] I, [the king], took [(my) daughter and brought her down] here¹⁰ from Hattuša. And I replaced land for

⁵ An unidentified wild animal.

⁶ This metaphor indicates that the nobility should behave as if it shared emotions (liver), life (lungs), intelligence and knowledge (ears).

⁷ Hattušili here cautions both his nobles and his heir Muršili against becoming involved in intrigues engaged in by prominent residents of the most important towns in Hatti.

⁸ Read iii.7-8: *ták-ku-ma-na-aš>ta / ū-ū-ma ša-an-šu-un ...*.

⁹ The king fears that if his daughter were given abundant resources, she would only use them to stir up trouble in Hatti.

¹⁰ To Kuššar.

- land; [cattle for cattle] I replaced.¹¹ She has rejected (her) father's word and has drunk [the life's blood of the citizens of Hattuša]. Now she [has been banished from the city]. If she were to come to my household, [she would surely disrupt] my household. [If] she were to come to Hattuša, she would cause [it] to revolt [once more. A house has been allotted(?) to her in the country — now (she shall stay there, and) she shall eat [and drink].
- §18 (iii.23-25) [You] shall not do [her any harm]. She did (me) harm, but I shall not do (her) [harm in return]. She [would not call] me father, so I shall not call her daughter.
- §19 (iii.26-32) Up until now no one [in my family] has heeded my command. [But you, my son], Muršili, you must heed it. Keep [(your) father's words]. If you keep your father's word, you [must eat (only) bread] and drink (only) water. When the prime of young adulthood is [within] you, then eat two or three times a day, and treat yourself. [But when] old age is within you, drink your fill, setting aside [(your) father's] word.
- §20 (iii.33-45) You are my foremost subjects. You [must keep] my words, those of the king. You may (only) eat bread and drink (only) water. Then [Hattuša] will stand tall, and my land will be [at peace]. But if you don't keep the king's word, you won't live [much longer(?)], but will perish. [Whoever] confounds the king's words, right now he [...] my [...] Such a person should not be a high-ranking servant. [His throat(?)] shall be slit. Didn't his sons set aside these words of my grandfather [...] In Šanaḫuitta my grandfather had proclaimed his son Labarna (as heir to the throne). [But afterwards] his subjects and high noblemen had confounded his words [and] set Papaḫdilmah (on the throne). How many years have now passed, and [how many (of them)] have escaped (their fate)? The households of the high noblemen — where are they? Haven't they perished?
- §21a (iii.46-51) You (my subjects) must keep my words, those of Labarna, the Great King. [As long as] you keep [them], Hattuša will stand tall, and you will set your land [at peace]. You shall eat (only) bread and drink (only) water. But if you don't keep them, your land will fall under foreign control. Be very careful about the business [of the gods]. Their sacrificial loaves, their libations, their [stews(?)], and their meal must (always) be kept available for them. §21b (iii-iv.51-54) You (Muršili) must [not] postpone (them), nor fall behind (in your deliveries). If you were to [postpone (them)], it would be evil, (as indeed was) the former (condition). So be [it]!
- §22 (iii-iv.55-63) [The Great King], Labarna, spoke to his son Muršili: "I have given you my words. They shall read this [tablet] aloud in your presence every month. Thus you will be able to impress my [words] and my wisdom into (your) heart, [and] to rule successfully over my [subjects] and the high noblemen. If you [observe] an offense in anyone — whether someone offends before a deity, or someone speaks some (irresponsible) word — consult the assembly. Slander must be referred to the same assembly.¹² My son, always do what is in your heart."
- §23 (iii-iv.64-72) The Great King, Labarna, says repeatedly to Ḫaštayar: "Don't forsake me!" (In order that) the king not speak thus to her, the courtiers say as follows to him: "She now still keeps on consulting the Old Women." The king says as follows [to them]: "Is she now still consulting the Old Women? I don't know."¹³ (And the king says to Ḫaštayar:) "Furthermore, don't forsake me! [No!] Always consult me [alone]. I will reveal my words to you. Wash me as is fitting, hold me to your breast, and at your breast protect me from the earth!"¹⁴
- Colophon: The tablet of Tabarna, the Great King: When the Great King, Tabarna, took ill in the city of Kuššar and instructed the young Muršili for kingship.

¹¹ The king here assigns to his daughter property in lieu of that near Hattuša which he has confiscated.

¹² On this institution see Beckman 1982 and Marazzi 1984.

¹³ The "Old Women" were diviners and practitioners of magic whose services were often to be utilized by members of the Hittite court in the centuries which followed.

¹⁴ These concluding lines seem to be a request for proper burial rites.

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Text: CTH 6, KUB 1.16 + KUB 40.65. Edition: Sommer and Falkenstein 1938 (without KUB 40.65 join). Translations: T. Bryce 1982:99-130; Klock-Fontanille 1996. Studies: Bryce 1998:89-110; Beckman 1982; Carratelli 1994; Giorgieri 1991; Hoffner 1980:300-302; Marazzi 1984, 1986:1-23; de Martino 1989; Melchert 1991; Pecchioli Daddi 1992; Steiner 1996; Bryce 1998:89-100.

2. ANNALS

THE TEN YEAR ANNALS OF GREAT KING MURŠILI II OF ḪATTI (2.16)

Richard H. Beal

This composition is known from five copies. The best preserved is KBo 3.4 + KUB 23.125. This appears to be a copy from approximately the reign of Muršili's grandson Tudḫaliya IV (Grégois 1988:38-44). The other copies, KBo 16.1, KUB 19.38 (+) KUB 14.21, KBo 16.4, and KBo 16.2 (+) 113/e, appear to be slightly earlier (Grégois 1988:38-44). All of the copies were found at Boğazköy. The main copy, KBo 3.4 + KUB 23.125, as well as KUB 19.38 (+) KUB 14.21 were found by Winckler's excavations before World War I, which means they were found either in Building E, a building facing the innermost courtyard of the citadel's palace or in the archive rooms of the Great Temple in the lower city. More specific information was lost in the course of unpacking the tablets in Berlin. But see H. Klengel 1993 on Winckler's diaries. Of the copies found more recently, KBo 16.1 and KBo 16.2 are from the archive Building A on the citadel, while KBo 16.4 is from the Great Temple archive.

The main text was transliterated by Forrer 1926, no. 48. The primary edition of this text is Goetze 1933. Additional duplicates were published by Otten 1955. A newer edition was published by Grégois 1988, and a translation by del Monte 1993:32-33, 57-72.

There is also a more detailed version of the Annals of Muršili, known as the "Comprehensive" or "Detailed" Annals. This was also edited by Goetze 1933. Additional fragments or joins were published by Otten 1955, Houwink ten Cate 1966, 1967, 1979 and 1979a, Kammenhuber 1970:547-550, del Monte 1985a, Beal 1992:380f. n. 1439 and a new translation published by del Monte 1993:33-40, 73-131.

The ancient title of the "Comprehensive Annals" was "The Manly Deeds of Muršili." Although no copy preserves a title, this was likely to have been the title of the "Ten Year Annals" as well. As one might guess from its modern name, the "Ten Year Annals" describes events, largely military in nature, during the first ten years of Muršili's reign. In the so called "Comprehensive Annals" the record of events continues at least until the twenty-first year of the king. It also gives more detail and includes more campaigns not directly led by the king. For as Muršili states in the conclusion of the "Ten Year Annals," "the enemy lands which the royal princes and lords overcame are not included here." The latter statement is only partially correct: note the campaign of Nuwanza described in the 9th year of the Ten Year Annals.

It is useful to note that while the battles with the great or medium-sized powers such as Arzawa and Azzi and places that we can place on the map such as Nuḫašše and Qidš(a) (Kinza) interest us the most, and also appear to figure more prominently in Muršili's presentation, it is wars with the barbarian Kaška peoples which require most of Muršili's time. Their very lack of central organization made the Kaška easy to defeat but impossible to subdue, rather like trying to dig away the edge of a hill of sand. After spending his accession year in the all-important effort of winning the god's favor, Muršili had to go against the Kaška in his first three years. Only partway through his third year could he finally turn his attention to the powerful but relatively distant Arzawa. After spending a year and a half on campaign here, for all or parts of the next three years (5, 6, 7) he returned to fight the Kaška, who had presumably taken advantage of the army's absence. In the ninth year, the Kaška in both Pala and Yaḫrešša/Piggainarešša required Muršili's attention along with bigger and more distant Kinza, Assyria, and Azzi-Ḫayaša. Finally, almost all of the additional years described only in the "Full/Comprehensive Annals" (11-21 +) detail nothing but campaigns against the Kaška.

The Ten Year Annals are interesting as a particularly complete example of Hittite historical composition. They begin with a prologue (as do many Hittite historical compositions) and end with an echoing epilogue, "clearly already in view, as the prologue was being written. Each presupposes the other" (Hoffner 1980:312). The theme of the composition is that when the youngster Muršili came to the throne after the unexpected deaths of his heroic father Šuppiluliuma I and equally heroic elder brother Arnuwanda II, the neighboring lands insulted him for his youth and inexperience and, adding injury to insult, revolted. Then, with the considerable help of the gods, he, Muršili, subdued with his own hands in ten years all those who had insulted him.

This need of Muršili to demonstrate to history that he was indeed manly and that the gods did indeed support him can perhaps be further explained by several things not mentioned in either set of annals. First and foremost, his father and brother had died of plague, brought back from a punitive expedition against Egypt (COS 1:160 A i 47ff.). This plague was to ravage the Hittite lands for at least twenty years thereafter,¹ that is through the entire period covered

¹ There is a mention of the plague having ravaged the Hittite lands for twenty years during the course of the 18th year of the Comprehensive Annals.

by the Ten Year Annals. It is the subject of four prayers by Muršili (COS 1:156-160). In what seems likely to have been the earliest plague prayer (now known as the "fourth"), Muršili says that repeated inquiries of the gods² by himself and his father have failed to find the divine cause of the plague and that he is concerning himself with temple building in a bid for the gods' mercy.³ This must have been weighing on Muršili as he was composing the Ten Year annals. His mention that he prioritized festivals may be a reflection of this problem.

In addition, with Muršili's mother dead, Muršili was saddled with a strong-willed Babylonian princess as stepmother and queen. Making matters far worse was the fact that Muršili's beloved wife, Gaššulawiya, was on very bad terms with her step-mother-in-law, the queen. The situation was to climax with Gaššulawiya dead and deeply mourned by Muršili ("Throughout the days of life [my soul] goes down to the dark netherworld [on her account]") and the queen accused of witchcraft and demoted.⁴ This may all have happened during the composition of the Ten Year Annals, for while Muršili was in Azzi on campaign, a solar eclipse was seen over Hattuša, which the queen repeatedly said "did not signify the death of the king, but did signify [the death of the king's wife]."⁵ If the restoration is correct, such talk may have indeed caused poor Gaššulawiya to die at this time. Regardless, the domestic discontent and the eclipse portending death or another's lordship⁶ must have been of concern to Muršili as he was writing the Ten Year Annals.

Finally, del Monte (1993:14) suggests that the death in Muršili's ninth year of Šarri-Kušuh, his elder brother and right arm, left Muršili fully on his own for the first time, and that this played a role in Muršili's issuing these annals. Probably all these events played a part in making the theme of the Ten Year Annals proof of the king's ability and the gods' trust in him. In contrast, the Full Annals, written over a decade later, appear to have another theme: "loyalty versus treason" (del Monte 1993:15-17).

In Muršili's view, it is the gods running before his army that give him the margin of victory. In the Ten Year Annals the repeated phrase is "the Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, the victorious Stormgod, my lord, Mezzilla and all the gods ran before me." In the Comprehensive Annals, on the other hand, the phrase is somewhat different: "The victorious Stormgod, my lord, the Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, the Stormgod of Hattuša, the Protective Deity (^dLAMMA) of Hattuša, the Stormgod of the Army, *IŠTAR* of the countryside, and all the gods ran before me." The gods were also seen to intervene directly in human affairs by throwing a thunderbolt at the enemy. However, human will was also certainly seen as a causal factor. For example, because the enemy thought Muršili was an inexperienced child, they revolted. Letters from Muršili to the enemy and his replies are quoted, as are challenges to battle over intractable points. The text often gives the *casus belli* as seen by Muršili (usually refusal to return fugitives in the case of foreign powers or refusal to continue to supply troops, i.e. revolt for parts of the empire). Sometimes Muršili gives his reasoning for choosing a particular course of action and sometimes even the enemy's reasoning is surmised (both often given in first person). While the purpose of the text is to demonstrate the king's manhood, actions performed by armies and detachments not under Muršili's direct command are nevertheless mentioned. The text also manages successfully to discuss several campaigns going on simultaneously on different fronts. Sometimes Muršili even describes the terrain. All in all, the historical writings of Muršili II show considerable historical sophistication. (On Muršili's historiography, see Cancik 1976:102-151, Hoffner 1980:311-315, and del Monte 1993:13-17).

Muršili II is also responsible another major Hittite historical text, "The Manly Deeds of Šuppiluliuma" (COS 1:185-192).

Introduction

[Thus speaks] My Majesty⁷ Muršili, the Great King, King of the land of Hatti, the hero, son of Šuppiluliuma, Great King, the hero.

Before I sat down on my father's throne, all the enemy foreign lands began hostilities. When my father became a god,⁸ Arnuwanda, my brother, sat on his father's throne. But, afterwards he, too,

² For one of the primary methods, the oracular inquiry, see later examples in COS 1:204-211.

³ The other three prayers mention that 20 years of plague have now passed. The badly broken "third" prayer's preserved sections mention no "causes," so it may actually be the second. By the time of the so called "first" prayer oracular inquiry had turned up a cause: his father's treachery toward Tudḫaliya the younger. The "second" prayer is probably the last in line since further causes have now been found, and since for the first time Muršili accepts his guilt in all of these misdeeds by the principle of the "sins of the father are visited on the son." Cf. Exod 20:5; etc. These prayers are transliterated and translated by Goetze (1930); cf. COS 1.60.

⁴ KUB 14.4 = CTH 70, ed. poorly by de Martino (1998), KBo 4.8 + Izmir "1277" w. dupl. 1206/u + 245/w, ed. Hoffner 1983.

⁵ [*ŠA DAM LUGAL-wa UŠ išiyaḫta UL-wa ŠA LUGAL UŠ išiyaḫta*] KUB 14.4 iv.25-26, with restoration courtesy of H. A. Hoffner (orally). Since this is the text detailing the queen's crimes, the restoration is likely to be correct.

⁶ Ibid., iv.27.

⁷ Lit., "My Sungod." The Hittite king was not worshipped as a god until he died and even then only became a minor god in his own right (not a sungod). The title is probably borrowed from Egypt, but makes sense to the Hittites due to the Mesopotamian-influenced concept of the Sungod as god of justice, and hence of kingship.

⁸ Cf. note 7.

became sick.⁹ When the enemy lands heard that my brother Arnuwanda was sick, the enemy lands began hostilities.

And when my brother Arnuwanda became a god, those enemy lands which had not yet begun hostilities, they too began hostilities. The enemy foreign lands said as follows: "His father, who was king of Hatti, was a heroic king. He kept the enemy lands defeated and he has become a god. His son who sat on his father's throne was also in the prime of life, and he got sick and he also became a god.

Now, the one who has sat down on his father's throne is a child.¹⁰ He will not (be able to) save the borders of Hatti and Hatti itself."

Because my father was establishing garrisons in the land of Miranni,¹¹ he tarried in a garrison, and the festivals of the Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, lapsed.

When I, My Majesty, sat on my father's throne, while I had not yet gone against any of the enemy foreign lands who were in a state of hostilities with me, I concerned myself with and performed the regular festivals of the Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady. I held up my hand to the Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, and said as follows: "O Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady! The enemy foreign lands who have called me a child and belittled me, have begun seeking to take away the borders of the Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady. Stand by me, O Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady. Destroy those enemy foreign lands before me." The Sungoddess of Arinna heard my words and stood by me. After I sat down on my father's throne, in ten years I vanquished these enemy foreign lands and destroyed them.

Year 1

The Kaška¹² of the land of Durmitta began hostilities with me and [came] for battle against me. Subsequently the (other) Kaška also came. They began to attack the land of Durmitta. I, My Majes-

ty, went against them. I attacked the leading districts of the Kaška-Land — Halila and Dudduška. I looted them including their transplantees,¹³ cattle and sheep and brought them away to Hattuša. The towns of Halila and Dudduška I burned down.

When the Kaška heard about the destruction of Halila and Dudduška, the whole land of the Kaška came to help and came for battle against me. I, My Majesty, fought them. The Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, the victorious¹⁴ Stormgod, my lord, Mezzulla and all the gods ran before me. I defeated the levies¹⁵ of the Kaška and killed them. The Kaška of the land of Durmitta resubmitted and they began to give [me troops].

[Then] I, [My Majesty,] returned. Because the Kaška of the land of Išupitta had become hostile and ceased giving me troops, I, My Majesty, went to the land of Išupitta. I attacked the town of [...]*humiššena*. I looted it including its transplantees, cattle and sheep and brought them away to Hattuša, while the town I burned down. I re-subjugated the Kaška of the land of Išupitta. They began to give me troops. All this I did in one year.

Year 2

In the following year I went [to the Upper Land,] because the district of Tipiya had become hostile and ceased giving me troops. I, My Majesty, attacked Kathaiduwa. I brought its transplantees, cattle, and sheep back to Hattuša, [while the town I burned down.]

Then I [retur]ned [from Tipiya to Hattuša]. Because the land of Išupitta had [again] become hostile, [I sent ...] and he defeated it again a second time. Those who [had been the head of the rebellion] escaped there. Nunnata [and Pazzanna, my servants ...d] and [I chased(?)] them [to Kammama] in the land of the Kaška. [No one(?) escaped. [When I demanded those] people [who had been] the head of the rebellion, [they seized and killed] them. I, My Majesty, [made] Kammama [my servants again]. The [Sungoddess of Arinna,] my lady, [the victorious Stormgod, my lord,]

⁹ The plague which carried off two Hittite kings in rapid succession is probably the same which caused Muṣili to compose at least four progressively more desperate plague prayers (see note 3 above). The plague was perhaps brought back by prisoners taken during Arnuwanda's punitive attack on Egyptian territory in Syria-Palestine.

¹⁰ Two elder brothers, Telipinu, "priest" of Kizzuwatna and later king of Aleppo and Piyašili/Šarri-Kušuḫ, king of Karkamiš were passed over in the succession. Perhaps these younger brothers of crown prince Arnuwanda had given up their at-the-time-theoretical rights to the throne in return for their appanage states or perhaps they were not children of the queen and so were disqualified from the Great Kingship.

¹¹ A Hurrian imperial state, ruled by an Indo-European family, stretching across upper Mesopotamia from the Mediterranean sea to the Zagros and centered on the land of Hanigalbat, with its capital at Waššukanni, so far unfocused, in upper Mesopotamia. After several generations of hostilities, Šuppiluliuma I in a campaign of strategic genius attacked them through the Ergani Maden pass from the north and penetrated quickly to Waššukanni, destroying their power, installing a puppet king, and annexing the Syrian third of their empire. See Güterbock 1956:84-96, 110-114; Beckman 1996:30-54; and Moran 1992.

¹² On the Kaškaeans, see my introduction to this text. See also von Schuler 1965.

¹³ *NAM.RA* = Hitt. *arnuwala-*, these are civilian captives, largely intended to be resettled in Hatti. See Alp 1950-51; Beal 1988:277, n. 42; Klinger 1992. The usual translation "deportee" is to be avoided since they are not being expelled from the empire but rather moved within it.

¹⁴ Underlying the Sumerogram *NIR.GÁL* is Luwian *muwatalli-*, which *CLL* 151 renders "overpowering, mighty." The adj. is ultimately based upon the Luwian *muwa-* "to overpower." My translation "victorious" is based on an oral suggestion of J. D. Hawkins.

¹⁵ *ERIN.MEŠ NĀRĀRU* = *warriṣ ERIN.MEŠ-za*, lit., "help-troops," see Beal 1992:56-71.

Mezzulla, [and all] the gods [ran before me, and I defeated Palhuišša(?).¹⁶ I looted it including its transplantees,] cattle and sheep [and brought them] away [to Ḫattuša.] All this [I did in one year].

Year 3

In the following year [I did ... When Arnuwanda(?),¹⁷ my brother, in [...], [the troops of the town of Attārimma], the troops of the town of Ḫuwaršanašša and the troops of the town of Šuruda fled before him and went] to [Arzawa.¹⁸ I sent a messenger] to Uḫḫaziti. [I] wrote to him as follows: "People [who belong to me — the troops of Attārimma,] the troops of Ḫuwaršanašša [and the troops of Šuruda] — came [to you. Give them back to me.] But Uḫḫaziti [wrote back] to me [as follows]: "[I will] not [give] any[one back] to you. [...] by force [...]" [He mustered] his troops [...]

[He stood] for battle behind the town of Tikkukkuwa. I, [My Majesty] fought [him]. The Sungoddess of [Arinna, my lady, the] victorious [Stormgod], my lord, Mezzulla [and all the god]s ran before me and [I defeated] the enemy and destroyed them. I burned down Tikkukkuwa [...]. I also burned the district of Dašmaḫa [...]

[I went to ...]-ittakattaša, [and it ...] I attacked. [...], and I [...]d [...] for the second time(?) [...]

Then I went forth to Išḫupitta. I attacked Palhuišša. The Pišḫurian enemy stood behind Palhuišša for battle against me. I fought them. The Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, the victorious¹⁹ Stormgod, my lord, Mezzulla and all the gods ran before me. I destroyed the Pišḫurian enemy behind Palhuišša, then I burned down the town.

From Palhuišša I came back to Ḫattuša. I set my infantry and horse-troops in motion and in that same year I went against Arzawa. I sent a messenger to Uḫḫaziti.²⁰ I wrote to him as follows: "Because I asked you to return my subjects who came to you and you did not give them back and you kept calling me a child and you kept belittling

me. Now, come, we will fight. Let the Stormgod, my lord, decide our lawsuit." ^b

When I had gone and when I had arrived in Lawaša, the victorious Stormgod, my lord, showed his divine power. He shot a lightning bolt. My troops saw the lightning bolt and the land of Arzawa saw it. The lightning bolt went and struck Arzawa.^{20 c} It struck Apāša (Ephesus?), the city of Uḫḫaziti. Uḫḫaziti fell on his knees and became ill. When Uḫḫaziti became ill, he did not subsequently come against me for battle. (Instead) he sent his son Piyama-^dLAMMA with infantry and horse-troops against me. He stood for battle against me at the Āstarpa River in Walma. I My Majesty fought him. The Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, the victorious Stormgod, my lord, Mezzulla and all the gods ran before me. I defeated Piyama-^dLAMMA, son of Uḫḫaziti, with his infantry and his horse-troops, and I destroyed them. Then I pursued him and I went across to Arzawa. I went to Apāša into the city of Uḫḫaziti. Uḫḫaziti did not resist me and fled before me. He went across into the sea by ship(?) to the islands(?).²¹ There he remained.

All the land of Arzawa fled. Some (potential) transplantees fled to Mt. Arinnanda and they held Mt. Arinnanda. Other (potential) transplantees fled to the town of Puranda and they held Puranda. Yet other (potential) transplantees fled across into the sea with Uḫḫaziti. I, My Majesty, pursued the transplantees on Mt. Arinnanda. I battled Mt. Arinnanda. The Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, the victorious Stormgod, my lord, Mezzulla and all the gods ran before me. I vanquished Mt. Arinnanda. The transplantees whom I, My Majesty, brought back for the royal estate numbered 15,500. Those whom the Hittite lords, infantry and horse-troops brought back were innumerable. Then I sent the transplantees to Ḫattuša and they were led away.

When I vanquished Mt. Arinnanda, I returned to the Āstarpa river and at the Āstarpa river I built a walled military camp. There I celebrated the Festi-

¹⁶ Previous editors have restored "Kammama" here. Indeed the transition from discussion of Kammama to Palhuišša would seem in the above translation to be rather abrupt. However, according to the Full Annals (KUB 14.15 i 1-21), Kammama turned over the fugitives and submitted voluntarily, whereas Palhuišša was attacked and plundered. Since Muṣili again attacked and this time burned Palhuišša in his third year, it is possible that a third town, whose name was lost in both texts is to be restored here and in KUB 14.15 i 1.

¹⁷ Since this past event happened in Northwestern Anatolia, it seems likely that a campaign led by Šuppiliuma I's crown prince Arnuwanda is meant. del Monte 1993:62 and n. 14 prefers to restore a different brother, Šarri-kuṣuḫ, King of Karkamiš, here.

¹⁸ On this state see Heinhold-Krahmer 1977.

¹⁹ Cf. note 14 above.

²⁰ For discussion of divine intervention in Hittite military records, see Hoffner 1980:327-328, and in ancient warfare narrations, see Younger 1990:145-146, 208-211; and Weinfeld 1983:139.

²¹ *guršawanza*. The word is quite rare. Goetze 1933:50f., 216, translated "by ship." Starke 1981 has since suggested a translation "to the islands" (followed by Melchert, *CLL* 113 and del Monte 1993:64). His arguments include the following. A genitival adjective *guršawanašši* formed from our word and describing a type of terrain occurs in field texts, KUB 8.75 i 12, where it is found in similar position to *ša id* "of the river" (Starke, 1981:144). "Island land" makes better sense than "ship land." An ergative/personified form occurs in a Luwian language offering text, KUB 35.107 ii.7, transliterated by Starke 1985:236-240. Starke's case would be quite convincing except for another example of the word, RS 25.421:48 (Laroche 1968:774f.), which he missed. Translating this passage "sweet Dilmun (i.e. Bahrain) dates arrive 'from the island'" surely makes sense, but why should "from the island" have a GİŠ "wood" determinative? Dates arriving from Dilmun "by ship" makes equal if not better sense and "ships" not "islands" could be expected to have a "wood" determinative. Unless the same word is used for both "ship" and "island"

val of the Year. All this I did in one year.

Year 4

When it became Spring — as long as Uḫḫaziti was sick and was in the midst of sea (i.e. on an island) his sons were with him. Uḫḫaziti died in the midst of sea, but his sons split up. One son was still in the midst of the sea, but one, Tapalazunauli, returned from the sea. Since all (remaining) of Arzawa had gone [...] up to Puranda, Tapalazunauli (also) went up to Puranda. When I had taken care of the Festival of the Year, I went to Puranda for battle. Tapalazunauli came down from Puranda with infantry and horse-troops for battle against me. He stood for battle against me in his own territory.²² I, My Majesty, fought him. The Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, the victorious Stormgod, my lord, Mezzulla and all the gods ran before me. I defeated Tapalazunauli, [son of Uḫḫaziti,] and his infantry and horse-troops and destroyed him. Then I pursued him. I went and surrounded Puranda and shut it up; I took away its water.

[When] I had shut up Puranda, Tapalazunauli, son of Uḫḫaziti, who was up in Puranda, became afraid. He fled down from Puranda at night. He took charge of [his wife,] his children, and the (potential) transplantees together with (their) provisions²³; he led them down from Puranda. However, when I, My Majesty, heard: 'Tapalazunauli fled down [at night] and he took charge of his wife, his children and the (potential) transplantees together with (their) provisions and led them down,' I, My Majesty, sent my infantry and horse-troops after him. They harried Tapalazunauli on the road. They captured his wife, his children, and the transplantees and brought them back. Tapalazunauli escaped alone, a single person. The aforementioned infantry and horse-troops kept for themselves the transplantees whom they had ha[rried] on the road.

When it had come about that I had shut up Puranda for [x] days, I [attack]ed [Puranda. The Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, the victorious Stormgod,] my [lord,] Mezzulla [and all the gods ran before me.] I vanquished Puranda. [The transplantees whom I, My Majesty, brought back for the royal estate] numbered 16,[X]00. Those [transplantees,] cattle and sheep [which the Hittite lords, infantry and horse-troops brought back] were [innumerable.

d Josh 9

Then I sent them to Ḫattuša and they] were led away.

[...] was in [the midst of the sea ...Piyama]-²⁴LA[MMA,] son of Uḫḫaziti, [...] departed] from the sea [and took refuge(?)] with the king of Aḫḫiyawa²⁴ [...] I, [My Majesty] sent [...] by ship. [...-ed ...] and they brought him away. [The transplantees with him] they also brought away. [The transplantees from ...] and the transplantees from Lipa consisted of [] transplantees. I sent [them to Ḫattuša] and they were led away.

[When] I came back [to the Šeḫa-[River Land,]]²⁵ I would have fought [Manapa-Tarḫunta who] was [lord] in Šeḫa-River Land. However, when [Manapa-Tarḫunta] heard about me: "The Hittite king is coming," [he became] afraid and so [he did not] then [come] against me. He sent [to] me his mother and old men and old women. They came and [fell down] at my feet. Because the women fell down at my feet, I had mercy on the women and so²⁶ I did [not] enter the Šeḫa-River Land. They handed over to me the Hittite transplantees who were in Šeḫa-River Land. There were 4,000 transplantees whom they handed over. I sent them back to Ḫattuša and they led them away. Manapa-Tarḫunta and Šeḫa-River Land I made into my subjects.²⁷ ^d

Then I went to Mirā. I gave Mirā to Mašḫuiluwa; I gave Šeḫa-River Land to Manapa-Tarḫunta; and I gave Ḫapalla to Targašnalli. I made these lands into my subjects where they were. I imposed military obligations on them and they began to give me troops. Because I wintered within Arzawa, in two years the Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, the victorious Stormgod, my lord, Mezzulla and all the gods ran before me and I overcame Arzawa. Some (of Arzawa) I brought away to Ḫattuša and some I made into my subjects where they were. I imposed military obligations on them and they began to give me troops. The transplantees whom I, My Majesty, brought back for the royal estates, because I overcame all of Arzawa, numbered all together²⁸ 66,000. Those whom the Hittite lords, infantry and horse-troops brought back were innumerable. When I had overcome all of Arzawa, then I came away to Ḫattuša. All this I did in the one year since I had wintered in Arzawa.

(wooden island = ship), the meaning of *gursawanza* is still not settled.

²² Lit. "his fields and meadows."

²³ *šaramnaz*. The translation follows a suggestion of H. A. Hoffner (personal communication). It was previously translated "from (their) place of refuge" (Goetze 1933:220), "down from above" (Friedrich 1952:184), "from the acropolis" (Alp 1954:456-58) and "from the palace" (Alp 1979:18-25).

²⁴ = Achaea, that is some Mycenaean Greek state. Although still a contentious issue, this equation is now accepted by most Hittitologists. See Güterbock 1983b; 1984; Bryce 1988; 1989; 1998:59f., 321f., 342f.; Marazzi 1992.

²⁵ Restoration with Goetze 1933:66 and Grégois 1988:65, rather than with Forrer 1926:82 "When I came back away from the sea."

²⁶ See CHD s.v. *namma* 6c.

²⁷ See Younger 1990:202-203.

²⁸ Hitt. 1-*etta*, lit. "in one (sum)."

Year 5

The next year I went to Mt. Ašharpaya. Since the Kaška had possession of Mt. Ašharpaya, they had cut the Pala-roads. I fought these Kaška of Mt. Ašharpaya. The Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, the victorious Stormgod, my lord, Mezzulla and all the gods ran before me and I overcame Mt. Ašharpaya which the Kaška had held. I destroyed it. I emptied Mt. Ašharpaya and then departed. When I arrived in Šammaha, I entered Ziulila.

While my father was in Mitanni, the Arawannan enemy by continually attacking Kiššiya kept it greatly oppressed. I, My Majesty, went to Arawanna and attacked Arawanna. The Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, the victorious Stormgod, my lord, Mezzulla and all the gods ran before me and I overcame all Arawanna. The transplantees whom I brought back from Arawanna for the royal estates numbered 3,500. The transplantees, cattle and sheep that the Hittite lords, infantry and horse-troops brought back were innumerable. When I had overcome Arawanna, then I came back to Hattuša. All this I did in one year.

Year 6

The next year I went to Zimurriya.²⁹ The Kaška who had occupied Mt. Tarikarimu by force in the time of my grandfather, subsequently became a danger for Hittite territory.³⁰ They came and attacked Hittite territory³¹ and they oppressed it greatly. I, My Majesty went and attacked Mt. Tarikarimu, which the Kaška had occupied. The Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, the victorious Stormgod, my lord, Mezzulla and all the gods ran before me and I overcame the Kaška of Mt. Tarikarimu and destroyed them. I emptied Mt. Tarikarimu and burned the whole land of Zimurriya. Then I returned to Hattuša. All this I did in one year.

Year 7

The next year I went to Tipiya.³² While my father was in Mitanni, Piḫḫuniya, man of Tipiya, marched and repeatedly attacked the Upper Land. He advanced as far as Zazziša and he looted the

e Num 20:14;
21:21; Josh
11:1; Judg
11:1 Kgs
20:3

Upper Land and carried it (i.e. the loot) down into the land of the Kaška. He took all the land of Ištitina and turned it into his pasture.

Thereafter, Piḫḫuniya did not rule like a Kaškan. When in Kaška there had never been a single ruler, suddenly this Piḫḫuniya ruled like a king. I, My Majesty, went toward him and sent him a messenger. I wrote to him: "Send out to me my subjects whom you took and led down into Kaška." Piḫḫuniya wrote back to me as follows: "I will not give anything back to you. And if you come to fight me, I will not take a stand to fight you anywhere in my own territory.³³ I will come to your land and I will take a stand to fight you in the midst of your land." When Piḫḫuniya had written this back to me and did not give my subjects back to me, I went to fight him. I attacked his land. The Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, the victorious Stormgod, my lord, Mezzulla and all the gods ran before me. I overcame the whole land of Tipiya and burned it. I captured Piḫḫuniya and brought him back to Hattuša. Then I returned from Tipiya. Since Piḫḫuniya had taken Ištitina, I rebuilt it and made it a Hittite land again.

When I had overcome Tipiya, I sent a messenger to Anniya, king of Azzi.³⁴ I wrote to him: "[Return to me] my subjects who came to you while my father was in Mitanni."

[Remainder of Year 7 is broken away in the Ten Year Annals; Continuation of the 7th year according to the Full Annals (KUB 14.17 iii 2ff.)]

[...] He (Anniya) came [and marched to Dankuwa. He attacked it, and plundered] it of [transplantees, cattle and sheep.] He [carried] [them] down into Ḫayaša.³⁵

[When I, My Majesty, heard about it], I wrote to him, "[...] they [...]ed there nothing to/for me. None of the men of Ištitina(?) [...] me/for me. [But you] came, [marched] to Dankuwa, [attac]ked [it, plundered it] of [transplantees, cattle and sheep, and carried them] down into Ḫayaša." [Anniya, the lord] of Azzi, [wrote] back to me as follows:

²⁹ The reading ^{URU}Zi-mur-ri-ya follows Hoffner 1976:336, based on ^{URU}Zi-mu-ri-ya in the historical fragment KBo 22:54 rev. 4, 5, on the obv. of which the Kaška are mentioned, in preference to the Zi-ḫar-ri-ya of Goetze 1933:80 and del Monte and Tischler 1978:498.

³⁰ Lit. "Ḫatuša."

³¹ Lit. "Ḫatuša."

³² The Comprehensive Annals, which are badly broken in this section, first describe a revolt in Nuḫašše. When an Egyptian army is reported to be approaching Hittite territory, Muršili quickly sent general Kantuzzili to aid his brother Šarri-Kušuh, king of Karkamiš, in suppressing the revolt and presumably holding off the Egyptians until Muršili could personally bring the rest of the army. Fortunately the Egyptians were defeated. Since the text does not use the regular formula "My gods ran before them and they defeated PN/GN" (for some examples, see Goetze 1933:38f. i.28, 106f. i.22) or give credit to the victorious generals, but simply says "the Egyptians were defeated and did not come" the Egyptians, may have been defeated by some third party before reaching the Hittite border. See Bryce 1988 for more details and a suggested scenario for Muršili's relations with Nuḫašše. Muršili on hearing the news was able to turn around and instead head for Tipiya.

³³ Lit. "field and meadow."

³⁴ Anniya's kingdom of Azzi-Ḫayaša was located to the northeast of the Hittites, perhaps in the valley of the Kelkit İrmak. For references and discussion see del Monte and Tischler 1978:59f., 63f.

³⁵ Part of the combined kingdom of Azzi-Ḫayaša, see note 34.

"[Why] do you keep writing to me? If some [deportees] came and (if) there are some who are (still) coming in to me, [we do not give them up.] But if you are continually seeking [...]" I wrote back to him as follows: "I came and encamped at the border of your land. I did not attack your land and I did not plunder it of transplantees, cattle and sheep. You started hostilities [with My Majesty] and came and [attacked] Dankuwa [and emptied [it.] Let the gods take a stand on my side and judge the [legal case] on my side." ³⁶

[Because] he began to speak evil words [to me], I became hostile to him. I went (against) him. The town of Ura, which was the first outpost of the land of Azzi, is situated in a hard to reach place. Whoever hears these tablets (read), let him send and let him [behold how] this town of Ura was built. ³⁶ [When] Anniya, lord of Azzi [...]

[Aside from a mention of a campaign by Muṣili's brother Šarri-Kuṣuh, king of Karkamiš, while Muṣili was in Išitina, the remainder of the 7th year is entirely broken away in the Full Annals.]

Year 8

[Entirely broken away in the Ten Year Annals. Some of the missing information can be gleaned from the badly broken section in the Full Annals]

[...] Man[apa-Tarḫunta ...] a woman [...] the man of the town of [...] it/them [...] / to me [...] thus [...]

[long gap in the text]

[I sent ... with orders] "seize [...]" [Then, I sent my brother Šarri-Kuṣuh to ...]. I, [however], returned [to ...]. I encamped in [...]. I myself, in Ḫattuša [...]. [I] would [have ...-ed] troops and horse-troops [against] them. But when the [men] of Ḫayaša [heard] "His Majesty is coming," they sent [a messenger] to [me] saying "O lord, because they heard [...] they were afraid [...] ... We will bring [...] and hand over [...] to the lord(?). [...] comes, then let the lords come forth [...] We will bring back the Hittite transplantees who are coming in to us, and hand them over."

When the men of Ḫayaša replied to me in this way, at that time the goddess Hebat of Kummanni troubled me with regard to the festival of invocation.

Year 9

[The beginning of Year 9 is broken away in the Ten Year An-

ns; some of the missing information may be gleaned from the Full Annals.]

nals; some of the missing information may be gleaned from the Full Annals.]

[I] said, "Hand over [the Hittite transplantees who are coming to you ... and I will not then go] against the men [of Ḫayaša.]" [However,] the men of Ḫayaša [...] and [did not hand over] the Hittite transplantees. So [I wrote] again [to] Anniya as follows. "[You have not] yet [begun] to give anything back to me. Some [you brought(?)] to the city of Ḫayaša and the land of Ḫayaša [kept(?)] and some you even took for yourself." He brought [word] to Ḫattuša: ³⁷ "The Hittite transplantees have not been compensated for [by(?)] Azziyan [transplantees] either. If some Hittite transplantees are coming over to us, we will not give them over." When the men of Ḫayaša did not hand back the Hittite transplantees to My Majesty, [...(my general)] built a [fortress ...] and he departed.

While I was in Tiliur[a], (the people of) Wāšulana revolted against Ḫudupianza, the royal prince who ruled Palā. I sent Nuwanza, Chief of the Wine ³⁸ [with infantry] and horse-troops and they departed for the sake of Ḫudupianza. They went to Wāšulana and they attacked Wāšulana. My gods ran before them and they defeated Wāšulana and burned it down. They looted [it including its transplantees], cattle, and sheep and carried [them] off [to Ḫattuša.]

[When I needed to celebrate] the festival of invocation of Hebat of Kummanni, ³⁹ I went to Kizzuwatna. ⁴⁰ When I arrived in Kizzuwatna, my brother Šarri-Kuṣuh, [the king of] Karkamiš ⁴¹ drove to Kizzuwatna to meet me and we got together. [Then] they [brought] [me] a terrible message. Šarri-Kuṣuh, my [brother, the king of] Karkamiš, got sick and died. They [carried] him to Ḫattuša and in Ḫattuša they performed the rites of the dead. The threshold(?) of the god which I [...] -d, the [...] of the gods [...]. I came away and in Kizzuwatna I lamented.

The men of Nuḫašše ⁴² began hostilities and [they] besieged [...] ... [They wrote(?)] to the king of [...] and] to other enemies [of My Majesty]. [...] When [the men of] Ḫayaša [heard that] enemies were arising [against My Majesty,] they did not [...]. They mustered [their troops and attacked] the land of Išitina. [They] surrounded [the city of Kannu-

³⁶ Verification of written annals is invited. See Hoffner 1980:315.

³⁷ The preceding broken passage can be differently understood following del Monte 1993:91: "Aniya [wrote] back [to me:] 'You are not beginning] to hand anything back to me. [You have come] against Ḫayaša, you have [devastated] the land of Ḫayaša; some you took for yourself and you have carried [them away] to Ḫattuša.'"

³⁸ The title of a senior general in the Hittite army. This officer ranked below only the king, the crown prince (at this time too young to be in the field), the king of Karkamiš, and the Chief of the Royal Body Guards (GAL MEŠEDI). See Beal 1992:342-56.

³⁹ Classical Comana Cataoniae, near modern Şar, east south-east of Kayseri on the Seyhan River, which was the major cult center of Kizzuwatna, is still unexcavated.

⁴⁰ The Cilician Plain and the valleys leading north from it. On the history of Kizzuwatna, see Kümmel 1980; Beal 1986.

⁴¹ See Güterbock 1956:120-121.

⁴² A land of many small states in Syria south of Aleppo, west of Meskene, east of Amurru and north of Qids (Qadeš); see Klengel 1969:18-57

wara. ...] Before PN [...] [While they came against Ištiti]na with infantry and horse-troops and destroyed] the land of [Ištiti]na and surrounded the city [of Kannuwa]ra, I had gone [to Kunumanni to celebrate] the invocation festival. [...] and I did not want in any way to [...] [I] did not want to [...] away] from before [...] I became [...] [...] me not. If while I was far away things [would] improve.

This is what I went and did. I gave infantry and horse-troops to [Kurunta] and I sent him to Nuḥašše. I gave him the following orders: "Since the men of Nuḥašše are hostile, go and destroy their harvest and besiege them." Kurunta went leading troops and horse-troops. He destroyed the harvest of the land of Nuḥašše and besieged them. Because the kings of Nuḥašše had transgressed the oaths of me and my father, the oath gods showed their divine power. [...] ... They summoned his own flesh and blood⁴³ against them. When Niqmadda,⁴⁴ eldest son of Aitakkama,⁴⁵ who was king of Kinza,⁴⁶ saw how they were besieged and further how their grain was running out, he killed Aitakkama his father. They (sc. the oath gods) turned [Niqmadda] and the land of Kinza back to my side. (The Kinzans) submitted themselves to me. I did not take Niqmadda as my servant on the spot. Now, because they had transgressed oaths, I said [to them] "let the oath gods make them [...]. Let the son kill his father and let brother kill brother. Let his own [flesh and blood] finish them off.

[Kurunta ...] and [went] up to the city of Kinza and he seized the city of Kinza.

[Then], because the infantry and horse-troops of Ḫayaša [came] in the direction of the Upper Land and destroyed the land of Ištiti and surrounded the city of Kannuwara and because I had left Nuwanza, the Chief of the Wine [in the Upper] [Land] with all the generals, infantry and horse-troops, I wrote to Nuwanza [as follows]: "The enemy from Ḫayaša has just come [in the direction of the Upper Land] and has destroyed Ištiti and has surrounded the city of Kannuwara. [Go] with infantry and horse-troops to the aid of Kannuwara and chase [the enemy] away from Kannuwara."

[Nuwanza, the Chief of the Wine], with infantry and horse-troops was marching to Kannuwara to help. When [Nuwanza ...], the ranking officers are saying the following words to him: "(Success) has not been ascertained [for you by augury] and extispicy."⁴⁷ [So Nuwanza, the Chief of the] Wine, sent a messenger [to me with a letter saying]: "[I do not have (?)] an augur and diviner and (success) has not been ascertained [for me by augury] and extispicy. [If] you [would only] write [to me the oracular answer]."

[When Nuwanza, the Chief of the Wine], had written that [to me], [I was celebrating the festival of invocation] in [Kizzuwat]na. [...] I summoned [...] I completed [the festival(?)]. [If] I had gone to help [Ištiti]na and had chased the Ḫayašan enemy away from Kannuwara, the [king of Assyria(?)] would have] conquered Karkamiš and [...] it. If I had [gone] against those enemies [and had] defeated them, when the [Assyrians] would have heard, would [they] not have [said] as follows: "His father conquered Karkamiš⁴⁸ and it stands [...]. His (Muršili's) brother whom he (Šuppiluliuma) made king in Karkamiš has died and he (Muršili) has not gone to Karkamiš and put Karkamiš in order; he has gone to some other land." When I had thought this over, I took oracles by augury and extispicy in advance⁴⁹ for Nuwanza, the Chief of the Wine. (Success) was ascertained for him by augury and by extispicy. I sent Nanaziti, the Royal Prince, after Nuwanza with a letter saying: "Just now I have taken oracles by augury and extispicy in advance for you and (success) was ascertained for you by augury and extispicy. Go now! The Storm-god, My Lord, has already given that Ḫayašan enemy to you. You will kill him."

When I had sent Nanaziti, the royal prince, after Nuwanza the Chief of the Wine, I went to the land of Karkamiš. When I arrived in the city of Aštata,⁵⁰ I went up into the city of Aštata and built a fortress up there. Then I garrisoned it. The troops whom Kurunta had led for destroying the harvest of Nuḥašše brought Niqmadda before me because he had killed his father Aitakkama, king of Kinza. I

and most recently Beckman 1996:50.

⁴³ Lit. "fat."

⁴⁴ The reading of this prince's name as the common North West Semitic name Niqmad (= *Nig-ma-u*) rather than *NIQ.BA-u*, as Goetze 1933:112f. read, is the suggestion of Albright *BASOR* 95 (1944) 31f.

⁴⁵ The double dealing of Aitakkama, or Etakkama, and his switch of sides from the Egyptians/Mitannians to the Hittites during Šuppiluliuma I's conquest of Syria is documented in several letters from Tell el-Amarna; see Moran 1992:380 (index).

⁴⁶ This city's name, probably actually pronounced something like Qidš(a), as the Hittite "Kinza" and Aitakkama's own rendering, "Qidši" (EA 189 obv. 11, genitive) clearly show, is usually misvocalized by modern scholars as "Kadesh" or "Qadeš" by modern scholars. Its site is Tell Nebi Mend. See Klengel 1969:139-177.

⁴⁷ Lit. "by birds and by flesh."

⁴⁸ This conquest is described by Muršili in his "Deeds of Šuppiluliuma" (see Güterbock 1956:92-96). Karkamiš is modern Jereblus, where the Turkish-Syrian border crosses the Euphrates. It was briefly excavated before this border line was drawn. For discussion and bibliography, see Hawkins 1980a. On Hittite administration there see most recently Beckman 1992.

⁴⁹ *CHD* s.v. *peran* 3 a 2'.

⁵⁰ Modern Meskene, downstream from Karkamiš. French excavations and subsequent clandestine digging before the site was covered by Lake

took him into my service.

When I went from Aštata into Karkamiš, ... I re-organized the land of Karkamiš. Then I made [...] -šarruma, son of Šarri-Kušuḫ king in the land of Karkamiš and I made the land of Karkamiš swear allegiance to him. Then I made Talmi-Šarruma, son of Telipinu, king in Aleppo and I made the land of Aleppo swear allegiance to him.

[The Ten Year Annals resume here]

[...] in fear [...] I turned [...] did not [stand] for battle against me. [Since] I had left [the infantry and horse-troops in the Upper Land, Nuwanza, the Chief of the Wine], came [with infantry and horse-troops] to help. He went [to Kanuware to fight] [against Azzi]. The infantry and horse-troops of Azzi stood [for battle against Nuwanza, the Chief of the Wine. Nuwanza overcame them.] Concerning prisoners and killed, [they were innumerable.]

[When] I, [My Majesty], came up from Kizzuwatna, [little of] the year [remained] to me. So I didn't then go to Azzi. [Since Yahrešša] had begun hostilities against [me] and did not give me troops and kept attacking [...], I, My Majesty, [went] to Yahrešša. I attacked Yahrešša. The Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, the victorious Storm-god, my lord, Mezzulla and all [the gods] ran before me. I overcame Yahrešša[-city] and then I burned it down. Then I continued to the land of Piggainareš-

ša. I attacked the Kaška of Piggainarešša, and I overcame them. I burned down Piggainarešša. I plundered it of transplantees, cattle and sheep. and brought them away to Hattuša. When I had overcome Yahrešša and Piggainarešša, I then came back to Hattuša. All this I did in one year.

Year 10

The next year I went to Azzi. The infantry and horse-troops of Azzi did not stand for battle against me. The whole land took to fortified cities. Two of these fortified cities, Aripšā and Dukkanma, I fought. The Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, the victorious Stormgod, my lord, Mezzulla and all the gods ran before me. Aripšā and Dukkanma I captured in battle. The transplantees whom I, My Majesty, brought back for the royal estates numbered 3,000. Those whom the Hittite lords, infantry and horse-troops brought back were not included.

Conclusion

Since I sat down on my father's throne, I have ruled ten years as king. These enemy lands I overcame with my own hands. The enemy lands which the royal princes and lords overcame are not included here. Whatever more the Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, repeatedly gives to me (to do), I will carry it out and put it down (on clay).⁵¹

[The remainder of the column is uninscribed. There is no colophon]

Assad have produced numerous tablets. See Huehnergard 1993 and Margueron 1993. On Hittite administration there see Beckman 1992.

⁵¹ Or: place it down before (the goddess).

REFERENCES

Editions: Forrer 1926, no. 48; Goetze 1933; Grégois 1988. Translations: Friedrich 1925:9-12; Kümmel 1985; del Monte 1993:32-33, 57-72. Studies: Houwink ten Cate 1966; 1967; 1979; Hoffner 1980:311-315.

B. "FUNCTIONAL" INSCRIPTIONS

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1. TREATIES

THE TREATIES BETWEEN HATTI AND AMURRU (2.17)

Itamar Singer

The Amurru treaties represent the largest series of Hittite vassal treaties with a Syrian state: four separate treaties extending from the mid-14th to the late 13th centuries BCE. In comparison, Carchemish and Ugarit are represented with two treaties each (plus royal decrees), whereas only one each is attested from Aleppo, Mitanni, Tunip, Nuḥḥašše, Alašia, and Mukiš(?). This state of preservation is in itself indicative of the relative importance of the strategic kingdom of Amurru flanking the southern border of the Hittite Empire. The treaties, especially their historical introductions, contain invaluable information on the troubled history of this Levantine state during the century and a half of its existence (Singer 1991a; Klengel 1992:160-174; Bryce 1998:181-189, 249-251, 262-263, 344-347). Although they in fact dealt with the same historical background of Hittite-Amorite relations, the resourceful legal draftsmen of the Hittite chancery did not mechanically repeat the same narrative time and again but, rather, skillfully adapted their discourse to the changing needs of the imperial political propaganda.

The decisive political act which shaped the development of Hittite-Amorite relations was Aziru's voluntary submission to Šuppiluliuma at an early stage of the Hittite penetration into Syria (Singer 1990:155-159). As an acknowledged Egyptian dependency for many generations, Amurru's defection to the Hittite camp remained an open wound in the pride of the Pharaohs, and sixty-five years later Ramesses II attempted unsuccessfully to reverse the course of events at the Battle of Qadesh. With the advent of peace, the former frontierland turned into one of the main hubs of amicable contact between the Hittite and the Egyptian empires. New problems agitated the Hittite court in its last decades — the growing Assyrian danger from without and dynastic rivalries from within. All these dramatic developments are vividly echoed in the Amurru treaties: the emphasis on Amurru's voluntary joining of the Hittite camp and its treacherous *volte-face* to Egypt before Qadesh, the deposition and restoration of Bentešina on the throne of Amurru, the military and trade embargo on Assyria, and the concern to ensure Amurru's ongoing support for the ruling line of Hittite kings.

Another aspect which may be followed in these treaties is the growing "Hittitization" of Amurru through reciprocal royal marriages and their resulting cultural impact (Singer 1992). A typical Canaanite state under Egyptian influence in the Amarna Age, Amurru gradually opened up to northern influences brought in by two Hittite princesses and the ensuing close ties between the two royal courts. The last document in the series was already composed for a king whose mother and wife were both Hittite princesses, and his father Bentešina absorbed "Hittite values" in his re-educational sojourn in Hatti. An Akkadian translation may have become superfluous, which may explain why the Šaušgamuwa treaty only came down to us in two Hittite copies (Beckman 1996:99).

TREATY BETWEEN ŠUPPILULIUMA AND AZIRU (2.17A)

Itamar Singer

There are six duplicates of the Akkadian version of the treaty but only one in Hittite. The following is a composite translation based primarily on the better-preserved Hittite text. Significant variants in the Akkadian version are indicated in the footnotes. Additional restorations are afforded by parallel Syrian treaties, notably those between Šuppiluliuma I and Tette of Nuḥḥašše (CTH 53), and between Muṣṣili II and Niqmepa of Ugarit (CTH 66), and also by the later treaties with Amurru (Duppi-Tešub, Bentešina and Šaušgamuwa). The paragraphs correspond to the original division lines of the text.

Preamble and main stipulations of the treaty

(i.1-13): [Thus says My Majesty, Šuppiluliuma, Great King, king of Hatti, hero, beloved [of the Storm-god:] I, My Majesty, have taken you in vassalage and [I have seated] you upon [the throne of your father]. If you, [Azira,¹ from this day on] until the end of days do not protect the king of Hatti, your lord, and the land of Hatti; and as your soul, your head, [your wives, your sons] and *your*

*land*² [are dear] to you, in the same way may the king's soul, the king's head, the king's body and the land of Hatti be likewise dear to you [forever]! Until the end of days you should keep [the treaty and the peace] of the king of Hatti, [of his sons and grandsons], and of the land of Hatti. 300 shekels [of refined gold] of firstclass quality shall be your [annual] tribute [to the king] of Hatti; it shall be weighed out [with the weights] of the merchants [of

¹ Both the Hittite and the Akk. versions use the form Azira throughout the text.

² The Hittite text actually has the curious form "his(!) land (and ?) city".

Hatti. [You] Azira [must appear] yearly before My Majesty, [your lord], in the land of Hatti.

Historical background

(i.14-26)³ Previously, suddenly [all the kings, (namely)] — the king of Egypt, the king of Hurri,⁴ the king of [Qatna(?) / Aštata(?)], the king of Nuḥḥašše, the king of Niya, the king of [Kinza(?)],⁵ the king of Mukiš, the king of Ḥalab, the king of Karkamiš — all of these kings suddenly became hostile [towards My Majesty]. But Azira, king of [Amurru], rose up from the gate of Egypt and submitted himself to My Majesty, king of Hatti. And I, My Majesty, Great King, [accordingly(?) rejoiced] very much. *Should* I, My Majesty, the Great King, not have accordingly rejoiced very much, as I [...] to Azira? When Azira [knelt down] at the feet [of My Majesty] — (indeed) he came from the gate of Egypt and knelt down [at the feet of My Majesty] — I, My Majesty, Great King, [took up] Azira and ranked him among his brothers.⁶

Military clauses

(ii.9'-24') Whoever is My Majesty's friend should also be your friend; whoever is My Majesty's enemy should also be your enemy.^a If the king of Hatti (goes) to the land of [Hurri], or to the land of Egypt, or to the land of Kara(n)duniya (Babylon), or to the land of Aštata, or to the land of Alši, [or to whatever enemy lands that are] close to your border and are hostile [towards My Majesty], or to whatever friendly lands that are friends to My Majesty and are close to your border — (namely) the land of [Niya(?),⁷ the land of Kinza] and the land of Nuḥḥašše — (who) turn and become hostile [towards the king of Hatti, and if the king of Hatti goes to war] against that enemy, and if you, Azira, do not mobilize wholeheartedly with troops and chariots and do not fight him wholeheartedly — (ii.25'-39') Or if I, My Majesty, send to you, Azira, to your aid either a prince or a high-ranking lord with (his) troops and his chariots, or if I send to attack another land, and you, Azira, do not mobilize wholeheartedly with troops and chariots and you do not attack that enemy, and you commit some [evil by saying as follows]: "Although I am

^a Exod 23:22

^b Judg 8:4-17

under oath, I do not know at all whether he will defeat the enemy or whether the enemy will defeat him"; and if you write to [that] enemy (saying): "[Behold! The troops and the chariots] of Hatti are coming to attack. Be on guard!" — thereby you will break the oath.

(ii.40'-46') [...] troops and chariots of Hatti, [...] of Hatti, they should [no]t seize a single person [...]. [If] you [do not seize(?) him and do not] deliver him to the king of Hatti — thereby you will break the oath.

(ii.47'-56') [If some] other [enemy] rises up against the king of Hatti and [attacks] the land of [Hatti], (or if) someone starts a revolt [against the king of] Hatti, [and you], Azira, hear about it but do not come wholeheartedly to the aid of [My Majesty] with troops and chariots; if it is not [possible] for you (to come), Azira, send to the aid of the king of Hatti either [your son] or your brother with troops and chariots.

(ii.56'-iii.3' ⁸) Or if someone oppresses Azira, either [...] or anyone else, and you send to the king of Hatti (saying): "[Come] to my rescue!" then I, My Majesty, will [come to your] aid, or I will send either a prince or a high-ranking [lord] with troops and chariots and they will defeat that enemy [for you].

(iii.4'-16') [Now(?)], because Azira has turned of his ow[n will to] My Majesty's servitude, I, My Majesty, will s[end him] lords of Hatti, troops [and chariots from the land of] Hatti to the land of Amurru. [And since] they will go up to your cities, you (must) protect them and provision them.⁹ ⁶ They should walk like brothers before you. You must protect [the king of] Hatti, but if some man of Hatti seeks evil against you, Azira, and he seeks to get h[old of either] a city or your(!)¹⁰ land — thereby he will break the oath.

Extradition of deportees, conspirators and fugitives
(iii.17'-28') Whatever deportees of that land [My Majesty] has carried off — deportees of the land of Hurri, deportees of the land of Kinza, deportees of the land of Niya and deportees of the land of Nuḥḥašše — if some man or woman flees from Ḥattuša

³ For the restoration of the list of kings and the rest of this passage, see Singer 1990:145.

⁴ Instead of Hurri the Akk. version has *A-mur-[ri]*. This could be a scribal error, or perhaps a confusion between two parallel geopolitical terms, for which see Singer 1991b.

⁵ Kinza is the cuneiform writing for Qadesh on the Orontes.

⁶ In the Hittite version there follow one or two very fragmentary paragraphs in the remainder of the first column and in the first eight lines of the second.

⁷ Beckman 1996:34 suggests restoring Mukiš(?), but this land is quite distant from Amurru's border. Cf. also §8 for the same group of lands (Kinza, Niya, Nuḥḥašše) in a similar context.

⁸ Most of this paragraph is lost in the Hittite version; the translation follows here the Akk. version A obv 27'-30'.

⁹ The sense of the rare Hittite verb *išḥaššarwahḫ-* is provided by the parallel section in the Duppi-Tešub treaty (A ii.32'-33'): "... give them regularly to eat and to drink." Cf. Beckman 1996:57; Friedrich 1926:18f.

¹⁰ The text actually has "his land" (followed by an erasure).

and enters your land, you should not say as follows: "Although I am sworn to the treaty, I (don't want to) know anything. [Are they(?) in my land?] [You], Azira, should rather capture them and send them to the king of Hatti.

(iii.29'-34') [If] someone speaks [evil words about] My Majesty to you,^c Azira — whether [a man of Hatti] or your own subject — but you, Azira, do not seize him and send him to the king of Hatti — thereby you will break the oath.

(iii.35'-44') Whatever men of Amurru reside in the land of Hatti — whether a nobleman or a slave of Azira's land — if you request him from the king of Hatti and the king of Hatti [gives] him back to you, then take him. But if the king of Hatti does not give him back to you and he flees and comes to you, and you Azira take him — thereby you will break the oath.

(iv.1'-5'; F 1'-3') [If] some [people(?) rise and come to the land of Azira, and you, Azira, speak unfavorable things before them and you direct them] towards the moun[tains or towards another land, and if] you, [Azira, do not seize and extradite hi]m to the king of Hatti — thereby [you will break the oath.]

(iv.6'-11') If a man of H[atti] comes as a fugitive [from the land of Hatti] and he turns to [you, Azira, seize him and extradite] him to the king [of Hatti]. But [if you do not extradite him — thereby you will break the oath.]

(iv.12'-14' = F 8'-9') [If a fugitive flees] from the land of Amurru [and comes to the land of Hatti, the king of Hatti does not (have to) seize and extradite him. It is not right for the king of Hatti to return] a fugitive.^d [But if a fugitive flees from the land of Hatti and comes to the land of Amurru, you, Azira, [should not detain him], but should release him to the land of Hatti. [If you detain him] — thereby you will [break the oath.]

(iv.15'-18') If you, [Azira, want something(?) you should request it] from the king of Hatti. [If the king of Hatti gives it to you], take it, but you should not take what [the king of Hatti does not give to you].

^c Exod 22:28;
Lev 24

^d Exod 21:12-14; Num 35

^e Deut 3:9;
Ps 29:6

^f Deut 4:26;
30:19; 31:28

Treason

(iv.19'-26') You, Azira, [I have taken to vassalage (?) and I have placed] you on [the throne of your father (?)]. If you, [Azira, do not seek] the well-being [of Hatti and] the hand of Šuppiluliuma, [Great King, king of Hatti], but (rather) you seek the well-being of another [land — either the land of Hurri(?) or the land of Eg[yp]t] — and [you seek] another's [hand] — thereby you will break the oath.¹¹

Summoning the divine witnesses

(iv.30'-32') Behold, I have summoned [the Thousand Gods to assembly for this oath and I have called them to witness. Let] them be witnesses!¹²

(A rev. 1'-11') ... Huwaššana of] Ĥupišna, [Tapišuwa of Išupita, the Lady of Landa], Kuniyawani [of Landa, NIN.PIŠAN.PIŠAN of] Kinza, Mount Lablana,¹³ [Mount Šariyana,¹⁴ Mount Pišaiša,] the *lulahi* gods, the *habiru* gods, Er[ēškigal, all the male] deities [and all the female deities of the land of Hatti], all the male deities and all the female deities [of the land of Kizzuwatna], all the male deities and all the female deities of Amurru, [all the primeval gods]: Nara, Namšara, Minki, [Tuḫuši, Ammunki, Ammizzadu], Alalu, Anu, [Anu, Apantu, Enlil, Ninlil], mountains, rivers, springs, great [sea, heaven and earth,^f winds and clouds]. Let them be witnesses to this treaty [and to the oath]!

Curses and blessings

(A rev. 12'-16') [All the words of the treaty and of the oath which are inscribed] on this tablet, [if Azira does not keep these words of] the treaty and of the oath [and he breaks the oath], let these oath gods destroy Azira [together with his head, his wives, his sons, his grandsons, his house], his town, his land, and all [his possessions]!

(A rev. 17'-20') [But if Azira keeps these words of the treaty] and of the oath which are [inscribed on this tablet], let these oath gods protect [Azira together with his head, his wives, his sons, his grandsons], his house, his town, his land, [and his possessions]!

¹¹ There follows a very fragmentary short paragraph (iv.27'-29').

¹² The rest of the Hittite tablet is uninscribed, but copy A of the Akk. version adds three more paragraphs: a list of witness deities (partly restored from similar lists in other Syrian treaties), a curse and a blessing.

¹³ Mt. Lebanon.

¹⁴ Mt. Sirion (the Anti-Lebanon).

REFERENCES

Text: CTH 49: Akkadian: A. KUB 3.7 + KUB 3.122 + KUB 4.94. B. KUB 3.19 (+) KUB 48.71. C. KBo 28-140. D. Bo 9200. E. KBo 28.118. F. Bo 9201. Hittite: KBo 10.12 (+) 13 (+) 12a. Editions: Weidner 1923:70-75, 146-149 (Akkadian); Freydanck 1959 (Hittite); del Monte 1986:116-141 (both). Translations and Studies: Goetze 1955:529-530; Klengel 1964; 1977; Singer 1990:144-50; 1991a:154-58; Beckman 1996:32-37; 1997:96-97.

TREATY BETWEEN MURŠILI AND DUPPI-TEŠUB (2.17B)

Itamar Singer

The Akkadian version is preserved in one text, the Hittite in four duplicates. The composite translation is based primarily on the Hittite version, with restorations afforded by the Akkadian version and other Amurru treaties. Significant variants in the Akkadian version are indicated in the footnotes. The paragraphs correspond to the original division lines in the text.

Preamble

(B i.1-2) [Thus says] My Majesty, Muršili, Great King, king [of Hatti, hero], beloved of the Storm-god, [son of] Šuppiluliuma, [Great King, king of Hatti, hero].

Historical background

(B i.3-12) Duppi-Tešub! Your grandfather Azira¹ submitted to my father.² When it came about that the kings of Nuḫḫašše and the king of Kinza³ became hostile, Azira did not become hostile.⁴ When my father fought his enemies, Azira likewise fought them. Just as Azira protected my father, my father protected Azira together with his land. He did not seek to harm him in any way, and Azira did not anger my father in any way. He kept delivering to him⁵ the 300 shekels of refined gold of first-class quality that had been decreed.⁶ My father died⁷ and I sat on the throne of my father. And just as Azira had been in [the time of my father], so he was in my time.

(B i.13-21) When it came about that the kings of Nuḫḫašše and the king of Kinza became again hostile in my time, Azira, your grandfather, and DU-Tešub, your father, [did not join] them. They supported only me in (my) overlordship.⁸ [And when Azira became old] and was no longer able to go on military campaign,⁹ [just as Azira] went to battle with troops and chariots, DU-Tešub likewise went to battle [with the troops and the chariots of the land of Amurru]. And I, My Majesty, destroyed those [enemies. ...] Azira, your father, to my father [...] came [...] I gave to DU-Tešub [...]¹⁰

(A i.11'-18') When your father died, according [to the request of your father] I did not reject you. Since your father during (his) *lifetime*(?)¹¹ had often mentioned yo[ur na]me before me, therefore I took care of you. You fell ill and became sick, but even though you were sick, I, My Majesty, still

a 2 Sam 18:1-

4

b 2 Chr 36:13

c Exod 34:12,

15

installed you in the position of your father and for you I made [...], your brothers, and the land of Amurru swore allegiance to you.

Main stipulations of the treaty and relations with Egypt

(A i.19'-34', B obv. 9'-10') When I, My Majesty, took care of you according to the word of your father, and installed you in the place of your father, behold, I have made you swear an oath to the king of Hatti, to the land of Hatti, and to my sons and my grandsons.¹² Keep the oath of the king and the hand of the king, and I, My Majesty, will protect you, Duppi-Tešub. When you shall take your wife and if you produce a son, he shall later be king in the land of Amurru. And as I, My Majesty, protect you, I will likewise protect your son. You, Duppi-Tešub, protect in the future the king of Hatti, the land of Hatti, my sons, and my grandsons. The tribute which was imposed upon your grandfather and upon your father — they delivered 300 shekels of refined gold of first-class quality by the weights of the land of Hatti — you shall deliver likewise. Do not turn your eyes towards another (land)! Your ancestors paid tribute to Egypt, [but] you [should not pay tribute to Egypt because Egypt has become an enemy [...]¹³

(D ii.1'-3') If [the king of Egypt(?) will become My Majesty's friend, you too] should be his friend, [and] you may keep sending your messenger [to Egypt(?)].

(D ii.4'-9') But [if] you commit [treachery, and while the king of Egypt [is hos]tile to My Majesty you secretly [send] your messenger to him [and you become hostile] to the king of Hatti, and [you cast] off the hand of the king of Hatti becoming (a subject) of the king of Egypt, [thereby] you, Duppi-Tešub, will break the oath.¹⁴

¹ Both the Hittite and Akk. versions use the form Azira throughout the text.

² Akk. version has: "He c[ame] to my father, [and] my father made him his subject." For this restoration of the first verb (instead of the traditional "he was hostile"), see Singer 1990:150f.

³ The cuneiform writing for Qadesh on the Orontes. Cf. COS 2.16, note 46.

⁴ Akk. version adds: "As he was friendly (before), he remained friendly."

⁵ Akk. version adds: "year by year".

⁶ Akk. version adds: "... by my father for your grandfather. He never withheld (his tribute) and he never angered him."

⁷ Lit., "became god" in Hittite; "went to his fate" in Akk.

⁸ Akk.: "As they (Aziru and DU-Tešub) held to the hand of my [father], likewise they held to my hand."

⁹ The Akk. version breaks off. The Hittite version resumes after a large gap.

¹⁰ See Starke 1990:543f.

¹¹ About four lines are entirely lost.

Military clauses

(D ii.10'-17', A ii.1'-12') [Whoever is My Majesty's] enemy shall be your enemy, [and whoever is My Majesty's friend] shall be your friend.¹² [And if any of(?)] the *protectorate*¹² lands [becomes hostile] to the king of Hatti, and if I, My Majesty, go [to fight] that [land], and you do not mobilize wholeheartedly with troops and chariots, or do not fight [the enemy] without hesitation [or ...], or you say] as follows: "[Although I am a sworn] man, let them defeat [the enemy or let] the enemy [defeat] them," [or if] you send a man to that [land] to warn [him as follows]: "Behold, the troops and the chariots of the land of Hatti are coming. Defend yourselves!" — (thereby) you will break the oath.

(A ii.13'-24') As I, My Majesty, protect you, Duppi-Tešub, be an auxiliary force to My Majesty and the land of [Hatti]. And if some [evil] matter arises in the land of Hatti, and [someone] revolts against My Majesty, and you hear (of it), lend assistance with your [troops] and chariots. Take a stand immediately to help [the land of Hatti]. But if it is not possible for you to lend assistance, send either your son or your brother with your troops and chariots to help the king of Hatti. If you do not send your [son] or your brother with your troops and chariots to help the king of Hatti — (thereby) you will break the oath.

(A ii.25'-29') If someone oppresses you, Duppi-Tešub, in some matter, or someone revolts against you, and you write to the king of Hatti, and the king of Hatti sends troops and chariots to help you, <...>¹³ — (thereby) you will break the oath.

(A ii.30'-37') If sons of Hatti bring you, Duppi-Tešub, troops and chariots, and since they will go up to (your) cities, you, Duppi-Tešub, must regularly give them to eat and to drink. But if (any Hittite) undertakes an evil matter against Duppi-Tešub, (such as) the plunder of his land or of his cities, or if he seeks to depose Duppi-Tešub from the kingship in the land of Amurru — (thereby) he will break the oath.

Extradition of deportees, conspirators and fugitives

(A ii.38'-45') Whatever deportees of the land of Nuḫḫašše and deportees of the land of Kinza my father carried off, or I carried off — if one of these deportees flees from me and comes to you, and you do not seize him and extradite him to the king of

d Exod 23:22;
2 Chr 19:2

Hatti, but instead you tell him thus: "[Carry on(?)], go where (you want to) go; I do not know you" — (thereby) you will break the oath of the gods.

(A ii.46'-iii.11) If someone should bring up before you, Duppi-Tešub, evil words about the king or about the land of Hatti, you shall not conceal it from the king. If My Majesty should somehow confidently give orders to you: "Do this or that thing,"¹⁴ that one among those things which is not possible to perform make an appeal about it right on the spot: "I cannot do this thing and I won't do it"; it (will happen) according to what the king decides. But if you won't do a thing which is possible to perform and you repulse the king, or if you do not observe the matter that the king tells you confidently — (thereby) you will break the oath.

(A iii.12-22) If (the population of) some land or a fugitive rebels and goes to the land of Hatti, and passes through your land, you must set them on the right track and show (them) the road to the land of Hatti, and tell them favorable words. Do not direct them elsewhere. If you do not set them on their way, and you do not conduct them to the road (leading) to Hatti, but rather you turn their eyes towards the mountain, or if you speak evil words before them — (thereby) you will break the oath.

(A iii.23-29) Or if the king of Hatti beleaguers some land and he causes them (i.e. its inhabitants) to flee, and they enter your land, if you want to take anything, ask the king of Hatti for it. Do not take [it as you wish]. If you take [anything] as you wish and you conceal it — <(thereby) you will break the oath>.¹⁵

(A iii.30-33) Furthermore, if a fugitive enters your land in flight, seize him and extradite him. [But if a fugitive flees from the land of Amurru and comes in flight] [to the land of Hatti, the king of Hatti does not (have to) seize and extradite him.]¹⁶

Summoning the divine witnesses

(D iii.5'-6') [Behold, let the thousand gods stand by for this oath! Let them observe and listen!

(D iii.7'-17') [Sun-god of Heaven, Sun-goddess] of Arinna, Storm-god of Heaven, Storm-god of Hatti, [Šeri (and) Hu]ri, Mount Nammi and Mount Hazzi,¹⁷ [Storm-god of the Gate-house, Storm-god of the Army, Storm-god of Haleb, Storm-god of Zippalanda, Storm-god of Nerikka, Storm-god of Liḫ-

¹² For the meaning of *kuriwana*-, see, e.g., Otten 1969:28f.

¹³ The scribe left out the rest of this entry, which is in fact continued in the next paragraph. Cf. the parallel entry in the Aziru treaty, ii.56-iii.16' (see COS 2.17A).

¹⁴ Lit., "Do these things or this thing."

¹⁵ The recurring closing formula is omitted.

¹⁶ Restored from the parallel clause in the Aziru treaty (iv.12"-14") (see COS 2.17A). There follows a break of uncertain length concluded by the very fragmentary first four lines of D iii.

¹⁷ The Casius (*Šaphôn*) and Anti-Casius Mountains.

zina, Storm-god of the Ruin Mound, [Storm-god of Hišš]ašpa(!), Storm-god of Šahpina, Storm-god of Šapinuwa, [Storm-god of Pittiyar]igga, Storm-god of Šamuha, Storm-god of Hurma, [Storm-god of Šari]šša, Storm-god of Rescue, Storm-god of Uda, [Storm-god of Kizz]uwatna, Storm-god of Išhupitta, [Storm-god of Amurru(?)¹⁸], Storm-god of Argata, Storm-god of Dunippa, [Storm-god of Ha]lab of Dunip, Milku [of the land of Amur]ru.

e Deut 3:9;
Ps 29:6

(D iii.18'-23') [Tutelary-god, Tutelary-god] of Hatti, Zithariya, Karzi, [H]apantal]iya, Tutelary-god of Garaḥna, Tutelary-god of the Field, [Tutelary-god of the *kurša*¹⁹], Aya (Ea), Alladu, [Telipinu] of Turmitta, [Telipinu] of Tawiniya, Telipinu [of Ha]nḫana, Bunene, Ašgašipa.

(D iii.24'-A iv.3) [Moon-god Lord of the Oath, Išhara] Queen of the Oath, [H]ebat Queen of Heaven, Ištar Lady of the Field, Ištar of Ninuwa, Ištar of Ḫattarina, Ninatta, Kulitta, War-god of Hatti, War-god of Ellaya, War-god of Arziya, Iyarriš, Zampana.

(A iv.4-20) Ḫantidašu of Hurma, Aparu of Šamuha, Kataḫḫa of Ankuwa, [the Queen] of Gatapa, Ammamama of Taḫurpa, Ḫallara of Dunna, Ḫuwaššana of Ḫupišna, Tapišuwa of Išh[upitta], Lady of Landa, Kunniyawanni of Landa, NIN.PISAN-PISAN of Kinza, Mount Lablana,²⁰ Mount

Šariyana,²¹ Mount Pišaiša, *lulahḫi* gods, *ḫabiru* gods, [Ereškigal], the male deities (and) the female deities of the land of Hatti, the male (and) the female deities of the land of Amurru, [all] the primeval gods — Nara, Napšara, [Minki], Tuḫuši, Ammunki, Amizzadu, Alalu, Anu, Antu, Apantu, Enlil, Ninlil, mountains, rivers, springs, great sea, heaven and earth, winds, clouds. Let them be witnesses to this treaty and to the oath!

Curses and blessings²²

(A iv.21-26) All the words of the treaty and the oath which are written on this tablet — if Duppi-Tešub [does not keep these] words of the treaty and of the oath, then let these oath gods destroy Duppi-Tešub together with his head, his wife, his son, his grandson, his house, his city, his land and together with his possessions.

(A iv.27-32) But if Duppi-Tešub observes these words of the treaty and of the oath which are written on this tablet, let these oath gods protect Duppi-Tešub together with his head, his wife, his son, his grandson, his city, his land, your(!) house, your(!) subjects [and together with his possessions!]

Colophon

(C rev. 11') [First tablet of Duppi-Tešub's treaty]. Complete.

¹⁸ For the restoration of the list of the gods of Amurru, see Singer 1991a:180f.

¹⁹ Either "fleece" or "hunting bag," for which see Güterbock 1989.

²⁰ Mt. Lebanon.

²¹ Mt. Sirion (the Anti-Lebanon).

²² These paragraphs are written entirely in Akk. in the Hittite version.

REFERENCES

Text: CTH 62; Akkadian: KUB 3.14; Hittite: A. KBo 5.9. B. KUB 3.119 (+) KUB 14.5 (+) KUB 19.48 + KUB 23.6 (+) KBo 22.39. C. KUB 21.49. Editions: Weidner 1923:76-79 (Akkadian); Friedrich 1926:1-48, 179-181 (Hittite); del Monte 1986:156-177 (both). Studies: Goetze 1955:203-05; Cornil and Lebrun 1975:76-96-100; del Monte 1985b; Singer 1990:150-151; Lebrun 1992:17-26; Beckman 1996:32-37.

TREATY BETWEEN TUDḪALIYA AND ŠAUŠGAMUWA (2.17C) (excerpts)

Itamar Singer

This treaty has come down to us only in two Hittite duplicates. The main text (A) has numerous erasures and insertions, some of them quite telling. The excerpts presented below include the historical introduction and other fragments dealing with Amurru's foreign relations, past and future. The remaining text includes the regular repertory of stipulations as also found in the Aziru and the Duppi-Tešub treaties. The paragraphs correspond to the original division lines in the text.

Preamble

(A i.1-7) [Thus says *tabarna* Tudḫaliya], Great King, [king of] Hatti, hero, beloved of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, [son of Ḫattušili, Great King, king of] Hatti, hero, [grandson of] Muṣšili, Great King, king of Hatti, hero, [descendant] of Tudḫaliya, [Great King, king of] Hatti, hero.

Historical background

(A i.8-12) I, My Majesty, [have taken you], Šaušgamuwa, [by the hand and] have made [you (my)] brother-in-law. You [shall not alter the words] of the treaty tablet which [I have made] for you!

(A i.13-27) [In the past] the land of Amurru had not been defeated by the force of arms of the land of Hatti. At the time when [Aziru] came to the (great)grandfather¹ of My Majesty, [Šuppilul]iuma, in the land of Hatti, the lands of Amurru² were still [hostile]; they [were] subjects of the king of Hurri. Even so, Aziru was loyal to him, although he did [not defeat him by force of arms. Aziru, your (great-great-)grandfather,¹ protected Šuppiluliuma as overlord, and he also protected the land of Hatti. Thereafter, he protected Muṣili as overlord, and he also protected the land of Hatti. In no way did he commit an offense against Hatti.

(A i.28-39) But when Muwatalli, the brother of My Majesty's father, reigned, the men of the land of Amurru committed an offense against him and announced to him as follows: "We were voluntary³ subjects, but now we are no longer your subjects." And they went after the king of the land of Egypt. The brother of My Majesty's father, Muwatalli, and the king of the land of Egypt fought over the men of the land of Amurru, and Muwatalli defeated him. He conquered the land of Amurru by the force of arms and subjugated it. And he made Šabili king in the land of Amurru.

(A i.40-48) When Muwatalli, the brother of My Majesty's father, died, the father of My Majesty, Ḫattušili, became king. He deposed Šabili and made Bentešina, your father, king in the land of Amurru. He protected the father of My Majesty and he also protected the land of Hatti. In no way did he commit an offense against Hatti.

Loyalty to the Hittite dynasty

(A ii.1-7) I, My Majesty, Great King, have taken you, Šaušgamuwa, by the hand, and have made you (my) brother-in-law. I gave you my sister in marriage and have made you king in the land of Amurru. Protect My Majesty as overlord, and thereafter protect the sons, grandsons, and offspring of My Majesty as overlords. You shall not desire another overlord⁴ for yourself. This matter should be placed under oath for you.

(A ii.8-19) Because I have made you, Šaušgamuwa, (my) brother-in-law, protect My Majesty as overlord. Thereafter protect the sons, the grandsons,

and the offspring of My Majesty as overlords. But you shall not desire anyone (else) as overlord from among those who are brothers of My Majesty, (or) those who are legitimate sons of secondary wives of My Majesty's father, (or) any other royal offspring who are bastards for you. You shall not behave like Mašturi: Muwatalli took Mašturi, who was king of the Šeḫa River Land, and made him (his) brother-in-law; he gave him his sister Massanauzzi⁵ in marriage, and he made him king of the Šeḫa River Land.

(A ii.20-38) But when Muwatalli died, Urḫi-Tešub, son of Muwatalli, became king. [My father] took away the kingship from Urḫi-Tešub.⁶ Mašturi committed treachery. Although it was Muwatalli who had taken him up and who had made him (his) brother-in-law, Mašturi did not protect his son Urḫi-Tešub,⁷ but went over to my father (thinking): "Should I protect a bastard? Should I *act on behalf of* a bastard's son?"⁸ Will you perhaps behave like Mašturi? If someone brings difficulties upon My Majesty, or upon the sons, the grandsons, or the offspring of My Majesty, and you, Šaušgamuwa, together with your wives, your sons, your troops and your chariots, do not help wholeheartedly, and are not ready to die for him, together with your wives and your sons — this shall be placed under oath for you.

Foreign relations and embargo on Assyria

(A iv.1-18) The kings who are equal to me (are) the king of Egypt, the king of Karanduniya (Babylon), the king of Assyria <and the king of Ahḫiyawa.>⁹ If the king of Egypt is My Majesty's friend, he shall also be your friend; but if he is My Majesty's enemy, he shall also be your enemy. And if the king of Karanduniya is My Majesty's friend, he shall also be your friend; but if he is My Majesty's enemy, he shall also be your enemy. Since the king of Assyria is My Majesty's enemy, he shall also be your enemy.¹⁰ Your merchant shall not enter into Assyria and you shall not allow his merchant into your land. He shall not pass through your land. But if he enters into your land, you should seize him and send him off to My Majesty.¹¹ This matter should be placed under oath for you.

¹ Lit. "grandfather" (written, over erasure).

² The "lands of Amurru" (in plural) refers to the Syrian states ruled by Mitanni before the Hittite takeover. See Singer 1991b and cf. Zaccagnini 1988.

³ Lit. "out of love."

⁴ Written over the erased "another offspring".

⁵ For the reading of the logographically written name DINGER.MES-IR, see Edel 1976:32f.

⁶ This sentence was added over an erasure.

⁷ The sentence "He committed a treachery" was erased, but can still be read on the tablet.

⁸ This sentence, the sense of which is not quite clear, was added above the line.

⁹ The last name has been erased, but is still clearly readable on the tablet.

¹⁰ The sentence on Assyria is written over erasure.

¹¹ This sentence and the remaining paragraph was squeezed in the column-divider.

(A iv.19-22)¹² Because I, My Majesty, have begun war with the king of Assyria, just as My Majesty, you should (also) go and mobilize (your) troops (and your) chariots. Just as it is a matter of urgency and *diligence* for My Majesty, it shall likewise be a matter of urgency and *diligence* for you. You should mobilize wholeheartedly (your)

troops (and) chariots. This matter should be placed under oath for you.

(A iv.23ff.) [Do not let] a ship of [Aḫḫ]iyawa¹³ go to him." [...] but when he dispatches them [...] the deity of your land [...].¹⁴

¹² This entire paragraph is written in minuscule script; the last line has been erased.

¹³ For a failed attempt to restore "[bat]de ship" instead of "ship of [Aḫḫ]iyawa", see Steiner 1989 and cf. Singer 1991a:171, n. 56.

¹⁴ The rest of the column is lost.

REFERENCES

Text: CTH 105 (only Hittite versions): A. 93 / w (+) KUB 23.1 + KUB 31.43 (+) KUB 23.37 (+) 720 / v (+) 670 / v. B. 1198 / u + 1436 / u + 69 / 821 + KUB 8.82. Editions: Kühne and Otten 1971. Studies: Sommer 1932:320-327; Radoszek 1950; Zaccagnini 1988; Steiner 1989; Singer 1991a; 1991b; Beal 1992; Klengel 1992:173; Beckman 1996:98-102; Cohen 1997; Bryce 1998; Klengel 1999.

THE TREATY OF TUDḪALIYA IV WITH KURUNTA OF TARḪUNTAŠŠA ON THE BRONZE TABLET FOUND IN ḪATTUŠA (2.18)

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

§1 (i.1-5) The words of the Tabarna, Tudḫaliya, Great King, King of the Land of Ḫatti, Hero, son of Ḫattušili (III), Great King, King of the Land of Ḫatti, Hero, grandson of Muršili (II), Great King, King of the Land of Ḫatti, Hero, great-grandson of Šuppiluliuma (I), Great King, King of the Land of Ḫatti, Hero, descendant (and namesake) of Tudḫaliya, Great King, King of the Land of Ḫatti, Hero.

Ḫattušili III and Kurunta

§2 (i.6-13) When my father, Ḫattušili (III), made war on Urḫi-Tešub (= Muršili III),¹ son of Muwatalli (II), he deposed him from kingship, but no treason was proven against Kurunta.² Kurunta was in no way involved in whatever treasonous acts the men of Ḫatti committed. Even before this, King Muwatalli had entrusted him to my father Ḫattušili to raise, and even before this, my father was raising him.

§3 (i.14-21) But when my father (Ḫattušili III) had deposed (Kurunta's older brother) Urḫi-Tešub from kingship, my father took Kurunta

and installed him in kingship in the land of Tarḫuntašša. And my father made treaty tablets for him (concerning) what obligations my father made for him and how he set boundaries for him, and Kurunta has them.³

Kurunta's Borders

His⁴ boundaries are set as follows: In the direction of the land of Pitašša (to the W?), Mt. Ḫawa and the *kanianna* of Zarniya and the city Šanantarwa are your boundary. But the *kanianna* of the town of Zarniya remains in the land of the Ḫulaya River, while the town of Šanantarwa remains in the land of Pitašša.

§4 (i.22-28) Previously in the direction of the land of Pitašša (to the WNW?) his⁵ boundary was the town of Nahhanta.⁶ But then my father reduced his territory,⁷ so that on the treaty tablet of my father the grotto springs⁸ of the town of Arimmatta were made his boundary. Now I, My Majesty, have reestablished for him the former boundary. So from the land of Pitašša: from the boundary of Arimmatta:

¹ This was the conflict that led to the overthrow of Urḫi-Tešub and the accession of Ḫattušili III. For the sequence of events in this conflict see Bryce 1998:284-288.

² A brother of Urḫi-Tešub. For general discussions of this man Kurunta see Otten 1988:3-5; van den Hout 1995:82-95; Bryce 1998:296ff., 335f., 354f., and Mora 1998. Kurunta depicted himself as "Great King" on a rock relief published by Dinçol 1998.

³ The tablets of the treaty with Ḫattušili III which Kurunta had in his possession at the time this new treaty was being made by Tudḫaliya IV would have been invalidated thereby.

⁴ Ulmi-Tešub Treaty variant (hereafter UTT): "your."

⁵ UTT also: "his."

⁶ The boundary descriptions in §4 differ from UTT obv. 19', which reads: "In the direction of the boundary of the land of Pitašša the grotto springs (KASKAL.KUR.MEŠ) of (the city) Arimmatta are his boundary."

⁷ Lit., "drew in his boundary."

⁸ Or "underground river." The word is the Sumerogram KASKAL.KUR, lit., "(divine) road (of) the netherworld." See Gordon 1967.

Nahhanta and Hauttašša form the boundary. Nahhanta and Hauttašša themselves belong to the land of the Hūlaya River.

- §5 (i.29-42) In the direction of Mt. Huwatnuwanta (to the NNW?), the *hallaḫpuwanza* is its/his border, but the *hallaḫpuwanza* belongs to the Hūlaya River Land. In the direction of Kuwarsawanta up behind, the *ḫuwaši* stone of the Dog is the boundary. In the direction of Ušša (to the N?), Zarata is its/his boundary, but the city Zarata (belongs) to the Hūlaya River Land. In the direction of Wanzataruwa the town Harazzuwa is his boundary, but Harazzuwa (itself) belongs to the Land of Ušša. In my father's first written treaty the town Šuttasna was his boundary in the direction of Mt. Kuwakuwalya. But later my father himself made the town Šantimma the boundary. Šantimma (itself), however, belongs to the Land of the Hūlaya River. In the direction of the towns Wanzatarwa and Kunzinasa his boundary is Mt. Arlanta and the town Alana. Alana belongs to the Land of the Hūlaya River, but the water which is on Mt. Arlanta belongs jointly to the Land of the Hūlaya River and Ḫatti.
- §6 (i.43-47) In the direction of the town Šinwanta, Mount Lula and the Dannaššara-Mountains form its boundary. But the city Ninainta belongs to the Hūlaya River Land. The TUKUL of the Gold Charioteer which is behind, belongs to His Majesty. In the direction of Zarnušašša, the city Harmima used to be its boundary. But I, My Majesty, made Uppaššana its boundary. Uppaššana itself belongs to the Hūlaya River Land.
- §7 (i.48-52) In the direction of Zarwiša Mt. Šarlammi, the grotto springs, and the water(s) of *ḫinnaru* are his boundary. In the direction of the high mountain (the city) Šaliya is his boundary. But (the city) Šaliya itself belongs to the land of Ḫatti. In the direction of Ušaula (the cities) Ḫaššuwanata, Mila, Palmata, Ḫašḫaša, Šura and Šimmuwanata form his boundary. But these cities belong to the Hūlaya River Land.
- §8 (i.53-67) In the direction of the territory of Ḫawaliya (to the NNE?), the cities Walwara, Ḫarḫašuwanta, Tarapa,⁹ Šarnanta, Tupiša, Parayašša and the *upati* of Nata form the boundary. But these cities and the *upati* of Nata belong to the Hūlaya River Land. In the direction of the "place" (on) the sea (to the

E?), the cities Mata, Šanhata, Šurimma, Šaranduwa, Ištapanna, the *upati* of Šalluša, Tatta, (and) Daša form his boundary. But these cities belong to the Hūlaya River Land. In the direction of the border-territory of Šaranduwa (to the S?), the sea is his boundary. In the direction of the border-territory of Parha (to the W),¹⁰ the Kaštaraya River¹¹ forms his boundary. And if the king of Ḫatti should undertake a campaign up against it (Parha?), and should take possession of the Land of Parha also by force of arms, then that (city) too would belong to the king of Tarḫuntašša. In the direction of the border-territory of Walma (to the WNW?), the cities Huwahhuwarwa, Alluprata, Kaparuwa, Ḫaššuwanata, Walippa (and) Wala form his boundary, but these cities belong to the Hūlaya River Land.

Hittite Enclaves in Tarḫuntašša

- §9 (i.68-90) These are cities of the king of Ḫatti which were inside the land of Tarḫuntašša: Anta, the ruined cities of Anta, Lahhuiyašši, Waštišša, Hudduwašša, Handawa, Daganza, Šimmuwa, Šahita, the men of Kamunama (as) Men of the Long Weapon, Wališšašša (and its) Golden Charioteers, Inurta, Wattanna, Malhuwalyata, Kašuriya, Šawiya, Pariyašša, Annauliliya, Puhanta, Gurtanašša, the pomegranate-men, Aralla, the men of Araunna, Uppaššana, the augurs — (insofar as) one resides within the borders of the land, they too are given (to Kurunta). From Mattarwanata (and) Parašša the tent men, from Dagannunta and Munanta the scribes of the *nuppaš* chest, from Ayara the custodians/keepers of *nawilaš*, from Tarapa¹² the spear men, from Wattašša (and) Talwišuwanta two TUKULs. The potters (remain) behind, and also the cupbearers remain behind: they are given to the gods of Tarḫuntašša. The *dudduḫšialla*-men from Iyasanta, the city Azzuwašši, the *ḫuwantala*-men from Wašḫaniya remain (or: are present). The *warpatala*-men from Adara as well as the cupbearers remain (or: are present). Respecting whatever *šarikuwaš* troops, craftsmen or Men of the Long Weapon remain in the land of Tarḫuntašša and the Hūlaya River Land, my father gave to him (i.e., to Kurunta) these cities with their mud (i.e., without additional population); he did not give them to him with population. Therefore I, Tudḫaliya, Great King, made a representation before my father

⁹ Perhaps the Derbe known in the Greco-Roman period.

¹⁰ Classical Perge in the Plain of Pamphylia.

¹¹ Classical Cestrus (modern Aksu) just to the East of Perge.

¹² Perhaps the Derbe known in the Greco-Roman period.

father, and he gave them (i.e., the cities) to him with population. But it is not written (so) on the treaty tablet of my father.

*Kurunta's Access to the Eternal Rock Mausoleum*¹³

§10 (i.91-101, ii.1-3) With respect to the matter of the eternal rock mausoleum, my father took it from the mouth of Maraššanta, (who had said:) "Kurunta should not approach the eternal rock mausoleum." My father (once) made a tablet for Maraššanta, which Maraššanta (still) has. But my father did not yet know how the wording of the eternal rock mausoleum inside (*andan*) the *kuntarra* of Tešub was (lit. "is") inscribed: how from now on the eternal rock mausoleum will never be taken away from Kurunta. Now when he came to hear the wording, my father reversed his ruling. And when I, Tudhaliya, Great King, succeeded to the throne, I sent a man who saw how the word of the eternal rock mausoleum inside the *kuntarra* of Tešub was inscribed: "from now on the eternal rock mausoleum will never be taken away from Kurunta." Therefore if Maraššanta ever brings the tablet which he has (which prohibited Kurunta from going up to the eternal rock mausoleum), let it not be accepted.

Changes in Boundaries

§11 (ii.4-20) No goatherd may go into the Hūlaya River Land, which is the boundary (area) of the land of Tarhuntašša. And if they drive up from the Hūlaya River Land to the Great Saltlick Rock,¹⁴ let them not take from him (i.e., Kurunta) the saltlick right(s). It is given to the king of Tarhuntašša, and he may regularly take the salt. My father Hattušili gave to Kurunta, king of Tarhuntašša, the town of Šarmana, Pantarwanta, and Mahrirma, together with their fields, grounds, meadows, sheep pastures, the whole saltlick, and the whole *liki*.¹⁵ Also I, My Majesty, Tudhaliya the Great King, have given them to him. Therefore let no other person en-

croach upon the salt of the town of Šarmana. And in Dunna one *kuwappala* has been given to the storm-god of lightning, and (yet) it remains (i.e., still belongs) to [the king] of Tarhuntašša. If Kurunta, the king of Tarhuntašša, subsequently "makes"¹⁶ one *kuwappala*, my father Hattušili, Great King, allowed it to him, and I Tudhaliya, Great King, allowed it to him also. So let it be allowed to him.

§12 (ii.21-30)¹⁷ Because all the Hittites supported(?) the gods of Tarhuntašša,¹⁸ they shall not appropriate those tribute payments and ritual provisions for the gods of Tarhuntašša from what my father gave to Kurunta, king of Tarhuntašša, and what I gave to him. But if now I, My Majesty, should choose some place for the (delivery of) cattle and sheep, who will appropriate it (as) the ritual provisions for the gods? They will begin to give to the gods of Tarhuntašša annually two hundred cattle and one thousand sheep. But if I do not give him any place, let them give annually to the gods of Tarhuntašša from the *ariyatt(a)*- of Hattuša two hundred cattle and one thousand sheep.

Tudhaliya and Kurunta as Childhood Friends

§13 (ii.31-42) I, Tudhaliya the Great King, before I became king, the god already previously had brought Kurunta and me together in friendship. Already previously we were dear and good to each other. We even were parties to an oath: "Each shall be loyal to the other."¹⁹ But at that time my father had placed an older brother²⁰ in the rank of *tuhukanti*.²¹ At that time he had not yet decided that I should become king. But even at that time Kurunta was loyal to me and swore allegiance to me personally as follows: "Even if your father does not install you in kingship, in whatever place your father puts you I will be loyal to you only. I am your servant." I too swore my allegiance to Ku-

¹³ On this section see Beal 1993.

¹⁴ On *lapana*- "saltlick" and its derivatives in Luwian and Hittite see Watkins 1997.

¹⁵ This word *liki*- does not occur in the corresponding passage in the UTT KBo 4.10 obv. 35, but of course MUN does. Melchert 1994:255 (cited with approval by Watkins) must be a native Hittite synonym of Luwian *lapana*-.

¹⁶ HW² 1:220 "(d.h., dem Gott gibt)." But perhaps rather it means "makes the one k. (previously given to the god his own)."

¹⁷ ii.21-80 has no antecedent in the preserved parts of UTT.

¹⁸ Cf. Gordon 1965 §7, obv. 41.

¹⁹ Cf. the friendship, mutual loyalty, and even oath between David and Jonathan (1 Sam 18-23, esp. 23:18).

²⁰ Bryce 1998:299f., who follows the view that Ulmi-Tešub is the same person as Kurunta and that the UTT belongs to Hattušili III and therefore precedes the Bronze Tablet, proposes that this "older brother" of Tudhaliya IV was Hattušili III's son Nerikkaili who as *tuhukanti*- heads the list of human witnesses in UTT. On this man see van den Hout 1995:95-105. The Nerikkaili of the Bronze Tablet witness list, who is called simply "prince" (DUMU LUGAL), might be another man, a son of Tudhaliya IV, although Otten and van den Hout think it more likely that he is the same person mentioned in UTT.

²¹ The Hittite (or Luwian) word *tuhukanti*- is generally thought to mean "crown prince", and although Houwink ten Cate 1992:262-63 argues it merely means "heir presumptive" or "second in line," a view that appears to be followed by van den Hout 1995, this would simply be the

Kurunta: "I too will be loyal to you."

a 1 Sam 18:
23

The Designation of Tudḫaliya

§14 (ii.43-52) But when my father deposed my brother, whom he had placed in the rank of *tuḫkanti-*, he installed me in kingship. And when my father saw the high regard and love which existed between Kurunta and me, my father brought us together and made us swear: "May each (of us) be loyal to the other." And so it was my father too who made us swear (to each other), and we became separately (i.e., independently) parties to a (mutual) oath. Kurunta was loyal to me: he never broke the oaths which he swore before me. And I, My Majesty, on my part promised him: "If the gods recognize me, so that I become king, nothing but good will come to you from me." ^a

The Death of Ḫattušili III

§15 (ii.53-56) But when my father at that time became a god (i.e., died), although (some) lands adopted a wait-and-see policy,²² even at that time Kurunta put his life on the line for me. He was loyal to me and broke none of the oaths which he had sworn.

§16 (ii.57-66) And when the deity took me, and I became king, I made the following treaty with Kurunta. I gave even cities which do not lie on the treaty tablet of my father together with field, fallow and NAM.RA, with everything, to be subjects of Kurunta, king of the land of Tarḫuntašša. (Respecting) whoever dwells in the Ḫulaya River Land, the entire (land)²³ remains subject to Kurunta, king of the Land of Tarḫuntašša. I redrew the boundaries in a manner favorable to him. I gave the eternal rock mausoleum back to him. In the future let no one take the eternal rock mausoleum away from the descendant of Kurunta.

Future Validity of Treaty

§17 (ii.67-78) In the future let this treaty be valid for Kurunta, king of the land of Tarḫuntašša, for as long as Tudḫaliya, (king) of the land of Ḫatti, keeps these. And let the descendant of Tudḫaliya thereafter keep the descendant of Kurunta in the land of Tarḫuntašša in

kingship in the same way. Let him not allow them to be killed or demoted(?).²⁴ As I, Tudḫaliya, Great King, am loyal to Kurunta, afterwards let my son and my grandson be loyal to the descendant of Kurunta in the same way. And as I am loyal to Kurunta—if he lacks something, I will compensate him. And if some difficulty (i.e., crisis)²⁵ befalls the descendant of Kurunta, let my son or my grandson compensate him in the same way; let him not allow him to be either destroyed or diminished.

The Carchemish Treaty

§18 (ii.79-83) Let the protocol of the king of the land of Carchemish be allowed to him with respect to the Great Throne. Let only the crown prince (of Ḫatti) be greater than the king of the land of Tarḫuntašša; let no one else be greater than he. What royal insignia/protocol²⁶ is allowed to the king of the land of Carchemish, let it be allowed also to the king of the land of Tarḫuntašša.

Kurunta's Wife, Heir, Successor

§19 (ii.84-94) Concerning what stands written on the treaty tablet of my father (Ḫattušili III): "Put in kingship in the land of Tarḫuntašša the son of the woman whom the (Hittite) queen²⁷ gives you as a wife," — when they made the treaty tablet during my father's reign, you, Kurunta, had not taken that woman. Whether now Kurunta takes that woman or doesn't take her, that ruling (of my father) will not be enforced. Whatever son Kurunta prefers, whether the son of his wife or the son of some other woman, whatever son is the choice of Kurunta, whatever son Kurunta prefers, let him place him in kingship in the land of Tarḫuntašša. Let no one overrule Kurunta in this matter.

Security of Kurunta's line even in the event of treason

§20 (ii.95-102, iii.1-20) Let this treaty be valid for Kurunta, his son and his grandson. I, My Majesty, will not throw out your son.²⁸ I will not accept (in your son's place) your brother or anyone else. Your descendant alone²⁹ will possess the land of Tarḫuntašša which I have

meaning of "crown prince" in English, "heir apparent to the throne."

²² Hittite: *arša tiyat*, translation after Owen 1988:19.

²³ Or perhaps: "everything."

²⁴ Luwian: *zantalanuna=ya*. Tentative translation based upon the apparent alternation with *tepnunmanzi=ya* in line 77.

²⁵ The same Hittite verb *nakkūzi* occurs below in §21 iii.22, 28. Whereas here in §17 (ii 76) it is parallel to *wakšiyazi* "is lacking" in ii.74, later in §21 it is parallel to *GÜB-ūšzi* "something unfortunate happens."

²⁶ Hittite *šaklāš*.

²⁷ That is, Puduḫepa.

²⁸ Lines ii.96-iii.20 recapitulate §2' (KBo 4.10 + KUB 40.69 + 1548/u obv. 7'-14') of Ḫattušili III's earlier treaty with the king of Tarḫuntašša. For a parallel aligned transliteration see van den Hout 1995:22-25.

²⁹ UTT: "your son and grandson."

given to you. They will not take it away from him. And even if some son or grandson of yours commits treason³⁰ (against Hatti), the king of the land of Hatti will examine him, and if treason is proved against him, they³¹ shall do to him whatever the king of the land of Hatti decides.³² ^b (iii.1) But they may not take from him his 'house' (i.e., his dynasty) and land, nor may he (i.e., the emperor)³³ give it to another descendant (i.e., to a brother or cousin, some other descendant of Muwatalli II). Or if — since the matter of the land of Tarhuntašša was subsequently formulated as follows: "In the future let no one take the kingship of the land of Tarhuntašša away from the (primary) line of Muwatalli's descendants" — someone does this thing: he gives it (i.e., the land) to another line of Muwatalli's descendants, thus taking it away from the descendant of Kurunta, let the storm-god of Hatti and the sun-goddess of Arinna destroy whoever does that thing. In the future let only the descendant of Kurunta hold kingship over the land of Tarhuntašša.³⁴ But let only a descendant on the male side hold³⁵ it; let them not accept the descendant of a daughter.³⁶ And³⁷ if some son or grandson of Kurunta exercises kingship over the land of Tarhuntašša, and some misfortune³⁸ befalls him (lit. "someone") because of a god's decision (lit. word of a god), so that he must relinquish the kingship of Tarhuntašša, let them take only a descendant of Kurunta and install him in kingship in the land of Tarhuntašša. Let them not give it to any other descendant. If he has no descendant in the male line,³⁹ let them search for a descendant of the daughter of Kurunta. Even if it (scil. the descendant) is in a foreign country, let them bring it back even from there, and let them install him/her in kingship⁴⁰ in the land of Tarhuntašša.

^b 1 Sam 20; 22:16;
2 Sam 19:23;
1 Kgs 2:42

c 1 Kgs 22

Kurunta's line must ensure the succession and permanence of Tudhaliya's descendants

§21 (iii.21-31)⁴¹ If some descendant (lit. seed) of Tudhaliya exercises kingship in the land of Hatti, and some difficulty⁴² befalls him, whatever descendant of Kurunta exercises kingship in the land of Tarhuntašša should be ready to die for him.⁴³ And just as Kurunta was loyal to Tudhaliya, so afterwards the descendant of Kurunta should also be loyal to the descendant of Tudhaliya. The descendant of Kurunta should also be loyal to the descendant of Tudhaliya and should not allow him to die or be demoted. If some difficulty befalls the descendant of Tudhaliya, and he must step down from the kingship of the land of Hatti, what descendant of Kurunta stands in kingship in the land of Tarhuntašša must make war on the (new) king of Hatti; he must not serve (him).

Tarhuntašša's obligation to provide troops

§22 (iii.32-42)⁴⁴ My father, Hattušili, abolished for him (Kurunta) the (providing of) chariotry and infantry of the Hūlaya River Land which the administration holds for you (Kurunta) in Hatti, and I too, My Majesty, Great King, have abolished it for him. In the future a contingent of 100 foot soldiers supplied by him shall march on a campaign of the land of Hatti. The administration may not demand further troops from him. Whenever a troop contingent is demanded of him, they shall require no more than 100 foot soldiers and no chariotry at all. But if a king of equal status arises against the Hittite king, or if My Majesty initiates a campaign from the Lower Land,⁴⁵ a contingent of 200 foot soldiers may be recruited from him. But they may not serve as garrison troops.

³⁰ Lit. "sins" (*waštai*).

³¹ UTT: "he."

³² Lit. "whatever is the wish of the king of the land of Hatti." UTT then adds: "If he deserves to die, he shall die."

³³ UTT: "nor may they give"

³⁴ UTT lacks "Or if ... destroy whoever does that thing" and instead of "let only the descendant of Kurunta hold ..." reads "let only the descendant of Ulmi-Tesub take"

³⁵ UTT: "take."

³⁶ UTT: "let them not accept a daughter."

³⁷ The next two sentences in my English translation are lacking in UTT.

³⁸ GUB-līšzi; see notes on §§17 and 21.

³⁹ UTT adds: "then let it be retracted, and."

⁴⁰ UTT: "in lordship."

⁴¹ §21 had no antecedent in UTT.

⁴² Hittite: *nakkišzi*. See above note on §17.

⁴³ Cp. the willingness of Jehoshaphat of Judah to risk death in battle to assist his ally, Ahab of Israel (1 Kgs 22).

⁴⁴ iii.32-36 are paralleled in UTT obv. 42'-44'.

⁴⁵ An area adjacent to Tarhuntašša.

Tarḫuntašša's exemption from taxes and corvée

§23 (iii.43-56) Concerning the fact that the entire land belongs to him and that as a whole it forms his front line of border posts — if now a call for help arises from somewhere, no one may require help from the Hūlaya River Land. And against the cities in the midst of the land of Ḫatti, in the midst of the territory of Mt. Huwatnuwanta, in the midst of Kizzuwatna, Ḫurniya, Ikkuwaniya, and Pitašša — which belong in whatever land to the storm-god of lightning, the god of Parša, Šauška of Inuita, the cities that belong to the house of the king of Tarḫuntašša — against them no obligation to taxes and corvée shall stand. No call for military assistance is binding upon them. No one shall pester them to require taxes and corvée. For the sake of the gods of Tarḫuntašša I have exempted them.

§24 (iii.57-77) Concerning this which my father (Ḫattušili III) gave to Kurunta, and what I, My majesty, gave to him, the treaty which we made for him, in the future let no one change it. When I, My Majesty, carefully reviewed the taxes and corvée of the gods of (Kurunta), the king of Tarḫuntašša, (I saw that) it was too burdensome and that he could not manage it. What cult procedure the king of Tarḫuntašša supports in the land of Tarḫuntašša, corresponds to the procedure of Ḫattuša, Arinna and Zippalanda. Because the support of ceremonies and provisions for the gods was too burdensome for him, I remitted what my father and I, My Majesty, gave to Kurunta, for the sake of the Tešub of Lightning, Šarruma son of Tešub, and all the gods of Tarḫuntašša, and I exempted him. Let no one⁴⁶ take anything away from him. Let no one subject him to taxes and corvée. Whoever should take away the kingship of the land of Tarḫuntašša from a descendant of Kurunta or reduce it or command that it be abolished or should take away from him whatever my father and I have given him, or should alter a single word of this tablet,⁴⁷ may the sun-goddess of Arinna and the storm-god of Ḫatti take away the kingship of the land of Ḫatti from that person.

The divine witnesses to the treaty

§25 (iii.78-98, iv.1-4) The Thousand Gods⁴⁷ have now been called to assembly for (attesting the contents of) this treaty tablet that I have just executed for you. Let them see, hear, and be witnesses thereto — the sun-god of heaven,

d Deut 4:2;
13:1 [12:32]

e Deut 4:26;
30:19; 31:28

f Ezek 6:3;
36:1, 4;
Micah 6:1-2

g Deut 4:2;
13:1 [12:32]

the sun-goddess of Arinna, the storm-god of heaven, the storm-god of Ḫatti, the storm-god of the army, the storm-god of Ḫiššašhapa, the storm-god of Zippalanda, the storm-god of Nerik, the storm-god of Aleppo, the storm-god of Uda, the storm-god of Kizzuwatna, the storm-god of Šamuḫa, the storm-god of Šapinuwa, the mighty storm-god, the storm-god of lightning, the (god) of *lulu*, the patron god, the patron god of Ḫatti, Āla, Karzi, Ḫapantaliya, the patron god of the countryside, the patron god of the hunting bag,⁴⁸ Zithariya, Šarruma, Ḫebat the queen of heaven, Ḫebat of Uda, Ḫebat of Kizzuwatna, Šawuška of Šamuḫa, Šawuška of the countryside, Šawuška of Lawazantiya, Šawuška of Nineveh, Šawuška of Ḫattarina, Ninatta, Kulitta, the moon-god king of the oath, NIN.GAL queen of the oath, Išhara goddess of Aruḫna, the warrior-god, the warrior-god of Ḫatti, the warrior-god of Ellaya, the warrior-god of Arziya, Yarri, Zappana, Ḫantitaššu of Ḫurma, Abara of Šamuḫa, Ḫataḫḫa of Ankuwa, Ammama of Taḫurpa, GAZ.BA.A.A of Ḫubišna, Ḫallara of Duma, Lelwani, the *lulahḫi*- and *ḫabiri*-gods, (all) the male and female deities, heaven and earth,⁴⁹ the great sea, the mountains, rivers and springs of the land of Ḫatti and of the land of Tarḫuntašša.

(iv.5-15) If you, Kurunta, fail to comply with these treaty clauses, and do not remain loyal to My Majesty and subsequently the descendants of My Majesty as your rulers, or if you should desire for yourself the kingship of the land of Ḫatti, or if you side with someone who causes trouble for My Majesty or for the descendants of My Majesty instead of making war against him, then may these oath-deities destroy you together with your posterity. But if you, Kurunta, take to heart the words of this tablet, and you desire My Majesty and subsequently the descendants of My Majesty as your rulers, and you remain loyal to them, then may these same deities take good care of you, and may you grow old under the protection of My Majesty.

§26 (iv.16-29) But whoever causes trouble for Kurunta in this land and takes it away from him, or subsequently takes it away from the descendant of Kurunta, or reduces his territory, or takes anything away that I have given to him, or alters even a single word of this tablet,⁴⁹ may these oath-deities destroy

⁴⁶ That is, no future king of Ḫatti.

⁴⁷ The official term for the Hittite pantheon.

⁴⁸ Cf. above COS 2.2.17B, note 19.

him. What I, My Majesty, have given to Kurunta, king of the land of Tarḫuntašša, and what borders I have set for him, no one must ever take away from the descendants of Kurunta. Not even the king (of Ḫatti) should ever take them and give them to his son. He must not give them to any other descendant. Let no one contest his right to it. Let only the direct line of Kurunta's descendants possess the kingship of the land of Tarḫuntašša forever. Whoever causes trouble for him and takes something away from him may these oath-deities destroy together with that man's posterity.

Is Deut 10:2

Šarruma, Prince En-Šarruma, Alalimi chief of the military tribunes, Alantalli king of the land of Mera,⁵⁰ Bentešina king of the land of Amurru, Šaḫurunuwa chief of the wood scribes, Ḫattuša-LAMMA the field marshal, GAL-^{du} chief of the chariot drivers, Huršaniya the field marshal, Zuzupḫa chief of the chariot warriors, Šalikka chief of the guards of the right side, Tapa-ziti the decurio, Tutu commander of the storehouses, Walwa-ziti chief of the scribes, Kammaliya chief scribe of the kitchen staff, Nana-zi chief of the scribes and overseer of the food-servers — and all sorts of military commanders, magistrates and all the royal family.

§27 (iv.30-43) Ḫalwa-ziti, the scribe, the son of Lupakki of Ukkiya, inscribed this tablet in the city of Tawa in the presence of the following witnesses: Prince Nerikkaili, Ḫuzziya the chief of the palace guards, Prince Kurakura, Ini-Tešub king of Carchemish, Mašturi king of the Šeḫa River Land,⁴⁹ Šauška-muwa the king's son-in-law, Uppara-muwa the *anduwašalli*, Tattamaru the chief of the guard of the left side, Prince Eḫli-Šarruma, Aba-muwa chief of the chariot drivers, Prince Ḫešmi-Šarruma, Prince Taki-

*Colophon*⁵¹

(iv.44-51) This (treaty) was made into seven tablets and sealed with the seals of the sun-goddess of Arinna and the storm-god of Ḫatti. One tablet was placed before the sun-goddess of Arinna,⁵² ^a one before the storm-god of Ḫatti, one before Letwani, one before Ḫebat of Kizzuwatna, one before the storm-god of lightning, and one in the king's house before Ziḫariya. And Kurunta, king of Tarḫuntašša, keeps one in his house.

⁴⁹ Located on the western end of Asia Minor.

⁵⁰ Located on the western end of Asia Minor.

⁵¹ On this colophon see Börker-Klähn 1993.

⁵² Cp. the keeping of the two tablets of the Sinai covenant in the ark of the testimony (Deut 10:2).

REFERENCES

Edition: Otten 1988. Other Tarḫuntašša treaties and protocols: CTH 96 (544/f, treated in SBo II [1942] 10f., 82); CTH 97 (SBoT 57); CTH 106 (KBo 4.10 + +, edited van den Hout 1995). Studies: Beal 1993; Beckman 1989-1990; Börker-Klähn 1993; Börker-Klähn 1994; Bryce 1998; Dinçol 1998; Heinhold-Krahmer 1991-92; Hoffner 1992; Houwink ten Cate 1992; Imparati 1992a; Imparati 1992b; 1992c; Laroche 1948; Melchert 1990; Mora 1998; Otten 1989; Singer 1996; Stefanini 1992; Sørensen 1992; van den Hout 1984.

2. LAWS

HITTITE LAWS (2.19)

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

The Hittite laws were first written down in the Old Kingdom (ca. 1650-1500 BCE). They are therefore later than the Sumerian law collections of Ur-Nammu and Lipit-Ishtar and the Akkadian laws of Eshnunna and Hammurabi, but earlier than the Middle Assyrian laws and the laws of the Hebrew Bible. A New Kingdom revision (KBo 6.4), called the Late Parallel Version and abbreviated PT for "Parallel Text," contains 41 sections numbered with roman numerals. I have interleaved the Late Parallel Version with the Main Version of Series One in the manner of Goetze 1969. In order to distinguish it more clearly from the copies of the Old Hittite recension I have indented the translation of paragraphs from the Late Parallel Version. Two paragraphs from the Old Hittite Telipinu Edict, edited by Hoffmann 1984, have been appended in order to supply the Hittite law on murder.

§1	[If] anyone kills ^a [a man] or a woman in a [quarrel], ^b he shall [bring him] (for burial) and shall give 4 persons (lit. heads), male or female respectively. He shall look [to his house for it.] ¹	^a Exod 21:12	§IV	(= late version of §6) If a man is found killed on another person's property, if he is a free man, he shall give his property, house, and 6040 shekels of silver. If it is a woman, he shall give (no property, but) 120 shekels of silver. But if (the place where the dead person was found) is not private property, but uncultivated open country, they shall measure 3 miles in all directions, ^c and whatever village is determined to lie within that radius, he shall take those (same payments from the villagers). ⁶ If there is no village, he shall forfeit (his claim).
§2	[If] anyone kills ^c [a male] or female slave in a quarrel, he shall bring him (for burial) [and] shall give [2] persons (lit. heads), male or female respectively. He shall look to his house for it.	^b Exod 21:18 ^c Exod 21:20		
§3	[If] anyone strikes a free [man] or woman so that he dies, but it is an accident, ² ^d he shall bring him (for burial) and shall give 2 persons (lit. heads). He shall look to his house for it.	^d Deut 19:5-6; Num 35 ^e Deut 21:1-2		
§4	If anyone strikes a male or female slave so that he dies, but it is an accident, he shall bring him (for burial) and shall give one person (lit. head). He shall look to his house for it.	^f Exod 21:24; Lev 24:20; Deut 19:21 ^g Exod 21:26-27	§7	If anyone blinds a free person or knocks out his tooth, ⁷ / they used to pay 40 shekels of silver. But now he shall pay 20 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.
§II	(= late version of §§3-4) [If anyone] strikes [a (free) man,] so that he dies, but it is an accident, [he shall pay ... shekels of silver.] If it is a (free) woman (or) a female slave (or: if the woman is a slave), he shall pay 80 shekels of silver. ³	^h Exod 21:18-19	§V	(= late version of §7) If anyone blinds a free man in a quarrel, he shall pay 40 shekels of silver. If it is an accident, he shall pay 20 shekels of silver.
§5	If anyone kills a merchant (variant: a Hittite merchant) ⁴ (in a foreign land), he shall pay 4,000 shekels (lit. 100 minas) of silver. He shall look to his house for it. If it is in the lands of Luwiya (= Arzawa) or Pala, he shall pay the 4,000 shekels of silver and also replace his goods. If it is in the land of Hatti, he shall (also) bring the merchant himself (for burial).		§8	If anyone blinds a male or female slave or knocks out his tooth, ⁸ he shall pay 10 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.
§III	(= late version of §5) [If] anyone kills a Hittite [merchant] in the midst of his goods, he shall pay [... s minas hekels of silver], and he shall make threefold compensation for his goods. But [if] (the merchant) is not in possession of goods, and someone kills him in a quarrel, he shall pay 240 shekels of silver. If it is only an accident, he shall pay 80 shekels of silver.		§VI	(= late version of §8) If anyone blinds a male slave in a quarrel, he shall pay 20 shekels of silver. If it is an accident, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver.
§6	If a person, man or woman, is killed in another city, (the victim's heir) shall deduct 12,000 square meters (= 3 acres) ⁵ from the land of the person on whose property the person was killed and shall take it for himself.		§VII	(= late version of §§7-8) If anyone knocks out a free man's tooth — if he knocks out 2 or 3 teeth — he shall pay 12 shekels of silver. If it is a slave, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver.
			§9	If anyone injures a person's head, they used to pay 6 shekels of silver: the injured party took 3 shekels of silver, and they used to take 3 shekels of silver for the palace. But now the king has waived the palace share, so that only the injured party takes 3 shekels of silver.
			§VIII	(= late version of §9) If anyone injures a (free) man's head, the injured man shall take 3 shekels of silver.
			§10	If anyone injures a person and temporarily incapacitates him, he shall provide medical care for him. In his place he shall provide a person to work on his estate until he recovers. When he recovers, (his assailant) shall pay him 6 shekels of silver and shall pay the physician's fee as well. ⁶

¹ The significance of this phrase has been much debated (Güterbock and Hamp 1956; Haase 1956; 1962; Souček 1961; Güterbock 1983b). I favor Güterbock's view that the claimant person entitled to make a claim in the case is entitled to recover damages from the estate of the perpetrator.

² Lit., "(only) his hand is at fault."

³ Given the price of a slave, this fine of 2 minas (= 80 shekels) seems inordinately high.

⁴ So OH manuscript. NH reads "a Hittite merchant."

⁵ Hittite: 100 *gipeššar* = 3.3 iku = 3 acres = 1 hectare, worth about 8.25 shekels silver according to §183. The fine in the late version (all his land plus 40 shekels) is much higher.

⁶ Or perhaps: "he shall take those very (people who inhabit the village)."

⁷ Cf. §§18-22.

§IX (= late version of §10) If anyone injures a free man's head, he shall provide medical care for him. In his place he shall provide a person to work on his estate until he recovers. When he recovers, (his assailant) shall pay him 10 shekels of silver and shall pay the 3 shekel physician's fee as well. If it is a slave, he shall pay 2 shekels of silver.	f Exod 21:22 j Exod 21:16; Deut 24:7; Amos 1:6 * Exod 20:17; Deut 5:21	[if] it is her tenth month, ¹¹ he shall pay 10 shekels of silver, if it is her fifth month, he shall pay 5 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.
§11 If anyone breaks a free person's arm or leg, he shall pay him 20 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.		§XVI (= late version of §17) If anyone causes a free woman to miscarry, ¹² he shall pay 20 shekels of silver.
§X (= late version of §11) If anyone breaks a free man's arm or leg, if (the injured man) is permanently handicapped(?), he shall pay him 20 shekels of silver. If he is not permanently handicapped(?), he shall pay him 10 shekels of silver.		§18 If anyone causes a female slave to miscarry, ¹² if it is her tenth month, he shall pay 5 shekels of silver.
§12 If anyone breaks a male or female slave's arm or leg, he shall pay 10 shekels ⁸ of silver. He shall look to his house for it.		§XVII (= late version of §18) If anyone causes a female slave to miscarry, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver. [...]
§XI (= late version of §12) If anyone breaks a slave's arm or leg, if he is permanently handicapped(?), he shall pay him 10 shekels of silver. If he is not permanently handicapped(?), he shall pay him 5 shekels of silver.		§19a If a Luwian abducts ¹³ a free person, man or woman, from the land of Hatti, and leads him away to the land of Luwiya/Arzawa, and subsequently the abducted person's "owner" ¹³ recognizes him, (the abductor) shall forfeit (lit. bring) his entire house. ¹⁴
§13 If anyone bites off the nose of a free person, he shall pay 40 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.		§19b If a Hittite abducts a Luwian man in the land of Hatti itself, and leads him away to the land of Luwiya, formerly they gave 12 persons (lit. heads), but now he shall give 6 persons. He shall look to his house for it.
§XII (= late version of §13) If anyone bites off the nose of a free man, he shall pay 30 minas (i.e., 1,200 shekels) ⁹ of silver. He shall look to his house for it.		§20 If a Hittite man abducts a Hittite male slave ⁸ from the land of Luwiya, and leads him here to the land of Hatti, and subsequently the abducted person's owner recognizes him, (the abductor) shall pay him 12 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.
§14 If anyone bites off the nose of a male or female slave, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.		§21 If anyone abducts the male slave of a Luwian man from the land of Luwiya and brings him to the land of Hatti, and his owner (later) recognizes him, (the owner) shall only take (back) his own slave: there shall be no compensation.
§XIII (= late version of §14) If anyone bites off the nose of a male or female slave, he shall pay 15 minas (i.e., 600 shekels) ¹⁰ of silver.		§22a If a male slave runs away, and someone brings him back, if he seizes him nearby, he shall give him (i.e., the finder) shoes.
§15 If anyone tears off the ear of a free person, he shall pay 12 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.		§22b If (he seizes him) on the near side of the (Marašanta) River, he shall pay 2 shekels of silver. If on the far side of the river, he shall pay him 3 shekels of silver.
§XIV (= late version of §15) If anyone tears off the ear of a free man, he shall pay 12 shekels of silver.		§23a If a male slave runs away and goes to the land of Luwiya, (his owner) shall pay 6 shekels of silver to whomever brings him back.
§16 If anyone tears off the ear of a male or female slave, he shall pay him 3 shekels of silver.		§23b If a male slave runs away and goes into an enemy country, whoever brings him back shall keep him for himself.
§XV (= late version of §16) If anyone tears off the ear of a male or female slave, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver.		§24 If a male or female slave runs away, he/she at whose hearth his/her owner finds him/her
§17 If anyone causes a free woman to miscarry,		

⁸ Later variant: "6 shekels."

⁹ Perhaps a scribal error for "30 shekels." See also in §XIII.

¹⁰ Perhaps a scribal error for "15 shekels."

¹¹ Remainder of the paragraph in manuscript C reads: "he shall pay 20 shekels of silver."

¹² Remainder of the paragraph in manuscript C reads: "he shall pay 10 shekels of silver."

¹³ Since the victim is a free person, "owner" probably indicates only the head of his household.

¹⁴ Or: "(The claimant) shall confiscate(?) his (i.e., the abductor's) entire house." See Hoffner 1997b 30 note 46.

	shall pay one month's wages: 12 shekels of silver for a man, 6 shekels of silver for a woman. ¹⁵	f Deut 24:1-4; Jer 3:1; Mal 2:16	but afterwards the father and mother abrogate reject ²⁶ it (sc. the agreement), they shall separate her from the man, but they ²⁷ shall restore the brideprice double.
§25a	[If] a person is impure in a vessel or a vat, ¹⁶ they used to pay 6 shekels of silver: s/he who is impure/guilty pays 3 shekels of silver, ¹⁷ and they used to take 3 shekels for the [king]'s house. ¹⁸	m Gen 30:20; 1 Kgs 9:16	§XXII (= late version of §29) [<i>Too broken for connected translation.</i>]
§25b	But now the king has [waived] the palace's share. S/he who is impure/guilty only pays 3 shekels of silver. ¹⁹ S/he shall look to his/her house for it.	n Deut 28:30; Judg 15:1-3	§30 But if before a man has taken the daughter (sexually) he refuses her, he shall forfeit the brideprice which he has paid.
§26a	If a woman re[fuses] ²⁰ a man, [the man] shall give [her ...], and [the woman shall take] a wage for her seed. ²¹ But the man [shall take the land] and the children. [...]	a Exod 22:15-16; Deut 22:28-29; 2 Sam 3:14	§XXIII (= late version of §30) If a man [...] a young woman, the brideprice which [he paid, ...].
§26b	But if a man divor[ces] ²² a woman, [and she ...], he shall [sell her.] Whoever buys her [shall] pa[y him] 12 shekels of silver.	p Exod 21:2-11	§31 If a free man and a female slave are lovers and come together (i.e., live together), and he takes her as his wife, and they make a house and children, but (if) afterwards either they become estranged or they each find a new marriage partner, they shall divide the house equally, and the man shall take the children, with the woman taking one child.
§27	If a man takes his wife and leads [her] away to his house, he shall carry her dowry ²³ in (to his house). If the woman [dies] th[ere] (in his house), they shall burn her personal possessions, and the man shall take her dowry. If she dies in her father's house, and there [are] children, ²² the son(s) is/are his, but the man shall not [take] her dowry.		§XXIV (= late version of §31) [<i>Too broken for connected translation.</i>]
§28a	If a daughter (or: young woman) has been promised to a man, but another man runs off with her, he who runs off with her shall give to the first man whatever he paid and shall compensate him. ²³ The father and mother (of the woman) shall not make compensation.		§32 If a male slave [takes] a [free] woman (in marriage), [and they make a home and children, when they divide their house], (if they separate,) they shall divide their possessions [equally, and the free woman shall take] most of [the children,] with [the male slave taking] one child.
§28b	If her father and mother give her to another man, ²⁴ the father and mother shall make compensation (to the first man).		§33 (Translation of A) If a male slave takes a female slave (in marriage), [and they have children,] when they divide their house, they shall divide their possessions equally, [the slave woman shall take] most of the children, with the male slave [taking] one child.
§28c	If the father and mother refuse (to do so), ²⁴ they shall separate her from him. ²⁵		§34 If a male slave pays a brideprice for a woman and takes her as his wife, no one shall free her from slavery. ²⁶
§XX	(= late version of §28) [<i>Too broken for connected translation.</i>]		§XXVI (= late version of §32 or 34) If a male slave [..., and takes] her [in] ma[rriage...]
§XXI	[<i>Too broken for connected translation</i>]		§35 If a herdsman ²⁸ [takes]elopes with a free woman [in marriage] and does not pay a brideprice for her, she will become a slave for ²⁹ (only) 3 years. ³⁰
§29	If a daughter has been betrothed (lit. bound) to a man, and he pays a brideprice ²⁶ for her,		

¹⁵ So the OH manuscript. The NH manuscript substitutes: "shall pay one year's wages: 100 shekels of silver for a man, 50 shekels of silver for a woman."

¹⁶ Although the Hittite wording cannot support the translation "brings impurity into a vessel or vat," yet the act referred to must be urinating or in some other manner defiling the vessel and its contents.

¹⁷ Another manuscript reads "[the victim] ta[kes] 3 shekels of silver."

¹⁸ So the OH manuscript. The NH manuscript has: "for the palace."

¹⁹ Another manuscript reads: "The victim [takes three shekels of silver]."

²⁰ Another manuscript reads: "divorces."

²¹ I.e., she shall be paid for the number of children she has borne?

²² Variant: "and he/she has a son."

²³ Another manuscript reads: "As soon as (*kusšan*) he runs off ... they (i.e., the parents) shall compensate ..."

²⁴ Another manuscript reads: "But if it is not the wish of the father and mother."

²⁵ Another manuscript adds: "who runs off with her."

²⁶ Same verb (*hulle-*) as in §173a.

²⁷ Another manuscript has a singular verb.

²⁸ So the OH manuscript. The NH manuscript substitutes: "If a steward or a herdsman."

²⁹ Or, less likely: "after." See §175.

³⁰ So the OH manuscript. NH reads: "If a steward or a herdsman elopes with a free woman and does not pay a brideprice for her, she will

- §36 If a slave pays a brideprice for a free young man and acquires him as a son-in-law, no one shall free him from slavery.
- §37 If anyone elopes with a woman, and a group of supporters goes after them, if 3 or 2 men are killed, there shall be no compensation: "You (singular) have become a wolf."
- §38 If persons are engaged in a lawsuit, and some supporter goes to them, if a litigant becomes furious and strikes the supporter, so that he dies, there shall be no compensation.
- §XXXII (= late version of §38) If a person [...], and if/when [a supporter(?) ...] and he/she becomes angry [...], and he/she dies, [if(?) ...], and he/she dies, [...].
- §39 But if he holds another person's land, he shall perform the *šahhan*-services entailed by it. [But if] he refuses(?)³¹ [the *šahhan*-obligation,] he shall relinquish the land: he shall not sell it.
- §XXXIII (= late version of §39) If [anyone holds] vacated [land], he shall work [it,] and not [...]
- §40 If a man who has a TUKUL-obligation defaults, and a man owing *šahhan*-services has stepped (in his place), the man owing *šahhan*-services shall say: "This is my TUKUL-obligation, and this other is my obligation for *šahhan*-services." He shall secure for himself a sealed deed concerning the land of the man having the TUKUL-obligation, he shall hold the TUKUL-obligation and perform the *šahhan*-services. But if he refuses the TUKUL-obligation, they will declare the land to be that of a man having a TUKUL-obligation who has defaulted,³² and the men of the village will work it.³³ If the king gives an *arnuwalaš*-man, they will give him land, and he will become a TUKUL-(man).
- §XXX (= late version of §40) If a free man [defaults], and a man owing *šahhan*-services [has stepped in his place, the man owing *šahhan*-services shall declare: "This is my [...], and this other is [my] obligation for *šahhan*-services." He shall secure for himself a sealed deed concerning [the land of the man having the ...-obligation, he shall ... the ...-obligation] and perform [the *šahhan*-services. But if he refuses the ...-obligation, they will declare the land] vacated, [and the men of the village will work it]. If the king [gives an *arnuwala*-man], they will give [him
- land, and he will become a ...-(man)].
- §41 If a man owing *šahhan*-services defaults, and a man having a TUKUL-obligation has stepped in his place, the man having the TUKUL-obligation shall say: "This is my TUKUL-obligation, and this other is obligation for *šahhan*-services." He shall secure for himself a sealed deed concerning the land of the man owing *šahhan*-services. He shall hold the TUKUL-obligation and perform the *šahhan*-services. But if he refuses (to do) the *šahhan*-services, they will take for the palace the land of the man owing *šahhan*-services. And the obligation for *šahhan*-services shall cease.
- §XXXI (= late version of §41) [See §41 for probable translation.]
- §42 If anyone hires a person, and that person goes on a military campaign³⁴ and he is killed, if the hire has been paid, there shall be no compensation. But if the hire has not been paid, the hirer shall give one slave.³⁵
- §43 If a man is crossing a river with his ox, and another man pushes him off (the ox's tail), seizes the tail of the ox, and crosses the river, but the river carries off the owner of the ox, (the dead man's heirs) shall take that man (who pushes him off).
- §44a If anyone shoves a man into a fire, so that he dies, (the guilty party) shall give one person (lit. head) a son in return.
- §44b If anyone performs a purification ritual on a person, he shall dispose of the remnants (of the ritual) in the incineration dumps. But if he disposes of them in someone's house,³⁶ it is sorcery (and) a case for the king.
- §XXXIV (= late version of §44b?) ... and he shall make it ritually pure again. If in the house anything goes wrong, he shall make it pure again. And he shall make compensation for whatever is lost.
- §45 If anyone finds implements, [he shall bring] them back to their owner. He (the owner) will reward him. But if (the finder) does not give them (back), he shall be considered a thief.
- §XXXV (= late version of §§45 and 71) If anyone finds implements or an ox, a sheep, a horse, (or) an ass, he shall drive it back to its owner, and (the owner) will lead it away. But if he cannot find its owner, he shall secure witnesses (that he is only maintaining custody).

become a slave for (only) 3 years."

³¹ One NH manuscript has "releases," while another has "casts off," "rejects."

³² A later manuscript reads "they declare the land of the TUKUL-man vacant."

³³ A later manuscript reads "men will work it for the village."

³⁴ Or: "on a (business) trip."

³⁵ A later manuscript adds: "And as hire he shall pay 12 shekels of silver. As the hire of a woman he shall pay 6 shekels of silver."

³⁶ Another manuscript reads: "on someone's land or house."

- Afterwards (when) its owner finds it, he shall produce it according to the law — carry off in full what was lost. But if he does not secure witnesses, and afterwards its owner finds it (in his possession), he shall be considered a thief,³⁷ and he shall make threefold compensation.
- §46 If in a village someone holds land (lit. fields) as an inheritance share, if the [larger part of] the land has been given to him/her, (s)he shall render the *luzzi*-services. But if the sm[aller part] (of) the land [has been given] to him/her, (s)he shall not render the *luzzi*-services: they shall render them from the house of his/her father.³⁷ If an heir cuts out for himself new(?) idle land, or the men of the village give land to him/her (in addition to his inherited land), (s)he shall render the *luzzi*-services (on the new land).
- §XXXVIII (= late version of §46) If anyone holds land and obligation to perform *šahhan*-services as an inheritance share in a village, if the land was given him in its entirety, he shall render the *luzzi*-services. If the land was not given him in its entirety, but only a small portion was given to him, he shall not render the *luzzi*-services. They shall render them from his father's estate. If the land of the heir is vacated, and the men of the village give him (other public) land, he shall render the *luzzi*-services.
- §47a If anyone holds land by a royal grant, [he shall] not [have to render] *šahhan*- and *luzzi*-services. Furthermore, the king shall provide him with food at royal expense.³⁸
- §47b If anyone buys all the land of a man having a TUKUL-obligation, he shall render the *luzzi*-services. But if he buys only the largest portion of the land, he shall not render the *luzzi*-services. But if he carves out for himself new idle land, or the men of the village give (him land), he shall render the *luzzi*-services.
- §XXXVI (= late version of §47a) If anyone holds land by a royal grant, he shall perform the *luzzi*-services. But if the king exempts him, he shall not perform the *luzzi*-services.
- §XXXVII (= late version of §47b) If anyone buys all the land of a TUKUL-man, and the (former) owner of the land dies, (the new owner) shall perform whatever (*šahhan*-services) the king determines. But if the (former) owner is still living, or (there is) an estate of the (former) owner of the land, whether in that country or another country, he shall not perform the *šahhan*-services.
- §XXXIXa (= late version of §47) If anyone holds land by a royal grant, he shall perform the *luzzi*-services devolving on the land. If they exempt him from the palace, he shall not render the *luzzi*-services.
- §XXXIXb If anyone buys all the land of a TUKUL-man, they shall ask the king, and he shall render whatever *luzzi*-services the king says. If he buys in addition someone (else)'s land, he shall not render the *luzzi*-services (of that). If the land is vacated, or the men of the village give him (other land), he shall perform the *luzzi*-services.
- §48 A *hipparaš*-man renders the *luzzi*-services. Let no one transact business with a *hipparaš*-man. Let no one buy his child, his land, (or) his vineyard(s). Whoever transacts business with a *hipparaš*-man shall forfeit his purchase price, and the *hipparaš*-man shall take back whatever he sold.
- §XL (= late version of §48) (Even) if a *hipparaš*-man renders the *luzzi*-services, let no one transact business with a *hipparaš*-man. Let no one buy his child, his land (or) his vineyard(s). Whoever transacts business with a *hipparaš*-man shall forfeit his purchase price, and the *hipparaš*-man [shall take] back whatever he sold.
- §49 [If] a *hipparaš*-man steals, there will be no compensation. But [if] (there is) a body which represents him, only that body shall give compensation. If they (i.e., the *hipparaš*-men) [were] to have to give (compensation for) theft, they would all have been dishonest, or would have become thieves. This one would have seized that one, and that one this one. [They] would have overturned the king's authority(?).
- §XLI (= late version of §49) [If] a *hipparaš*-man steals, they will impose upon him no [compensation, or else a body which represents him] will [make compensation.] If [the *hipparaš*-men had been required ...] [Continuation broken away.]
- §50 The ... [man] who ...-s in Nerik, Arinna or Ziplanta, and he who is a priest in any town — their houses are exempt, and their associates render the *luzzi*-services. In Arinna when the eleventh month arrives, [the house of him] at whose gate an *eyan* (tree or pole) is erected is likewise (exempt).
- §51 Formerly the house of a man who became a weaver in Arinna was exempt, also his associates and relatives were exempt. Now only his own house is exempt, but his associates and relatives shall render the *luzzi*-

³⁷ I.e., the principal heir shall inherit the *luzzi*-obligation.

³⁸ Lit. "shall take bread from his table and give it to him."

- services. In Zippalantiya it is just the same.
- §52 A slave of a Stone House, a slave of a prince (or) a person entitled to wear a reed-shaped emblem(?) — any of such people who hold land among TUKUL-men, shall render the *luzzi*-services.
- §53 If a man having a TUKUL-obligation and his associate live together, if they have a falling out, they shall divide their household. If there are on their land 10 persons (lit. heads), the man having a TUKUL-obligation shall receive 7 and his associate 3. They shall divide the cattle and sheep on their land in the same ratio. If anyone holds a royal grant by tablet, if they divide old land, the man having a TUKUL-obligation shall take 2 parts, and his associate shall take one part.
- §54 Formerly, the MANDA troops, the troops of Sala, Tamalki, Hatra, Zalpa, Tashiniya and Hemuwa, the bowmen, the carpenters, the chariot warriors and their *karuhaleš*-men did not render the *luzzi*-services, nor did they perform *šahhan*-services.
- §55 When (a delegation of) Hittites, men owing *šahhan*-services, came, they did reverence to the father of the king, and said: "No one pays us a wage. They say to us: 'You are men required to perform your jobs as a *šahhan*-service!'" The father of the king [stepped] into the assembly and declared under his seal: "You must continue to perform *šahhan*-services just like your colleagues."³⁹
- §56 None of the coppersmiths is exempt from participating in ice procurement,⁴⁰ construction of fortresses and royal roads, or from harvesting vineyards. The gardeners render the *luzzi*-services in all the same kinds of work.
- §57 If anyone steals a bull — if it is a weanling calf, it is not a "bull"; if it is a yearling calf, it is not a "bull"; if it is a 2-year-old bovine, that is a "bull." Formerly they gave 30 cattle. But now he shall give 15 cattle: 5 two-year-olds, 5 yearlings and 5 weanlings. He shall look to his house for it.
- §58 If anyone steals a stallion — if it is a weanling, it is not a "stallion"; if it is a yearling, it is not a "stallion"; if it is a two-year-old, that is a "stallion." They used to give 30 horses. But now he shall give 15 horses: 5 two-year-olds, 5 yearlings and 5 weanlings. He shall look to his house for it.
- §59 If anyone steals a ram, they used to give 30 sheep. Now he shall give [15] sheep: he shall give 5 ewes, 5 wethers and 5 lambs. And he shall look to his house for it.
- §60 If anyone finds a bull and castrates it, (when) its owner claims it, (the finder) shall give 7 cattle: 2 two-year-olds, 3 yearlings, and 2 weanlings. He shall look to his house for it.
- §61 If anyone finds a stallion and castrates it, (when) its owner claims it, (the finder) shall give 7 horses: 2 two-year-olds, 3 yearlings, and 2 weanlings. He shall look to his house for it.
- §62 If anyone finds a ram and castrates it, (when) its owner claims it, (the finder) shall give 7 sheep: 2 ewes, 3 wethers, and 2 (sexually) immature sheep. He shall look to his house for it.
- §63 If anyone steals a plow ox,⁴¹ formerly they gave 15 cattle, but now he shall give 10 cattle: 3 two-year-olds, 3 yearlings, and 4 weanlings. He shall look to his house for it.
- §64 If anyone steals a draft horse, its disposition is the same.⁴²
- §65 If anyone steals a trained he-goat or a trained deer or a trained mountain goat,⁴² their disposition is the same as of the theft of a plow ox.⁴³
- §66 If a plow ox, a draft horse, a cow, or a mare⁴⁴ strays into another corral, if a trained he-goat, a ewe, or a wether strays into (another) pen, and its owner finds it, he shall take it back according to the law in full. He shall not have (the pen's owner) arrested as a thief.
- §67 If anyone steals a cow, they used to give 12 oxen. Now he shall give 6 oxen;⁴⁵ he shall give 2 two-year-old oxen, 2 yearling oxen, and 2 weanlings. He shall look to his house for it.
- §68 If anyone steals a mare, its disposition is the same (i.e., 2 two-year-olds, 2 yearlings and 2 weanlings).
- §69 If anyone steals either a ewe or a wether, they used to give 12 sheep, but now he shall give 6 sheep: he shall give 2 ewes, 2 wethers and 2 (sexually) immature sheep. He shall look to his house for it.
- §70 If anyone steals an ox, a horse, a mule, or an ass,⁴⁶ (when) its owner claims it, [he shall take] it according to the law in full. In addi-

³⁹ Presumably only a delegation of the men subject to the *HKU*-obligation appeared before the king.

⁴⁰ Post-OH manuscripts omit "ice procurement."

⁴¹ Lit., "is this very (same)."

⁴² I.e., decoys used by hunters.

⁴³ A later copy incorrectly substitutes "its compensation is the same as that for a he-goat."

⁴⁴ NH text: "jenny."

⁴⁵ A later copy adds: "Now he shall give 6 oxen."

- tion (the thief) shall give to him twice/double. He shall look to his house for it.
- §71 If anyone finds a (stray) ox, a horse, (or) a mule,⁴⁶ he shall drive it to the king's gate. If he finds it in the country, they shall present it to the elders. (The finder) shall harness it (i.e., use it while it is in his custody). When its owner finds it, he shall take it according to the law in full, but he shall not have him (sc. the finder) arrested as a thief. But if (the finder) does not present it to the elders, he shall be considered a thief."
- §72 If an ox is found dead on someone's property, the property-owner shall give 2 oxen. He shall look to his house for it.
- §73 If anyone ...s a living ox, that is the same as (a case) of theft.
- §74 If anyone breaks the horn or leg of an ox, he shall take that (ox) for himself and give an ox in good condition to the owner of the (injured) ox. If the owner of the ox says: "I will take my own ox," he shall take his ox, and (the offender) shall pay 2 shekels of silver.
- §75 If anyone hitches up an ox, a horse, a mule or an ass, and it dies, [or] a wolf devours [it], or it gets lost, he shall give it according to the law in full. But if he says: "It died by the hand of a god," he shall take an oath (to that effect).
- §76 If anyone impresses an ox, a horse, a mule or an ass, and it dies at his place, he shall bring it and shall pay its rent also.
- §77a If anyone strikes a pregnant cow, so that it miscarries, he shall pay 2 shekels of silver. If anyone strikes a pregnant horse, so that it miscarries, he shall pay 3⁴⁶ shekels of silver.
- §77b If anyone blinds the eye of an ox or an ass, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.
- §78 If anyone rents an ox and then puts on it a leather ... or a leather ..., and its owner finds it, he shall give 50 liters⁴⁷ of barley.
- §79 If oxen enter (another man's) field,⁴⁷ and the field's owner finds (them), he may hitch them up for one day until the stars come out. Then he shall drive them back to their owner.
- §80 If any (shepherd) throws a sheep to a wolf, its owner shall take the meat, but he (the shepherd) shall take the sheepskin.
- §81 If anyone steals a fattened pig, they used to pay 40 shekels of silver. But now he shall pay 12 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.
- §82 If anyone steals a pig of the courtyard, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.
- §83 If anyone steals a pregnant sow, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver, and they shall count the piglets: for each 2 piglets he shall give 50 liters of barley. He shall look to his house for it.
- §84 If anyone strikes a pregnant sow a lethal blow, its (i.e., the case's) settlement disposition is exactly the same.
- §85 If anyone cuts out a piglet and steals it, he shall give 100 liters of barley.
- §86 If a pig enters a grain-heap, a field or a garden, and the owner of the grain-heap, field (or) garden strikes it a lethal blow, he shall give it back to its owner. If he doesn't give (it back), he shall be considered a thief.
- §87 If anyone strikes the dog of a herdsman a lethal blow, he shall pay 20 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.
- §88 If anyone strikes the dog of a dog trainer (or: hunter?) a lethal blow, he shall pay 12 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.
- §89 If anyone strikes a dog of the enclosure(?) a lethal blow, he shall pay one shekel of silver.
- §90 If a dog devours lard, and the owner of the lard finds (the dog), he shall kill it and retrieve the lard from its stomach. There will be no compensation (for the dog).
- §91 [If] anyone [steals bees] in a swarm, [formerly] they paid [... shekels of silver], but now he shall pay 5 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.
- §92 [If] anyone steals [2] or 3 bee hives, formerly (the offender) would have been exposed to bee-sting. But now he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. If anyone steals a bee-hive, if there are no bees in the hive, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver.
- §93 If they seize a free man at the outset, before he enters the house, he shall pay 12 shekels of silver. If they seize a slave at the outset, before he enters the house, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver.
- §94 If a free man burglarizes a house,⁴⁷ he shall pay only according to the law in full. Formerly they paid 40 shekels of silver as (fine) for the theft, but now [he shall pay] 12 shekels of silver. If he steals much, they will impose much upon him. If he steals little, they shall impose little upon him. He shall look to his house for it.
- §95 If a slave burglarizes a house, he shall pay only according to the law in full. He shall

⁴⁶ A NH manuscript reads: 2.⁴⁷ Hittite: 1 PARISU.

pay six shekels of silver for the theft. He⁴⁸ shall disfigure/mutilate the nose and ears of the slave and they will give him back to his owner. If he steals much, they will impose much upon him; if he steals little, they will impose little upon him. [If] his owner says: "I will make compensation for him," then he shall make it. But [if] he refuses, he shall lose that slave.	x Exod 22:5 y Exod 22:4	plum(?) tree, he shall pay [... shekels] of silver. He shall look to his house for it.
§96 If a free man breaks into a grain storage pit, and finds grain in the storage pit, he shall fill the storage pit with grain and pay 12 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.		§105 [If] anyone sets [fire] to a field, and (the fire) catches a fruit-bearing vineyard, if a vine, an apple tree, a pear(?) tree or a plum tree burns,⁴⁹ he shall pay 6 shekels of silver for each tree. He shall re-plant [the planting]. And he shall look to his house for it. If it is a slave, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver (for each tree).
§97 If a slave breaks into a grain storage pit, and finds grain in the storage pit, he shall fill the storage pit with grain and pay 6 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.		§106 If anyone carries embers into his field, catches(?) a fruit-bearing (one), and ignites the field,⁵⁰ he who sets it (i.e., the fire [neuter]) shall himself take the burnt-over field. He shall give a good field to the owner of the (burnt-over) field, and he will reap it.
§98 If a free man sets fire to a house, he shall rebuild [the house]. And whatever perished in the house — whether it is persons, [cattle or sheep], it is not ...		§107 If a person lets (his) sheep into a productive vineyard, and ruins it, if it is fruit bearing, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver for each 3,600 square meters.⁴⁹ []⁵⁰ But if it is bare, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver.
§99 If a slave sets fire to a house, his owner shall make compensation for him, and they shall disfigure the slave's nose and ears and return him to his owner. But if (the owner) will not make compensation, he shall forfeit that slave.		§108 If anyone steals vine branch(es) from a fenced-in vineyard, if (he steals) 100 vines/(fruit) trees, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it. But if (the vineyard) is not fenced in, and he steals vine branch(es), he shall pay 3 shekels of silver.
§100 If anyone sets fire to a shed, he shall feed his (sc. the owner's) cattle and bring them through to the following spring. He shall give back the shed. If there was no straw in it, he shall (simply) rebuild the shed.		§109 If anyone cuts off fruit trees from their irrigation ditch, if (there are) 100 trees, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver.
§101 If anyone steals a vine, a vine branch, a ..., or an onion/garlic, formerly [they paid] one shekel of silver for one vine and one shekel of silver for a vine branch, one shekel of silver [for one <i>karpina</i>, one] shekel of silver for one clove of garlic. And they shall strike a spear on his [...] [Formerly] they proceeded so. But now if he is a free man, he shall pay 6 shekels [of silver]. But if he is a slave, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver.		§110 If anyone steals clay from a pit, [however much] he steals, he shall give the same amount in addition.
§102 [If] anyone steals wood from a [...] pond, [if] he steals [one talent (= 30.78 kg) of wood], he shall pay 3 shekels of silver; if he steals 2 talents (= 61.56 kg) of wood, [he shall pay] 6 shekels of silver; if he steals [3] talents (= 92.34 kg) of wood, it becomes a case for the king's court.		§111 [If] anyone forms clay for [an image] (for magical purposes), it is sorcery (and) a case for the king's court.
§103 [If] anyone steals plants, if it is 0.25 square meters [of planting], he shall re-plant it and [give] one shekel of silver. [If it is 0.5] square meters of planting, he shall re-plant it and pay 2 shekels of silver.		§112 [If] they give [to an <i>arnuwala</i>-man] the land of a man having a TUKUL-obligation who has disappeared, [for 3 years] they perform no [<i>šahhan</i>-services], but in the fourth year he begins to perform <i>šahhan</i>-services and joins the men having TUKUL-obligations.
§104 [If] anyone cuts down a pear(?) tree or		§113 [If] anyone cuts down a vine, he shall take the cut-down [vine] for himself and give to the owner of the vine (the use of) a good vine. (The original owner of the cut-down vine) shall gather fruit from (the new vine) [until] his own vine recovers. ...
		[§114 and 118 too broken for translation. §§115-117 lost in a lacuna]
		§119 If anyone [steals] a duck (lit. pond bird) trained (as a decoy) [or] a mountain goat trained (as a decoy), [formerly] they paid [40] shekels of silver, but now [he shall pay]

⁴⁸ Another manuscript reads: "They."

⁴⁹ Hittite: 1 IKU, which equals 30 *gipešsar*.

⁵⁰ Two late manuscripts add: "He shall look to his house for it."

[§114 and 118 too broken for translation. §§115-117 lost in a lacuna]

§119 If anyone [steals] a duck (lit. pond bird) trained (as a decoy) [or] a mountain goat trained (as a decoy), [formerly] they paid [40] shekels of silver, but now [he shall pay]

- 12 shekels [of silver]. He shall look [to his house for it].
- §120 If anyone steals ...-ed birds [...], if there are 10 birds, he shall pay one shekel [of silver].
- §121 If some free man steals a plow, and its owner finds it, (the owner) shall put [(the offender's) neck] upon the ..., and [he shall be put to death] by the oxen. So they proceeded formerly. But now he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it. If it is a slave, [he shall pay] 3 shekels of silver.
- §122 If anyone steals a wagon with all its accessories, initially they paid one shekel of silver, [but now] he shall pay [... shekels of silver]. He shall look [to his] house [for it].
- §123 If [anyone steals a ..., Now he shall pay] 3 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.
- §124 If anyone steals a ... tree, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it. If anyone loads a wagon, [leaves] it in his field, and someone steals (it), he shall pay 3 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.
- §125 If anyone steals a wooden water trough, he shall pay [...] + one shekel of silver. If anyone steals a leather ... or a leather ..., he shall pay one shekel of silver.
- §126 If anyone steals a wooden ... in the gate of the palace, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. If anyone steals a bronze spear in the gate of the palace, he shall be put to death. If anyone steals a copper pin, he shall give 25 liters of barley. If anyone steals the threads (or strands of wool) of one bolt of cloth, he shall give one bolt of woolen cloth.
- §127 If anyone steals a door in a quarrel, he shall replace everything that may get lost in the house, and he shall pay 40 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.
- §128 If anyone steals bricks, however many he steals, he shall give the same number a second time over. If [anyone] steals stones from a foundation, for 2 (such) stones he shall give 10 stones. If anyone steals a stela or a ... stone, he shall pay 2 shekels of silver.
- §129 If anyone steals a leather ..., a leather ..., a [...], or a bronze bell(?) <of> a horse or a mule, formerly they paid 40 shekels of silver, but now [he shall pay] 12 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.
- §130 If anyone steals [...] of an ox or a horse, [he shall pay ... shekels of silver.] He shall look to his house for it.
- §131 If [anyone steals] a leather harness(?), he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. [He shall look to his house for it.]
- §132 If a free man [steals ..., he shall pay] 6 shekels of silver. [He shall look to his house for it.] If he is a slave, [he shall pay 3 shekels of silver.]
- §133 If a free man [steals ...], he shall pay [...] shekels [of silver]. He shall look to his house for it. If he is a slave, he shall pay ... shekels of silver.]
- §142 [If] anyone drives [...], ... anyone steals] its wheel(s), he shall give 25 liters of barley [for each] wheel. [If he is a slave, he shall give ... of barley] for each wheel.
- §143 If a free man [steals] copper shears(?) [or] a copper nail file(?), he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. [He shall look to] his house [for it]. If it is a slave, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver.
- §144 If a barber gives copper [...] to his associate, and (the latter) ruins them, he shall give [them] according to the law in full. If anyone cuts fine cloth [on/with] a *hanzan*, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver. If anyone cuts [...], he shall pay 5 shekels of silver.
- §145 If anyone builds an ox barn, (his employer) shall pay him 6 shekels of silver. [If] he leaves out [...], he shall forfeit his wage.
- §146a If anyone offers a house, a village, a garden or a pasture for sale, and another goes and pre-empts(?) him, and offers (lit. makes) a purchase price instead of (lit. upon) the (first) purchase price, as a fine for his offence he shall pay 40 shekels of silver, and buy (the items) [from the person] at the original prices.
- §146b⁵¹ [If] anyone offers a [...] for sale, and another pre-[empts(?)], for his offence he shall pay 10 shekels of silver. He shall buy at the original prices.
- §147 [If] anyone offers an unskilled person for sale, and another person pre-empts(?), as the fine for his offence he shall pay 5 shekels of silver.
- §148 [If] anyone [offers] an ox, a horse, a mule or an ass [for sale], and another person pre-empts(?), as the fine for his offence he shall pay ... shekels of silver.
- §149 If anyone sells a trained person, and (afterwards, before delivery) says: "He has died," but his (new) owner tracks him down, he shall take him for himself, and in addition (the seller) shall give 2 persons (lit. heads) to him. He shall look to his house for it.
- §150 If a man hires himself out for wages, (his employer) [shall pay ... shekels of silver] for [one month. If a woman] hires herself out for wages, (her employer) [shall pay ... shekels]

⁵¹ §146b is omitted in the post-OH manuscripts.

for one month. §151 If anyone rents a plow ox, [he shall pay] one shekel [of silver] for one month. [If] anyone rents a [...], he shall pay] a half shekel of silver for one month. §152 If anyone rents a horse, a mule or an ass, he shall pay one shekel of silver [for one month]. §157⁵² If a bronze axe^c weighs 1.54 kg,⁵³ its rent shall be one shekel of silver for one month. If a copper axe weighs 0.77 kg, its rent shall be ½ shekel of silver for one month. If a bronze <i>tapulli</i>-tool weighs 0.5 kg, its rent shall be ½ shekel of silver for one month. §158a If a (free) man hires himself out for wages, to bind sheaves, load them on wagons, deposit them in barns, and clear the threshing floors, his wages for 3 months shall be 1,500 liters of barley (= 3.75 shekels of silver). §158b If a woman hires herself out for wages in the harvest season, her wages shall be 600 liters of barley (= 1 shekel of silver) for 3 months' work.⁵⁴ §159 If anyone hitches up a team of oxen for one day, its rent shall be 25 liters of barley. §160a If a smith makes a copper box weighing 1½ minas, his wages shall be 5,000 liters of barley (= 12.5 shekels of silver). §160b If he makes a bronze axe weighing 2 minas, his wages shall be 50 liters of wheat (= 0.33 shekel of silver). §161 If he makes a copper axe weighing one mina, his wages shall be 50 liters of barley (= 0.125 shekels of silver). §162a If anyone diverts an irrigation ditch, he shall pay one shekel of silver. If anyone stealthily taps (water from) an irrigation ditch, he/it is ...ed. If he takes (water at a point) below (the other's branch), it is his (to use). §162b [If] anyone takes [...], whosoever [...] he prepares, [...]. [If] anyone [...] sheep from a pasture, [...] will be] the compensation, and he shall give its hide and meat. §163 If anyone's animals go loco (lit. are made divine),⁵⁵ and he performs a purification ritual upon them, and drives them back home, and he puts the mud(?) (used in the ritual) on the mud pile(?), but doesn't tell his colleague, so that the colleague doesn't know, and (the colleague) drives his own animals there, and they die, there will be compensa-	z 2 Kgs 6:5 on Deut 22:9 46 Deut 19:14; 27:17 cc Deut 19:14; 27:17	tion. §164 If anyone goes (to someone's house) to impress (something), starts a quarrel, and breaks either the sacrificial bread or the libation vessel, §165 he shall give one sheep, 10 loaves of bread, and one jug of ... beer, and reconsecrate his house. Until [a year's] time has passed he shall keep away from his house. §166 If anyone sows (his own) seed on top of (another man's) seed,⁵⁶ his neck shall be placed (lit. come to rest) upon a plow. They shall hitch up 2 teams of oxen: they shall turn the faces of one team one way and the other team the other. Both the offender and the oxen will be put to death, and the party who first sowed the field shall reap⁵⁶ it for himself. This is the way they used to proceed. §167 But now they shall substitute one sheep for the man and 2 sheep for the oxen. He shall give 30 loaves of bread and 3 jugs of ... beer, and re-consecrate (the land?). And he who sowed the field first shall reap it. §168 If anyone violates the boundary of a field⁵⁶ and takes⁵⁷ one furrow off (the neighbor's field), the owner of the field shall cut 0.25 square meters of field (from the other's field), the owner of the violated field shall cut off a strip of his neighbor's land 0.25 meters deep along their common boundary and take it for himself. He who violated the boundary shall give one sheep (= 1 shekel), 10 loaves (= ca. 0.1 shekel), and one jug of ... beer and re-consecrate the field. §169 If anyone buys a field and violates the boundary,⁵⁸ he shall take a thick loaf and break it to the Sungod [and] say: "My scales have been flowing into the ground." And he shall speak thus: "Sungod, Stormgod. There is no quarrel." §170 If a free man kills a snake, and speaks another's name, he shall pay 40 shekels of silver. If it is a slave, he alone shall be put to death. §171 If a mother removes her son's garment, she is disinheriting her son. If her son comes back into (her house, i.e., is reinstated), (s)he takes her door and removes it, (s)he takes her ... and removes it, she (thus) takes them (i.e., the sons) back; she makes her son her
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⁵² The OH manuscript q shows that there was no gap in which four additional laws (§§153-156 in Hrozný's numbering) might fit. We preserve the traditional numbering of §§157-200 for convenience of reference.

⁵³ So the OH manuscript. The NH manuscripts describe lighter axes, for the same rent, yielding a higher rate of rent per weight.

⁵⁴ A NH manuscript has: "He (the employer) shall give 600 liters of barley for two months' (work)."

⁵⁵ Others (e.g., Friedrich 1959:75) have translated this verb "are smitten by a god." The translation "are branded" (Goetze 1969:195) is impossible.

⁵⁶ A later manuscript reads "take."

⁵⁷ A later manuscript reads "drives."

son again. §172 If anyone preserves a free man's life in a year of famine, (the saved man) shall give a substitute for himself. If it is a slave, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver. §173a If anyone rejects a judgment of the king, his house will become a heap of ruins. If anyone rejects a judgment of a magistrate, they shall cut off his head.⁵⁸ §173b If a slave rebels against⁵⁹ his owner, he shall go into a clay jar. §174 If (when) men are hitting each other, one of them dies, (the other) shall give one slave (lit. head). §175 If either a shepherd or a steward⁶⁰ takes a free woman in marriage, she will become a slave for⁶¹ either two or four years. They shall ... her children, but no one shall seize (their) belts. §176a If anyone keeps a bull outside a corral,⁶² it shall be a case for the king's court. They shall sell (the bull). (A bull is an animal which) is capable of breeding in (its) third year. A plow ox, a ram, (and) a he-goat (are animals which) are capable of breeding in (their) third year. §176b If anyone buys a trained artisan: either a potter, a smith, a carpenter, a leather-worker, a fuller, a weaver, or a maker of leggings, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver. §177 If anyone buys a man trained as an augur(?), he shall pay 25 shekels of silver. If anyone buys an unskilled man or woman, he shall pay 20 shekels of silver. §178 The price of a plow ox is 12 shekels of silver. The price of a bull is 10 shekels of silver. The price of a fullgrown cow is 7 shekels of silver. The price of a yearling plow ox or cow is 5 shekels of silver. The price of a weaned calf is 4 shekels of silver. If the cow is pregnant with a calf, the price is 8 shekels of silver. The price of one calf is 2 (variant: 3) shekels of silver. The price of one stallion, one mare, one male donkey, and one female donkey are the same. §179 If it is a sheep, its price is one shekel of silver. The price of 3 goats is 2 shekels of silver. The price of 2 lambs is one shekel of silver. The price of 2 goat kids is ½ shekel of silver. §180 If it is a draft horse, its price is 20 (variant: 10) shekels of silver. The price of a mule is 40 shekels of silver. The price of a pastured	dd Deut 16:18 ee Exod 21:28-36	horse is 14 (variant: 15) shekels of silver.⁶² The price of a yearling colt is 10 shekels of silver. The price of a yearling filly is 15 shekels of silver. §181 The price of a weaned colt (or) a weaned filly is 4 shekels of silver. The price of 4 minas of copper is one shekel of silver, of one bottle of fine oil is 2 shekels of silver, of one bottle of lard is one shekel of silver, of one bottle of butter/ghee is one shekel of silver, of one bottle of honey is one shekel of silver, of 2 cheeses is one shekel [of silver], of 3 rennets is one shekel of silver. §182 The price of a ... garment is 12 shekels of silver. The price of a fine garment is 30 shekels of silver. The price of a blue wool garment is 20 shekels of silver. The price of an <i>ADUPLI</i> garment is 10 shekels of silver. The price of a tattered(?) garment is 3 shekels of silver. The price of a ... garment is 4 shekels of silver. The price of a sackcloth garment is one shekel of silver. The price of a sheer/thin tunic is 3 shekels of silver. The price of an (ordinary) tunic is [... shekels of silver]. The price [of one] (bolt of) cloth weighing 7 minas is [... shekels of silver]. The price of one large (bolt of) linen is 5 shekels of silver. §183 The price of 150 liters of wheat is one shekel of silver. The price of 200 liters [of barley is ½ shekel of silver.] The price of 50 liters of wine is ½ shekel of silver, of 50 liters of [...] is ... shekels of silver. The price] of 3,600 square meters of irrigated(?) field is 3 [shekels of silver. The price] of 3,600 square meters of ... field is 2 shekels of silver. [The price] of a (field) adjoining(?) it is one shekel of silver. §184 This is the tariff, as it was ...ed in the city. §185 The price of 3,600 square meters of vineyard is 40 shekels of silver. The price of the hide of a full-grown ox is one shekel of silver. The price of 5 hides of weanling calves is one shekel of silver, of 10 oxhides is 40 shekels of silver, of a shaggy sheepskin is one shekel of silver, of 10 skins of young sheep is one shekel of silver, of 4 goatskins one shekel of silver, 15 sheared(?) goatskins is one shekel of silver, of 20 lambskins is one shekel of silver, of 20 kidskins is one shekel of silver. Whoever buys the meat of 2 fullgrown cattle shall give one sheep. §186 Whoever buys the meat of 2 yearling cattle
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⁵⁸ Lit., *ara <w> ezzi* "exempts/frees himself from."

⁵⁹ "Steward" translates the Sumerogram *AGRIG* (Akk. *abaraku*). On this function in Hittite texts see Singer 1984.

⁶⁰ Or, less likely: "after." See §35.

⁶¹ Lit., "dispenses with a bull's corral." See the goring ox cases in Exod 21:28-36.

⁶² For what follows, another manuscript substitutes: "The price of a yearling filly is 15 shekels of silver. The price of a gelding(?) (or) a mare is [...] shekels of silver. The price of 4 minas of copper is one shekel [of silver]."

shall give one sheep. Whoever buys the meat of 5 weanlings shall give one sheep. (Whoever buys) the meat of 10 calves shall give one sheep. (Whoever buys) the meat of 10 sheep shall give one sheep. (Whoever buys) the meat of 20 lambs shall give one sheep. [If] anyone buys the meat of [20] goats, he shall give one sheep.	<i>ff</i>Exod 22:18; Lev 20:15-16	have the same mother and their mother, it is not an offence. If brothers sleep with a free (woman), it is not an offence. If father and son sleep with the same female slave or prostitute,⁶⁹ it is not an offence.
§187 If a man has sexual relations⁶³ with a cow,⁶⁴ it is an unpermitted sexual pairing: he will be put to death. They shall conduct him to the king's court (lit. gate). Whether the king orders him killed or spares his life, he shall not appear (personally) before the king (lest he defile the royal person).	<i>gg</i>Deut 22:15; 2 Sam 19:8; Amos 5:10, 12, 15	§195a If a man sleeps with his brother's wife, while his brother is alive, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing.
§188 If a man has sexual relations with a sheep, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing: he will be put to death. They will conduct him [to the] king's [gate].⁶⁵ The king may have him executed, or may spare his life. But he shall not appear before the king.	<i>hh</i> Lev 18:7, 8; 20:11	§195b If a (free) man has a free woman (in marriage) and approaches her daughter (sexually),⁶⁶ it is an unpermitted sexual pairing.
§189 If a man has sexual relations with his own mother,⁶⁶ it is an unpermitted sexual pairing. If a man has sexual relations with (his own) daughter,⁶⁷ it is an unpermitted sexual pairing. If a man has sexual relations with (his own) son,⁶⁵ it is an unpermitted sexual pairing.	<i>ii</i> Gen 19:36; Lev 18	§195c If he has the daughter (in marriage) and approaches her mother or her sister (sexually), it is an unpermitted sexual pairing.
§190 If they appear(?) with the dead — man, woman — it is not an offence. If a man has sexual relations with his step-mother,⁶⁸ it is not an offence. But if his father is still living, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing.	<i>jj</i> Lev 20:13	§196 If anyone's male and female slaves enter into unpermitted sexual pairings, they (sc. the authorities) shall move them elsewhere: they shall settle one in one city and one in another. A sheep shall be offered in place of one and a(nother) sheep in place of the other.
§191 If a free man sleeps with free sisters who have the same mother and their mother⁶⁸ — one in one country and the other in another, it is not an offence. But if it happens in the same location, and he knows (the relationship, the women are related), it is an unpermitted sexual pairing.⁶⁶	<i>kk</i> Lev 18:8; 20:11; 2 Sam 16:21; 20:3	§197 If a man seizes a woman in the mountain(s) (and rapes her), it is the man's offence, but if he seizes her in (her) house, it is the woman's offence: the woman shall die.⁶⁹ If the (woman's) husband (lit. the man) finds them (in the act), he may kill them without committing a crime.
§192 If a man's wife dies, [he may take her] sister [as his wife.]⁷⁰ It is not an offence.⁶⁷	<i>nn</i> Gen 29:30; Ezek 23:4	§198 If he brings them to the palace gate (i.e., the royal court) and says: "My wife shall not die," he can spare his wife's life, (but) he must also spare the lover⁶⁹ and "clothe his head." If he says, "Both of them shall die," they shall "roll the wheel."⁷⁰ The king may have them killed or he may spare them.
§193 If a man has a wife, and the man dies, his brother shall take his widow as wife. (If the brother dies,) his father shall take her. When afterwards his father dies, his (i.e., the father's) brother shall take the woman whom he had.⁶⁸ <i>nn</i>	<i>mm</i> Gen 38; Deut 25:5-10; Ruth	§199 If anyone has sexual relations with a pig (or) a dog,⁷¹ he shall die. He shall bring him to the palace gate (i.e., the royal court). The king may have them (i.e., the human and the animal) killed or he may spare them, but he (the human) shall not approach the king. If an ox leaps on a man (in sexual excitement), the ox shall die; the man shall not die. They shall substitute one sheep in the place of the man and put it to death. If a pig leaps on a man (in sexual excitement), it is not an offence.
§194 If a free man sleeps with slave women who	<i>oo</i> Amos 2:7	§200a If a man has sexual relations (lit. "sins") with

⁶³ Lit., "sins." So also in §§188-190, 199-200.

⁶⁴ See Hoffner 1973; Haase 1976.

⁶⁵ Since the blood relationship is specified here, this is probably not a blanket prohibition of homosexual sex such as in Lev 20:13. See Hoffner 1973.

⁶⁶ One NH manuscript mistakenly adds: "It is not an offence."

⁶⁷ Another version reads: "If a woman's husband dies, his partner shall take his wife (in marriage). It is [not] an offence." See Hoffner 1997b:151f.

⁶⁸ A NH manuscript adds: "There is no offence."

⁶⁹ Cf. MAL A §15 (COS 2.132, below, p. 355).

⁷⁰ A symbolic gesture of uncertain significance.

⁷¹ See Hoffner 1973.

either a horse or a mule,⁷² it is not an offence, but he shall not approach the king, nor shall he become a priest.⁷³ If anyone sleeps with an <i>arnuwalaš</i>-woman, and also sleeps with her mother, it is not an offence. §200b If anyone gives (his) son for training either (as) a carpenter or a smith, a weaver or a leather worker or a fuller, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver as (the fee) for the training. If the teacher makes him an expert, (the student) shall give (to his teacher) one person. Telipinu Edict §49 And a case of murder (lit. blood) is as follows. Whoever commits murder, whatever	ss Deut 19:11-13	the heir himself of the murdered man says (will be done). If he says: "Let him die," he shall die; but if he says: "Let him make compensation," he shall make compensation. But to the king let (him) not (come) at all.⁷⁴ Telipinu Edict §50 (Regarding cases) of sorcery in Hattuša: keep cleaning up (i.e., investigating and punishing) (all) instances (thereof). Whoever in the royal family knows sorcery (i. e., practices it), seize him and deliver him to the king's gate. But it will go badly for that man (C adds: and for his household) who does not deliver him.
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⁷² Perhaps this ancient sexual taboo applied to animals domesticated at that very early period in human history. Equids, domesticated only later, were never included.

⁷³ That is, he has committed no punishable crime, but he has become so defiled by the incident that he may not enter the king's presence or ever become a priest.

REFERENCES

Text: Laws §§1-100 are Series One (*CIH* 271), while laws §§101-200 are Series Two (*CIH* 272). Manuscripts of Series One are: A = KBo 6.2 + 19.1 + 22.62 + 22.61 + 19.1a; B = KBo 6.3 + 22.63; C = KBo 6.5; D + E = KBo 6.6 + 6.7; F = KBo 6.8 (F) (+) KUB 13.11 (F?) + KUB 29.15 (F) (+) KBo 19.3 (F) (+) KBo 19.4 (F0); G = KBo 6.9; H (+) I = KUB 13.12 (H) (+) KUB 13.13 (I); I = See H; J = KUB 26.56; K = KUB 29.13; L = KUB 29.14 (L) (+) KBo 12.49 (L?); M = KUB 29.16 + KBo 19.2; N + V = KUB 29.17 (N) + KBo 14.64 (V); O (+) Q = KUB 29.18 (+) KUB 29.20; P = KUB 29.19; R = KBo 6.21; S = KBo 6.22; T = KBo 9.70; U = KUB 40.32; W = KBo 14.65 (+) Bo 88/5; X = KBo 12.48; Y = KBo 19.7; Z = KBo 9.69; AA = KBo 19.5; BB = KBo 22.65. Manuscripts A and M are in OH script; the rest are in NH script. Manuscripts for Series Two are: a = KBo 6.12; b = KUB 29.21 (+) 29.22 (+) 29.23; c = KBo 6.10 + 6.20; d = KBo 6.11; e = KBo 6.13 (+) KUB 13.30; f = KBo 6.14 + 6.18 (+) 6.19; g = KBo 19.6; h = KBo 19.9; i = KBo 6.17; j = KBo 6.16; k = KUB 29.24; l = Bo 92/113; m = Bo 8202; n = KUB 13.15 + KBo 19.7; o = KUB 29.26 (+) 29.27; p = KBo 6.26; q = KBo 14.66 + KUB 48.78; r = 11/p; s = HFAC 5; t = KBo 14.67; u = KUB 29.31; v = KBo 6.15; w = 684/c; x = KBo 9.71 + KUB 29.33 + KUB 13.14 + KUB 13.16; y = KUB 29.34 (+) 29.37; e? = KUB 13.30; z = KBo 22.66; aa = KUB 29.25 + KUB 29.28 + KUB 29.29 + 29.30 + 29.32 + 29.35 + 29.36 + 29.38 + KBo 25.5 + 25.85; bb = KBo 19.8; cc = "Bo 2111"; dd = HFAC 4; ee = VAS 127. Only manuscript aa in Series Two is in the OH script. The standard editions are Friedrich 1959; Imparati 1964; and Hoffner 1997b. Fairly recent translations are: Goetze 1969; Haase 1984; von Schuler 1982; and Hoffner 1997a. General surveys of Hittite law may be found in Güterbock 1954; Hoffner 1963 and 1995.

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C. HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTIONS

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1. "IDEAL PRICES" (2.20)

KARKAMIŠ A2 (+3) (2.20A)¹

J. D. Hawkins

The text comes from the first of a pair of inscribed stone door jambs excavated *in situ* at the entrance to the cella of the temple of the Storm-God in the lower city at Karkamiš.² Katuwa was the last of a four-generation line of rulers of the city dating approximately to the 10th century BCE,³ and he and his father Suhi (II) left a number of such building inscriptions and much sculpture in the form of relief orthostats decorating building facades.

A recurring theme in such inscriptions is the favor of the gods and the prosperity of the author's reign, one element of which is a statement of ideal prices to emphasize the cheapness of living.⁴ Such statements are found already in inscriptions of Mesopotamian rulers in the early 2nd millennium BCE, and reappear in those of Assurbanipal of Assyria and Nabonidus of Babylon probably as archaisms. Recognition of similar statements in the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions of the early 1st millennium BCE was something of a surprise.

In the Mesopotamian versions of these statements, prices of commodities, above all barley but also oil, wine, wool, etc., are expressed in terms of so-much measure of commodity for one shekel of silver.⁵ The idealized literary character of these statements is clear when they are compared with the more realistic tariffs of prices appended to law codes of Mesopotamia.⁶ The Hittite Laws too contain such tariffs, but their prices may be expressed not in silver shekels but in sheep,⁷ which reflects a standard equivalence 1 sheep = 1 shekel of silver, and probably shows the more primitive, less monetarized Hittite economy.

Katuwa's statement introduced here is repeated by him in another inscription and different context, in a more elaborate form (KARKAMIŠ A 11a)⁸. Other examples are found as far away as the Anatolian plateau, in particular on a partly preserved stele from Aksaray, the work of a certain Kiyakiya, probably to be identified with Kiakki of Sinuhtu deported by Sargon II in 718 BCE.⁹ This is the most detailed such statement known from the Hieroglyphic inscriptions, covering as it does three commodities, instead of simply barley, as at Karkamiš, and it was indeed the appearance of this inscription in 1978 that permitted the identification of these statements, when this new one was compared with the other examples. Thus the logogram for "barley" could be recognized, as well as the hieroglyphic Luwian word for "wine" (*matu*, cf. Greek *methú*, Sanskrit *madhu*, English *mead*). It is also noteworthy that Karkamiš uses the Assyrian measure the *homer* (or donkey(-load)), while the more distant Anatolia uses an unknown measure the *tiwatali*, apparently from the context about 1/3 of the *homer*.

§1	I am Katuwa the ruler, the Karkamišean Country Lord, the Country Lord Suhi's son.	§6	and he looked on me with a smiling(?) face,
§2	When Tarhunza ¹⁰ gave me my paternal succession,	§7	and it in my <i>good-times</i> brought forth the Grain-God and the Wine-God ¹² in the country.
§3	this Karkamišean Tarhunza had exalted the person neither for my father,	§8	In my <i>good-times</i> for a sheep ten homers (of barley) stood,
§4	nor for my grandfather had he exalted (the person),	§9	and I myself <i>thereupon</i> constructed these temples of Tarhunza for him with goodness.
§5	but for me Katuwa, the Karkamišean Country Lord he exalted the person, ¹¹		(The text concludes with curses designed to protect the foundation and Katuwa's name attached to it)

¹ Hawkins 2000 no. II. 13 (+14).

² Woolley 1952:169f., pls. 34a-37a.

³ Hawkins 2000:76-78.

⁴ Hawkins 1986.

⁵ Hawkins 1986:93f.

⁶ Esp. the Laws of Eshnunna (COS 2.130). See Hawkins 1986:94f.

⁷ See the Hittite Laws, COS 2.19 §§178-186.

⁸ Hawkins 2000 no. II. 9.

⁹ Ibid. no. X. 16.

¹⁰ The Storm-God. See below Azatiwata, COS 2.21, n. 10.

¹¹ "Exalting the person." A common topos in these inscriptions. Cf. MARAŞ 4, §15, COS 2.22A, where I have translated "person" as "image." See also, KULULU 4, §4, COS 2.22B, where it is translated "soul" (§9 there).

¹² For the Grain God and the Wine God as symbols of prosperity, cp. COS 2.21, §§53, 55.

KARKAMIŠ A11a (2.20B)

In this parallel, closely similar passage, Katuwa records:

§7	My lord Tarhunza, Karhuha and Kubaba ¹³ loved me because of my justice,	§10	and in my <i>good-times</i> for a sheep the cost (?) (as) [so many] homers of barley stood,
§8	(not properly understood)	§11	but I myself then constructed the temple with luxury for Karkamišean Tarhunza.
§9	and the Grain-God and the Wine-God for me [they brought forth],		

¹³ The regular triad of gods invoked at Karkamiš. Besides Tarhunza, the Storm-God, the god Karhuha is a manifestation of the god known elsewhere in the Hittite world as Runza, the Stag-God, protector of wild animals, Resheph to the Semitic world: see COS 2.21, n. 19. Kubaba, the "Queen of Karkamiš," was the patron goddess of the city, and later passed through Anatolia, through veneration by the Phrygians, to become the Kubēbē/Kubēlē (Cybele) of the Greeks.

AKSARAY (2.20C)

This more recently discovered inscription has a more detailed statement, which provided the key to the understanding of comparable passages.

	[Beginning of text lost]	§6	[x] <i>measures</i> of wine stood.
§1	... Tarhunza prospered the ...,	§7	Because of my justice, I was dear to Tarhunza and all the gods there.
§2	and m[uch] came down from the sky,	§8	And great kings and kings all <i>admired</i> this city.
§3	and much came up from the earth,		(text continues)
§4	and in those years for one sheep 30 <i>measures</i> of barley stood,		
§5	20 <i>measures</i> of oil(?) [...]ed,		

REFERENCES

Texts: Hawkins 2000 no. II.13 (+ 14), II.9, X.16; (COS 2.20A only): Woolley 1952:169f., pls. 34a-37a. Studies: Hawkins 1986.

2. ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS

AZATIWATA (2.21)

J. D. Hawkins

The Karatepe inscriptions are famous as one of the ancient world's longest bilingual texts. The hilltop fortress of Karatepe was defended by a circuit of walls with two monumental gateways, each decorated with sculptured orthostats and a bilingual version of the same inscription in Phoenician and Hieroglyphic Luwian. The lower North Gate is better preserved with more of its sculpture and inscriptions *in situ* or just fallen from their plinths; the upper South Gate's stones were largely scattered and the text incomplete.

The site was discovered in 1946 by H. T. Bossert and Halet Çambel, and the main excavations exposing the gateways were rapidly completed, but further research and restoration has continued under Halet Çambel up to the present.¹ Bossert's publication of the bilingual text in a preliminary form was incomplete at the time of his death in 1960, and a final publication by Halet Çambel has appeared recently.²

The inscription is the work of a certain Azatiwata who was apparently a subordinate ruler subject to the royal house of Adana, referred to as the "house of Muksa" (see below, n. 16). He names as his patron the king of Adana, Awariku (see below, n. 11), and seems from his somewhat veiled language to have acted as guardian to Awariku's succession and a powerful regent of the kingdom.

¹ Çambel 1993.

² Çambel 1999.

The date of the buildings, sculptures and inscriptions, which are not necessarily all contemporary, has been much debated.³ The sculptures show features datable to both the 9th and 8th centuries BCE,⁴ while a late date is favored both for the Phoenician⁵ and Hieroglyphic⁶ scripts, and historically a date at the beginning of the 7th century BCE (the reign of Sennacherib in Assyria) looks suitable.⁷ The possible identification of Awariku is relevant here.

The text is both the longest Phoenician and Hieroglyphic inscription; so it is equally important for both languages, quite apart from its bilingual aspect. In general, of course, the Phoenician throws light on the Hieroglyphic, but in some instances the reverse is true. The discovery and publication of the bilingual marks a most important stage in the decipherment of Hieroglyphic Luwian, which was reasonably advanced before its appearance, but has now been set on a sound footing by the translation of the parallel Phoenician (below, 2.31).⁸

§1	I am Azatiwata, ⁹ the Sun-blessed man, Tarhunza's ¹⁰ servant,	a Deut 32:6; 32:18	because of my <i>justice</i> and my <i>wisdom</i> and my goodness.
§2	whom Awariku ¹¹ the Adanawean king promoted. ¹²		§19 And I built strong fortresses [...] on the frontiers,
§3	Tarhunza made me mother and father ^a to Adanawa; ¹³	b Gen 45:8; Ps 109:14; Isa 22:21	§20 where there were bad men, robbers,
§4	and I caused Adanawa to prosper,		§21 who had not served under Muksa's house, ¹⁶
§5	and I <i>extended</i> the Adanawa plain on the one hand towards the west and on the other hand towards the east,	c Josh 10:24; Ps 8:7; 110:2;	§22 and I, Azatiwata, put them under my feet. ^c
§6	and in my days there were to Adanawa all good things, <i>plenty</i> and <i>luxury</i> ,	1 Kgs 5:3; 2 Sam 22:39 (= Ps 18:39); 1 Sam 25:24; Esther 8:3	§23 So I built fortresses in those places,
§7	and I fill the Paharean ¹⁴ granaries,		§24 so that Adanawa might dwell peacefully.
§8	and I made horse upon horse,		§25 And I smote strong fortresses towards the west,
§9	and I made army upon army,		§26 which former kings had not smitten,
§10	and I made shield upon shield, all by Tarhunza and the gods.		§27 who were before me.
§11	So I <i>broke</i> up the <i>proud</i> ,		§28 (So) I, Azatiwata, smote them,
§12	and the evils which were in the land		§29 and I brought them down,
§13	I [removed] out of the land.		§30 and I settled them down towards the east, on my frontiers,
§14	And I blessed my lord's house well. ¹⁵		§31 and so I settled Adanaweans down ... there.
§15	and I did all good things for my lord's family,		§32 In my days I <i>extended</i> the Adanawean frontiers on the one hand towards the west and on the other hand towards the east,
§16	and I made it sit upon its father's throne.		§33 and even in those places which were formerly feared,
§17	[not preserved in Hier. text; Phoen.: "and I established peace with every king."]		§34 where a man fears to go the road,
§18	and every king made me father ^b to himself		§35 so in my days even women walk with spindles. ¹⁷
			§36 In my days there was <i>plenty</i> and <i>luxury</i> and

³ Summarized by Çambel 2000:9-11; Hawkins 1999:44f.

⁴ Winter 1979; Deshayes 1981.

⁵ Peckham 1968:116-119; Röhlig 1999:73-81.

⁶ Hawkins 2000:44 and n. 88, 67f., 460 f.

⁷ Hawkins 1979; Garelli 1981; Desideri and Jasink 1990:133-146.

⁸ Words in *italics* in the translation are dependent on the Phoen. for their interpretation.

⁹ This name, also spelled *Azatiwara*, is a normal Luwian compound of *aza-*, "love," and *Tiwar*, the Sun-God. The consonantal outline is given most accurately by the Phoen. ²*ziwd* (note that intervocalic *d* > *r* is a regular Luwian development), while the vocalization is given by the Hieroglyphic: these combine to indicate *Azatiwada* (> *Azatiwara*).

¹⁰ Tarhunza is the usual name of the Hittite-Luwian Storm-God, equated in the bilingual with the Phoen. Ba'al.

¹¹ Awariku has the same name as Urikki, king of Que (Plain Cilicia), named in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II of Assyria (2nd half of the 8th century BCE). He could well be the same person, which would fix the date of the inscriptions, but he could also be a homonymous predecessor of Urikki. See below, COS 2.117A, note 4.

¹² This clause appears to define the position of Azatiwata as a subordinate ruler subject to the kings of Plain Cilicia.

¹³ Adanawa clearly designates the city of Adana, capital of Plain Cilicia (the "Adanawa plain") and seat of the dynasty. The usual Phoen. equivalent is *dhnyw*, probably to be vocalized *danunim*, "the Danuna people," apparently a Semitism for the inhabitants of Adana. Phoen. also has ¹*mq* ²*dn* for "plain of Adana."

¹⁴ A city, = Phoen. *p^rr*, identified as classical *Pagri*, perhaps an earlier name of Mopsouhestia (Misis): see Bossert 1951:290-294.

¹⁵ This and the following two rather cryptic phrases seem to show that Azatiwata acted as regent and guardian to Awariku's succession when the latter died or disappeared. The whole inscription, however, emphasizes how Azatiwata, though not king in Adana, exercised great power over the kingdom.

¹⁶ Muksa (Phoen. *Mps*) was at once identified as representing at least some aspects of *Mopsos* (*Maxos*) of Greek legend: see Hawkins 1995 with bibliography. It was remarkable to find him in the indigenous record regarded as the founder of the royal house of Adana.

¹⁷ Recognized as a regular literary topos of peace and security. Cf. also Hoffner 1966.

good living, §37 and peacefully dwelt Adanawa and the Adanawa plain. §38 I built this fortress, §39 and to it I put the name Azatiwataya.¹⁸ §40 So Tarhunza and Runza¹⁹ were after me for to build this fortress. §41 [Missing in Hier. South Gate inscription. Fragmentary -46 in North Gate inscription, preserved in Phoen.] §47 and therein (i.e. in Azatiwataya) I caused Tarhunza to dwell, §48 and every river-land²⁰ will begin to honor him: by (?) the year an ox, and at the cutting (?) a sheep and at the vintage a sheep.²¹ §49 Let him bless Azatiwata with health and life,²² §50 and let him be made highly preeminent over all kings! §51 And may Tarhunza the highly blessed and this fortress's gods give to him, to Azatiwata, long days and many years and good abundance,²² §52 and let them give him all victory over all kings! §53 And so let this fortress become (one) of the Grain-God and the Wine-God, §54 and so the nations that dwell in (it). §55 let them become (those) of sheep, oxen, the Grain-God, and the Wine-God!	d Mal 2:5; Prov 3:2 e Pss 72:5, 17; 89:37-38	§56 Much let them beget for us, §57 and much let them multiply, §58 and much let them be in service to Azatiwata and to Muksa's house, by Tarhunza and the gods! §59 If anyone from (among) kings, §60 or (if) he (is) a prince, §61 and to him (there is) a princely name, §62 proclaims this: §63 "I shall delete Azatiwata's name from the gates here, §64 and I shall incise my name",²³ §65 or (if) he is covetous towards this fortress, §66 and blocks up (?) these gates, §67 which Azatiwata made, §68 and proclaims thus: §69 "I shall make the gates my own, §70 and I shall incise my name for myself"; §71 or (if) from <i>covetousness</i> he shall block them up (?), §72 or from badness or from evil he shall block up (?) these gates, §73 may celestial Tarhunza, the celestial Sun, Ea and all the gods delete that kingdom, and that king and that man! §74 Hereafter may Azatiwata's name continue to stand for all ages, §75 as the moon's and the sun's name stands! "
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¹⁸ While Azatiwata clearly named his city after himself, the name so strikingly resembles the pre-classical name of the Pamphylian city Aspendos as recorded on its coins, *Aspendawc*, as to raise the question whether Azatiwata's building programme might have extended as far west as Pamphylia.

¹⁹ Runza (or Runtiya) is the usual Luwian name of the Stag-God, a tutelary deity often represented as supporter of the Storm-God, whose sphere of activity was the countryside and wild animals. The bilingual equates him with *Rēp sprm*, "Reseph of the Goats" (or "Birds").

²⁰ "River-land" is the usual Hittite expression for an inhabited, cultivated river valley. The problematic Phoen., *mskt* must be explained by reference to this: Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins 1987:270-272; Röllig 1999:60; Amadasi Guzzo, forthcoming.

²¹ For the seasonal festivals at which a sheep is offered, Phoen. has "ploughing" and "reaping." It is not at all clear that the Hieroglyphic text provides exact equivalents. The second seems certain to be "vintage," and while the first could be "ploughing," "cutting" looks more likely.

²² Hieroglyphic "abundance" is well established, Hawkins 2000:65, and Phoen. *ršrt* should be interpreted by reference to it, which seems to rule out the translation "old age" (but cf. Röllig 1999:60).

²³ The offense referred to, misappropriation of the monument, is often banned in ancient inscriptions, which seems to imply that it was common.

REFERENCES

Text, Translations and Studies: Hawkins 2000; Bossert 1951; Çambel 1993; 1999; Deshayes 1981; Desideri and Jasink 1990; Garelli 1981; Hawkins 1979; 1995; Hawkins and Orthmann 1980; Peckham 1968; Röllig 1999; Winter 1979.

3. FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS (2.22)

MARAŞ 4 (2.22A)

J. D. Hawkins

The inscription in Hieroglyphic Luwian is on a fragment of a colossal statue¹ recognizably of a type known from complete but uninscribed examples, notably the figure from Zinçirli, 3 m. high, of a typical neo-Hittite ruler, bearded, with hair in pot-hook curls, wearing a long fringed garment and belt with frontal tassel, sword on hip, holding a long staff of office.² This figure stands on a base of a pair of lions held centrally by a small hero figure,

¹ Hawkins 2000 no. IV.2.

² For an illustration, see e.g. Akurgal 1962 pls. 126-127.

and represents the ruler, deified after death, to receive funerary offerings, a practice referred to in inscriptions.³ Though from Zincirli, it clearly comes from a Karkamiš workshop, and fragments of a closely similar statue and base were found at the latter site.⁴

The Maraş fragment was clearly another such statue but the only inscribed example, the text giving the ruler's self-presentation of his deeds. This belongs in a tradition descending from the Hittite Empire: the last known Hittite king Suppiluliuma II records on a tablet that he made a statue of his late father Tudhaliya IV, inscribed it with his deeds and set it up in a rock sanctuary to receive offerings (see text COS 1.75, ii.4-16).

The author of MARAŞ 4, Halparuntiya II of Gurgum, is identified as a contemporary of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III, to whom he paid tribute in 853 BCE.⁵ In the next century, the Arameans borrowed this practice of the commemorative inscribed statue when Bar-Rakib king of Sam'al set up and inscribed in Aramaic a statue for his father Panammu II, who had fallen fighting for the Assyrians at the siege of Damascus in 733-732 BCE.⁶

§1 I am Halparuntiya the ruler, Gurgumean King, ⁷ the ruler Muwatali's son. ⁸	"allowed it to themselves (?)," ¹³
§2 In the year in which I smote the city Hirika, ⁹	§10 But I, Halparuntiya "allowed it to myself (?)," ¹⁴ Muwatali's son, Muwizi's great-grandson.
§3 in that year I set up Tarhunza of the Domain. ¹⁰	§11 I exalted (my) father, grandfather, great-grandfather and forefather(?).
§4 I captured the city Iluwasi, ¹¹	§12 [When] I captured the city Iluwasi,
§5 and I ...ed away Mount(?) Atursaliyanza, ¹²	§13 (of) the men I cut off the feet, ¹⁵
§6 and I trampled(?) the land Hirika,	§14 but the <i>children</i> I made eunuchs to us,
§7 and for us I did not spare(?) the two countries.	§15 and thereby I exalted my image for myself.
§8 To my father and grandfather there was authority,	§16 But I came forth,
§9 but neither (my) father nor (my) grandfather	§17 and myself on my throne [I seated ...] ¹⁶ (text breaks off)

³ See Hawkins 2000:89, no. II. 6, §§28-34.

⁴ Woolley 1952 pls. B53a-b, 54a, p. 192, but note that the figures are deified rulers, not gods as such.

⁵ Grayson *RIMA* 3:23, ii.84. See below Kurkh Monolith, COS 2.113A.

⁶ See the Panamuwa inscription (*KAI* #215), COS 2.37 below.

⁷ Gurgum is the name of a small country with the capital city Marqas in Assyrian terminology, and Marqas has become modern Maraş (Mar'as), city and province. The Hieroglyphic inscriptions use only Gurgum for city and country.

⁸ Muwatali is named by Shalmaneser III in the year 858 BCE. See Grayson *RIMA* 3:16, i.40. See below Kurkh Monolith, COS 2.113A.

⁹ Place names unknown though an identification of Hirika with Hilakku (Assyrian Rough Cilicia) has been proposed. See Neumann 1979.

¹⁰ Special manifestation of the Storm-God Tarhunza.

¹¹ See note 9.

¹² See note 9..

¹³ Literal translation not obviously meaningful but presumably idiomatic.

¹⁴ See previous note.

¹⁵ This barbaric act against captives is actually depicted on the Bronze Gates of Shalmaneser III, Halparuntiya's contemporary.

¹⁶ The text breaks off with our hero reporting his accession.

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KULULU 4 (2.22B)

J. D. Hawkins

This Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription was placed on a round-topped stele, running round all four sides, and broken off at the fourth line, but ending with an appended inscription across the top.¹ It is unique in beginning, "I was Ruwa ...," where all other such have "I am" It is clearly an example of the "speaking dead" addressing an audience from the tombstone, which is emphasized by the final appended notice that the dead man's nephew set it up for him. The inscription is also unusual in expressing an individual's concept of his soul, although this can be paralleled from cuneiform Hittite texts.² Though somewhat difficult to understand, the text apparently states that the speaker's soul

¹ Hawkins 2000 no. X.10.

² *ibid.*, 446, §4.

has been put in (at birth) by the gods and is taken back by them (at death). In the Bronze Age the idea that the King (and Queen) at death "become a god" and join the divine company finds expression in the texts,³ but it is not until the early Iron Age, with the appearance of inscribed tombstones for private individuals, that this notion is extended to non-royal folk.⁴

Ruwa is probably the same Ruwa who inscribed another stele from the same site Kululu, recording his construction of houses for his overlord Tuwati.⁵ That inscription concludes: "When I shall depart into the presence of the gods ..., these houses will be here." This suggests that Ruwa even in his lifetime was preoccupied with the idea of personal immortality and "afterlife."

§1 I was Ruwa the Ruler, the Sun-blessed (man).	put in (as) a ... ⁶ .
§2 Also my posterity (?) (is) Sun-blessed.	§10 I blessed my lords well, ⁹
§3 The gods loved me ...,	§11 and I was every man's father,
§4 and they put into me a beloved soul. ⁶	§12 and for every (man) I honored the good,
§5 Under my lords ⁷ (and) ... with my soul I ...ed,	§13 and for me my ... [...],
§6 and I was dear to my lords,	§14 and for my eunuchs ... [...]
§7 and they made me governor,	(text breaks off)
§8 and I was house-lord in the lords' house.	<i>Across the top of the stele is written:</i>
§9 For me the gods received the beloved soul	§15 This stele Huli set up, Ruwa's brother's son,
	§16 And he

³ "To become a god" is a regular euphemism describing a king's death. Note also the Royal Death Ritual introduced by the words: "When in Hattuša a great sin occurs and either the king or the queen becomes a god ..." (Otten 1958:184)

⁴ Hawkins 1980b; 1989.

⁵ Hawkins 2000 no. X.9.

⁶ The word here translated "soul" following the context as understood seems to mean literally "form, figure, image." The concept appears similar to that known from the classical world, the soul as an image or replica of the living person.

⁷ It is not exactly clear who are meant by the speaker's "lords," probably his earthly superiors during his lifetime rather than the gods.

⁸ The clause presumably describes the speaker's death.

⁹ This and the following clauses seem to characterize the speaker's virtuous life.

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WEST SEMITIC MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS

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A. BUILDING AND DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS

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1. MOABITE INSCRIPTIONS

THE INSCRIPTION OF KING MESHA (2.23)

K. A. D. Smelik

The inscription, which was carved on a black basalt stone, measuring 1.15 m. high and 60-68 cm. across, was discovered by the Alsatian missionary Klein at Dhiban in 1868. Due to the great interest in the stone shown by various Europeans in Palestine, the local population decided to demolish it and use the pieces as amulets in their granaries. The Frenchman Clermont-Ganneau, however, who had already had squeezes made of the stela, managed to get possession of two-thirds of the original stone. The fragments were sent to France and put together in the Louvre museum. Some of the gaps were filled on the basis of the squeezes. The end of the inscription is completely lost. The text, written in Moabite (or Israelite Hebrew?), dates around 835 BCE and belongs to the genre of building inscriptions. The Arabic numerals refer to the lines of the original text.

Introduction and Identification (1-3a)

I am Mesha,^a the son of Kemosh[-yatti]¹, the king of Moab, the Dibonite.²

My father was king over Moab for thirty years, and I was king after my father.

Occasion for the Erecting of the Stela (3b-4)

And I made this high-place³ for Kemosh⁴ ^b in Karchoh,⁵

[...]

because he has delivered me from all kings(?), and because he has made me look down on all my enemies.

Introduction to the Part on Military Achievements (5-7a)

Omri⁶ was the king of Israel, and he oppressed Moab for many days, for Kemosh was angry with his land.⁶

And his son⁷ succeeded him, and he said — he too —

"I will oppress Moab!"

In my days did he say [so],

a 2 Kgs 1:1;
3:4

b Num 21:29;
Judg 11:24;
1 Kgs 11:7,33;
2 Kgs 23:13;
Jer 48:7
(qere), 13, 46

c 1 Kgs 16:16-
28

but I looked down on him and on his house, and Israel has gone to ruin, yes, it has gone to ruin for ever!⁸

The Return of the Land of Medeba (7b-9)

And Omri had taken possession of the whole la[n]d of Medeba,

and he lived there (in) his days and half the days of his son, forty years, but Kemosh [resto]red it⁹ in my days.

And I built Baal Meon, and I made in it a water reservoir, and I built Kiriathaim.

The Conquest of Ataroth (10-13)

And the men of Gad lived in the land of Ataroth from ancient times,¹⁰

and the king of Israel built Ataroth for himself, and I fought against the city,

and I captured it, and I killed all the people [from] the city as a sacrifice(?)¹¹ for Kemosh and for Moab, and I brought back the fire-hearth of his Uncle(?)¹² from there,

¹ The complete name of Mesha's father is not preserved in the Mesha inscription, but supplemented on the base of a reconstruction of another Moabite inscription found at Kerak in 1958 and published by Reed and Winnett 1963:1-9.

² Dibon (now Diban) was the capital of Moab at that time.

³ *bmt*: a kind of sanctuary typical for Canaan. It also occurs frequently in the Hebrew Bible.

⁴ National god of Moab.

⁵ Possibly the name for a new quarter of the capital Dibon. The vocalization of the name is uncertain. Other possibilities: Kericho, Korcha, Kircho.

⁶ According to the same principle, in Judg 3:12 the oppression of Israel by a Moabite king is explained as the result of YHWH's wrath with his people.

⁷ According to the Hebrew Bible, this was Ahab (ruled 868-854 BCE). This is, however, not in accordance with the date given in line 8. For this reason, it is more probable that Omri's grandson Jehoram (ruled 851-840 BCE) is meant.

⁸ Possible reference to the decline of Israel during the reign of Jehu (839-822 BCE); cf. 2 Kgs 10:32-33.

⁹ Lit., "returned it." Other possibility: "lives there."

¹⁰ This remark by Mesha shows that he was not acquainted with the tradition that Gad was one of the Israelite tribes who participated in the Exodus.

¹¹ Meaning uncertain. Part of ritual warfare was the massacre of the population of a conquered town in honour of the national god (also in ancient Israel).

¹² Some cultic device. Possibly, "Uncle" was a divine name or title.

and I hauled it before the face of Kemosh¹³ in Kerioth,
and I made the men of Sharon live there, as well as the men of Maharith¹⁴.

The Destruction of Nebo (14-18a)

And Kemosh said to me:

"Go, take Nebo from Israel!"^d

And I went in the night,

and I fought against it from the break of dawn until noon,

and I took it,

and I killed [its] whole population,

seven thousand male citizens(?) and aliens(?),

and female citizens(?) and aliens(?),¹⁵ and servant girls;

for I had put it to the ban^e for Ashtar Kemosh.¹⁶

And from there, I took th[e ves]sels of YHWH,¹⁷

and I hauled them before the face of Kemosh.

The Conquest of Jahaz (18b-21a)

And the king of Israel had built Jahaz,

and he stayed there during his campaigns against me,¹⁸

and Kemosh drove him away before my face,

and I took two hundred men of Moab, all its division(?),¹⁹

and I led it up to Jahaz.

And I have taken it in order to add it to Dibon.

Mesha's Building Activities at Karchoh (21b-25)

I have built Karchoh,

the wall of the woods and the wall of the citadel,

and I have built its gates,

and I have built its towers,

and I have built the house of the king,

and I have made the double reser[voir] for the spr[ing](?)²⁰ in the innermost part of the city.

d 1 Sam 15:3

e Num 21:2-3; Josh 10:28-40; Judg 1:17; 21:11; 1 Sam 15:3; 1 Kgs 20:42

f Num 32:38; 1 Chr 5:8

g Isa 15:5; Jer 48:3, 5, 34

Now, there was no cistern in the innermost part of the city, in Karchoh,
and I said to all the people:

"Make, each one of you, a cistern in his house."

And I cut out the moat(?) for Karchoh by means of prisoners from Israel.²¹

Other Building Activities (26-27)

I have built Aroer,

and I made the military road in the Arnon.

I have built Beth Bamoth,

for it was destroyed.

I have built Bezer,

for [it lay in] ruins.

First Conclusion (28-29)

[And the me]n²² of Dibon stood in battle-order,²³
for all Dibon, they were in subjection.

And I am the kin[g over the] hundreds in the towns which I have added to the land.

Other Building Activities (30-31a)

And I have built [the House of Mede]ba²⁴

and the House of Diblathaim^f

and the House of Baal Meon,

and I brought there [...] flocks of the land.

Battle at Horonaim (31b-34)

And Horonaim,^g there lived [...]

And Kemosh said to me:

"Go down, fight against Horonaim!"

I went down [...]

[and] Kemosh [resto]red it in my days.

and [...] from there [...]

[...]

[...]

Second Conclusion (34-)

And I ...

¹³ The Kemosh sanctuary at Kerioth is meant.

¹⁴ Mesha only combined the massacre of the original inhabitants with the resettlement of the conquered territory by his own population when he wanted to add the city to Moab (Ataroth and Jahaz; not Nebo).

¹⁵ Meaning uncertain; for this translation, see Gibson, *SSI* 1:80-81.

¹⁶ Ashtar is the male counterpart of Ashtarte/Ishtar; here combined with the national Moabite god Kemosh. For the significance of the ban (*ḥrm*), see Stern 1991.

¹⁷ The earliest occurrence of the name of Israel's god in an inscription. Cf. also below, 2.47.

¹⁸ In 2 Kgs 3, Jehoram attacks Moab from the South; in the Mesha inscription from the North (Jahaz). For a historical reconstruction see Smelik 1992:90-92.

¹⁹ For the translation here, see Gibson, *SSI* 1:81.

²⁰ For the translation here, see Yadin 1969:18 n. 18.

²¹ For the translation of this sentence, see Gibson, *SSI* 1:82.

²² For the restoration of the text here, see Smelik 1992:71.

²³ For the translation here, see Lipiński 1971:339.

²⁴ For the restoration of the text here, see Müller 1974:14.

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2. AMMONITE INSCRIPTIONS

THE AMMAN CITADEL INSCRIPTION (2.24)

Walter E. Aufrecht

The inscription is on an irregularly shaped rectangle of white limestone discovered on the Citadel of Amman, Jordan, in 1961. The face of the stone is chipped, causing several letters to flake off. The beginning and ending of each line are lost. The inscription is in the Archaeological Museum, Amman, Jordan (No. J 9000).¹ It has been dated paleographically to the (mid)-9th century BCE.²

<i>Introduction: Command by the deity</i> (line 1) [The words of Mil]kom: ³ ^a build for yourself entrances roundabout [	^a 1 Kgs 11:5, 33; 2 Kgs 23:13	[] and amid (its) co[lum]ns (the) just will reside [] [] (the) innermost door ⁴ ^b [I shall surely] extinguish [
<i>Curses and blessings</i> (lines 2-8) [] that all who surround you shall surely die [] [] I shall surely destroy. All who enter [	^b Jer 36:23	[] you shall gaze in awe in the midst of the porch [] [] and š[] ^h and n[] [] ... peace to you and pe[ace

¹ For the most recent discussions, see: *CAI* 154-163 (no. 59); Shea 1991:62-66; and Hübner 1992:17-21.

² Cross 1969:17.

³ The inscription has been interpreted by most commentators as a building inscription of either a temple or of the Citadel itself. Most interpreters agree in reconstructing the phrase as if the god Milkom is speaking. Milkom may have been the national deity of Ammon. The name appears in the Bible and in several inscriptions, *CAI* nos. 1, 55, 57, 61, 127, 129, 147, 136. See the discussions by Puech 1977, Tigay 1987, and Aufrecht 1999a.

⁴ Hicks 1983:53-55 takes *dlr* here (and in Jer 36:23) to mean "writing board."

⁵ An alternative reading of this line is, "You shall be feared among the gods," *CAI* 162-163.

REFERENCES

Text: *CAI* 154-163 (no. 59). Studies: Aufrecht 1999a; Cross 1969; Fulco 1978; Hicks 1982; Hübner 1992; Puech 1977; Shea 1991; Tigay 1987.

THE TELL SĪRĀN INSCRIPTION (2.25)

Walter E. Aufrecht

The inscription is found on a 10 cm. long bronze-colored metal bottle made of copper, lead and tin. The bottle was found at Tel Sīrān, Jordan, in 1972. The end of the bottle was sealed by a pin through the neck. It contained dried barley, wheat, a few weeds and chunks of lead and copper. There are ninety-two letters in the eight-line inscription, all of which can be read clearly. The inscription is in the Archaeological Museum, Amman, Jordan (No. J 12943).¹ It has been dated paleographically to ca. 600 BCE.²

May the produce ³ of ^c Amminadab ⁴ king of the Ammonites, ⁵ ^a the son of Hissal ⁶ il ⁶ king of the Ammonites,	^a 2 Sam 10:1; Jer 40:14 ^b Amos 4:9, 9:14	the son of ^c Amminadab king of the Ammonites — the vineyard and the garden(s) ^b and the hollow ⁷ and cistern ⁸ —
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¹ For the most recent discussions, see: *CAI* 203-211 (no. 78) and Hübner 1992:27-31.

² Cross 1973a:14.

³ Among the major studies of this inscription, two trajectories of translation and interpretation have developed: those who view the text as a building or commemorative inscription, and those who view it as a poem. The differences among the interpretations rest on the translation of the first word, *m^cbd*, and those in lines four and five. Those who view the text as a building inscription translate *m^cbd* as "works of." Others extend the meaning of this word to mean "poem." Coote 1980:93, made the sensible suggestion that this word refers to the contents of the bottle, translating "product of," *CAI* 207.

⁴ This king (ca. 600 BCE) has the same name as his grandfather (line 3). The grandfather is likely the person mentioned on Assurbanipal's Cylinder C (ca. 667 BCE), who is said to have paid tribute to the Assyrian king. *ANET* 294. The name is also found on Ammonite seals, *CAI* 40-43 (no. 17) and 96-99 (no. 40). For a new list of the Ammonite kings, see Cross (in press).

⁵ The Ammonites, *bn^c mⁿ*, lit. "sons of Ammon," were the Northwest Semitic speaking people who occupied part of Transjordan in the Iron Age. For the most recent discussions, see: Hübner 1992; Aufrecht 1999b; Aufrecht and Herr (in press); and Cross (in press).

⁶ This king, otherwise unknown, may be dated to ca. 625 BCE, Cross (in press).

⁷ Those who view the text as a building inscription interpret this word, *h²th^r*, as a noun from the root *h²tr*, meaning "hove," "tunnel," "hollow," or the like. Those who view the inscription as a poem take the word to be a verb from the root *h²tr*, meaning "to be delayed," or from the root *h²rh*, "to be hot," *CAI* 209.

⁸ If a noun, the root of this word is *šwh* meaning, "pit," "tunnel," or "cistern." The word also appears in line 9 of the Moabite stela, *COS* 2.23; *KAI* 2.168. Those who view the inscription as a poem take the word to be a verb from the root *šht*, "to go to ruin," *CAI* 210-211.

cause rejoicing and gladness
for many days (to come) and in years⁹ c

c Deut 32:7,
Ps 90:15

far off.

⁹ The formulaic pair *ymr*, "days," and *šnr*, "years," also occurs in Ug.; Virolleaud 1957:39. Cf. below, p. 146, n. 9; p. 150, n. 32; p. 154, n. 13; p. 154 n. f.

REFERENCES

Text: *CAI* 203-211 (no. 78); Studies: Aufrecht 1999b; Aufrecht and Herr (in press); Coote 1980:93; Cross 1973a; in press; Hübner 1992; Virolleaud 1957.

THE AMMAN THEATRE INSCRIPTION (2.26)

Walter E. Aufrecht

This two-line inscription is on a fragmentary, triangular, black basalt stone measuring 26 x 17 cm at its widest. The surface of the stone is rough and pitted. A word divider in the form of a short stroke is found between the first and second words. The inscription is in the Archaeological Museum, Amman, Jordan (No. J 11686).¹ It has been dated paleographically to the late 6th century BCE.²

[] Ba^cal³ I shall build []
[] son of ^cAmn[on]⁴

¹ For the most recent discussions, see: *CAI* 151-153 (no. 58) and Hübner 1992:21-23.

² Cross 1975:11.

³ This word means "lord" or "master," and is probably part of a proper name, an epithet designating the male deity of fertility, whose proper name was Hadad among the Amorites, Adad among the Mesopotamians, and Haddu among the Canaanites; Maier 1992:11.

⁴ Most interpreters reconstruct "^cAmmon" or "^cAmminadab." It is also possible to understand it as "Ammonite(s)" or to read the first two letters as ^ci; *CAI* 153.

REFERENCES

Text: *CAI* 151-153 (no. 58); Studies: Ahlström 1984; Cross 1975; Fulco 1979; Hübner 1992; Maier 1992.

3. DEIR ^cALLA

THE DEIR ^cALLA PLASTER INSCRIPTIONS (2.27)

(The Book of Balaam, son of Beor)

Baruch A. Levine

The Deir ^cAlla plaster inscriptions were discovered by H. Franken in 1967, and later published by J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij 1976. They immediately awakened scholarly attention because the name of Balaam, son of Beor, the non-Israelite seer and diviner whose exploits and poetic orations are preserved in Numbers, chapters 22-24, appears several times in these inscriptions. What is more, the inscriptions speak of phenomena similar to those associated with the biblical Balaam; of divine visitations and visions, of signs and admonitions, of destruction and death, all in a language not very different from Biblical Hebrew. The Deir ^cAlla inscriptions also refer to a divine council of inimical gods, and to El and his circle of friendly gods, and tell of intense magical activity, all of which lends to the Balaam texts a mythological character. The religio-ethnic identity of the author of these inscriptions remains uncertain, as does the identity of those for whom they were written (see below).

The first edition by Hoftijzer and van der Kooij provided color photographs, as well as copies and transcriptions. Unidentified fragments were also published. The texts were presented in two "Combinations," respectively, Combination I and Combination II. There is a full commentary, with introductory sections on the script and writing materials, including a discussion of the archaeological background by Franken, the excavator of Deir ^cAlla. Caquot and Lemaire 1977 realigned the fragments of Combination I and in so doing added significantly to their comprehensibility. The proceedings of an international conference on the Deir ^cAlla inscriptions, held in Leiden in 1989, present a re-evaluation of the inscriptions by most of those who had been engaged in their research, with updated information

gathered from the ongoing excavations at the site (Hoftijzer and van der Kooij 1991).

What are being called "inscriptions" are actually texts pieced together from fragments of plaster that had fallen to the floor from the inner walls of a building. That structure was part of a manufacturing and distribution center located on the mound, where some religious activity may have taken place. The inscriptions, written in ink on plaster with a nib, were displayed on the walls. They belong to stratum IX at the site, which has been dated to the ninth and eighth centuries BCE, with the inscriptions, themselves, dated on the basis of laboratory tests to ca. 800 BCE (Ibrahim and van der Kooij 1991). Tel Deir 'Alla is located about eight kilometers east of the Jordan, not far from the northern bank of the Zerqa river (the biblical Jabbok), which flows into the Jordan. The plaster inscriptions are on display in the Archaeological Museum in Amman, Jordan.

The interpretation of the inscriptions has been complicated from the outset by their fragmentary state and poor legibility, and by questions bearing on their language and cultural provenance. Serious disagreements remain as to correct readings, a situation which has produced more than a few alternative renderings of the texts. Puech 1987 and others have been successful in placing some initially unidentified fragments in the gaps of Combination I. In the first publication, the language of these inscriptions was simply identified as Aramaic, but subsequent analysis has altered scholarly opinion, favoring a local, or regional language bearing affinities to both the Aramaic and Canaanite groups, with opinion still divided on this question.

What has become clear is that the inscriptions are a product of the place where they were discovered: in the Valley of Succoth of biblical times, in the land of Gilead. They date from the period prior to the invasions of Tiglat-Pileser III (734-732 BCE), which resulted in mass deportations from the area. Given what is known of the immediate region in the early to mid-eighth century BCE, it is likely that Israelites constituted the principal element in the Gileadite population. It has been argued that, indeed, the inscriptions speak for Gileadite Israelites who worshipped El, a regional deity.

Although Balaam's name is not attested in what we have of Combination II, it is reasonable to conclude that the initial title "The Book of Balaam" named a collection of visions that encompassed both of the combinations thus far assembled, and additional sections that are preserved only in fragments. Since the inscriptions display a poetic character, they will be arranged in verse form, which adds to their clarity. Combination I can be read consecutively, despite its gaps, whereas Combination II, pending further attempts at its reconstruction, is less continuous, and will be presented as excerpts.

The contents of Combination I may be summarized as follows: Balaam is visited at night by gods sent to communicate to him a message from El, the high god. It is a message of doom, and Balaam is so distressed that he weeps and fasts for two days. Convening his intimates, Balaam discloses to them what has been revealed to him in the vision. A council (*mw'd* = Hebrew *mô'ed*) of inimical gods, opposing El, has commanded the goddess Shagar-and-Ishtar, a Venus figure of light and fertility, to sew up the heavens producing darkness, and never to speak again. Celestial darkness will cause frenzy on earth, with birds of prey shrieking. Balaam interprets the vision to refer to an impending disaster in the land. Grazing land will be lost to wild beasts, and the flocks will be scattered.

At this point, it becomes less clear what is happening. As interpreted here, the text relates that Balaam undertook the rescue of the goddess from the edict of the council of inimical gods, in accordance with the will of El who had forewarned him. Shagar-and-Ishtar is brought to various magical practitioners and oracles, as Balaam issues admonitions to her adversaries and dispatches powerful agents against them. The adversaries of Shagar-and-Ishtar suffer distress for all to see. Although the text becomes progressively more fragmentary, it is apparent that what had been threatened did not happen; the goddess did not sew up the heavens, and the land was not devastated. The adversaries heard incantations pronounced against them. Domesticated animals drove off the wild beasts.

Combination II begins by relating that after engaging in lovemaking, El constructed a netherworld, described as a "house" where no traveler enters, where no bridegroom goes. The text continues with descriptions of the netherworld reminiscent of Isaiah, chapter 14, the biblical oracle of Sheol. The word Sheol (*š'ol*) may actually occur in the text. We read that the corpse moans in the nether world. The unusual word used to designate a corpse, *nqr*, is known from Isa 14:19 in its Hebrew form, *nēser*. Alongside the depiction of the half-existence of kings in Sheol, of worm rot and shrouds, where human feelings and quests are lacking, we read of an unnamed, wise counselor being denied his craft; deprived of his ability to pronounce oracles and execrations. It is suggestive to associate such a fate with Balaam, the protagonist of Combination I, although Balaam's name is not attested in Combination II as we have it. In the following, uncertain translations are italicized.

COMBINATION I:

Title (line 1)

The misfortunes¹ of the Book of Balaam, son of Beor.² ^a

A divine seer^b was he.³

The Theophany (lines 1-4)

The gods came to him at night,

And he beheld a vision^c in accordance with El's utterance.⁴

They said to Balaam, son of Beor:

"So will it be done, with naught surviving,⁵

No one has seen [the likes of] what you have heard!"

Balaam Reports his Vision to his Intimates (lines 4-7)

Balaam arose on the morrow;

He summoned the heads of the assembly unto him,

^a Num 22-24,

esp. 24:3,

15; Num 31:8,

16; Deut 23:5;

Josh 13:2;

24:9; Mic

6:5; Neh 13:2

82 Sam 24:11;

2 Kgs 17:13;

Isa 30:10;

Amos 7:12;

Mic 3:7

^c Num 22:8-

13, 19-20;

Gen 15:1;

Num 24:4,

16; Ezek

13:7

^d 1 Sam 1:10;

Isa 30:9, Jer

22:10, Lam

1:2 ^e Gen

49:25, Num

24:4, 16; Isa

13:6; Ezek

1:24; 10:5;

Joel 1:15; Ps

68:15; 91:1;

Job (31

times), esp.

5:17; 6:14;

22:17; 40:2;

^f Num 23:23

^g Isa 14:13;

Ps 82:1

And for two days he fasted, and wept bitterly.⁴

Then his intimates entered into his presence,⁶

And they said to Balaam, son of Beor:

"Why do you fast,

And why do you weep?"

Then he said to them:

"Be seated, and I will relate to you⁷ what the

Shaddai-gods^c have planned,⁸

And go, see the acts of the gods!"⁹ ^f

Balaam Describes the Celestial Vision and Its Aftermath in the Land (lines 7-13)

"The gods have banded together;

The Shaddai-gods have established a council.¹⁰ ^g

And they have said to [the goddess] Shagar:¹¹

¹ Read *yissûrê* "the misfortunes of," namely, the misfortunes envisioned in "The Book of Balaam." The BH verb *yissêr* may mean "to afflict, punish" (Lev 26:28, 1 Kgs 12:11, Ps 39:12). In post-BH, sing. *yissûr*, plural *yissûrîn* mean "suffering(s), punishment(s)" (Levy 1964 2:250).

² The WS term *spr* (= Heb. *sîper*) refers to all types of written records, including collections of prophetic visions (Jer 36:11; Nah 1:1; Dan 12:4). The title *spr Bî'm br-Bî'r*: "The Book of Balaam, son of Beor" encompasses Combinations I and II, and probably subsequent sections that have been lost. The patronymic *br-bî'r* (= Heb. *ben Be'or*) is written as one word, using the normal Aram. *br* (= *bar*, *bir*) for "son."

³ The syntax is emphatic: ³ *hzh* ² *lhn* ^h (= ² *hzh* ² *hzh* ² *elâhîn hâ*) "a divine seer was he." Cf. ² *hâ* ² *elôhîm hâ* "The man of God was he" (1 Kgs 13:26). Others have parsed the words differently, reading ² *hâ* ² *hzh* ² *elâhîn hâ* "who was a divine seer," expressing the relative ² *hâ* (= ² *hâ*), with prosthetic *aleph*, which is current in Phoen.-Punic.

⁴ Appropriately the *hzh* "seer" beholds a vision (*mhzh* = *mahazeh*), a term associated with Balaam in the biblical poems, where it is said of him: ² *âser mahazeh šaddâi yehezeh* "who beholds the vision of Shaddai" (Num 24:3, 16). The term *mš* (= *maššâ*) "utterance" means, lit., what one says when he "raises" his voice, an action conveyed in the idiom *nâšâ qôl* "to raise one's voice." In biblical literature, Heb. *maššâ* often defines prophetic utterances. See *c* above. It is the message of the god El (Heb. ² *El*) which was revealed to Balaam, and which the gods who visited him at night had related to him. The gods came "to him" (² *lwh*), written with *aleph* instead of *ayin*. This shift reflects the interplay of the prepositional forms ^c *al* and ^c *el* in certain phases of Heb. and Aram., and recalls the Aram. form ^c *alôhî* "to him."

⁵ The elliptical clause *kh yip^cl* (= *kôh yip^cal*) is to be taken as stative-passive: "So will it be done." The verb *p^cl* "to do" resonates in this inscription. (See note 9 below). The phrase *bî'p^ch* (= *bêlâ^c* ² *ahra^cdh*) is best taken adverbially: "without anything coming after, surviving into the future." The form ² *h^cdh* (= ² *ahra^cdh*) resembles that of Heb. *hâl^cdh* "further on, beyond" (Num 17:11; 32:19).

⁶ The term ^c *m* (= ^c *am*), in ^c *mh* (= ^c *ammôh*) "his intimates," is usually taken to mean "people, nation," but it essentially connotes "clan, family." See Levine: 1989:142, s.v. Lev 21:4; Good 1983.

⁷ The text reads ² *hwkn* (= ² *ahawwâkûm*) "I will relate to you." The verb *hw* "to show, tell," is common to the WS languages. Cf. Job 15:17: ² *ahawwêkâ*, *šema^c li* "I will tell you; hear me!"

⁸ The previously unattested plural, *šdyn*, is best vocalized *šaddâyîn* "Shaddai-gods" on the model of the Aram. gentilic plural *Yehûdâyyîn* "those of Judah; Judeans" (*Qere*) in Dan 3:12. In fact, the frequent Heb. singular, *šaddâi*, is also gentilic, and is best translated "the one of the mountain," referring to divine beings who inhabit mountains, or associated with them in myth. As such, *šaddâi* would be cognate with Akk. *šaddâ-u* "mountain dweller." Cf. CAD *š* 1:43, s.v. *šaddû^ca*; HAL 1319-1321, s.v. *šaddâi* (see *e* above). Heb. *šaddâi* is closely associated in biblical literature with ² *El*, the presiding deity in the Deir 'Alla inscriptions. The Deir 'Alla *šaddâyîn* are deities allied with the other group of ² *lhn* (= ² *elâhîn*) "gods" who were opposing the chief god, El. The hypostasis of Shaddai in biblical literature is realized in personal names such as *Amnîšaddâi* "Shaddai is my kin" (Num 1:6), and *šurîšaddâi* "Shaddai is my rock" (Num 1:12).

⁹ Gods are given to action, a thought conveyed by the verb *p^cl* "to do." Deir 'Alla *p^cl^c lhn* (= *pe^cullôt^c elâhîn*) "the acts of the gods," recalls biblical *mah p^cal^c El* "What El is about to do" (Num 23:24).

¹⁰ For the biblical attestations of the Heb. term *mô^ced*, Deir 'Alla *mw^cd*, see *g* above. On the high ridges of Mount Zaphon, referred to as *har mô^ced* "the mountain of the divine council," El and his council assembled (Isa 14:13). The notion that gods made common cause and "banded together" (² *tyhwh*) in divine assemblies to deal with problems on earth and in heaven is pervasive in ancient Near Eastern literature; cf. Polley 1980; Mullen 1992. It is interesting to read here that the Shaddai-gods "established, set up" (Piel *nšbw* = *nîššebû*) a divine council, whereas Ps 82:1 employs the Niphal, stative stem of the same verb: ² *elôhîm nîššab ba^cadat^c El* "God stands up in the assembly of El."

¹¹ The text is restored to read *šgr*, the first part of the goddess' name. Her full name is given near the end of COMBINATION I as *šgr w^cštr* "Shagar and Ishtar" (see below, Note 17 [name partially restored], and Note 26 [complete name]). As first noted by Hoftijzer, this composite divine name evokes the biblical expression: *šegar alâpêkâ w^c âštorêt šô^cnekâ* "the issue of your herds and the fertility of your flocks" (Deut 7:13; 18:51; 28:4). In that expression, the plural of *âštorêt*, namely, *âštarôt*, loses its status in divine nomenclature and comes to mean "fertility," the major attribute of the goddess in question. In contrast, the component *šgr* is hypostasized here. Note the Punic personal name, *bdšgr* "servant / worshipper of Shagar," which demonstrates the same hypostasis; Benz 1972:163. It may be pure coincidence, but in the inscriptions from Emar, a Late Bronze Age town on the Euphrates, divine *ša-ag-ga-ar* is listed as the recipient of offerings alongside the goddess *Nin-kur*, suggesting that this name may be that of a goddess. In any event, the context at Emar is suggestive for comparison with the inscriptions from Deir 'Alla. The principal text (no. 378) is a list of gods and goddesses to whom offerings were brought. It begins by referring to Dagan as "Lord of cattle" (EN *bu-[ga-ri]*), and there is further reference to "Ashtar of the stars" (*As-tar MUL*) and to "Ishtar, lady of the water sources" (*Inanna GAŠAN e-ni*); Arnaud 1986:372, no. 378, lines 1, *12, 39, 44. It is surprising to find in a WS inscription the masculine form of the name of the goddess, namely, *štr*, which is normal for East Semitic (cf. Akk. *štar*), instead of the feminine form, Heb. *âštorêt*, Phoen.-Punic *štrr*,

'Sew up, close up¹² the heavens with dense cloud, That darkness exist there, not brilliance¹³; ^h <i>Obscurity and not clarity</i>; So that you instill dread in dense darkness. And — never utter a sound again!"	# Isa 4:5; 50:10; 59:9; 60:19; 62:1; 3; Ezek 1:4; 13, 27-28; 10:4; Joel 2:10; Amos 5:20; Hab 3:11; 2 Sam 22:13 Ps 18:13; Job 22:11-14	Ishtar]¹⁷ [skilled diviner.¹⁸ To skilled diviners shall one take you, and to an oracle; [To] a perfumer of myrrh and a priestess.¹⁹ [Who] covers his body [with oil], And rubs himself with olive oil. To one bearing an offering in a horn;²⁰ One augurer after another, and yet another. As one augurer broke away from his colleagues.²¹ The strikers²² departed []
"It shall be that the swift and crane will shriek insult to the eagle, And a nest of vultures shall cry out in response. The stork, the young of the falcon and the owl, The chicks of the heron, sparrow and cluster of eagles; Pigeons and birds, [and fowl in the sky]."¹⁴	f Ezek 31:13; 32:4 j Jer 25:34-36; 51:23; Ezek 34:5-10; Amos 1:2; Zech 11:3; 13:7 k Jer 17:23; 32:33; 35:13; Prov 1:8; 4:1; 8:33	<i>The Admonitions are Heeded; The Malevolent Gods are Punished, the Goddess Rescued, and the Land Saved</i> (lines 14-18) They heard incantations from afar.²³ [] Then disease was unleashed,²⁴ And all beheld acts of distress.²⁵ Shagar-and-Ishtar did not²⁶ [] The piglet [drove out] the leopard; And [the] drove out the young of [the].²⁷ [] double offerings. And he beheld []
<i>Balaam Acts to Save the Goddess and the Land</i> (lines 13-14) Heed the admonition,^h adversaries of Sha[gar-and-		

Ug. ^c*ftt*. And yet reference must be to a goddess, because the verbs of address are consistently feminine. The counterpart male aspect, expressed in Moabite and South-Arabian as ^c*ftt*, Ug. ^c*ftt*, cannot be intended here. As will be clarified in due course, the Deir 'Alla goddess Shagar-and-Ishtar expresses the synthesis of Ishtar and Venus. See Note 13 below.

¹² It is appropriate to speak of sewing up the heavens, since they are depicted as a tent flap (Ps 104:2). The verb *skr* "to close up, dam" is employed in Gen 8:2 to describe the shutting of the wells of the deep after the Flood.

¹³ The text reads *hsk w'l ngh* "darkness and not brilliance," a contrast well attested in biblical literature, where Heb. *nôgah* is most often associated with the light of heavenly bodies. See *h* above. In post-biblical Jewish literature, *nôgah* is the name given to Venus (Levy 1964 3:334). The synthesis of Ishtar-Venus in Mesopotamian culture is best known from the so-called *Venus Tablets of Ammîsaduqa* newly edited by Reiner-Pingree (1975; 1981).

¹⁴ The long list of birds, mostly birds of prey, is unusual. All may be identified, and many are included in the category of forbidden fowl in Lev 11 and Deut 14. Deir 'Alla *sdh* "owl" is known from the Aram. treaties from Sefire (KAI 22, line 33; see below, 2.82). The restoration: [^p *bšmyn*] "[fowl in the sky]" is by Puech 1987.

¹⁵ Puech 1987 restores: *wf/yhšl.bjqr* "shall flay the cattle," based on the occurrence of the verb *hšl* "to peel off, hull" (Akk. *ḫašālu*) in an unidentified fragment, which reads: *bqr.ḫšl.wy²kl* "Let him skin cattle and eat."

¹⁶ Phonetically, Deir 'Alla *qb^c* "hyena" is realized in post-biblical Heb. as *šabū'a* (Levy 1964 4:166).

¹⁷ The text reads *šm^cw mwsr* (= Heb. *šim'e-ā mūsār*) "heed the admonition." This is biblical diction. See *k* above. The name of the goddess is partially restored.

¹⁸ The text is restored: *hškm* "skilled diviner" from ensuing *hškmn* "to skilled diviners." Cf. Isa 3:3 *ḥakam ḥarāšim* "one skilled in incantations" which is parallel with *nebôn laḥaš* "one expert in spells." In Gen 41:8, *ḥakāmūn* is listed alongside *mekāšepīm* "soothsayers" and in Exod 7:11 with *ḥarṭūmīm* "magicians."

¹⁹ The feminine noun *nyh*, lit. "responder, answerer" is compared by Hoffjizer (1976:212, notes 79-82) with Akk. *āpiltu*, a known role at Mari. CAD A 1:170; "female answerers." Cf. in biblical usage *ma'aneh* ²*elōhīm* "a divine response" (1 Kgs 18:24; Prov 16:1). In fact, all of the practitioners listed are women: *khnh* "priestess," *rqht nr* "perfumer of myrrh," and *nyh*.

²⁰ The text reads: *lnš^c 2xr.qm* "to one bearing an offering [in] a horn," taking *2xr* as a cognate of Ug. *uzr* "offering." The precise sense remains uncertain.

²¹ The term *hšb* (Heb. *ḥōšēb*) is understood as one who "calculates," hence: "augurer." The text reads *hšb, hšb, whšb*, which may be taken as distributive: "augurers of all sorts." Puech 1987 restores ²*nuq* "he broke away" on the basis of an unidentified fragment.

²² Puech 1987 restores *hbsn* from an unidentified fragment and explains it on the basis of Aramaic-Syriac *hbs*, a variant of *hbt* "to strike, mill, crush," (Levy 1964 2:7). Hoffjizer cites Syriac *ḥebšā* "crowd." Cf. Brockelmann 1966:211. These are the ones sent to afflict the adversaries of the goddess.

²³ The text reads *wšm^cw hršn mn rḥq* "They heard incantations from afar." Cf. Note 18 above, *ḥakam ḥarāšim*. See Levy 1964 2:119, for post-biblical and Aram. forms, *ḥārāš* and *ḥaršā* "incantations." Cf. Brockelmann 1966:259 and Sokoloff 1990:216.

²⁴ Puech 1987 restores on the basis of a fragment: [*wḥpyth ḫly*], lit. "He opened to disease."

²⁵ All beheld the distress inflicted on the adversaries of the goddess. Deir 'Alla *qqn* (pl.) reflects a phonetic variant of Heb. forms such as *šūqāh* "distress, oppression" (Isa 8:22), and masc. *šōq* (Dan 9:25).

²⁶ This is the only place where the full name of the goddess, *Šgr-w^cštr* is preserved. The name is followed by what appears to be a prefixed negative *l-* "not." The sense would be that the goddess "did not" sew up the heavens or, to put it another way, that she did not bring devastation on the land.

²⁷ Order and calm were restored. Domestic animals drove out wild beasts. The form *hqrqt* "she drove out" is the Haphel 3rd fem. perf. sing. of *qrq*, a phonetic variant of *rq* "to run away, abscond" (Job 30:17). HAL 841.

COMBINATION II:

EXCERPT A: *El builds a necropolis* (lines 6-7)El satisfied himself with [lovmaking];¹And then El fashioned an eternal house;²

[A house].

A house where no traveler³ enters,²

Nor does a bridegroom enter there.

EXCERPT B: *A Half-existence in Sheol* (line 8)

Worm rot from a grave.

From the reckless affairs of men,

And from the lustful desires of people³EXCERPT C: *The Rejection of a Seer* (line 9)

If it is for counsel, one will not counsel with you!

Or for advising him, one will not take advice!⁴EXCERPTS D-E: *More on Conditions in Sheol* (lines 10-11)From the bed they cover themselves with a wrap.⁵If you hate him, he will be mortally afflicted.⁵

If you []

[Worm rot] is under your head.⁶

You shall lie on your eternal bedding,

To pass away⁶ to []

1 Prov 7:18

20 Qoh 12:5

22 Sam 12:4

30 Isa 14:19

31 Isa 14:11;

Job 7:5;

17:4; 21:26;

25:6

32 Isa 14:19

33 Isa 14:9, 18

34 Gen 37:35;

Deut 32:22;

Isa 14:9-15;

1 Sam 2:6;

Isa 38:10;

18; Ezek

32:21, 37;

Hos 13:14;

Psa 18:6;

30:4; Prov

9:18; 17:13;

30:16; Qoh

9:10

EXCERPTS F-G: *Kings and Other Corpses in Sheol*

(lines 12-15)

[] in their heart.

The corpse moans in his heart?⁷

He moans []

[] a daughter.

There, kings behold [].⁷There is no mercy when Death seizes a suckling.⁸

And a suckling [];

And a suckling [];

A suckling [];

There [] shall be.

The heart of the corpse is desolate⁹

As he approaches [Sheol].

[].

To the edge of She[ol],¹⁰

And the shadow of the hedge [].

EXCERPTS H-I: *An Oracle: The Quests of Kings and Seers Come to Naught* (lines 15-17)"The quest of a king is moth rot,"¹¹

And the quest of [];

[] seers.

¹ The text reads *byl lmn* (= *bēt ḥōlāmīn*), with the abstract pl. connoting "eternity." Further on, in EXCERPT D-E, we find the same concept of the grave as an eternal resting place, expressed by the plural *mškby lmyka* (= *mškābē ḥōlāmīkā*) "your eternal bedding." As noted by Hofstijzer, Qoh 12:5 attests the sing. term: "For the human being is going to his eternal house" (*bēt ḥōlāmō*). The Deir 'Alla inscriptions antedate the biblical Qoheloth. Cf. Hallo 1993:187f.; Williams 1977:500 [eternal house = grave]. In post biblical Jewish literature, *bēt ḥā' ḥōlāmīn* (also: *bēt ḥōlāmīn*), and related sing. forms, may refer either to the Temple of Jerusalem (after 1 Kgs 8:13), or to a burial ground. Levy 1964 1:224-228, esp. 227, s.v. *bēt ḥōlām*. Cf. Sokoloff 1990:95. The sing. form occurs in an Aram. deed of grant from Nahal Ḥever on the Dead Sea, dated July 13, 120 CE. In it a father states to his wife, among other provisions, that he bequeaths his property to her "from the day I go to my eternal house (*byl lmy* = *iebēt ḥōlāmī*) and forever." Yadin, Greenfield and Yardeni 1996:384, line 21, *passim*. Cf. also below, p. 156., n. 3.

² *hik* "traveler" is matched in 2 Sam 12:4 by the *hapax legomenon* in BH *hēlek* "traveler."

³ The parallelism *phzy/hgy* "reckless affairs/lustful desires" recalls Ps 147:10: *šōqē hā'ā'š* "the lustful desires of man," related to Heb. *rešāqāh* "desire" (Gen 3:16: 4:7; Cant 7:11). Gen 49:4 has *paḥāz kammayim* "as unstable as water," and cf. participial *pōhēz* "shifless" in Judg 9:4; Zeph 3:4, as well as abstract *paḥāzīt* in Job 23:32.

⁴ The one being addressed is told that his counsel will no longer be sought. We have the parallelism of *ḥ* (= Heb. *ḥšāh*) "advice" and *mik* (= *mulk*) "counsel." A similar thought is expressed further on, in EXCERPTS H-I. In post-biblical Heb. and Jewish Aram. the Niph'al construction *nimlak b-* and *lthpe'el*, *yimelek* mean "to take counsel with," as does the Deir 'Alla *lthpe'el* *lymlik b-* "He will not take counsel with." Levy 1964 3:128-130 s.v. *mālak*, *melak*. DNWSI 634 s.v. *mik* 2. Sokoloff 1990:310, s.v. *mik* #2.

⁵ The translation is conjectural, at best, and not fully comprehensible, even though the text is clearly legible as *hn lšn'n y'nā*.

⁶ *hlyq* "to pass away, disappear" is to be related to Akk. *halāqu*, and Ug. *hlyq*, realized in BH as *hlyq* III "to pass away, die," as distinct from *hlyq* "to be smooth; to divide"; Levine 1995:139-149.

⁷ The term *nqr* "corpse" is crucial to the interpretation of COMBINATION II. It is understood as a cognate of BH *nēser* "carrion, corpse" in Isa 14:19: "You have been cast from your grave like loathsome carrion (*kenēser nqr* ḥb "like a trampled corpse"). The *qoph* of the Deir 'Alla language realizes proto-Semitic *ḥod*, which is often realized in Heb. as a *ḡade*. Post-biblical Heb. attests a related noun *nēsel*, or *nāḡāl* "putrid flesh" of a corpse (Mishnah, *Nāzir* 7:2, *Ḥilḥot* 2:1), and the proto-Semitic *ḥod* is preserved in the Arabic verb *naḡala* "to extract, remove" Ibn-Manzur 1956 2:663, s.v. *naḡala*. Others have related Deir 'Alla *nqr* to the better attested Heb. noun *nēser* "offshoot, scion" (Isa 11:1: 60:21), interpreting the Deir 'Alla text to refer to a dead child.

⁸ The line is difficult to interpret with certainty. It reads: *lyš bmyqḥ mvr 'l rḥm*, lit. "There is not, when Death seizes a suckling, mercy." The noun *l* (= Heb. *āl*) "suckling" occurs repeatedly in broken lines, suggesting that the vision of Sheol focuses on infant mortality. Death, or perhaps the god Mot, personified, snatches away infants mercilessly. Cf. *āl yāmīm* "infant," in contrast to *zāqēn* "graybeard" in Isa 65:20. Most relevant is Isa 49:15: "Can a woman forget her suckling child (*ālāh*), withholding compassion (*merahēm*) from the fruit of her womb?" Others prefer to translate *l rḥm* as "suckling of the womb," reflecting Heb. *reḥem* "womb."

⁹ The text reads *bb nqr šhh*. I take Deir 'Alla *šhh* to be a variant of Heb. *šḥ*, as in Isa 6:11: "Until such a time that towns lie desolate (*šim šā'ā' ḥrim*) without inhabitants."

¹⁰ Restoring *l[ḥ]l* "to Sheol" on the basis of what follows: *lqsh š[ḥ]l* "to the edge of Sheol." The corpse groans as it approaches Sheol, which is surrounded by a hedge or wall (*mgdr*).

¹¹ *ssh* (= *sāshāh*) "moth rot" is taken to be a cognate of BH *sās* "rot" parallel with *ḥḥ* "moth" in Isa 51:8.

Your quest is distant from you. To know how to deliver an oracle to his people. You have been condemned for your speech,	Num 22:11, 17; 23:8, 11, 25-27; Job 5:3	And [banned] from pronouncing words of execration." ¹
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REFERENCES

Text: Hoftijzer and van der Kooij 1976; 1991; Studies; Arnaud 1986; Benz 1972; Brockelmann 1966; Caquot and Lemaire 1971; Good 1983; Hacken 1984; Hallo 1993; Ibn Manzur 1956; Ibrahim and van der Kooij 1991; Levine 1989; 1995; Levy 1964; Mullen 1992; Polley 1980; Puech 1987; Reiner and Pingree 1975; 1981; Sokoloff 1990; Williams 1977; Yadin, Greenfield and Yardeni 1996.

4. HEBREW INSCRIPTIONS

THE SILOAM TUNNEL INSCRIPTION (2.28)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

The inscription was discovered in 1880 on the wall of a Jerusalem tunnel that leads from the Gihon Spring to the pool of Siloam. The inscription occupies the lower half of a prepared panel that is approximately 0.50 m in height and 0.66 m in width. The tunnel winds through the Mizzi Ahmar dolomite rock for a length of approximately 533 m (corresponding roughly to the inscription's 1,200 cubits).¹ It is essentially an enlargement of natural karstic dissolution channels,² and was executed as part of a comprehensive design by Hezekiah's town planners (2 Kgs 20:20; 2 Chr 32:3-4, 30; Isa 22:11; Ben Sira 48:17). Both the execution of the tunnel and the inscription demonstrate careful adeptness. Cut by two groups of workmen progressing towards each other,³ the tunnel's floor required accurate calculation since it runs smoothly at a 0.06% average slope with the height differential between the spring and exit being a very moderate gradient (≈ 0.32 m).⁴

This commemorative inscription is not an "official"/"royal" inscription, but an "unofficial"/"common person" type text.⁵ In this sense it is unique among ancient Near Eastern building/display inscriptions. It is not concerned with the recounting of the complete history of the excavation of the tunnel.⁶ Instead, it is very much preoccupied with a specific moment on a specific day — the culmination of a great and exciting engineering project.⁷

In spite of a recent attempt to date the inscription on paleographic and archaeological grounds to the Hasmonean period,⁸ the vast majority of scholars see the inscription dating to ca. 700 BCE (i.e. a product of Hezekiah's reign).⁹

[The day of]¹⁰ the breach.^a

11

This is the record of how the tunnel was breached.
While [the excavators were wielding¹²] their pick-
axes,

a Isa 51:1

each man towards his co-worker,
and while there were yet three cubits for the
brea[ch,]
a voice [was hea]rd
each man calling to his co-worker;

¹ Contrast the straight-line (i.e., rectilinear) distance from the spring to the pool which is only 320 m.

² Gill 1991; 1994; 1996.

³ The reason for having two crews digging simultaneously was to halve the cutting time — an essential since an Assyrian attack was imminent. See the discussion of Abells and Arbib 1995:6.

⁴ Gill 1991:1469; Shiloh 1993:711.

⁵ Parker 1997:38-39. Cf. above pp. xxiii f.

⁶ Sasson 1982:113.

⁷ Shea 1988:431-435.

⁸ Rogerson and Davies 1996:138-149.

⁹ Hacken, Cross, McCarter, Yardeni, Lemaire, Eshel, and Hurvitz 1997:41-50, 68-69; Hendel 1996:233-237. Also note that geology may provide a clue to when the tunnel was dug through the dating of a stalactite. See Gill 1996:22.

¹⁰ See Younger 1994:551 and nn. 29-30 for a discussion of the different suggested restorations.

¹¹ The inscription contains deliberate spaces that function as idea dividers. See Sasson 1982:113.

¹² For the possible restorations, see Younger 1994:544.

because there was a cavity ¹³ in the rock (extending) from the south to [the north].	<i>b</i> 2 Chr 32:30	Then the water flowed from the spring ¹⁴ to the pool, a distance of one thousand and two hundred cubits. One hundred cubits was the height of the rock above the heads of the excavat[ors]. ¹⁵
So on the day of the breach, the excavators struck, each man to meet his co-worker, pick-axe against pick-[a]xe.		

¹³ The meaning of *zdh* has been the crux for this inscription. For a survey of the different proposals, see Younger 1994:549-550 and Parker 1997:52, n. 4. The geological conclusions of Gill 1996 seem to demand a geological type meaning for *zdh*: something like "cavity" or "fissure." See Lancaster and Long 1999:15-26; Younger 1994.

¹⁴ For *mws*, cf. 2 Chr 32:30.

¹⁵ One hundred cubits (150 feet) was the maximum thickness of the rock at only one point, namely at the northern loop of the tunnel nearest the Gihon spring. It was not the average height.

REFERENCES

Text: *HAE* 1:178-189; *AHI* 68 (4.116); *SSI* 1:21-23; *KAI* 1:34; 2:186-188. Translations: *ANET* 321; *DOTT* 209-211; *TUAT* 2/4:555-556; *WAI* 64-71; Studies: Abells and Arbib 1995; Gill 1991; 1994; 1996; Hackett, Cross, McCarter, Yardeni, Lemaire, Eshel, and Hurvitz 1997; Hendel 1996; Lancaster and Long 1999; Pardee 1996; Parker 1997:36-42, 152-154; Rogerson and Davies 1996; Sasson 1982:111-117; Shea 1988; Shiloh 1993; Younger 1994.

5. PHOENICIAN INSCRIPTIONS

THE INSCRIPTION OF KING YAḤIMILK (2.29)

Stanislav Segert

The inscription on the limestone block (35 x 70 x 45 cm) was found in the ruins of the Crusader Castle in Byblos (Gébil) in 1929 and published in the same year. Its seven lines are written over a text in "Byblos hieroglyphic" that is no longer clearly visible. Yaḥimilk's building inscription can be dated to about 950 BCE. It is now kept in the National Museum in Beirut.

<i>Building inscription</i> (lines 1-3a)	<i>a</i> 1 Kgs 9:1	and the assembly ⁸ of holy gods ⁸ of Byblos/
Building ¹ which Yaḥimilk, ² the king of	<i>b</i> Ezek 27:9	Gubal
Byblos/Gubal ³ ^b built. ⁴	<i>c</i> 1 Kgs 6:1-2	prolong ^k the days ⁹ of Yaḥimilk
He rebuilt ⁴ ^d all ruins of these buildings.	<i>d</i> Micah 3:12;	and his years over Byblos/Gubal,
	<i>Isa</i> 58:12	for [he] ¹⁰ (is) the righteous ¹¹ ⁱ king
	<i>e</i> Gen 24:7;	and just king
	<i>Jonah</i> 1:9	at the face/before the holy ¹² (gods) of Byblos/
<i>The king deserves to be rewarded by gods</i> (lines 3b-7)	<i>f</i> 1 Kgs 17:17	Gubal.
May Baal/Master ⁵ of Heavens ⁶ ^e	<i>g</i> Ps 89:7	
and Baala[t]/Mistress ⁷ ^f of Byblos/Gubal	<i>h</i> Exod 20:12;	
	<i>Deut</i> 5:16;	
	6:2; 11:9;	
	25:15; 32:47; Ps 61:7; Prov 3:2 1 Ps 140:14; Deut 9:5	

¹ The word *bt* can mean various kinds of buildings, including "temple" or "palace."

² The reconstruction is based on Assyrian syllabic cuneiform *ia-ḫi-mil-ki*. The name can be interpreted as "may (the divine) King keep alive."

³ In the syllabic cuneiform texts from the 14th century BCE, the name is given as *gublu* (with the case ending *-u*). In the Hebrew Bible the form *g'bal* is attested, with reduction of the first vowel. The Phoenician form can be reconstructed as */gubal/*. The Greek form *Bublos* goes back to the second millennium BCE, when in archaic Greek **gu-* changed into */bu-/*. This city was important economic and cultural center in antiquity.

⁴ Lit., "he revived." Cf. 1 Chr 11:8.

⁵ Baal (*b^cl*) "master (of the house)," "Lord," "Chief" was originally an epithet of this god, named primarily */had(a)d/*. He was compared to Greek Zeus.

⁶ Phoenician *b^clmm* is rendered in the cuneiform writing as *ba-al-ša-me-me*, in Greek as *baalsamēn*.

⁷ The usual form is *b^clt*. At the end of line 3 the final letter is omitted. This goddess is mentioned already in the 16th century BCE. She was later compared to Greek Aphrodite.

⁸ Assembly of gods is often mentioned in Canaanite religious texts, including those from Ugarit.

⁹ The word pair "days" — "years" is attested also in the HB; cf. Dahood 1972:203-205, and above p. 140, n. 9.

¹⁰ The supposed equivalent *[h³]* at the very end of the inscription is missing.

¹¹ The word pair indicating "righteousness" and "uprightness" appears in ancient Canaanite poetry, e.g. *KTU* 1.14:I:12-13. Cf. 1 Kgs 3:6.

¹² As "holy" (*qdš*), gods are characterized only in ancient Canaanite tradition.

REFERENCES

Text: *KAI* #4: 2:6-7; *SSI* 3:17-19. Translations: *ANET*, 653. Driver 1954 pl. 48, 1.7. Studies: Avishur 1976:7f., 12f.

THE KULAMUWA INSCRIPTION (2.30)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

The inscription, which is carved on a large orthostat, was discovered during the German excavations at Zinjirli (= Sam'al) in 1902. The orthostat's relief pictures Kulamuwa pointing with his right hand to divine symbols that fill part of the space at the top of the monument. The text, written in North Phoenician with Aramaic influences, dates around 830-820 BCE and belongs to the "memorial" genre (Miller 1974:9-18).

It is a highly rhetorical work utilizing symmetrical design. It divides into two roughly equal sections (lines 1-8; 9-16) by a line drawn across the monument and a double introduction (line 1 and line 9). There are two major units in each section that create a chiasm: A "The past contrasted with the present" (lines 2-5a), B "External or foreign affairs" (lines 5b-8) :: B' "Internal or domestic affairs" (10-13), A' "Curse: the future" (14-16).

Introduction: Identification (line 1)

I am Kulamuwa,¹ the son of Hayya.²

The Past Contrasted With the Present (lines 2-5a)

Gabbar³ ruled over Y^{dy},⁴

but he achieved nothing.

BNH⁵ also (ruled over Y^{dy}),

but he achieved nothing.

And then my father Hayya,

but he achieved nothing.

And then my brother Ša'il,⁶

but he achieved nothing.

But I am Kulamuwa, son of TML⁷ —

what I achieved

(my) predecessors had not achieved.

^a Ps 136:18

^b Exod 22:7;

10; 24:11;

Deut 25:11;

Judg 5:26;

1 Sam 22:12;

26:9;

2 Sam 15:5;

1 Kgs 13:4;

Job 28:9

^c Exod 24:17;

Deut 4:24;

9:3

^d Deut 23:5;

2 Sam 10:6;

1 Kgs 15:18;

2 Kgs 7:6; 16:7; Isa 7:20; Neh 13:2

External Affairs (lines 5b-8)

The house of my father was in the midst of mighty kings.⁸

And each one stretched forth his hand⁹ to fight.⁹

But I was in the hand of the kings like a fire consuming⁹ the beard and like a fire consuming the hand.¹⁰

Now the king of the Danunians was more powerful than I (or: too powerful for me),¹¹

But I engaged¹² ^a against him the king of Assyria.

A young woman was given for a sheep and a young man for a garment.¹³

¹ The name *Klmw* is undoubtedly Anatolian. Starke investigates the Luwian components *kula* and *nuwa*, and defines the name as "die Wehrhaftigkeit des Heeres besitzend" ("possessing the fighting ability of the army"). See Starke 1990:236, n. 806.

² This individual is mentioned in Shalmaneser III's inscriptions (see *COS* 2.113A, note 10; see also *RIMA* 3:16 [lines i.42, 53]; 3:23 [ii.83]).

³ Also mentioned by Shalmaneser III. See *COS* 2.113A, p. 263 and *RIMA* 3:23 [ii.83].

⁴ Y^{dy} is the ancient non-Semitic name of Zinjirli. It was also known as *Sam'al* (cf. below 2.38 = Bar-Rakib 2-3; 2.35 = Zakkur 7; and Assyrian texts from Tiglath-Pileser III to Assurbanipal). The vocalization of Y^{dy} is still uncertain.

⁵ See Tropper 1993:32 and esp. plate 6; Lipiński 1974:45-61, esp. p. 49. While *bnh* appears to be the reading of line 3, the reading in line 16 appears to be *bnh*.

⁶ The name is attested in Hebrew: Ša'il. See Swiggers 1983:137.

⁷ For the reading *TML*, see Tropper 1993:33 and Young 1993. Some scholars have suggested that this is the name of Kulamuwa's mother. See Gibson *SSI* 3:36; Swiggers 1981:2, n. 6; 1983:138; and Young 1993:96-98.

⁸ Avishur 1976:10; Tropper 1993:35.

⁹ There are two ways in which the term *hym* has been understood: 1) "to eat, devour, consume" (see Müller 1985:638; Gibson *SSI* 3:34; Fales 1979:10); and 2) "to make war, fight" (see Tropper 1993:35; Swiggers 1983:139; Krahmalkov 1974:39-43). Cf. 1 Sam 22:12.

¹⁰ There are two possible interpretations of ʔʕ: 1) ʔʕ is the relative pronoun attached to *km*. Thus the translation would be something like "And I was in the hand of the kings as if I had eaten my beard and as if I had eaten my hand" (see Röhlig, *KAI* 2:31; Fales 1979:12; Müller 1985:638); and 2) ʔʕ is the word "fire" (cf. ʔʕ *ʕkl* to the biblical phrase "a consuming fire"). Here the term is used as a symbol of the humiliation of an enemy in the burning of the beard and hand. The context seems to demand that a description of earlier difficulties be followed at this point in the text by triumph. We would expect Kulamuwa to harm the very kings who stretched out the hand to destroy his dynasty (see Sperling 1988:331; Tropper 1993:36-37).

¹¹ Cf. the Amarna formula *da-an-nu LÜ.SA.GAZ.MEŠ eli-nu* :: "the Hapiru are too powerful for us" or "the Hapiru are more powerful than us" EA 299:18-19; 305:21-22; 307:8-10. See Liverani 1991:180, n. 13; and Parker 1997:222, n. 1.

¹² The "hiring" of armies was not unusual in the ancient Near East. See Lipiński 1974:50; Sperling 1988:332. Dion 1997:107 and note 118; and Parker 1997:80-81. For other explanations, see: Landsberger 1948:51; and Garbini 1977a:116-118.

¹³ This is the most difficult sentence of the inscription. The problem is in identifying the subject of the verb *ym*. There are at least five possibilities: 1) The Danunian king who had bad economic conditions after the Assyrian intervention (Gibson *SSI* 3:37; Müller 1985:639); 2) the Assyrian king whom Kulamuwa boasts of hiring cheaply (Rosenthal 1955:654; Fales 1979:19); 3) a parenthetical statement describing the heavy tribute Kulamuwa had to pay the king of Assyria (Röhlig, *KAI* 2:33); 4) a parenthetical statement describing the depressed economic conditions

Introduction: Identification (line 9)

I am Kulamuwa, son of Hayya.
I sat upon the throne of my father.

Internal Affairs (lines 10-13)

Before the former kings, the *Muškabīm*¹⁴ were
living like dogs.¹⁵

But I was to some a father;
and to some I was a mother;
and to some I was a brother.

Now whoever had never possessed a sheep,¹⁶
I made lord of a flock.

And whoever had never possessed an ox,
I made owner of a herd and owner of silver and
lord of gold.

And whoever from his childhood had never seen
linen,

e Ps 59:16

f Ezek 6:4,6;
2 Chr 14:4;
37:4

now in my days wore byssos.

And I took the *Muškabīm* by the hand,
and they showed (me) affection¹⁷ like the affection
of a fatherless child toward (its) mother.

Curse: The Future (lines 14-16)

Now whoever of my sons
who will sit (reign) in my place
and damages this inscription,
may the *Muškabīm* not honor the *Ba^crīrm*,¹⁸
and may the *Ba^crīrm* not honor the *Muškabīm*.

And whoever strikes out this inscription,
may *Ba^cal Šemed*,¹⁹ (the god) of Gabbar, strike his
head;

and may *Ba^cal Hammon*,²⁰ (the god) of Bamah,²¹
and *Rakib-El*,²² the lord of the house (i.e.,
dynasty), strike his head.

within Y^cdy prior to the Assyrian intervention (O'Connor 1977:226); and 5) a climatic statement concerning the dramatic fall of prices from the Assyrian king's intervention. The inverted word order and the parallel of 2 Kgs 7:1-16 strengthen this interpretation. See Tropper 1993:38; and Liverani 1991:177-184.

¹⁴ Meaning is still uncertain. Perhaps, the poor, indigenous population of Sam'al. See the discussion of Swiggers 1983:142-143; Dion 1997:253-254; 285-286.

¹⁵ Tropper 1993:39-41, plate 8. For other interpretations, Landsberger 1948:52; SSJ 3:37; Müller 1985:639; O'Connor 1977:22. Concerning Ps 59:16 see Tropper 1994:87-95.

¹⁶ Lit., "see the face." See Landsberger 1948:52 and O'Connor 1977:22.

¹⁷ See Dion 1974:88-89; Zevit 1990:342-343; and Tropper 1993:43-44.

¹⁸ Meaning uncertain. This is no doubt a social group at Sam'al and is often seen by commentators as referring to the dominant, nomadic, immigrant Aramaic minority in the land (as opposed to the *mškbm* above). The term may have more ethnic than social connotations; Dion 1997:253-254; 285-286.

¹⁹ See Tropper 1993:45.

²⁰ For this deity see Xella 1991:229-234.

²¹ See note 5 above.

²² *Rakib-El* occurs also in Kulamuwa's scepter inscription (*KAI* 25:4-6; see Lemaire 1990:323-327) and in later inscriptions from Zenjirli: Hadad (below, 2.36 = *KAI* 214:2, 3, 11, 18), Panamuwa (below, 2.37 = *KAI* 215:22), and Bar-Rakib (below, 2.38 = *KAI* 216:5; 217:7-8). For recent discussions of this deity see van der Toorn 1995:1296-1297; Teixidor 1987:371; Schmidt 1994:135, n. 135.

REFERENCES

Text: Tropper 1993:27-46; *KAI* 1:4-5; 2:30-34, 338; SSJ 3:30-39; Translations and Studies: Avishur 1976; Dion 1974; 1995; 1997; Fales 1979; Garbini 1977a; Ishida 1985; Krahmalkov 1974; Landsberger 1948; Lemaire 1990; Lipiński 1974:45-61; Liverani 1991; Müller 1985; O'Connor 1977; Parker 1997:76-83; Rosenthal *ANET* 654; Sperling 1988; Swiggers 1981; 1983; Tropper 1993:27-46; 1994; Xella 1991; Zevit 1990.

THE AZATIWADA INSCRIPTION (2.31)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

In 1946, a Phoenician-Hieroglyphic Luwian bilingual inscription was discovered on portal orthostats at the Iron Age fortification of Karatepe on the west bank of the Çeyhan River in the ancient region of Cilicia, the modern province of Adana, Turkey. It is the longest extant Phoenician inscription and is preserved at three locations on the site: the Lower (North) Gate, the Upper (South) Gate, and on the skirt of a colossal divine statue which stood just inside the Upper Gate. The Lower Gate was carved on four orthostats in three columns and continues onto the base of a fifth orthostat and onto a stone lion. The text appears to date from the very end of the 8th century, or more likely from the beginning of the 7th century BCE.¹ Azatiwada was an agent of Awariku, the king of the Danunians (= Que*) and the text narrates his various accomplishments on behalf of the Danunians and his sovereign. For the Hieroglyphic Luwian (HL) inscription see COS 2.21 above.

¹ For the most recent discussion, see Hawkins 1995:1304.

Introduction: Epithets (i.1-2)

I am Azatiwada,

the blessed of Ba'al,² servant of Ba'al,
whom Awariku,³ king of the Danunians,
empowered.

Body: Azatiwada's Mighty Deeds (i.3-iii.2)**General establishment of Azatiwada's reign (i.3-13)**

Ba'al made me a father and a mother⁴ to the
Danunians.

I caused the Danunians to live.⁵ ^c

I enlarged the land of the plain of Adana from
East⁶ to West.⁷

Now there was in my days all good for the
Danunians and abundance and luxury.

And I filled the granaries⁸ of the city of Pahar.⁹

And I acquired¹⁰ ^d horse upon horse, and shield
upon shield, and army upon army,
by the grace of Ba'al and the gods.¹¹

And I smashed the rebels;¹²

And I crushed¹³ all evil which was in the land.

And I established the house of my lord in good-
ness;

and I did good to the root ^e of my lord.

And I caused him to reign ^f upon the throne of his
father.

And I made peace with every king.

And indeed every king made me as a father,¹⁴ ^g
on account of my righteousness, my wisdom and
the goodness of my heart.

^a 1 Kgs 10:28;
2 Chr 1:16

^b Deut 32:6;
32:18

^c Gen 50:18-
20

^d 1 Kgs 10:26;
Isa 30:1;
Jer 4:20;
Ps 61:7;
Job 16:14;
Prov 21:6

^e Isa 11:1,
10

^f 1 Kgs 2:24

^g Gen 45:8;
Ps 109:14;
Isa 22:21

^h Josh 10:24;
Pss 8:7;
110:2;
1 Kgs 5:3;
2 Sam 22:39
(= Ps 18:39);
1 Sam 25:24;
Esther 8:3

Building of fortifications and their impact (i.13-ii.9)

I built strong fortifications¹⁵ in all the far regions of
the borders,

in places where there had been evil men,
gang leaders,¹⁶

of whom not one man had ever been a vassal
to the house of Mopsos;¹⁷

But I, Azatiwada, placed them under my feet.¹⁸ ^h

And I built fortifications in those places

so that they,¹⁹ the Danunians, might dwell in
the ease of their hearts.

And I humbled strong lands in the West,
which no king who was before me ever
humbled.

But I, Azatiwada, have humbled²⁰ them.

I brought them down.

I settled them in the far regions of my borders in
the East.

And I settled the Danunians there.

And they were in my days on all the borders of the
Plain of Adana from the East to the West,
even²¹ in places which formerly were feared,
where a man feared to walk the road.

But in my days, (especially) mine, a woman can
walk alone with her spindles,²²
by the grace of Ba'al and the gods.

Now there was in all my days abundance and
luxury and good living and ease of heart for the
Danunians and for all the Plain of Adana.

² The meaning of *hbrk b'el* is difficult. Some scholars suggest that *hbrk b'el* should be translated "chief official (*habarakku*) of Ba'al," arguing that *hbrk* is a loanword from Akk. *abaraku* (e.g. Lipiński 1974:45-46). Others understand *hbrk b'el* as a construct "the (one) blessed (by) of Ba'al" (e.g. Greenfield 1972:179). The HL seems to support a religious honorific. See now Rölli 1999:58 and Younger 1998:33-35. A further complication for *hbrk* being a loanword from Akk. *abaraku* is the fact that the title *abaraku* in the Neo-Assyrian period had been replaced by *masennu* (*mašennu* in Neo-Babylonian). See Millard 1994:7, n. 14.

³ Awariku is known from the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III (COS 2.117A, note 4) and Sargon II. He is also mentioned in the Cebel Ires Dağı inscription (COS 3).

⁴ Cf. the Hittite inscription of Anitta where the phrase "father and mother" are used as a metonymy for "compassion."

⁵ For the phrase *yhw n'k y' dnyim* "I caused the Danunians to live," see Amadasi Guzzo 1984:109-118. Cf. the usage in Egyptian, as well as in the Amarna Letters (EA 94. 65, 69; 136. 43; 147. 9; 169. 7).

⁶ Lit. "the rising of the sun."

⁷ Lit. "its setting."

⁸ The term *qrt* is defined by Luwian *ka-ru-na-zi* "granaries, storehouses." Lipiński has attempted to link *qrt* with Akk. *ekurru/ekurrāt* (1974:47). See Rölli 1999:58.

⁹ Pahar (Pahri in Assyrian sources) is probably to be located at Misis (classical Mopsuestia). See also Rölli 1999:58.

¹⁰ Lit. "made." For the meaning of acquire, see Greenfield 1966:103-105 and DNWSI 926.

¹¹ On the term *lm* see Younger 1998:28-31. See also Rölli 1999:59.

¹² Gevitz understood *wšbrt mlsm* to mean "and the assembly of the (divine) intermediaries" (1990:145-158). But the Luwian text clearly has a verbal clause in the place where *wšbrt mlsm* occurs. Thus, it should be read as a verbal clause: "and I smashed the rebels." See Rölli 1999:59.

¹³ See Younger 1998:15, note 26, and also DNWSI 1233-1234.

¹⁴ The meaning is uncertain. See Bron 1979:60-62.

¹⁵ See DNWSI 381; Bron 1979:64; and Rölli 1999:59.

¹⁶ See Müller 1985:642.

¹⁷ Ibid. See also Vanschoonwinkel 1990:185-211.

¹⁸ Greenfield points out that the nuance of the figure is "to subjugate," or even closer to the idea "to conquer" (1971:253-268). Cp. Tukulti-Ninurta I's treatment of the captured Babylonian king Kaštiliaš: "I trod with my feet upon his lordly neck as though it were a footstool. Bound I brought him as a captive into the presence of Aššur, my lord" (RIMA 1:245).

¹⁹ For the *nm* suffix as prospective, see Pardee 1987:140.

²⁰ Cf. the use of *n'k* in the Mesha inscription with reference to Omri's oppression of Moab. See COS 2.23.

²¹ The HL seems to support understanding the Phoen. conjunction in the sense of "even." Cf. also Gibson SSI 3:59.

²² See Younger 1998:32-33.

Building the city and cultic innovations (ii.9–iii.2)

And I built this city.

And I gave it the name²³ *Azatiwadaya*,²⁴ since Ba'al²⁵ and Resheph of the stags²⁶ commissioned me to build.

So I built it,

by the grace of Ba'al and by the grace of Resheph of the stags, in abundance and in luxury and good living and in ease of heart,

that it might be a guard (outpost) for the Plain of Adana and for the house of Mopsos.

since in my days there was for the land of the Plain of Adana abundance and luxury.²⁷

And there was never any night for the Danunians in my days.²⁷

And I built this city.

And I gave it the name Azatiwadaya.

I settled in it Ba'al KRNTYŠ.

Now all the river-land²⁸ shall offer a sacrifice to him:

a yearly sacrifice:²⁹ an ox;

and at the time of plowing: a sheep;

and at the time of reaping/harvesting: a sheep.

Closing: blessings and curses (iii.2–iv.3)*Blessings* (iii.2–11)

Now may Ba'al KRNTYŠ bless³⁰ *Azatiwada*³¹ with life and health,¹

and mighty strength over every king;

may Ba'al KRNTYŠ and all the gods of the city give Azatiwada

length of days³² and multitude of years and

good prosperity,³²

and mighty strength over every king.

J Judg 8:31;
Neh 9:7

J Ps 103:5

k Ps 29:11

I Mal 2:5;
Prov 3:2

m Deut 30:20;
Ps 21:5;
Prov 3:2

n Prov 3:10

o Gen 6:4

p Gen 14:19

q Ps 72:5,
17; 89:37-
38

And may this city be a possessor of grain and wine;³³

and may this people who dwell in it be possessors of herds and possessors of flocks and possessors of grain and wine.

And may they immeasurably bear children;

and may they immeasurably become mighty;

and may they immeasurably serve Azatiwada and the house of Mopsos,

by the grace of Ba'al and the gods.

Curses (iii.12–iv.1)

Now if a king among kings or a prince among princes,

if a man, who is a man of renown,³³

who shall erase the name of Azatiwada from this gate,

and shall place (his) name (on it) —

if indeed he shall covet this city,

and shall tear away this gate, which Azatiwada has made,

or shall make for himself a different gate,

and place (his) name on it —

if from covetousness he shall tear (it) away —

if from hate or from evil he shall tear away this gate —

then shall Ba'al Shamem and El, creator of the earth,³⁴ and Shemesh, the eternal, and the whole group of the children of the gods erase that kingdom, and that king, and that man who is a man of renown.³⁵

Climactic invocation (IV.2-3)

Only may the name of Azatiwada be forever like the name of the sun and the moon!³⁵

²³ For the idiom "to place a name," see Bron 1979:87.

²⁴ Based on the HL "Azatiwadaya." See Röhlig 1999:59-60. For a similar episode, cf. Nimurta-kudurri-usur (*COS* 2.115B, lines iii.1'-22a').

²⁵ Ba'al = Tarhunzas.

²⁶ *Phoen. spm* has been defined either as "he-goats" or "birds." Bron 1979:88, 185 and Müller 1985:643 favor the latter; Hawkins 1995:1300, Weippert 1969:200-210, the former. Garbini 1992:93-94 has proposed: "Resheph of the talon." Amadasi Guzzo and Archi argue on the basis of the equivalence of *KAL and *ršp spm* that the graphical representation in the HL of a deer makes "stag" a superior definition to "bird" (1980:101).

²⁷ *DNWSI* 577-578, s.v. *ll*. For *nam* see Röhlig 1999:60.

²⁸ The *Phoen.* reads "Now all the river-land shall offer a sacrifice to him." The HL: "And every river-land will begin to honor him." For a full discussion see Younger 1998:36-40 and also Röhlig 1995:206-208; 1999:60.

²⁹ See Younger 1998:19.

³⁰ Cf. Yehawmilk (*KAI* #10.8-10). See *COS* 2.32 below.

³¹ For the blessings' structure, see Barré 1982:177-194 and Younger 1998:47.

³² Various meanings for the *Phoen. ršp* have been proposed: (1) "authority," "rule" (Greenfield 1991a:145); (2) "old age" (Bron 1975:545-546; 1979:105-106; Barré 1981:1-3; Röhlig 1999:60); (3) "property" (Müller 1985:644, n. 6a). and (4) "abundance, prosperity" (Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins 1987:272-275). see Younger 1998:40-41.

³³ Röhlig (1999:60) suggests that the phrase *dm šm* may be understood as "a man who is (just) called a man" i.e. an ordinary human being without title of any sort (cf. *DNWSI* 1157 sub 3).

³⁴ *KAI* 1:25 (no. 129, 1): *Iṣṭ qn rš*.

³⁵ See Greenfield 1971:266-268; Röhlig 1999:61.

REFERENCES

- Text: Text: *Phoen.*: Röhlig 1999:50-57; Bron 1979:8-25; *KAI* #26, 1:5; *SSI* 3:41-64; HL: Hawkins 2000; Meriggi 1967:69-103; Marazzi 1990:365-367. Studies: Amadasi Guzzo and Archi 1980; Amadasi Guzzo 1984; Barré 1981; 1982; Bron 1975:545-546; 1979; Garbini 1992; Gevirtz 1990; Greenfield 1971; 1972; 1991a; Greenstein 1995:2428-2432; Hawkins 1995; Lipiński 1974; Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins 1987; Müller 1985; Pardee 1987; Weippert 1969; Younger 1998.

THE INSCRIPTION OF KING YEḤAWMILK (2.32)

Stanislav Segert

The limestone stele measuring 113 x 56 x 24 cm was found in 1869 by a local planter of trees in the ruins of the ancient sanctuary of the Mistress of Byblos/Gubal. The missing lower right part was discovered much later at the excavation conducted by Maurice Dunand and published by him in 1939. On the upper part of the stele the goddess Baalat/Mistress of Byblos is depicted, sitting on a small throne, clothed in Egyptian style with winged sun on her head, holding a long sceptre in one hand and blessing with the other hand king YeḤawmilk, who is offering her a large cup. The Persian style of clothing of the bearded king corresponds to the date of the inscription, 5th or 4th century BCE. Some parts of the inscription are damaged. The stele with the inscription is kept in the Louvre Museum in Paris.

Introduction of the king (lines 1-2a)

I am YeḤawmilk,¹ king of Byblos/Gubal,²
son of Yeḥarbaal,³

son of son⁴ / grandson of Urimilk,⁴ king of
Byblos/Gubal,
whom the Lady, Baalat/Mistress⁵ of Byblos/Gubal
made⁶ king upon Byblos/Gubal.

King gratefully offered art works to the goddess of Byblos/Gubal (lines 2b-8a)

And I called⁷ my Lady, Baalat/Mistress of
Byblos/Gubal, [and] she heard my voice.⁸
And I made for my Lady, Baalat/Mistress of
Byblos/Gubal

this altar of bronze,⁹ which is in this [court-
yard],⁷

and this opening/engraving⁷ of gold,
which (is) opposite to this opening/engraving of
mine,⁵

and this winged (disk)⁹ of gold,
which (is) in the midst of the stone,
which (is) above this opening/engraving of
gold,

and this portico and its columns.¹⁰ ^h

a Prov 13:22

b 2 Chr 1:9

c Pss 120:1;

3:5

d 2 Sam 22:7;

Jonah 2:3

e Gen 35:37;

1 Chr 21:22;

26; Exod

38:30; 2 Kgs

16:14; 2 Chr

4:1

f Exod 27:9;

Jer 36:10

g 1 Kgs 6:31-

35; Num 3:25-

26; Ezek 8:7;

16; 41:20;

2 Chr 2:6(7);

13(14);

Zech 3:9

h 1 Kgs 7:6;

18, 21

i 1 Kgs 7:16-

20, 22

j 1 Kgs 6:15

k Ps 90:17

l Gen 28:3;

Ps 67:7

m Pss 1:3(2);

143:11

n 1 Kgs 3:14

o Jer 37:2

and the capitals¹¹ which (are) upon
them,
and its roof.^j

I, YeḤawmilk, king of Byblos/Gubal, made (it) for
my Lady, Baalat/Mistress of Byblos/Gubal,
as I called by lady, Baalat/Mistress of Byblos/
Gubal,
and she heard my voice,
and made agreeableness¹² ^k to me.

Request of blessing for the king (lines 8b-11a)

May the Mistress of Byblos/Gubal bless^l
YeḤawmilk, king of Byblos/Gubal,
may she keep him alive,^m

and may she prolong his days and his
years¹³ upon Byblos/Gubal,
for he (is) a righteous¹⁴ king.

And may [the Lady], Mistress of Byblos/Gubal
give [him] favor in the eyes of gods,
and in the eyes of the people of this land,ⁿ
and favor of the people of this land.¹⁵

The king's work has to be protected (lines 11b-18)

[Whoever you (are)],¹⁶ every king and/or every

¹ The name *yḥwmilk* is formed with the factitive verbal pattern, "may the (divine) King keep alive." A similar name is attested in the Hebrew Bible (2 Chr 29:14); it is written in the text as *yḥw^l*, but in the Masoretic note *w* is replaced by *y* and read *yḥi^l el*, "may he live, O God!" (or: "may El live"). Cf. Benz 1972:308.

² Cf. *Yahimilk*, COS 2.29, note 3 above.

³ The name *yḥrb^l* can be interpreted differently, the most probable meaning is "may Baal liberate"; cf. Hebrew *ḥōr* "noble" (< "free"), Arabic *ḥ-r-r* II "to liberate."

⁴ The name *urmlk* can be reconstructed with the help of Assyrian cuneiform *ú-ru-mil-ki* as *urumilk*. The meaning is "King (is) my light," cf. Heb. *ur^l el* and *ur^l ar* "light." Cf. Benz 1972:274.

⁵ Cf. *Yahimilk*, COS 2.29, note 7 above.

⁶ Stone altars from Megiddo and from Khorsabad (?) are presented in ANEP numbers 575 and 580. A bronze altar is mentioned in Exod 38:30.

⁷ The object of gold is called *ph*. This word can mean "opening," "entrance," "gateway" (Gibson), "door." The other possible interpretation points to Heb. *piṭṭ(a)ḥ* "carved ornament," "engraving"; cf. Exod 28:11 and 36, both also concerning gold.

⁸ Perhaps the king had his own entrance — cf. 2 Kgs 16:18 — or his image — cf. note 7 above.

⁹ The noun *pr* is related to Heb. *ṣwp* "to fly"; here it means "wing"; the winged sun disk is carved on the top of the stele.

¹⁰ The word for "column" *md* points to a portico or colonnade (*ṣrp*); cf. Bondi 1988:255-257.

¹¹ The damaged word is restored with help of Heb. *ktir*; cf. 2 Kgs 25:17.

¹² This unusual word is used as an equivalent to *n^cm* (cf. Heb. *n^cm* Ps 90:17), as it indicates "pleasantness," "delight," and also suggests agreement, leading to peace.

¹³ Cf. *Yahimilk*, COS 2.29, note 9 above.

¹⁴ Cf. *Yahimilk*, COS 2.29, note 11 above.

¹⁵ On this line words from the lines 10b-11a are exactly rendered, but it is possible that the scribe repeated the preceding formula, as he wanted to include the word for "favor" (*ḥn*).

¹⁶ The words [*qnmy ṣr*] are restored according to the inscription of Eshmunazar, king of Sidon, line 4; cf. Gibson, SSI 3:94, 97, 106-107; and Rosenthal, ANET 502. In KAI 10, line 11 (and in GPP 268) the gap is filled by [*whn ṣr*] "and favor in the eyes," connecting it with the following *kt mmilk* "(of) all kingdoms/kings."

(ordinary) man, ¹⁷ who will do additional work on this altar [and/or] this opening/engraving of gold and/or on this portico, my name, (that of mine), Yehawmilk, king of Byblos/Gubal, [you must put with] yours on that work. And if you will not put my name with yours,	p Micah 1:6 q Jer 49:10 r Jer 36:31; 22:28	and/or if you remove this work, [and/or shif]t this [...] with its base upon/from ¹⁹ this place, and (thus) uncover its foundation ²⁰ / deposit ²¹ ?, ²⁰ may the Lady, Mistress/Baalat of Byblos/Gubal putrefy ²¹ [him], that man and his seed, ² at the face of all gods ²² of By[blos]/Gu[bal].
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¹⁷ The word ²dm indicates an ordinary man in contrast to *mmkt* "royalty," "king."

¹⁸ The lower part of the inscription is badly damaged. Perhaps some word indicating "pillar" was in the gap.

¹⁹ The preposition ²h means usually "upon," but after a verb of removing it can also indicate this movement, "from."

²⁰ Uncover the hidden foundation means to destroy the building which is above; cf. Micah 1:6. Uncovering precious things is mentioned in Isa 45:3, uncovering persons who are hiding in Jer 49:10. In this inscription most probably a foundation deposit is meant (cf. *KAI* 15), such as that found in 1926.

²¹ The translation of *tsrh*[w] is based on post-biblical Hebrew; cf. "rotten name" *šm šrh* (to be read instead of -h) in Wis 42:11. The root *šrh* in Syriac indicates mostly cutting in pieces. Either of these interpretation means "to destroy."

²² Cf. Yehimilk, *COS* 2.29, note 12 above.

REFERENCES

Text: *CIS* I:#1; *KAI* #10; 2:11-15. *SSI* 3:93-99; Translations and studies: *ANET* 656. *ANEP* #477 (305). Moscati 1988:305.

6. OLD ARAMAIC INSCRIPTIONS

THE MELQART STELA (2.33)

Wayne T. Pitard

This short dedicatory inscription (four lines, with one letter on a fifth) is carved on the lower part of a basalt stela found in the late 1930's. It had been incorporated into a Roman period wall in the village of Bureij, near Aleppo, Syria. The text is surmounted by a relief of the god Melqart, who strides forcefully to the left carrying a fenestrated axe over one shoulder and an Egyptian ²ankh in his right hand. Although the inscription is in Aramaic, the relief is Phoenician in style. The most significant controversy about the text centers on the identity of the donor, Bir-Hadad, the king of Aram. Earlier readings of the damaged name of Bir-Hadad's father on line 2 led scholars to identify Bir-Hadad with one of the kings of Aram-Damascus who had that name (cf. 1 Kgs 15:18; 2 Kgs 8:7-15; 13:24-25, where Ben-Hadad is the Hebrew rendering of the name). More recent studies of the line, however, have cast doubt on a relationship of this Bir-Hadad to Damascus. Many scholars now argue that he was the ruler of an area in northern Syria, perhaps Arpad. The script suggests that the stela dates to the second half of the ninth or early eighth century.

The stela¹ which Bir-Hadad¹ the son of Attar-

hamek,² [] king of Aram³, set up for his lord⁴
Isa 19:19 b Gen 15:2, 8; Isa 7:7; Ezek 2:4; passim

¹ This name means, "Son of (the god) Hadad." It is attested as a royal name in ninth and eighth century Aram Damascus. Names of the type Bir-DN are well attested in Aram, onomastics (Pitard 1988:18, n. 12).

² The left half of line 2, which includes the name of Bir-Hadad's father, is the poorest preserved part of the inscription. Numerous proposals for reading the name have been published over the years, including: Tab-Rimmon (Albright 1942; cf. 1 Kgs 15:18); Ezer the Damascene (Cross 1972); Ezer-Shamash (Lipinski 1975a); Hezion (Lemaire 1984a). Recent studies (Pitard 1988, Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992, and Puech 1992) have supported a reading of Attar-hmk (²trhmk) or a closely related, ²trsmk. Reading the fourth letter as an s, instead of an h, produces the name of Attar-sumki, a well-known king of the important north Syrian state of Arpad during the late ninth century. It is, then, tempting to identify the donor of this stela as Attar-sumki's son and successor. However, the surviving traces of the letter on the stone are more likely those of an h (Pitard 1988:6, 12). The verbal element, *hmk*, is ambiguous, but likely means "to subdue." Thus the name may mean, "(The god) Attar has subdued (his enemies)."

There is also controversy about what, if anything, follows the name Attar-hmk on the last third of line 2. Proposals for reading this section have been overwhelmingly divergent. This points to the fact that there is so little evidence for letters on that stone that it is best to conclude that either the traces of further words on the line have been entirely effaced, or that the latter part of the line was simply left blank by the scribe (Pitard 1988:7). See most recently Puech (1992:319), who lists earlier proposals and suggests reading "son of Attar-sumki, son of Hadrame."

³ The term Aram was used to designate a number of states in Syria-Palestine and Mesopotamia during the first millennium. The Hebrew Bible often uses it to designate the state of Aram-Damascus, but also calls Aram-Zobah simply Aram. The Sefire inscription uses the term to designate the kingdom of Arpad. The Assyrians designated part of northern Syria as Aram during the tenth and ninth centuries, but by the mid-eighth

Melqart⁴, to whom he made a vow^c and who heard

his voice.^d
 e Gen 31:13; Num 21:2-3; Judg 11:30-31; 2 Sam 15:7-8 d Deut 33:7; Josh 10:14; Ps 6:9; 27:7; 28:2, 6; 64:2

century they used the term to designate an area along the bank of the Tigris River. Thus its usage here is not a helpful indicator of the location of Bir-Hadad's kingdom.

⁴ Melqart was the patron deity of the Phoen. city of Tyre, and he is not attested in any other Aram. inscription. His appearance on this stela in a decidedly Phoen. artistic style suggests that there was a substantial relationship between Bir-Hadad's kingdom and the Phoen. coast.

REFERENCES

Text: *KAI* #201, 2:203-204; *SSI* 2:1-4; Translations and Studies: *ANET* 655; Albright 1942; Bordreuil and Teixidor 1983; Cross 1972; Dunand 1939; Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992; Lemaire 1984a; Lipinski 1975a; Pitard 1988; Puech 1992.

HADAD-YITH^cI (2.34)

Alan Millard

In February 1979 a farmer uncovered a life-size basalt statue of a man at the edge of Tell Fekheriye on a branch of the Habur river, opposite Tell Halaf. The standing figure is carved in Assyrian style, without any emblems of rank. On the major part of his skirt are 38 ruled lines of Assyrian cuneiform script, set vertically (as on the Law-stele of Hammurabi), i.e. at right angles to the normal, while the back of the skirt carries 23 lines of Aramaic script engraved horizontally, with dots separating the words. There is now wide agreement that a date in the third quarter of the ninth century BCE is the most likely, taking together historical, stylistic, palaeographic and prosopographic features, as proposed by the original editors (Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil, Millard 1982), although a later date has been proposed on grounds of sculptural style by Spycket (1985) and an earlier one on the basis of the Aramaic script by Naveh (1987) and Cross (1995). This is the oldest lengthy Aramaic text published, bringing unexpected information on the early history of the Aramaic language; see Kaufman (1982), Muraoka (1984). It is also the only extensive bilingual Assyrian-Aramaic text and has stimulated many studies which cannot be cited here. The composition appears to be in two parts, the first (A) copied from a previous monument, the second (B) prepared for this statue. In A the Assyrian text is clearly primary, containing many stock phrases from the Assyrian scribal repertoire, of which the Aramaic is a fairly close translation, whereas B shows greater freedom, displaying linguistic equivalents rather than exact translation; see Fales (1983). Many terms in the Aramaic find parallels and echoes in biblical Hebrew, most extensively noted by Sasson (1985).

A Identification

The image of Hadad-yith^ci¹ which he has set up^a before Hadad² of Sikan,³ regulator of the waters of heaven and earth, who rains down abundance,^b who gives pasture and watering-places to all lands, who gives rest and vessels of food to all the

gods, his brothers, regulator of all rivers, who enriches^d all lands, the merciful god^c to whom it is good to pray, who dwells^d in Sikan.

a Deut 27:15; Judg 18:31; 2 Kgs 21:7; b 1 Kgs 3:13; Ps 65:9, 10; c Exod 34:6; Deut 4:31; Ps 86:15; 103:8; d 1 Sam 4:4; 2 Sam 6:2 = 1 Chr 13:6; 2 Kgs 19:15; Ps 2:4; 9:12; 99:1

¹ Hadad-yith^ci's name means "Hadad is my salvation," incorporating the base yš^c seen in such biblical names as Joshua, Isaiah and Elisha. In this name as in certain other words in this text, the sibilant is written with *s* in place of the expected *š*, apparently a local peculiarity. The divine name Hadad is written *hd* here (but *hdd* where it stands alone), so may have been pronounced Had or Hadda.

² Hadad, the storm god, widely worshipped by the Aramaean tribes and attested in other cuneiform texts from Guzan (Sader 1987:11-13). The historical identification of this ruler depends upon that of his father; see note 7 below.

³ Sikan, known from Assyrian texts, was evidently the ancient name for Tell Fekheriye, apparently also Wassukkanni of the second-millennium BCE Mitannian kingdom.

⁴ "enriches" is a participial form from the base *dn*, denoting "pleasure, luxury" in BH, now seen with the same connotation in Old Aram. This cognate strengthens the case for deriving the name of the Garden of Eden from the same base, rather than from a Sum. word supposedly borrowed into Heb. (see Millard 1984). The epithets of Hadad here express his particular role, widely attested in cuneiform texts, one which biblical writers attribute to the God of Israel, e.g. Ps 65:9, 10; Isa 41:17-19.

Dedication

To the great god, his lord, Hadad-yith^ci,
king⁵ of Guzan,⁶ son of Sās-nūrī,⁷
king of Guzan, set up and gave (the statue) to
him,
so that his soul may live, and his days be long,
and to increase his years,⁸
and so that his house may flourish, and his
descendants may flourish, and his people may
flourish,
and to remove illness from him,⁹ and for making
his prayer heard, and for accepting the words
of his mouth.⁸

Blessing and curses

Now whoever afterwards, when it is in disre-
pair,⁸ re-erects it, may he put my name on
it,
but whoever erases my name from it and puts his
name, may Hadad,
the hero,⁹ be his adversary.⁹

B Rededication

The statue¹⁰ of Hadad-yith^ci, king of Guzan and
of Sikan and of Azran,¹¹
for exalting and continuing his throne,¹²
and for the length of his life
and so that his word might be pleasing to
gods and to people,

ε 2 Kgs 17:6;
18:11 = Isa
37:12; 1 Chr
5:26
f Prov 3:2
g Exod 23:25;
Deut 7:15
h Prov 4:10;
Ps 19:14
j Deut 10:17;
Ps 24:8; Isa
9:6; 10:21;
Jer 32:18
k 2 Kgs 17:6;
18:11; 1 Chr
5:26
l Ezra 5:14
m Exod 29:25;
Num 5:25;
Judg 13:23
n Gen 18:4;
5; Deut 23:4
o Mic 6:15
p Dan 5:22,
28
q Deut 28:38;
Isa 5:10; Hag
1:6
r Isa 66:11
s Lev 26:26

this image he made better than before.

In the presence of Hadad who dwells in Sikan,
the lord of Habur,¹³ he has set up his
statue.

Curses

Whoever removes my name from the furnishings
of the house of Hadad,⁷ my lord,
may my lord Hadad not accept^m his food and
waterⁿ from his hand,
may my lady Sūl¹⁴ not accept food and water
from his hand.

When he sows, may he not reap,¹⁵

and when he sows a thousand (measures) of
barley,¹⁶ may he take (only) a fraction^o from
it.⁹

Should one hundred ewes suckle a lamb, may it
not be satisfied.

Should one hundred cows suckle a calf, may it
not be satisfied.

Should one hundred women suckle a child, may
it not be satisfied.⁷

Should one hundred women bake bread in an
oven, may they not fill it.⁸

May his men glean barley from a refuse pit to
eat.

May plague, the rod of Nergal,¹⁷ not be cut off
from his land.

⁵ "king" (*mīk*) stands in the Aram. text where the Assyrian has "governor" (*šakin māni*). The best explanation takes each text as directed at a different audience, the former to the local people, whose ruler erected the statue, the latter to representatives of the Assyrian emperor whose vassal the local ruler was. The appellation of the same man as "king" in one text and "governor" in another illustrates an ancient attitude to such titles which may be reflected in the application of "king" to Belshazzar in Dan 5; 7:1; 8:1, denoting his actual, although not his titular role, after his father, Nabonidus, the actual king, departed to Arabia.

⁶ Guzan, modern Tall Halaf; for its history see Sader 1987:5-45.

⁷ Sās-nūrī, "Shamash is my light," the name of Hadad-yith^ci's father, is written Shamash-nūrī in Akk., the Aram. presenting the abbreviated, spoken form of the divine name Shamash, with Assyrian sibilant shift, reflected later in the Babylonian form Sheshbazzar, Ezra 1:8, 11; 5:14, 16 (see Berger 1971). This ruler of Guzan has been identified with Shamash-muri, the eponym for 866 BCE, thus giving a date for the statue of his son within the next quarter of a century; see Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil and Millard (1982:103-05).

⁸ The Aram. verb *ybl* is understood as "to wither, fail" on the basis of biblical Hebrew *nbl*, with Pardee and Biggs (1984:254); other proposals relate it to *nbl* from *bly* "to wither, be old" or from *npl* "to fall down" (Kaufman 1982:166; Greenfield and Shaffer 1983:113; Fales 1983:246).

⁹ "Adversary" is a term used for a prosecutor in a lawsuit; cf. Isa 50:8; Assyrian legal contracts often call on Hadad to act in this way should the contract be broken.

¹⁰ The monument is termed *dinw* "image" at two points and *šlm* "statue" at two others, both words clearly referring to the same stone figure. While remembering that Aram. and Heb. are not identical, this parallel use suggests no significant differences of meaning should be sought between the two cognate Heb. words used in a similar way in Gen 1:26, 27; 5:3.

¹¹ Azran, Assyrian *zarani*, is otherwise unknown.

¹² The meaning of the Aram. expression here is uncertain; the text reads *l'rmwrđt krs^ch* parallel to Akk. *tiriš kussišu*, which should mean something like "to continue his throne," but as yet has found no generally accepted interpretation.

¹³ Habur is the river on which Guzan was situated.

¹⁴ Sūl is the wife of Hadad, known as Shala in Babylonian; the unique Aram. writing here (*swl*) suggests her name was pronounced Sawl, Sōl, or Sūl. The use of *w* to mark *š*, or *š*, or possibly the diphthong *aw*, as well as *y* for *i* is one of the novelties of the text (see Muraoka 1984:83-87).

¹⁵ This and the following "futility" curses follow the pattern "maximum effort — minimum return" (Fales 1982a) and have clear echoes in Aram. (Treaty of Sefire COS 2.82 below) and biblical texts, leading to the supposition that they have a WS origin; see Fales (1982a), Greenfield and Shaffer (1983:110), Pardee and Biggs (1984). But this may be contested (Millard 1993a:521-522).

¹⁶ The word "barley" is written *š^cryn* which some have linked with a unique biblical Heb. word written in the same way in Gen 26:12, thought to be a measure, but it is more reasonable to interpret it as "barley" here (written *š^crn* a few lines later), the actual measure being omitted as in Ruth 3:15; see Greenfield and Shaffer (1983:115), Sasson (1985:100 n. 13), Millard (1993a:523).

¹⁷ Nergal, the Mesopotamian god of plague.

REFERENCES

Text: Abou Assaf, Bordreuil and Millard 1982; Translations and studies: *TUAT* 634-637; Berger 1971; Cross 1995; Fales 1982a; 1983; Greenfield and Shaffer 1983; 1985; Gropp and Lewis 1985; Kaufman 1982; Millard 1984; 1993a; Millard and Bordreuil 1982; Muraoka 1984; Naveh 1987; Pardee and Biggs 1984; Sader 1987; Sasson 1985; Spycket 1985.

THE INSCRIPTION OF ZAKKUR, KING OF HAMATH (2.35)

Alan Millard

H. Pognon bought parts of a basalt stele in north Syria which he published in 1907-8; they are now in the Louvre (AO 8185). Now 1.03 m. high, 62 cm. wide, the squared block was originally taller, the upper part carved with a figure in relief of which only the feet resting upon a dais or stool survive. Below the sculpture an inscription was engraved in Aramaic, starting on the front (A), continuing on the left (B) and right sides (C). This "memorial" text is damaged and incomplete. Circumstantial evidence points to a date shortly after 800 BCE.

Title (A line 1)

The monument which Zakkur,¹ a king of Hamath²
and Lu'ash,³ set up⁴ for El-wer⁵ [in Apish.⁶]

Record of divine rescue (A lines 1-17)

I am Zakkur, king of Hamath and Lu'ash. I was a man of Anah⁶ and Ba'ishamayn⁷ [raised] me and stood beside me, and Ba'ishamayn made me king over Hazrach.⁸ Then Bar-Hadad,⁹ son of Hazael,⁸ king of Aram,⁷ united against me s[even]teen kings¹⁰: Bar-Hadad and his army, Bar-Gush⁸ and his army, the king of Que and his army, the king of Amuq and his army, the king of Gurgum and his army, the king of Sam'al and his army, the king of Meliz and his army [] seven[teen],⁹ they and their armies. All these kings laid siege⁶ to Hazrach. They raised a wall higher than the wall of Hazrach, they dug a ditch deeper than [its] ditch. Now I raised my hands⁴ to Ba'ishamayn and Ba'ishamayn answered me.⁷ Ba'ishamayn [spoke] to me through seers and diviners.¹⁰ Ba'ishamayn said to me, "Do not be afraid! Since I have made [you king, I will stand] beside you." I will save you from⁶ all [these kings who] have besieged you." [Ba'ishamayn] also said to [me, "] all these kings who

a Num 13:4;
1 Chr 4:26;
24:27; 25:2;
25:10; Neh
3:2; 10: 13;
12:35; 13:12;
Ezra 8:14
b 2 Kgs 14:25;
28; Jer 49:23;
Amos 6:2;
Zech 9:2
c Gen 28:18;
22
d Zech 9:1
e 2 Kgs 13:3;
24
f 2 Kgs 13:3;
24
g 2 Kgs 8:7-
15, 28, 29;
10:32; 13:22-
25
h 1 Kgs 10:28
A 1 Kgs 20:1
j Mic 4:14
(5:1)
k Ps 28:2
l Jon 2:3; cf.
2 Kgs 13:4, 5
m 1 Sam 9:6-
9; 2 Sam 5:17-
25; 1 Kgs
22:1-28 a Ps 91:15; Isa 41:9,10; 43:1; 44:2; 54:4,5; Jer 30:10 p Jer 1:8; 30:10, 11 q Exod 14:17
etc.; 1 Kgs 9:19; 2 Kgs 18:24 r 2 Sam 18:18

have [besieged you] and this wall []."

Building inscription (B lines 1-15)

[] Hazrach [] for chariot [and] horseman⁶ [] its king within it(?). I [built] Hazrach and added [to it] all [] defenses. [] and I put x x[] x x[] forts on every side. [I] built shrines in a[ll] my [land ?]. I built [] x Apish and [] the house [] and I set up this monument before [El-wer] and w[rote on] it my achi[evements].⁷

Curses (B lines 16-28, C 1,2)

[In future who]ever removes from this monument wha[t Zakkur king of Hamath [and Lu'ash] has [accomplished] and who[ever re]moves this monument from [befo]re El-wer and takes it away fr[om] its [place], or whoever throws it in [] x [] x [] May Ba'ishamayn and El[wer]¹¹ and Shamash and Shahar [] and the gods of heav[en] and the god[s] of earth and Ba 'IX[] x and x [] x x [] (C) [] the name of Zakkur and the name of [].

¹ The king's name, long read Zakir, is established by the Assyrian transcription "za-ku-ri, referring to the same ruler, on a stele defining the boundary between the states of Hamath and Arpad, found near Antakya. See Donbaz 1990:6-7, line 4. See COS 2.114A, note 5.

² A dynasty with Lawian (neo-Hittite) names ruled Hamath during the ninth century BCE; see Hawkins 1982, Sader 1987:185-230. Its frontier marked the northernmost limit of Israelite power (1 Kgs 8:65; 2 Kgs 14:25). For Aram. graffiti and seals found there, see Otzen 1990. The name is engraved in Aram. letters on an ivory label found at Nimrud, perhaps taken there as booty by Assyrian forces; see Millard 1962:42-43.

³ Lu'ash, earlier Nuhashshe, lay south-west of Aleppo. The name is engraved in Aram. letters on the back of a carved ivory found at Nimrud; cf. note 2 above.

⁴ El-wer was a weather god known in east and north Syria; see Millard 1990:51. He is invoked in the Antakya stele mentioned in note 1 above.

⁵ The name is restored on the basis of its later occurrence in the text and the likely provenance of the stele.

⁶ For this rendering see Millard 1990 and note the writing of "Anah as "ana" in an Assyrian legal document: Kwasman and Parpola 1991:198, 4.

⁷ Aram at this time denoted the kingdom of Damascus.

⁸ Gush, Agush, founded the Aramean dynasty Bit-Agush, based at Arpad (Tell Rifa'at) and faced Ashurnasirpal of Assyria about 877 BCE (Annals iii 77; Grayson 1976:143; 1991:218).

⁹ While seven names are given, if seventeen is correct earlier, it can be accepted here; not all kings need have been named.

¹⁰ The first word is cognate with Hebr. *hōzēh*, the second related to Hebr. PN 'Oded (2 Chr 15:1, 8; 28:9) and known in Ug. Consulting diviners or oracles in crises was common throughout the Near East; see Greenfield 1971; Weippert 1981.

¹¹ For pairs of divine names see the Sefire Stelae 2.82 below.

REFERENCES

Text: KAI #202; SSI 2:6-17; Translations: ANET 501-502; TUAT 626-628; Studies: Donbaz 1990; Grayson 1976; 1991; Greenfield 1972; Hawkins 1982; Kwasman and Parpola 1991; Millard 1962; 1990; Otzen 1990; Sader 1987; Weippert 1981; Zobel 1971.

THE HADAD INSCRIPTION (2.36)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Discovered in the village of Gerçin 7 km northeast of Zenjirli, dating to the mid-eighth century BCE, this large statue of the god Hadad contains a thirty-four line inscription on its lower portion. The statue originally stood about 4 m high, though the top portion is not preserved. It was erected by Panamuwa I, king of Y^{dy} (also known as Sam^{al}) (see Dion 1997:99-105). The inscription, which is difficult due to poor preservation in a number of places, is written in Samalian Aramaic, the dialect of this north Syrian city-state (see Tropper 1993:287-296).

Introduction (line 1)

I am Panamuwa, son of Qarli,¹ king of Y^{dy},
who have erected² this statue for Hadad in my
eternal abode (i.e. "burial chamber").³

Panamuwa's divine authority and prosperous rule
(lines 2-13a)

The gods Hadad and El and Rašap and Rakib-El
and Šamaš supported me.
And Hadad and El and Rakib-El and Šamaš and
Rašap⁴ gave the scepter of dominion⁵ into my
hands.

Rašap supported me.
So whatever I grasped with my hand,
[] (served?)
and whatever I asked from the gods,
they granted to me.
And the devastation(?) they restored.⁶

[]
[] a land of barley ...
[]
[... a]land of wheat and a land of garlic⁷ and a
land of [] ...
Then [...]
And [...]
They cultivated the land and the vineyard.
They dwelt there [...].

a Deut 32:24;
Hab 3:5

b Deut 8:8

c 1 Kgs 4:20

d Ps 72:3-16

e Neh 10:1

And I, Panamuwa, reigned also on the throne of
my father.

And Hadad gave into my hands a scepter of do-
minion.⁷

And I also cut off war and slander⁸ from the
house of my father.

And in my days also Y^{dy} ate and drank.⁹

And in my days it was commanded throughout all
my land to reconstruct TYRT⁹ and to recon-
struct ZRRY¹⁰ and to build the villages¹¹ of the
dominion.

And each one took his friend(?)¹²
And Hadad [and] El and Rakib-El and Šamaš and
Arqû-Rašap¹³ gave abundance.⁴

And greatness was granted me.
And a sure covenant⁶ was concluded with me.

And in the days when I gained dominion, a
gift-offering(?)¹⁴ was given to the gods;
¹⁵ and they took the land from my hand.
and whatever I asked from the gods of the land,
they gave to me.
And the gods of the land delighted¹⁶ [in me, the
son] of Qarli.

Hadad's commission (lines 13b-14)

Then Hadad gave the land for my []¹⁷;

¹ Vocalization is uncertain, though possibly *Qarli (based on a hieroglyphic Luwian form). See Lipiński 1994:204, n. 5.

² For the syntax of this clause see Segert, *AA* 434; and Tropper 1993:255.

³ Tawil (1974:42-43) and Gibson (SSJ 2:65) translate *b'lm* "from my youth." But see Tropper 1993:61, and *COS* 2.27 above p. 144, n. 1.

⁴ Cf. this line 2b-3a: *ym* n. bydy. hdd. ... htr. hlbh. and lines 8b-9a: wnm. hdd. bydy. htr. hlbh* below.

⁵ Proposed meanings for *hlbbh* include: 1) "reign, rule" Dion 1974:88; Tropper 1993:62; 2) "succession" Fales 1982b:76-77; Greenfield 1987:69; Lipiński 1994:204; and 3) "blessing, prosperity" Sader 1987:163.

⁶ See Tropper 1993:63-64. Tawil's translation "And they kept (me) alive for years" (1974:50) is very unlikely. See *DNWSI* 1177, s.v. *šnm*.

⁷ See note 5 above.

⁸ Lit., "sword and tongue."

⁹ According to Tropper the epigraphically possible readings are: *tyrt* "the enclosures" and *yrt* "the cities" (1993:68-70).

¹⁰ Uncertain meaning.

¹¹ See Dion 1997:254, n. 55.

¹² Or perhaps better in the context: "each one acquired his herd." See the discussion in Tropper 1993:70.

¹³ For a discussion of this deity, see Lipiński 1983:15-21; 1994:210-211.

¹⁴ The reading is uncertain. Tropper (1993:72) favors *mn* "gift"; Lipiński (1994:204) favors *mt* "land."

¹⁵⁻¹⁶ Alternatively: "and they indeed took from my hand. And whatever I asked from the gods, indeed they gave to me. And the gods truly delighted [in me, the son] of Qarli. Then Hadad indeed gave for my []; he singled me out to build and during my dominion Hadad [] indeed gave me to build. So I have truly built."

The difference lies in the meaning of the difficult word *mt*. Three proposals have been made: 1) "always," linking *mt* with Mari Akk. **matay-ma* (Faber 1987); 2) "surely, indeed, truly," understanding an aphesis of the aleph, **mt > mt* (Tropper 1992); and 3) "land," a loan word from Akk. *matu* (Lipiński 1976:232; 1977:100-101; 1994:204). There are difficulties with each proposal (see *DNWSI* 706-707 s.v. *mt*, and *mt₂*). None of them fits all the contexts where *mt* occurs in the Hadad and Panamuwa inscriptions. One cannot rule out the possibility that *mt* means "land," since it is now well-attested in OA inscriptions, though this meaning clearly does not fit the context of Panamuwa (*KAI* 215.4) or Hadad (*KAI* 214.28). But conversely, one cannot completely rule out aphesis of the aleph, though the evidence is hardly overwhelming in favor of it.

¹⁶ *DNWSI* 1083 s.v. *rgy*, and Tropper 1993:74.

¹⁷ Possibly read: [yry] "for my [inheritance]." See *DNWSI* 472 s.v. *yry*; Lipiński 1994:204.

he singled me out to build,
and during my dominion Hadad [] gave me the
land to build.

So I have built the land.¹⁵
And I have erected this statue of Hadad,
and the place of Panamuwa, son of Qarli, king of
Y²dy, with the statue — a burial chamber.

Blessings (Lines 15b-18)

Whoever of my sons seizes the scepter,
and sits upon my throne,
and maintains power,^f
and sacrifices to this Hadad,
[... an o]ath?
and sacrifices this []
[] sacrifices to Hadad

Or, on the other hand, []
then he says:

"May [the de]ad spirit¹⁸ of Panamuwa [eat]
with you (i.e. Hadad),
and may the dead spirit of Panamuwa dri[nk]
with you."

May he remember eternally the dead spirit of
Panamuwa with [Had]ad.⁶

[May he gi]ve this his sacri[fice to Hadad].
May he (i.e. Hadad) look favorably upon it;
May it be a tribute for Hadad and for El and
for Rakib-El and Šamaš [and Rašap].

Reintroduction (lines 19-20a)¹⁹

I am Panamuwa [...] a hou[se for the go]ds of
this city.

And [I built] it.

And I caused the gods to dwell in it.

And during my reign, I allotted [the gods] a resting
place.

[And] they gave to me a seed of the bosom.²⁰

Curses (Lines 20b-34)

[whoev]er of my sons seizes the scepter,
and sits on my throne,
and reigns over Y²[dy],
and maintains his power;
and sacri[fices to this Hadad],
[and does not remem]ber the name of Panamuwa,
(who) does (not) say:

f Isa 9:6;
Prov 20:28

g Jer 16:5-9;
Amos 6:4-7

h 1 Kgs 2;
16:11; 2 Kgs
10:6; 11:1;
etc.

"May the dead spirit²¹ of Pana[muwa] eat
with Hadad,
and may the dead spirit of Panamuwa drink
with H[adad];

[] his sacrifice

And may he (Hadad) not look favorably upon it,
and whatever he asks,

may Hadad not grant him;

And as for Hadad — may his wrath be poured out
on him;²²

[And] may he not give to him to eat because of
(his) rage;

and may he withhold sleep from him in the night;

and may terror be given to him

And may he not []

[] my kinsmen [or re]latives.

Whoever of my house seizes the scepter in Y²dy
and sits on my throne
and reig[ns in my place],

[May he not] stretch his hand with the sword
against [] of my [hou]se⁶ [either out of] anger
or out of violence;

may he not do murder, either out of wrath or out
of [];

And may no one be [put to death], either by his
bow or by his word [or by his command].

But may [his kins]man plot the destruction²³ of one
of his kinsmen or one of his relatives or one of
his kinswomen.

[Or if any member of my house] should plot de-
struction;

may he (the king) assemble his male relatives,
and may he stand him in the middle.²⁴

Indeed, he ("the accused") will pronounce his oath:

"Your brother has caused (my) destruction!"

If [he (i.e. "the accused") denies it, and] he lifts up
his hands to the god of his father (i.e. Rakib-El),
and says on his oath:

"Behold, I have put these words in the mouth of
a stranger!"

saying:

"May my eyes be fixed or troubled,
or [I have put] my commands in the mouth of the
enemies' men!"

¹⁵ For *nbš/npš* in this context, see Niehr 1994:63-65. *Nbš* appears to signify both "the dead spirit" of Panamuwa and, on the basis of the sense of a funerary monument, the cult image of the deceased king. Thus in the form of this cult image the dead spirit of Panamuwa could receive sacrifice (cf. the archaeological materials from Tel Halaf). Lines 15-18 indicate that when an offering was made before the statue of Hadad, both the god and the spirit of the deceased royal ancestor could receive the sacrifice. With the remembrance of the name "Panamuwa," blessing is invoked upon the descendant monarch. Cf. this ritual to the Mesop. *kispu* and the WS *marzeah* (Greenfield 1973; 1987; Hallo 1992; 1996:209; Porten 1968:179-186). While nuances of royal ancestor worship are apparent, there are some distinctions (Niehr 1994:60-63; and Schmidt 1994:132-135).

¹⁹ Cf. the double introduction in the Kulamuwa inscription above (2.30).

²⁰ The meaning of the phrase *zr^c hb²* is uncertain. See DNWSI 343 s.v. *hb₁*.

²¹ See note 18 above. Lines 20-24 indicate that when an offering was placed before the statue of Hadad without a remembrance and offering to the spirit of the deceased royal ancestor (i.e. Panamuwa), Hadad would reject the offering and would bring a curse upon the offerer.

²² See Tropper 1993:83.

²³ See DNWSI 1123 s.v. *šht₂*. There is a note of similarity at this point between the Hadad Inscription and the Hittite "Proclamation of Telipinu" with the interest in the shedding of royal blood and procedures given to deal with such. See COS 1.76.

²⁴ See Tropper 1993:89-90.

And if it is a male, then may his male relatives be assembled, ²⁵ and may they pound him with stones; ⁱ and if it is [a female], then may her kinswomen be assembled, and may they pound her with stones. ⁱ But if indeed ruin (has struck) him himself, ²⁶ then your eyes should be weary of him,	i Lev 20:2; Deut 13:6-10; 17:5; 21:18-21; 22:13-21; Josh 7:25; 1 Kgs 12:18; 2 Chr 10:18; 24:21	either by his bow or by his power or by his words or by his instigation. ²⁷ you, then [] his right, And [] or you slay him in violence or in anger, or you issue a decree against him, or you incite a stranger to slay him, may (the gods(?)) ... (slay?) ...
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²⁵ For these clauses, see Huehnergard 1987:268-269.

²⁶ A very difficult sentence. See Tropper 1993:95.

²⁷ Or possibly "maneuvers." Quack points out a parallel in *Sinuhe* B 103-105 which states: "with my power, with my bow, with my maneuvers and with my capable plans."

REFERENCES

Text: *KAI* #214; Dion 1974:26-35; *SSI* 2:60-76; Tropper 1993:54-97. Studies: Faber 1987; Fales 1982b; Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992:15-16; Greenfield 1973; 1987; Hallo 1992; Huehnergard 1983; 1987; Kaufman 1974; Klengel 1992; Lehmann 1994; Lipiński 1983; 1994:203-211; Niehr 1994; Quack 1993; Sader 1987:153-184; Schmidt 1994:132-135; Tawil 1973; 1974; Tropper 1993:54-97.

THE PANAMUWA INSCRIPTION (2.37)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

The inscription, engraved on the lower half of a statue, is written in Samalian Aramaic (see *COS* 2.36). It was discovered in the German excavations at Zinjirli. Bar-Rakib, the son of Panamuwa II, probably raised this monument early in his reign to memorialize his father because of his sudden and unexpected death during Tiglath-Pileser III's campaign against Damascus (733-732 BCE). The text also served Bar-Rakib's interests in that his legitimate right to rule is firmly established. Thus a date of 733-727 BCE is very probable for the inscription. The form of the Panamuwa inscription is that of the dedication genre although it has been modified and adapted for a human dedication. The statue was originally intended to be placed in front of the tomb of Panamuwa to serve as a memorial.¹ Elements of the memorial genre are also evident. Thus, these two genres have been incorporated in the composition.

Introduction (line 1)

This statue Bar-Rakib has set up for his father,
for Panamuwa, the son of Baršūr, the king of
Y^{dy},
[in ...] the year [of his death(?)].

Body (lines 2-19a)

The Crisis (lines 2-6a)

My father, Panamuwa —
because of the loyalty of his father, the gods of
Y^{dy} delivered him (i.e. Panamuwa) from the
destruction²
which³ was in the house of his father.
And the god Hadad stood with him.

a Judg 9:5;
2 Kgs 10:1-11

[] his throne against [].
And(?) he destroyed(?) [] in the house of his
father.
And he killed his father Baršūr;
and he killed seventy brothers of his father.⁴ ^a
But my father mounted a chariot⁵ ...
and [] lord []
And(?) he pierced [] Panamuwa(?)
And (with) the rest of it⁶ he indeed⁷ filled the
prisons.
And he made ruined cities more numerous than in-
habited cities.
And it gave (?) [Panamuwa], son of Q[ar]li, (and

¹ In some way the statue was connected to the cult of the royal ancestors. See Niehr 1994:67-68 and also Greenfield 1973. Cf. Absalom's actions in 2 Sam. 18:18.

² See *DNWSI* 1123 s.v. *šht*. Cp. the opening to the Idrimi Inscription (*COS* 1.148). See Younger 1986:96.

³ For the reading ²zh, see Tropper 1993:104 and plate 13. Others have read ²lh with the meaning of either "curse" or "conspiracy." But the second sign in Tropper's photograph clearly reads z and not l.

⁴ Cf. the story of Abimelech's murder of his seventy brothers (Judg 9:5) and the execution of the seventy sons of Ahab (2 Kgs 10:1-11). See Fensham 1977.

⁵ Cp. Idrimi's departure from Emar (see *COS* 1.148). This clause suggests the motif of the departure of the hero with only his essential equipment or personnel, after which he passes through alien territory and eventually assumes the throne. See Parker 1997:162, n. 34.

⁶ i.e. "the house of his father."

⁷ See *COS* 2.36 note 15-15 above for a discussion of the term *mt*. It seems doubtful for syntactic reasons that *mt* means "land" in this context (as proposed by Lipiński 1994:204). See Tropper 1992:448-453.

he spoke?) ...

"And if⁸ you cause bloodshed⁹ in my house,
and you also kill one of my sons,
then I also will make bloodshed in the land of
Y²dy."⁸

Then [¹⁰] Panamuwa, son of Qa[r]li¹¹ ...

My father Panam<uwa>, son of Baršūr(?), [he?] destroyed(?) in the la[nd]¹²

[] ewe and cow and wheat and barley.

And a *parts*¹³ stood at a shekel;¹⁴

and a ŠTRB-(measure) [of onions(?)/wine(?)]¹⁴ at a shekel;

and two-thirds of a mina¹⁵ of oil at a shekel.

The Restoration (lines 6b-11a)

Then my father, Pana[muwa, son of Ba]ršūr,
brought a gift¹⁶ to the king of Assyria.¹⁷

And he made him king over the house of his father.

And he killed the stone of destruction¹⁸ from the house of his father.

And ... (away) from the treasures of houses of the land of Y²dy from

[]

And he opened¹⁸ the prisons;

and he released the captives of Y²dy.

So my father arose,

and released the women in [].

[] the house of the women who had died,

b 2 Chr 21:12

c 2 Kgs 6:24-7:2

d Isa 18:7;
Pss 68:30;
76:12

e 1 Kgs 15:17-22;
2 Kgs 16:5-9;
2 Kgs 6:24-7:20; 2 Sam 10:6; Deut 23:5b-6

f Isa 8:14

g 1 Kgs 10:27

h 1 Sam 8:11;
2 Sam 15:1;
1 Kgs 1:5

and he buried(?)¹⁹ them(?) in ...

[and he seized(?)] the house (i.e., the palace) of his father.

And he made it better than before.

And it abounded with wheat and barley and ewe and cow in his days.

And then [the land²⁰] ate [and drank ...]

The price was cheap.²¹

And in the days of my father Panamuwa, he truly²²

appointed lords of villages and lords of chariots.

And my father Panamuwa was esteemed in the midst of mighty kings [from the east to the west].

[] my father surely possessed silver;

and surely he possessed gold.²³

On account of of his wisdom and because of his loyalty, he then seized onto the skirt (robe)²⁴ of his lord, the mighty king of Assyria.

Panamuwa's Vassalship (lines 11b-19a)

[] of Assyria.

Then he lived

and Y²dy also lived.

And his lord, the king of Assyria, positioned him over powerful kings [as the head(?)].²⁵

[]

[And he ran] at the wheel of his lord,²⁶ Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, (in) campaigns from the east to the west [and from the north to the south, over] the four quarters of the earth.

⁸ Tropper reads *whnw* "and if" (1993:267).

⁹ Lit., "set a sword."

¹⁰ Dion restores *h[ly] š[?]* "Panamuwa asked (vengeance for) those who had been killed" (1974:37).

¹¹ Some scholars restore: "[b²b]" "my great-grandfather." See *KAI* 2:226; Dion 1974:37; *SSI* 2:78. For Qarli, see *COS* 2.36, note 1.

¹² Parker translates "(they) fled from the land" (1997:84 and n. 37).

¹³ A small dry measurement = a *se²ah* or perhaps less (= 7 quarters, 7.3 liters). For *parts*, see Kaufman 1974:80.

¹⁴ Tropper (1993:111) reads: *šnw* "onions." Greenfield states: "To judge from the Hieroglyphic Luwian material assembled by Hawkins (Hawkins 1986) a word for wine is needed here, since the *kaf* is doubtful, perhaps one should restore *hmr*" (Greenfield 1991:122, n. 7).

¹⁵ Tropper argues for a reading of *snb* (without the ² at the beginning of the word) (1993:111). The term *snb* occurs on a lion-weight from Nineveh with the meaning of 2/3 of a mina. The comparative material makes the reading of *mšh* "oil" sure.

¹⁶ Panamuwa must have brought tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III to gain his help. Tropper suggests reading *šy* "gift" (1993:112).

¹⁷ Parker (1997:89-104) adeptly compares the story of Panamuwa II to the biblical accounts of Asa (1 Kgs 15:17-22). Ahaz (2 Kgs 16:5-9), the siege of Samaria (2 Kgs 6:24-7:20), as well as 2 Sam 10:6; Deut 23:5b-6.

¹⁸ So Tropper 1993:114. Or alternatively "destroyed" through an Akk. root *pašdsu* "to destroy" (Lipiński 1977:102).

¹⁹ Tropper 1993:115. Formerly read: *qmw²l*.

²⁰ Reading uncertain (Tropper 1993:115). Dion restores *ʔrq y²dy* (1974:37). Cp. Hadad 9: *whymy gm ʔbl wšʔ y²dy*.

²¹ Concerning the motif of "ideal prices" in Panamuwa's day as compared to the previous depressionary conditions in Y²dy, see Hawkins 1986:93-102; Younger 1986:96-98; and Greenfield 1991:122.

²² See *COS* 2.36, note 15-15. Lipiński (1994:205) translates: "he provided the land with chiefs of villages and chiefs of carting" or "he made the land proprietors of villages and proprietors of carting."

²³ There are two options for the understanding of *hw*: 1) it is an asseverative particle so that the translation is: "my father surely possessed silver; and surely he possessed gold." See Dion 1978:298-300; Tropper 1993:118; and 2) it is a concessive particle so that the translation is: "my father, though he were a possessor of silver, though a possessor of gold." See Gibson, *SSI* 2:81; Huehnergard 1983:571. The context seems, in my opinion, to argue for the former.

²⁴ The idiom "to grasp the hem (of a garment)" has been identified in Akk. (*sisikaa(m) šabānu(m)*), Old Aram. (*ʔhʔz blwp*), BH (*hʔzyq blwp*: 1 Sam 15:27), and Ug. (*ʔhd bsʔn*). It is derived from a gesture in which a suppliant beseeches, or indicates his submission to, his superior by grasping the hem of the superior's garment. Used alone, the locution serves to denote "supplication, importuning, submission to a superior." It establishes a closer relationship between suppliant and superior, especially between vassal and suzerain. See Greenstein 1982; Younger 1986:98, n. 31; and *COS* 2.137, note 4.

²⁵ A reading of *bmšn* "as vice-regent" has been suggested by Lipiński 1977:103. Tropper argues that the reading is epigraphically impossible (1993:120).

²⁶ Vassal kings were often obligated to participate with the Assyrian king in his campaigns (see Dion 1997:262; Naʾaman 1991). Cf. Bar-Rakib 1:8-7. Cp. 1 Sam 8:11; 2 Sam 15:1; 1 Kgs 1:5.

And the population ²⁷ of the east he brought to the west; and the population of the west he brought to the east. And [my] father [profited more than all other mighty kings] ²⁸ And [to] his territory his lord Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, [added] cities from the territory of Gurgum ²⁹ and ... ³⁰ [And] my [fa]ther Panamuwa, son of Ba[ršūr ...] [³¹] And my father, Panamuwa, died while following ³² his lord Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, in the campaigns. Even [his lord, Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, wept for him]; ³³ and his relative kings wept for him; and all of the camp of his lord, the king of Assyria, wept for him. And his lord, the king of Assyria, took [] [“may] his dead spirit [eat and drink.”] ³⁴ And he set up for him a memorial in the way. And he brought my father from Damascus to Assyria.	i 2 Sam 18:18 j Judg 9:9, 13	In my days [...] [And] his whole house we[pt] for him. <i>Conclusion</i> (lines 19b-23) And I am Bar-Rakib, son of Panamuwa. Because of the loyalty of my father and because of my loyalty, my lord [Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria,] has caused me to reign [on the throne] of my father, Panamuwa, son of Barsur. And I have set up this statue [to my father], to Panamuwa, son of Baršūr. And ? And [³⁵] And [] the king [] ³⁶ And [³⁷] before the tomb of my father, Panammu[wa]. And this memorial is it. ¹ Thus, may Hadad and El and Rakib-El, the lord of the house, and Šamaš, and all the gods of Y ² dy [have favor on me the son of Panamuwa]. ³⁸ [And may Rakib-El show favor] ³⁹ to me before gods and before men. ¹
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²⁷ Lit., “the daughters.”

²⁸ Tropper’s suggested restoration based on Bar-Rakib 7-8.

²⁹ Gurgum’s border was changed earlier by the Assyrians. See the Pazarcik Inscription, *COS* 2.114B and *RIMA* 3:201-205. See Dalley 1995:421.

³⁰ Tropper suggests [wmu. q]wh “[from the territory of Q]ue(?)” (1993:123).

³¹ Concerning the possible meanings of a verb *mrg*, see the discussion of Tropper 1993:123-124.

³² Igry is a metathesis of *rg*! (Friedrich 1951:162).

³³ For this restoration see Gibson *SSI* 2:80; and Dion 1974:206.

³⁴ Two possible restorations: 1) [r²kl. wšš]y. nbšh. “[may] his soul [eat and drink]” (Gibson *SSI* 2:80-81); or 2) [wh²kl. whšq]y. nbšh. “[and he caused/permitted] his soul [to eat and drink]” (Tropper 1993:125).

³⁵ Tropper suggests: “a lamb in the roasting position(?)” (1993:129-130).

³⁶ Tropper suggests: w²l. ybl. ²nun. ys²m²k². mlk[. ydyh]. “And [upon a certain/reliable ram(?)] the king [should support(?)] [his hands](?)” (1993:130).

³⁷ Tropper suggests restoring: “he should send out a ram (?)” (1993:130).

³⁸ Restored on the basis of Hadad 13. See Tropper 1993:130.

³⁹ Restored on the basis of Bar-Rakib 2:7-9. See Tropper 1993:131.

REFERENCES

Text: Tropper 1993:98-139; *KAI* #215; *SSI* 2:76-86. Translations and studies: *TUAT* 1/6:628-630; Dalley 1995; Dion 1974; 1978; Faber 1987; Fensham 1977; Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992:16-17; Friedrich 1951; Friedrich and Röllig 1970; Greenfield 1991b; Greenstein 1982; Hawkins 1986; Huehnergard 1983; Lipiński 1977; Tropper 1992; 1993:98-139; Younger 1986:91-100.

THE BAR-RAKIB INSCRIPTION (2.38)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Composed not long after the Panamuwa inscription (i.e. 733-727 BCE), the Bar-Rakib inscription was written in an Old Aramaic dialect which has been identified as “Mesopotamian Aramaic.”¹ Its form is that of the memorial genre, though the emphasis is on Bar-Rakib’s vassal loyalty to Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria.² The inscription was discovered in excavations conducted at Zenjirli (cf. *COS* 2.36, 2.37, and especially 2.37).

¹ Greenfield 1978:95. There are eight inscriptions attributable to Bar-Rakib.

² The absence of a curse is “rather surprising.” See Müller 1974:10, n. 6.

Introduction (lines 1-4a)

I am Bar-Rakib, son of Panamuwa, king of Sam²al,
the servant of Tiglath-Pileser (III), lord of the four
quarters of the earth.

The Accession (lines 4b-7a)

On account of the loyalty of my father and on ac-
count of my loyalty,
my lord, Rakib-El,³ and my lord, Tiglath-Pileser,
caused me to reign upon the throne of my father.

The Ascension of the Dynasty (lines 7b-15)

And the house of my father profited,⁴ ^a more than
all others.
And I ran at the wheel of my lord,⁵ ^b the king of
Assyria,

^a Ps 105:44;
Isa 53:11;
Qob 2:10;
4:4; 5:17

^b 1 Sam 8:11;
2 Sam 15:1;
1 Kgs 1:5

^c 2 Sam 7;
1 Kgs 4-8

in the midst of powerful kings, lords of silver and
lords of gold.

And I took control of the house of my father.
And I made it better than the house of any power-
ful king.

And my brother kings were desirous⁶ for all that is
the good of my house.

The Construction of the Palace (lines 16-20)

But there was not a good house⁷ for my fathers, the
kings of Sam²al.

They had the house of Kulamuwa;
and it was a winter house for them;
and it was a summer house (too).

But I built this house!⁸ ^c

³ Lit., "The chariot driver of El." On this deity see Kulamuwa (COS 2.30, n. 22).

⁴ For the possible meanings for the verb *ml* see DNWSI 870-871 s.v. *ml*. Parker translates "accomplished" (1997:160, n. 8).

⁵ Cf. Panamuwa 13 (COS 2.37).

⁶ The best understanding of the verb *htr²bw* is as an *Epa²al* of *n²b*. See Kaufman 1974:153 and Younger 1986:101, n. 38.

⁷ Probably a sandhi-writing, see Degen 1969:43.

⁸ Cf. the same word play in the Davidic narrative: *byt* "temple," "palace," and "dynasty." (2 Sam 7; 1 Kgs 4-8).

REFERENCES

Text: Tropper 1993:132-139; KAI#216; SSF2.87-92. Translations and studies: TUAT 1/6:630-631; Sader 1987:169-170; Younger 1986:100-103.

THE TELL DAN STELE (2.39)

Alan Millard

Three fragments of a basalt stele were found at Tell Dan in 1993 and 1994, re-used as building stones in structures dated on archaeological grounds to the eighth century BCE. The pieces fit together, with gaps. Across the smooth face run parts of thirteen lines of clearly incised Aramaic letters, with word-dividers, of a style best placed late in the ninth century BCE. An unknown number of lines is missing at the beginning and end, nor is the length of the lines known, allowing for a variety of reconstructions. The monument was apparently a "memorial" inscription, like those of Mesha, Kulamuwa and Zakkur of the same period.

[sajid x [] and cuft]
[] x my father¹ went u[p] against him when he
fought at x[]
Then my father lay down^a and went to his
[fathers]. There came up the king of I[s]rael²
beforetime in the land of my father, [but]

^a 1 Kgs 2:10
etc.

^b 1 Sam 15:11;
1 Kgs 3:7;

^c 2 Chr 1:11
Exod 13:21;

22; 32:1;
Num 10:33;

14:14; Isa 52:12 & Gen 46:29;
Exod 14:6; 2 Kgs 9:21

Hadad [ma]de [me] king³ ^b []

x⁴ Hadad went before me⁵ ^c [and] I went from x
[]

of my king(s)⁶ I killed kin[gs]⁷ who harnessed⁷ ^d x

¹ The author is not identified. Hazael of Damascus (COS 2.40) is the most attractive candidate, but the reference to his 'father' in terms of a predecessor contradicts Assyrian and biblical statements that he was a usurper (2 Kgs 8:7-15; see COS 2.113G, note 3; 2.113C-F); without more of the text, speculation is pointless.

² This restoration assumes only one letter (s) is lost at the end of the line.

³ Cp. Zakkur's claim that Ba'lsamayn made him king (COS 2.35).

⁴ The meaning of the first word in this line, as it stands, the pronoun "I," is unclear; it may be the end of a verb from the previous line.

⁵ Gods were widely perceived as marching ahead of their loyal worshippers to give success; see Ashurnasirpal II's "annals" ii.25-26, 27, 50, iii.52. See Grayson 1976:128, 130, 140 and 76 n. 305; 1991:203, 205, 216, with 134 n. to line 48 and the depictions of the god Ashur above the king in battle scenes on sculptures from his palace; Budge 1914: pls. XIVa, XVIIa, XXIIIa.

⁶ Translation uncertain; the first editors rendered "my kingdom" (Biran and Naveh 1995:15-16), but "my kings" i.e. vassals, is also possible. cf. 1 Kgs 20:1.

⁷ Translation uncertain.

[ch]ariots and thousands of horsemen⁸ *
 [] m⁹ son of []
 king of Israel and kill[ed] yahu son of [I
 overthr]ew¹⁰ the house of David.¹¹ I set/imposed
 [tribute ?]

* Exod 14:17
 etc.;
 1 Kgs 9:19;
 2 Kgs 18:24
 f 2 Sam 3:1;
 6; 7:26;
 2 Kgs 17:21; Isa 7:12, 13; 22:22; Jer 21:12; Zech 12:7ff

x their land to []
 other and to [was/became kin]g over Is[rael]
 siege against []

⁸ "Thousands" could also be "two thousand."

⁹ A restoration "[Jeho]ram son of [Ahab] king of Israel and killed [Ahaz]iah son of [Jehoram kin]g of Beth-David" is attractive historically (Kitchen 1997:32-34), although 2 Kgs 9:14-28 names Jehu as the killer and the expression "king of the House of PN" has grammatical problems. Possibly Hadad was the subject here, for the first person ending of the verb is not preserved. The number of missing letters is impossible to calculate with certainty, for, even if only one is to be restored at the end of the third line (n. 2), there is no proof that the stele was symmetrical, or that the lines were of equal length.

¹⁰ The restoration suggested is [w^hhp]k, "and I overthrew." Cf. Sefire IC 19, 21 (COS 2.82) and 2 Sam 10:3.

¹¹ Beth-David, House or Dynasty of David: this understanding of the six letters *byrdwd* has been challenged because the words are not separated as are all others in this text. In the light of Aram. use, that is not compelling; see Rendsburg 1995. The numerous names for dynasties or states "House of" or "Son of PN" hark back to eponymous ancestors who, in some cases at least, are attested, e.g. Omri; Gush of Arpad; Sader 1987:99-136, 271-273. Linguistic arguments in favor of a place name have some force (Knauf, de Pury, and Römer 1994), although the divine name Dod supposed, is otherwise unknown, see Barstad 1995:493-98, but attempts to avoid any possible reference to an historical David (Cryer 1995; Thompson 1995) stem rather from a form of scepticism at odds with all known ancient practices.

REFERENCES

Text: Biran and Naveh 1993; 1995. Translations and studies: Barstad 1995; Budge 1914; Cryer 1995; Grayson 1976; 1991; Kitchen 1997; Knauf, de Pury, and Römer 1994; Lemaire 1994; 1998; Rendsburg 1995; Sader 1987; Thompson 1995.

THE HAZAEL BOOTY INSCRIPTIONS (2.40)

Alan Millard

Four brief dedicatory inscriptions refer to "our lord Hazael" who is to be identified as the usurper who took the throne of Damascus from Ben-Hadad (Assyrian Hadad-idri; cf. COS 2.125A) and ruled ca. 842-800 BCE; see Pitard 1987:145-160; Sader 1987:231-260.

A. A trapezoidal bronze plaque cast with figures in relief, a horse's nose-piece, was unearthed at the Hera temple in Samos in 1984; see Kyreleis 1988. One line of Aramaic letters is incised in the field. This discovery established the correct reading of a line of Aramaic letters incised upon a bronze horse's cheek piece found long before in the area of the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros in Eretria, Euboea (see Charbonnet 1986), showing that the inscriptions are duplicates; see Amadasi Guzzo 1987:17-20; Röllig 1988; Bron and Lemaire 1989; Eph^cal and Naveh 1989.

That which Hadad gave¹ * to our lord^b Hazael
 from ^cAmq in the year when our lord crossed

^a Deut 20:14;
 1 Sam 30:23

the river.² ^c

^b Dan 4:16, 21 ^c Gen 31:21; Exod 23:31; Num 22:5; 2 Sam 8:3 etc.

¹ The god Hadad made Hazael victorious and so gave him these objects among the booty. They were then selected and inscribed as votive offerings in accordance with the common practice of giving the deity part of the spoils of war (Gen 14:20; Num 31:25-54; 1 Chr 18:11). It is unlikely that they were originally presented to the Greek temples where they were found; they were probably looted from somewhere in Syria, perhaps the temple of Hadad in Damascus and passed through several hands to Greece.

² "The river" is understood to be the Euphrates, as in biblical and cuneiform texts, but in conjunction with ^cAmq, the plain of the Orontes, here could denote that river, see Millard 1993b:175*-176*.

B1. A fragmentary ivory plaque found in two pieces (which do not join) at Arslan Tash, ancient Hadatu, is thought to be from the edge of a bed.

[] x the people (or "Amma") for our lord

Hazael in the year [] x []¹

¹ Reconstruction as "the bed which the people (or 'Amma') offered to ... in the year of annexing Hawran" (Puech 1981; followed by Bron and Lemaire 1989:37) seems too imaginative (see Eph^cal and Naveh 1989:197 n. 24).

B2. Another ivory strip, from Nimrud¹ in Assyria, bears the end of a text:

Our [lor]d Hazael

¹ See Millard in Mallowan 1966:598.

REFERENCES

Text: *KAI* No. 232 (B1 only); *SSI* 2, No. 2 (B1 only); Bron and Lemaire 1989; Eph'al and Naveh 1989; Kyrieleis 1988; Röllig 1998. Studies: Amadasi Guzzo 1987; Charbonnet 1986; Lemaire 1991b; Mallowan 1966; Millard 1993b; Pitard 1987; Sader 1987.

7. ARAMAIC DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS

THE ASWAN DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION (2.41)

Bezalel Porten

Usually known as the Aswan sandstone stela, this six-line building dedication inscription (Cairo J. 36448) was published by de Vogüé in 1903 (*TAD* D17.1). It is 44.2 cm wide (frontally), 27.5 cm high and 12.5 cm thick (in depth) and is engraved in cursive script whose proximate forerunners are attested in a clay tablet of 571/570 BCE (Louvre AO 21063; *SSI* 2:116-117; cf. the letters *aleph*, *beth*, *he*, *waw*, *zayin*, *yod*, *kaph*). Unlike other dedicatory inscriptions, both Phoenician and Aramaic, this one is dated (Sivan = Mehîr, 7 Artaxerxes). Since palaeographically the reign of Artaxerxes I is indicated, the resultant date would be June 6-13, 458 BCE.¹ So far unique in Achaemenid Egypt, the inscription formula may be compared to a Cilician inscription at Yale ("This statue Nanast erected before ..." [*KAI* #258; *SSI* 2:153-154]). In both the Cilician and Elephantine inscriptions, the object described is indicated by a Persian loanword — *ptkr*, **patikara*— "statue" and *brzmdn*, **brzmdāna*— "shrine" respectively — and both follow a traditional Aramaic formula: "Cultic object + demonstrative - verb - subject - indirect object" (*KAI* #215). The cultic site was dedicated by the Troop Commander of Syene, whose name is damaged, to a deity whose name is likewise damaged.

This² shrine³ PN⁴ the Troop Commander⁵ of Syene made⁶ in the month of Sivan,⁷ that is Mehîr, year seven of Artaxerxes⁸ the king⁹ [for] DN⁹ the

god. Peace¹⁰ [...] ...
 a Gen 21:22, 32; 26:26; Judg 4:2; 1 Sam 14:50; 2 Sam 10:16; 2 Kgs 4:13; 5:1; Esth 8:9; Ezra 4:7-8, 11, 23; 6:14; Ezra 7 *passim*; 8:1; Neh 2:1; 5:14; 13:6

¹ Lemaire 1992:295-303 argued for a date in the reign of Artaxerxes II. But already in Artaxerxes II fifth year, Elephantine was controlled by Amyrtaeus (400 BCE [*TAD* B4.6:1]), who gave way a year later to Nephertites (*TAD* A3.9:3-4). Synchronous Babylonian-Egyptian double dating was standard in Egypt between 473 and 402 BCE; Porten 1990:16, 31.

² For use of the demonstrative at the beginning of dedicatory inscriptions see *KAI* #215, #258.

³ An Old Persian loanword **brzmdāna* (Bogoliubov 1966).

⁴ The surviving letter traces (*odn*[...] or *orn*[...]) do not allow for the restoration of *wydrng* Vidranga, as desired by Bogoliubov 1966 and Lemaire 1992:292.

⁵ Aram. *rb hyl* = BH *šr šb*². Both officials were second in command, the Aram. to the *frataraka*— "governor," and the biblical to the king. We have the names of four people in the fifth century BCE who bore this title: Rauk (*TAD* B5.1:3 [495]; D7.24:15), Naphaina (*TAD* A5.2:7 [post 434/433]), his son Vidranga (*TAD* A4.3:3; B2.9:4-5, 2.10:2, 4, 3.9:2-3 [420-416]), and Vidranga's son Naphaina (*TAD* 4.7:7 || 4.8:6 [410]). A Vidranga appears in broken context in a fragmentary letter of 399 BCE (*TAD* A3.9:7). They functioned not only in a military capacity but in a judicial one as well, independently or alongside the governor (*TAD* B2.9:4-5).

⁶ The verb *bd* was regularly, if not exclusively, used to describe the fashioning of a ritual object; see *TAD* D20.1:2 = COS 2.60 here and cf. *DNWSI* 810-813.

⁷ **rñšš* was the standard spelling of the royal name in Eg. Aram. texts, though once it is abbreviated to **rñš* (*TAD* B3.3:1). In the Bible it was rendered **rñššr* (Ezra 7 *passim*) or **rñššr* (Ezra 4:7-8, 11, 23; 6:14 [separate source]).

⁸ Palaeography and the historical situation point to Artaxerxes I. In his year 7 Babylonian Sivan and Eg. Mehîr converged for only a week, June 6-13.

⁹ The preserved text reads [l]w²pd/rñhy. Unfortunately, what is preserved does not allow intelligible restoration. The attempt to restore *Osirnakht* (Lemaire 1992:293) cannot be sustained.

¹⁰ The last legible word is another Old Persian loanword, *drwt*, *druvair*— "peace, welfare" and must have introduced the concluding blessing to be bestowed upon the official who built the shrine and set the inscription.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: *AC* #22; Bogoliubov 1966; *DAE* #75; Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992:B3f3; Lemaire 1992; *TAD* D17.1.

8. PHILISTINE INSCRIPTIONS

THE EKRON INSCRIPTION OF AKHAYUS (2.42)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Written in a lapidary style script developed by the Philistines at Ekron, the text is a royal dedicatory inscription for the temple of the goddess *Ptgyh* made by Akhayus,¹ the son of Padi, the ruler of Ekron. The royal names ("Padi" and "Akhayus") are names known from Assyrian sources: for Padi, the inscriptions of Sennacherib (COS 2.119B) and another inscription from Ekron (see n. 3 below); for Akhayus (vocalized in the Assyrian texts as Ikausu), the inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Aššurbanipal. On the basis of these names, the inscription dates to ca. 680-665 BCE.

The name Akhayus has been generally associated with the name of biblical ²*ākīš* Achish, the Philistine king(s) of Gath in the times of Saul and Solomon (1 Sam 21:11-16; 1 Sam 27:1-29:9; 1 Kgs 2:39-40).

Dedication (lines 1-3)

The temple (house)² that Akhayus, son of Padi,³ son of Ysd, son of Ada, son of Ya^cir, ruler^{4b} of Ekron,⁵ built for PTGYH,⁶ his lady.

Invocation (lines 4-5)

May she bless him,^{7d}

a Isa 29:1

b Judg 3:3;
Judg 9:6, 22;
16:5 etc;
1 Sam 5; 6;
7; 21:10;
27:2; 29:1, 6-7

and prote[ct] him,
and prolong his days,^d
and may she bless his [l]and.

c Josh 13:3, etc.

d = d Num 6:24-26

¹ For a vocalization as Akhayus, i.e. ¹Αχαιοϋς, meaning "Greek," see Gitin, Dothan, and Naveh 1997a:11; Naveh 1998:35-37. The name Achish appears in an Eg. list of names from Caphtor (Crete) from the 16th century BCE (Sasson 1997:632).

² Rainey (1998:242) points out that *bt bn* ²kyš is a noun in construct with a clause acting as the *nomen rectum*. Cf. Isa 29:1.

³ Padi is best known from the annals of Sennacherib (below, COS 2.119B) and now also from another inscription from Ekron that reads: *lbt^c1 wlpdy* "for Ba^cal and for Padi." See Gitin and Cogan 1999. For Ba^cal at Ekron, cf. Ba^cal-Zebub in 2 Kgs 1:2-3. See Sasson 1997:634.

⁴ The use of the phrase *šr* ^cqrm (instead of *mlk* ^cqrm) may be because: 1) it expresses the vassal's loyalty to the Assyrian king, 2) the term *šr* means king in the Philistine-Canaanite dialect, or 3) the phrase is directed toward a particular audience. Cf. the Hadad-yith^ci inscription (COS 2.34, n. 5); the Aram. has "king" (*mlk*), the Assyrian has "governor" (*šākin mātī*) (cf. Isa 10:8). Note that the Philistine rulers are called *šar* (Judg 3:3; 16:5 etc; 1 Sam 5; 6; 7). Cf. also Judg 9:6 and 9:22. In 1 Sam 29, the title *sarnē p'lišīm* (29:1, 7, also *hass'ranim* in v. 6) is used synonymously with *šarē p'lišīm* (29:3 [2x]). 4). Akhayus (Achish) of Gath was called *melek* (e.g. 1 Sam 21:11; 27:2), perhaps because at that time he was the senior among the five Philistine rulers (Rainey 1998:243).

⁵ For the spelling and vocalization of the name ^cqrm, see Rainey 1998:243. In Akk. it is spelled ^uAm-qar-ru-na and ^uAm-qar-ru-u-na = *Amqarūna* = ^{*}Amqarōna < ^{*}Aqqarōna. See Parpola 1970:16; and Hurvitz 1968:18-24.

⁶ Much speculation has arisen over this Ekronite goddess. Gitin, Dothan and Naveh (1998:12) suggest an equation with Asherah (this deity's name appears on a votive jar inscription from Tel Migne / Ekron). Schäfer-Lichtenberger (1998:64-76) vocalizes the goddess's name as Pythagajah and argues that she was Ekron's principal deity, positing possible connections between this Philistine goddess and the sanctuary at Delphi known as Pytho, which was the shrine of Gaia before the cult of Apollo became popular there. The principal goddess of the Mycenaean period was a personification of mother earth which may be a further indication that the Philistines were of Mycenaean origin.

Since the *gimel* in the word appears somewhat defectively written, some scholars have suggested different readings. Demsky (1997:1-5; 1998:53-58) reads *ptryh* and equates with the Greek term *πόρνα* — a title used in the addressing of females meaning "lady," "mistress," "queen." It is used to describe Athena and Artemis. Demsky equates its use in the inscription with Asherah. But there is a redundancy created by Demsky's proposal: *lptryh* . ²dth "for his lady/mistress, his lady." The term ²dt is an epithet and thus *ptryh* would seem to be a divine name. Görg (1998), however, suggests the reading *ptryh*, and equates this with a Canaanite goddess known from Ugarit. However, the ending in Ug. is y not yh (Sasson 1997:633). Moreover, the text seems to read *gimel*, not *nun* or *resh*.

⁷ Cf. the Azatiwada inscription (COS 2.31) and the Kuntillet ^cAjrud inscriptions (COS 2.47).

REFERENCES

Text: Text: Gitin, Dothan, and Naveh 1997a; 1997b. Studies: Demsky 1997; 1998a; 1998b; Gitin 1993; Naveh 1998; Rainey 1998; Schäfer-Lichtenberger 1998; Sasson 1997.

9. NABATAEAN INSCRIPTIONS

A NABATAEAN COMMEMORATIVE INSCRIPTION FROM ^cAVDAT (2.43)

J. F. Healey

This is a rare example of a non-funerary Nabataean building inscription. Found ca. 2 km south of ^cAvdat on what was probably a libation altar, it mentions a religious celebration (*mrzh*) connected with Dushara and is dated, though

the reading of the date is uncertain.¹

Event being recorded (lines 1-2a)

This is the dam (which was built) by ... and ... sons of ... (and his associates) the sons of Saruta.

a Jer 16:5;
Amos 6:7

god of Gaia,³ in the year 7(?) ... of King Rabbel, King of the Nabataeans, who brings life and deliverance to his people.⁴

Dedication and date (lines 2b-4)

This was at the *marzeah*-festival² of Dushara, the

¹ The text is published and annotated by Negev 1963.

² The *marzeah* (Heb. form) is a widespread phenomenon stretching from Ebla in the third millennium BCE to Marseilles in the first millennium CE and also alluded to in later Jewish sources. It refers to a communal celebration by members of a fraternity involving eating and drinking under the supervision of a symposiarch. Strabo refers to such celebrations by the Nabataeans. See COS 2.36, note 18.

³ Gaia is the ancient form of the geographical name al-Ji, the name of the village to the east of Petra. This may have been the original (even pre-Nabataean) home of Dushara, the main Nabataean god.

⁴ The date is far from certain, but the 7th year of Rabbel II (70-106 CE) was 76/77 CE. (This follows Meshorer 1975; Negev 1963 has the 18th year). The titulature "he who has brought life and deliverance to his people" is an Aramaic version of the Greek title σωτήρ.

REFERENCES

Meshorer 1975; Negev 1963.

THE DEDICATION OF A STATUE TO THE DIVINIZED NABATAEAN KING (2.44)

J. F. Healey

While belonging to a common genre of inscription commemorating an individual in the presence of a god,¹ this particular example is noteworthy for the possibility that the god in question is the divinized Nabataean king, Obodas. It also contains a probably poetic section, the meaning of which is uncertain, but which appears to be in Arabic. It thus contains the earliest Arabic known to us, from the 1st century CE.²

Commemoration (lines 1-2a)

May he who recites (this inscription) before the god Obodas be remembered for good and may whoever ... be remembered.³

Pious Act Commemorated (line 2b)

Garmalahi son of Taymalahi [set up] a statue before the god Obodas.⁴

Reason for Dedication (lines 4-5)

And he (Obodas) works without reward or favor, and he, when death tried to claim us, did not let it claim (us), for when a wound (of ours) festered, he did not let us perish.⁵

Autograph (line 6)

Garmalahi wrote (this) with his (own) hand.

¹ On the formula see Healey 1996.

² First published and translated by J. Naveh and S. Shaked in Negev 1986, this inscription has become the focus of intense scholarly interest, especially centered upon the Arabic section: Noja 1989; Bellamy 1990; Snir 1993; Ambros 1994; Kropp 1994.

³ The formula "Remembered be PN before DN" is extremely common in inscriptions of this period (Nabataean, Palmyrene, Hatran, Jewish, Syriac, Greek). The basic idea behind it is clearly that anyone seeing the inscription should mention the name of the person who wrote the inscription. This would keep his or her memory alive before the god and bring blessing on the reciter of the name.

⁴ Obodas was regarded as divine from the early first century CE onwards, though it is not clear which Obodas is meant, I (ca. 96-85 BCE) or III (30-9 BCE). This may have been a nationalistic move towards an ancestral cult. Theophoric personal names such as 'Abd'obodat ("servant of [the god] Obodas") reflect the same idea. Obodas was buried at 'Avdat (see Stephanus of Byzantium; Negev 1986:59-60). Despite the report of Stephanus, some have doubted that the god Obodas is a divinized king (Dijkstra 1995:319-321).

⁵ The different commentators vary considerably in their translations of the Arabic. We provisionally follow Bellamy 1990.

REFERENCES

Ambros 1994; Bellamy 1990; Healey 1996; Kropp 1994; Negev 1986; Noja 1989; Snir 1993.

A NABATAEAN INSCRIPTION CONTAINING RELIGIOUS
LAWS FROM THE ATARGATIS TEMPLE AT PETRA (2.45)

J. F. Healey

This inscription gives us a most tantalizing glimpse of Nabataean religious law in the 1st century CE. It is the religious aspect which is particularly unusual, since on secular law we are surprisingly well informed.¹ The inscription is preserved on a marble plaque which was originally attached to the temple wall along with (many?) others which proclaimed the religious law of this particular temple. The habit of placing religious laws in full view in temples is known from Jerusalem and from Hatra in the same period. In Jerusalem, the fragments of the law prohibiting non-Jews from going beyond the Court of the Gentiles have survived (see also literary reference in Josephus). In Hatra the laws on temple walls include strict rules about theft and an apparent rule that shoes were to be removed before entry.

In this case the law seems to be directed at priests, though there is so much difficulty in the text that our translation, based on that of the publishers of the inscription, must be regarded as tentative.²

<i>Law on Taxation of Offerings</i> (lines 1-3) Whatever he receives ³ of silver or gold or offerings or provisions of any kind, or of silver (coinage) or bronze (coinage) ⁴ ... and the other half (will be allotted) to the priests ⁵ ... after the carrying out of a proclamation of delinquency ⁶ before this (time). Then there shall be allotted ...	<i>a</i> Lev 7:28-36; 10:12-15, etc.; Deut 18:1-8; 1 Sam 2:12-17; Neh 10:32-33	... concerning it, whoever does other than all of what is written above shall as a consequence repay that which was found out ... <i>Date</i> (line 4) On the fourth day of ⁷ Ab, the 37th year of Haretat, King of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. ⁷ And ...
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¹ See Healey 1993.
² See Hammond, Johnson, and Jones 1986.
³ Apparently this refers to the income of a priest or some other temple official (receiving offerings). Subsequent reference to priests receiving half may refer to some collective body.
⁴ There is a distinction between precious metals and coinage.
⁵ On temple taxes note Neh 10:32-33 and Josephus, *Antiquities*, III.191; Mishnah Shekalim 2:3, 4; 4:7-8; Yoma 6:1, etc.
⁶ ⁷kryz ⁶wn: like the public proclamation of bankruptcy which protects the rights of creditors.
⁷ The king, whose "nationalistic" title is normally added, is Aretas IV (9 BCE-40 CE) and the date is therefore 28/29 CE.

REFERENCES

Hammond, Johnson, and Jones 1986; Healey 1993b.

A NABATAEAN SHRINE INSCRIPTION FROM EGYPT (2.46)

J. F. Healey

This well-preserved inscription on a white limestone block is particularly important historically because of the detailed chronological synchronism it gives. It comes from the site of Tell esh-Shuqafiya in the eastern delta of lower Egypt and is dated to 34 BCE.¹ The Nabataeans were active in Egypt and have left many inscriptions there.

<i>Dedication</i> (lines 1-4a) This is the shrine ² which Wahballahi son of ³ Abd ³ alga ² son of ² Awsalahi made for the god Dushara who is in Daphne ³ — as it is called in Egyptian. ⁴	<i>Date</i> (lines 4b-6) The year 18 of Queen Cleopatra, ⁵ which is the year 26 of Maliku, ⁶ King of the Nabataeans, i.e. the year 2 of ² Aqlah, ⁷ in the month of Nisan.
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¹ The primary publication is Jones, Johnson, Hammond, and Fiema 1988.
² The Nabataean word (^{rb}⁶ⁱ²) indicates a *square* temple or shrine.
³ Probably Tell ed-Defenna.
⁴ Possibly "Daphne of the Egyptians."
⁵ 34 BCE. For corrected dating see Fiema and Jones 1990.
⁶ Or Maniku.
⁷ Perhaps a local priest.

REFERENCES

Fiema and Jones 1990; Jones, Johnson, Hammond, and Fiema 1988.

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B. VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS

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1. HEBREW INSCRIPTIONS

KUNTILLET 'AJRUD (2.47)

KUNTILLET 'AJRUD: INSCRIBED PITHOS 1 (2.47A)

P. Kyle McCarter

A number of Hebrew inscriptions, primarily religious in content, were found in excavations conducted during the 1970's by Ze'ev Meshel for the Tel Aviv Institute of Archaeology at the site of Kuntillet 'Ajrud, a major crossroads in the northeastern Sinai. The inscriptions were found in the ruins of the better preserved of the two buildings found at the site, which have been dated archaeologically to the end of the ninth and the beginning of the eighth century BCE. Among the most important artifacts were two large pithoi bearing a number of inscriptions and other graffiti. The first pithos is decorated with various drawings, including a pair of ibexes feeding on a stylized tree of life, a cow suckling a calf, a partially preserved lion, and, of special interest, a pair of human-bovine figures in the traditional pose of man and wife, king and queen or god and consort. This last illustration appears immediately below and partially overlapping the blessing translated below. Though it has been vigorously argued that the two figures are representations of the Egyptian god Bes (Beck 1982:27-31; Hadley 1987:189-196; Keel and Uehlinger 218-223), the unmistakable bull's head, hooved feet and tail of the larger figure argue decisively in favor of interpreting him as the "Yahweh of Samaria" invoked in the adjacent inscription (cf. "the young bull of Samaria" in Hos 8:6), while the female breasts of the smaller figure, who stands slightly behind Yahweh and interlocks her arm with his (cf. Weippert 1988: 673), is evidently "his asherah."

Utterance of ²Ashyaw the king! ^a: "Say to Yehallel and to Yaw^casah and to [...]: 'I bless you by Yahweh^b of Samaria² and his asherah^{3c}!'"

^a 2 Kgs 13:9-19, 25; 14:8-17; 2 Chr 25:17-25

^b 2 Sam 6:18; 1 Chr 16:2; Ps 129:8

^c Exod 34:13; Deut 7:5; 12:3; 1 Kgs 14:15, 23; 16:33; 2 Kgs 13:16; 17:10; 18:14; 21:3; 23:14; cf. 1 Kgs 15:1; 18:19; 2 Kgs 21:7; 23:4, 7; Jer 17:2; 1 Chr 15:16

¹ Reading ²šyw hmlk. Though the *mem* of the title cannot be seen in published visible-light photographs, it is clear in infrared images. The king in question is Joash of Israel, the years of whose reign (ca. 802-787 BCE) correspond precisely with the paleographic dating of the Kuntillet 'Ajrud inscriptions. The correspondence between ²šyw, "²Ashyaw," and biblical yw²f, "Joash" (originally Yaw²ash) is not problematic, the theophoric and verbal elements being transposed as in a number of other royal names known from the Bible (cf. Ahaziah [2 Kgs 8:24, etc.] and Jehoahaz [2 Chr 21:17, etc.], Jehoiahin [2 Kgs 24:6, etc.] and Jeconiah [Jer 24:1, etc.]), etc. Cf. COS 2.50, n. 3.

² The god of Israel as he was worshiped in Samaria. A distinctive feature of the Kuntillet 'Ajrud inscriptions is that Yahweh is routinely identified by one of his local manifestations, the Yahweh of Samaria and the Yahweh of Teman (McCarter 1987:139-143). Though the genitive construction yhw² šmrn violates BH grammar, it is not surprising in inscriptional Hebrew in view of comparative evidence in related languages.

³ In the Bible the word ²ššrā is sometimes used in reference to a goddess, "Asherah," but more often it designates a wooden cult object — possibly an upright wooden pole, a carved image of a goddess, or even a sacred tree. Its use is usually condemned by the biblical writers, at least in part because of its association with a goddess. In light of this association, the formula employed at Kuntillet 'Ajrud, "Yahweh of Samaria [or 'Teman'] and his asherah," suggests the pairing of the god of Israel with a consort. Various proposals have been made to explain the connection between the wooden cult object and the divine consort. Most probably, the abstract conceptualization of Yahweh's divine presence, as marked in the cult by the wooden object, was given concrete form — that is, hypostatized — and personified as female, then venerated as Yahweh's consort (McCarter 1987:143-49).

REFERENCES

Text: *AHI* 8.017; *HAE* 1:59-61; Translations and studies: Gilula 1973/79; Beck 1982; Emerton 1982; Lemaire 1984b; Weinfeld 1984; Hadley 1987a; McCarter 1987; Meshel 1979; 1987; Olyan 1988:25-34; Weippert 1988; Keel and Uehlinger 1998:225-226.

KUNTILLET 'AJRUD: INSCRIBED PITHOS 2 (2.47B)

P. Kyle McCarter

The second pithos from Kuntillet 'Ajrud, like the first, is decorated with a number of drawings, including a cow, an archer with his bow drawn, and a group of five human figures, standing with their hands extended as if in worship or supplication. The pithos also bears four separate inscriptions. First is a complete Hebrew abecedar, with the letters *pe* and *ayin* reversed from their traditional order, as also found in the early twelfth-century BCE ostrakon from

^cIzbet Šarḥ and occasionally in the Bible (Prov 2:16-17; 3:46-51; 4:16-17; 31:25-26 [LXX]; cf. Ps 34:16-17); cf. COS 1.107. Second, adjoining the drawing of the supplicating figures, is a list of names: Shakanyaw, ^aAmoš, Šamaryaw, ^bEliyaw, ^cUzziyaw and Mišray. The third and fourth inscriptions are translated here.

A Fragmentary Blessing (lines 1-3)

[...] to Yahweh of the Teman¹ ^a and his asherah.^b And may he grant (?) everything² that he asks from the compassionate god³ ^c [...], and may he grant according to his needs⁴ ^d all that he asks!⁵

A Message of Blessing (lines 1-10)

Utterance of 'Amaryaw, "Say to⁶ my lord: 'Is it

^a Jer 49:7; 20; Ezek 25:13; Amos 1:12; Obad 9; Hab 3:3

well with you?^a I bless you by Yahweh^b of Teman⁷ and his asherah. May he bless you and keep you,^c and may he be with my lord!"^a

^b Exod 34:13; Deut 7:5; 12:3; 1 Kgs 14:15, 23; 16:33; 2 Kgs 13:6; 17:10; 18:4; 21:3; 23:14; cf. 1 Kgs 15:13; 18:19; 2 Kgs 21:7; 23:4, 7; Jer 17:2; 2 Chr 15:16 ^c Exod 34:6; Jer 4:2; Ps 86:15; Neh 9:31; cf. Joel 2:13; Pss 103:8; 111:4; 145:8; Neh 9:17; 2 Chr 30:9 ^d Exod 36:7; Jer 49:9; Obad 5; Prov 25:16 ^e Gen 29:6; 43:27; 2 Sam 18:32; 20:9; 1 Kgs 2:13; 2 Kgs 4:26 ^f 2 Sam 6:18; 1 Chr 16:2; Ps 129:8 ^g Num 6:24 ^h Gen 28:15

¹ The particular manifestation of the god of Israel invoked in this blessing is *yhw htmn*, "Yahweh of the Teman," i.e., "Yahweh of the Southland," probably the local form of Yahweh worshiped in the vicinity of Kuntillet 'Ajrud. "The Teman" or "Southland" is the biblical Teman, spelled *tmn* (*tēmān*) here in the Israelite (northern) dialect of Hebrew, though the name also appears at Kuntillet 'Ajrud in the Judahite (southern) form *tymn* (*ṭaymān*). The initial article is an indication that Teman is understood as a region, "the Teman" or "the Southland."

² Reading *wyšl* [.] *kl*. Only the last two letters are certain.

³ The apparent reading is *mš* . *hnn*, but the *šin* is uncertain, and the reading *mšl* . *hnn* is suggested by the second Khirbet Beit Lei cave inscription (COS 2.53) as well as biblical *šl ṣḥām w'hānūn*, "the gracious and compassionate god" (Exod 34:5, etc.)

⁴ Reading *wmmldyhw* (apparently without the expected word divider) and interpreting the final sequence as the preposition followed by *dayyēhū*, lit., "according to his sufficiency." Weinfeld (1984:125-126) reads *wmm lh yhw klbbh*, "let Yahweh given him according to his wish," but the defective spelling of the divine name (*yhw*), though it appears (by scribal error?) on a stone bowl from Kuntillet 'Ajrud, would be isolated in the pithoi and plaster texts, where the full spelling (*yhw*) is consistently found, as elsewhere in the Iron Age epigraphic corpus.

⁵ Reading *klbph*, lit., "everything that is in his mouth."

⁶ A peculiarity of this inscription in comparison not only to biblical practice but to the rest of the epigraphic corpus is the attachment of the preposition *-l* (l) to the preceding word, as in *mr l* . *šdy*, "Say to my lord," instead of the expected form *l* . attached to the following word.

⁷ In this case *yhw tmn*, "Yahweh of Teman," occurs without the article (see n. 1 above).

REFERENCES

Text: AHI 8.018-22; HAE 1: 59-61. Translations and studies: Chase 1982; Keel and Uehlinger 1998:227; McCarter 1987; Meshel 1979; 1987:E (2.2); Weinfeld 1984.

KUNTILLET 'AJRUD: THE TWO-LINE INSCRIPTION (2.47C)

P. Kyle McCarter

Portions of at least three ink-on-plaster texts in very fragmentary condition were found where they had fallen on the floor of the so-called bench room, near the entryway of the main building at Kuntillet 'Ajrud. One of these is illegible except for a single word that admits of no obvious interpretation. The second, translated here, consists of two incomplete lines of text in four fragments. There is insufficient continuous text to determine the exact relationship among the four parts of the inscription, and the fragment presented here is the only one well enough preserved for translation. A peculiarity of the plaster inscriptions is that they are written in Phoenician script, but features of phonology and morphology show that the language is Hebrew.

A blessing (lines 1-2)

[... May] he prolong (their) days,¹ ^a and be satisfied [...] Yahweh of the Teman² ^b has dealt favorably [with' ...]

^a 1 Kgs 3:14; Deut 4:26, 40; 5:33; 11:9; 17:20; 22:7; 30:18; 32:47; Josh 24:31; Judg 2:7; Isa 53:10; Ps 72:5 (l); Prov 28:16; Job 29:18; Eccl 8:13 ^b Jer 49:7, 20; Ezek 25:13; Amos 1:12; Obad 9; Hab 3:3 ^c Exod 1:20; Num 10:32; Deut 8:16; 28:63; 30:5; Josh 24:20; Judg 17:13; 1 Sam 25:31; Jer 32:40-41; Zech 8:15; Ps 125:4

¹ Reading *y²rk ymm* in preference to *ybrk ymm*, "May he bless their days ..." (Meshel, Renz HAE). Though the first letter is poorly preserved, the traces fit *alep* better than *bet*, and the Hebrew phrase is more idiomatic and better suited to the context.

² For *yhw htmn*, see Inscribed Pithos 2 (COS 2.47B, note 1). Note that the Judahite (southern) dialect (*ṭaymān*) is used in the Two-Line Inscription.

REFERENCES

Text, translation and studies: AHI 8.015; HAE 1: 58; Meshel 1979; 1987:D (2).

KUNTILLET ʿAJRUD: PLASTER WALL INSCRIPTION (2.47D)

P. Kyle McCarter

This inscription fell from the doorjamb of the entryway to the western storage room in the main building at Kuntillet ʿAjrud. Preserved on the plaster are portions of five lines of a much longer text, which was poetic in character and similar in striking ways to certain theophanic passages found in archaic biblical poetry. Though the script is Phoenician, the language is probably Hebrew (cf. notes 3 and 5).

A Theophany of the Day of Battle (lines 1-5)

[...] When ʿEl¹ shone forth² in [...] And mountains melted,³ and peaks² grew weak³ [...] Baʿl⁴ on the

a Deut 33:2; Hos 6:3; Isa 60:1 b Isa 34:3; Mic 1:4; Ps 97:5 c Hos 10:14; Amos 1:14; Prov 21:31

¹ Or "God." Despite the Phoen. script, the language and poetic style of this poem are distinctively Heb., like the other inscriptions at Kuntillet ʿAjrud. In all probability, then, ʿEl should be understood here as the god of Israel rather than a non-Israelite deity.

² To the enigmatic *phnm*, compare *pahn-*, the common Hurrian word for "mountain." Though this (loan)word is not attested elsewhere in the Northwest Semitic lexica, the alternative, to read *ghnm* and compare Ps 68:16, fails on epigraphic grounds: The first letter is a perfect *pe* but unparalleled as *gimel*.

³ Both *wymsh*, "and ... melted," and *wyrkn*, "and ... grew weak," end in the so-called paragogic *nun*, a well-known feature of Heb. but thus far lacking in Phoen. except in late forms influenced by Aram. (Friedrich and Röhl, *PPG* §135 and n. 2).

⁴ In view of the distinctively Israelite literary character of this fragmentary poem, it seems probable that Baʿl ("Lord") should be understood as an epithet of the god of Israel here rather than the name of a Canaanite or Phoen. god. Cp. the old debate over the meaning of *-baʿl* in personal names in the Samaria ostraca of the early eighth century.

⁵ The reading of this word seems to be *mlhm*, with a word-divider following the final *mem*, indicating a pronunciation *milhamd*. The lack of a final *mater* is consistent with Phoen. orthography, while the final *-d* rather than *-at* shows that the language of the text is Heb. rather than Phoen.

REFERENCES

Text: *AHI* 8.023; *HAE* 1: 59; Meshel 1979; 1987:D (3). Translations and studies: Weinfeld 1984.

THE JERUSALEM POMEGRANATE (2.48)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This inscription is carved on a thumb-sized ivory in the shape of a pomegranate (height 4.3 cm, diameter 2.1 cm). It has been dated on paleographic grounds to the end of eighth century BCE. Since the text circles on the pomegranate, there is some uncertainty concerning the starting and ending points. The text appears to mention a sanctuary of Yahweh which may possibly be associated with the temple in Jerusalem built by Solomon. Lemaire (1981; 1984c) has suggested that this ivory pomegranate may be part of a priestly scepter.¹

*lbylt yhw]h qdš khnm*Belonging to the tem[ple of Yahw]eh,^{2a} holy^b to the priests.^{3c}

a Exod 23:19; 34:26; Deut 23:19; Josh 6:24; 1 Sam 1:7, 24; 3:15; 2 Sam 12:20; 1 Kgs 3:1; 6:37; 7:12, 40, 45, 48, 51 (|| 2 Chr 5:1); 1 Kgs 8:11, 63, 64; 9:1 (|| 2 Chr 7:11); 1 Kgs 9:10, 15; 10:5, 12 (|| 2 Chr 9:4, 11); 1 Kgs 12:27; 14:26, 28 (|| 2 Chr 12:9, 11); 1 Kgs 15:15, 18 (|| 2 Chr 16:2); 2 Kgs 11:3 + (8x); 12:5 + (12x); 14:14; 15:35 (|| 2 Chr 27:3); 2 Kgs 16:8, 14, 18; 18:15; 19:1, 14 (|| Isa 37:1, 14); 2 Kgs 20:5, 8; 21:4, 5 (2 Chr 33:4, 5); 2 Kgs 22:3, 5, 8, 9 (|| 2 Chr 34:15, 17); 2 Kgs 23:2 + (6x); 24:13 (|| 2 Chr 36:10); 2 Kgs 25:9, 13, 16 (|| Jer 52:13, 17, 20); Isa 2:2 (|| Mic 4:1); Isa 38:20, 22; 66:20; Jer 7:2; 17:26; 19:14; 20:1, 2; 26:2, 7, 9, 10; 27:16, 18, 21; 28:1, 3, 5, 6; 29:26; 33:11 35:2, 4; 36:5, 6, 8, 10; 38:14; 41:5; 51:51; 52:13; Ezek 8:16; 10:19; 11:1; 12:10; 44:4, 5; Hos 8:1; 9:4; Joel 1:9, 14; 3:18; Hag 1:2, 14; Zech 7:3; 8:9; 11:13; 14:20, 21; Pss 23:6; 27:4; 92:14; 116:19; 118:26; 122:1, 9; 134:1; 135:2; Lam 2:7; Dan 1:2; Ezra 1:3, 7; 2:68; 3:8, 11; 7:27; 8:29; Neh 10:36; 1 Chr 6:16, 17; 9:23; 22:11, 14; 23:4, 24, 28, 32; 24:19; 25:6; 26:12, 22, 27; 28:12, 13, 20; 29:8; 2 Chr 3:1; 4:16; 7, 2, 11; 8:16; 20:5, 28; 23:5, 6, 18, 19; 24:4, 7, 8, 14, 18, 21; 26:19; 28:21, 24; 29:3 + (10x); 30:1, 15; 31:10, 11, 16; 33:15; 34:14; 35:2; 36:7, 14, 18

b Exod 28:36; 39:30; Zech 14:20

c Lev 21:7b-8; 22:9; 27:21; Ezek 22:26; 44:13

¹ Two inscribed Phoen. vessels in the form of pomegranates have been published (Heltzer 1996). Both are votive inscriptions reading, *lʿšrr* "To ʿAštarte" or "Belonging to ʿAštarte." Heltzer feels that these add "strong confirmation that the publication of N. Avigad treats a really genuine object with a genuine dedicatory inscription" (1996:282).

² Kempinski (1990) suggested that the text should be restored and translated: *lbylt ʿšr]h qdš khnm* "Belonging to the tem[ple of Ašter]ah, holy to the priests." But there are difficulties with this restoration, see Hess 1996; Millard 1991. For *lbyr yhw],* see the Temple of Yahweh ostracoon (*COS* 2.50) below. The phrase *byr yhw]* also occurs in Arad ostracoon 18.9 (Renz *HAE* 1:382-384). See esp. the comments of Pardee 1978:318.

³ Avigad (1994) proposed to read the inscription with a different starting point: *qdš khnm lbyr yhw]h* "Sacred donation for the priests of (in) the house of Yahweh." But see Renz *HAE* 1:193 and 2:27.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: *AHI* 99.001.1; *HAE* 1:192-193; Avigad 1989; 1990; 1994; Kempinski 1990; Lemaire 1981; 1984.

JERUSALEM OSTRACON (2.49)
(The "Creator of the Earth" Ostrakon)

P. Kyle McCarter

The ostrakon, a fragment of the shoulder of a storage jar bearing three incomplete lines of Hebrew script written in ink, was found in 1971 during N. Avigad's excavations in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem. The poorly-preserved inscription is of special interest because of its third line, which may read "Creator of the Earth," a well-known epithet of the biblical and West Semitic god ʾEl, though the orthography is problematic and the interpretation uncertain. The ostrakon is datable on paleographical grounds to the end of the eighth century BCE (cf. Renz *HAE* 1:198).

List of Names

[...]yahu. ʾAbbir[y]ahu¹

^a Gen 14:19; cf. Isa 40:28; 45:18	[...]n. Mikayahu ² son of [. . .]nh[. . .] [...] Creator (?) of the Earth. ^a
--	--

¹The meaning of this name is "Yahweh is a Bull" (ʾabbir, as in Isa 34:7 and Jer 46:15; cf. Ugaritic *ibr*, "buffalo," and probably Egyptian *ibr*, "stallion") or "Yahweh is Strong."

²That is, *mikayāhū* ("Who [among the gods] is like Yahweh?"), "Micaiah."

³The reading of this line (*qn ʾrs*) has been compared, esp. by Miller (1980), to the common epithet that characterizes the god ʾEl as "the creator of the earth," which is attested in Northwest Semitic sources from Late Bronze Age Canaanite (reflected in Hittite *Ikunirša*) to Neo-Punic ʾl qn ʾrs in the second century CE. Its occurrence here in a Hebrew source is reminiscent of biblical ʾel ʿelyōn qōnē šamayim waʾareṣ, "ʾEl, creator of heaven and earth," in Gen 14:19. This led Avigad to reconstruct the divine name ʾl, "ʾEl," in the break at the beginning of the line, a restoration described by Miller as "almost inescapable." Admittedly, however, the spelling *qn* for *qōnē*, "creator," without the expected final -h, as expected in Hebrew orthography of this period, is anomalous (Miller, Lipiński, Renz *HAE*), and this led some scholars to propose alternative interpretations, such as [z]qn ʾrs, "elders of the land" (Lipiński; see Renz *HAE* 1: 198 n. c for other possibilities). Nevertheless, noting its frequent occurrence in Phoen. texts, the orthography of which did not employ final -h (Karatepe ʾl qn ʾrs; *KAI* 2:42-43), Miller (1980:45) suggests that it may be "a cultic or religious cliché in frozen form," and this suggestion is reinforced by the possibility that, as a common epithet, the epithet "creator-of-the-earth" might have come to be viewed as, in effect, a single word, *qnʾrs*, as suggested already by Hittite *Kunirša*.

REFERENCES

Text: *AHI* 4.201; *HAE* 1:197-98. Translations and studies: Avigad 1972; Lipiński 1990; Miller 1980; Smelik 1987:73 §156.

THE TEMPLE OF THE LORD OSTRACON (2.50)
(Moussaieff No. 1)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This is one of two ostraca in the Moussaieff collection (for the other, see the Widow's Plea Ostrakon, *COS* 3). It is a five-line inscription that records a royal contribution of silver by a king ʾAshyahu to the temple of Yahweh to be made through the agency of a royal functionary named Zakaryahu. The ostrakon is 10.9 cm x 8.6 cm, and is written in Hebrew script that dates¹ on the basis of palaeography to the time of Josiah (640-609 BCE) (Bordreuil, Israel, and Pardee 1996; 1998).

As ² ʾAshyahu ³ the king (has) commanded you to give in the hand of Zakaryahu ⁴ silver of Tarshish ⁵ ^a	<table border="0"> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top;"> ^a 1 Kgs 10:22; 22:49; Isa 60:9; Jer 10:9; Ezek 27:12; Jonah 1:3; Ps 72:10 </td> <td style="vertical-align: top;"> for the house of Yahweh⁶ ^b: three shekels.⁷ </td> </tr> </table>	^a 1 Kgs 10:22; 22:49; Isa 60:9; Jer 10:9; Ezek 27:12; Jonah 1:3; Ps 72:10	for the house of Yahweh ⁶ ^b : three shekels. ⁷
^a 1 Kgs 10:22; 22:49; Isa 60:9; Jer 10:9; Ezek 27:12; Jonah 1:3; Ps 72:10	for the house of Yahweh ⁶ ^b : three shekels. ⁷		

¹Interestingly, Ephʿai and Naveh (1998) suggest that the ostrakon (as well as its sister ostrakon "the Widow's Plea") may not be genuine, but a modern forgery because of the great similarity of words and phrases with BH and known epigraphic materials. The very same facts are used by Becking to argue for genuineness (1998:5)! It should be remembered that the ink used on the inscriptions has been tested and appears to date from the time period (Bordreuil, Israel, and Pardee 1996:74-76).

²*kʾšr* at the very beginning of a text is unknown in extrabiblical texts. Lang (1998) argues that *kʾšr* can stand at the beginning of a Hebrew sentence and that the word should be construed as "Thus," or the like, having a kataphoric function (see also Becking 1998:6). However, the examples that Lang cites do not syntactically support his contention. Most of the examples are instances of the occurrence of the *kʾšr* ... *kn* ... sentence type where the first (dependent) clause, *kʾšr* ..., states: "as such and such has been commanded or spoken," and the second (independent) clause, *kn* ..., states: "so this such and such has been done or will be done (using ʿ*sh*)." See Num 8:22b; 36:10; Josh 11:15; 14:5; 1 Kgs 2:38. 1 Kgs 2:38 is esp. helpful since it records a monarchic edict in the *kʾšr* clause, and the subject's commitment to do this in the *kn* clause. Therefore the ostrakon may simply employ this *kʾšr* ... *kn* ... formula elliptically. The *kʾšr* clause records "as ʾAshyahu, the king, (has) commanded you ... and elliptically, the *kn* clause is understood, "so you will do"; or "so it will be done".

³The name ʾAshyahu is attested among extrabiblical personal names (Zadok 1988; Renz *HAE* 2:61), though none of these persons are monarchs. Thus the name is problematic because no king of Israel or Judah is known by this name in the biblical materials. Nevertheless, there

are two biblical possibilities. First, this could be an inverted form of the name of Joash, king of Judah, 835-796 BCE (2 Kgs 11:21-12:21) (or much less likely Joash, king of Israel, 803-787 BCE, 2 Kgs 13:10-13). Second, this could be an inverted form of the name of Josiah, king of Judah, 640-609 BCE (2 Kgs 22:1, etc.). That royal names could be inverted is seen in the case of Jehoiachin (*Yehōyākin*, 2 Kgs 24:6 etc.), who was also called Coniah (*Konyāhū*, e.g. Jer 22:24) among a number of other variations of his name. Another example is Ahaziah (*ʿḥzyhw*) (of Judah) (2 Kgs 8:25) who is called Jehoahaz (*yhwʿhz*) in 2 Chr 2:21:17. Finally, Becking (1998:6-9) discusses three other possibilities that are much less likely than either of the two Judahite kings (i.e. Joash or Josiah). Cf. the discussion in COS 2.47A, note 1 above.

⁴ There are two possibilities for biblical identification: 2 Chr 24:20 mentions a Zechariah who, though full of the spirit of God, nevertheless was murdered by his uncle Joash; and 2 Chr 35:8 mentions a Zechariah who was a Levite "over the house of God" during the reign of king Josiah (Bordreuil, Israel, and Pardee 1996:53; Lang 1998:22).

⁵ Silver from Tarshish had proverbial high quality (Jer 10:9). The location of Tarshish is uncertain. The Phoen. Nora inscription seems to refer to a Tarshish on Sardinia. More probably, Tarshish was located in Spain. See Baker 1992; Lipiński 1992.

⁶ A reference to "the house of Yahweh" is known from one of the Arad ostraca (Renz HAE 1:384) as well as possibly from the Jerusalem Pomegranate (see Renz HAE 1:192-193; and COS 2.48 above). Whether ʿAshyahu is Joash or Josiah, it is most likely that this is a reference to the Solomonic temple in Jerusalem.

⁷ Bordreuil, Israel and Pardee (1998:5) understand this to be a reference (however oblique) to the Judahite royal shekel and not to the *sekel haqqōdeš* "sanctuary shekel" (cf. Exodus 30:13).

REFERENCES

Text: Bordreuil, Israel, and Pardee 1996; 1998. Translations and studies: Becking 1998; Ephʿal and Naveh 1998; Lang 1998.

2. ARAMAIC INSCRIPTIONS

TELL EL-MASKHUṬA LIBATION BOWLS (2.51)

Bezalel Porten

In 1954 the Brooklyn Museum acquired three inscribed libation bowls, and then a fourth in 1957. They were said to have been found at Tel el-Maskhuṭa, ca. 12 miles west of Ismailia, and were published by Isaac Rabinowitz in 1956 and 1959 (*TAD* D15.1-4). Three are to be dated to the first half of the fifth century (*TAD* D15.1-3 = COS 2.51A-C) and the fourth to the second half (*TAD* D15.4 = COS 2.51D). They were all dedicated to the North-Arabian goddess Hanilat, known to Herodotus as Alilat (iii.8), and three of the four bowls (*TAD* D15.2-4 = COS 2.51B-D) recorded the names of the donor. These indicate the same kind of onomastic assimilation found among the Arameans in Egypt (see Egyptian mortuary texts below (COS 2.60-65) and evidenced in the contemporary Teima stela (Šalamshezib son of Peṭosiri [CIS 2.113:9, 11, 21 = *KAI* #228]). Only the king of Kedar bore a fully Arabian name — Kainu son of Geshem (D15.4 = COS 2.51D), the latter identical with Biblical Geshem/Gashmu the Arabian, opponent of Nehemiah. The other donors had mixed Egyptian and Arabian names (Šeḥo son of Abdamru COS 2.51C) or only Egyptian names (Harbek son of Pa(u)siri COS 2.51B). The Arabs who aided Cambyses in his conquest of Egypt may have been Kedarites, who would have then or shortly thereafter been stationed in Wadi Tumeilat, where they built a shrine to their deity Hanilat at Tel el-Maskhuṭa.¹ Their king Geshem was a threat to Nehemiah and some say was the Jašm son of Šahr renowned in Arabian Dedan. The prophet Isaiah had already associated the Dedanites with Kedar (Isa 21:13-17).

SILVER BOWL (Brooklyn Museum 54.50.36) (2.51A)
(First Half of Fifth Century BCE)

To Hanilat²

¹ For recent discussion on the identification of this site see Currid 1997:128-130.

² Elliptical for "Bowl which PN offered to Hanilat the goddess;" see inscriptions below. Rabinowitz 1956:2 thought this abridged form was "used when a donor preferred to remain anonymous." For discussion of the goddess Allat see *NSI* p. 222 and references in Rabinowitz (1956) 3. The name means "goddess" and this form of her name ("the [h] goddess") occurs only here. Rabinowitz 1956:4, 8 argues for her identification with Atarsmain and Greek Athena.

REFERENCES

Text: Rabinowitz 1956; *TAD* D15.1. Studies: Dumbrell 1971; Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992:B.3.f.12.

SILVER BOWL (Brooklyn Museum 57.121) (2.51B)
(First Half of Fifth Century BCE)

(That which)³ Ḥarbak⁴ son of Pa(u)siri⁵ offered⁶ ^a Ezra 7:17 | to Hanilat the goddess⁷

³ The scribe omitted the initial *zy*, "that which" found in the two inscriptions below.

⁴ The name is Egyptian — *Hr-byk*, "Horus (the) Falcon" — as is that of the father. Ḥarbak must have been at least a third generation settler in Egypt.

⁵ Pasiri = *pa-Wsir*, "He of Osiris."

⁶ The stem *grb* was used in Official Aramaic (*KAI* 2.229), Nabataean (*NSI* 100:1), and Palmyrene (*NSI* 133:1) with the sense of presenting an object to deity. See below on *COS* 2.60 (Serapeum offering table).

⁷ It was proper in monuments, and not *de rigueur* in graffiti, to add masculine ^ʔ*lh*⁷, "the god" or feminine ^ʔ*lhr*⁷, "the goddess" to the divine name (cf. *COS* 2.41; *TAD* D20.3:2, *COS* 2.62 and 2.64; *KAI* 2.229). Strikingly, only one of the four bowls here has the addition of the title.

REFERENCES

Text: Rabinowitz 1959; *TAD* D15.1. Studies: Dumbrell 1971; Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992:B.3.f.12; Honeyman 1960.

SILVER BOWL (Brooklyn Museum 54.50.32) (2.51C)
(First Half of Fifth Century BCE)

That which⁸ Šeho son of Abdamru⁹ offered⁸ to ^b Ezra 7:17 | Hanilat

⁸ Elliptical for "Bowl which (zy) Šeho ...;" see *KAI* 2.1, 4-7, 25, 201-202, 229 and discussion on Serapeum offering table below *COS* 2.60. The voiced dental in all the inscriptions discussed in this collection was expressed by *zayin*, thus *zy* not *dy* and *znh* not *dnh*; cf. *COS* 2.41.

⁹ The praenomen is an Egyptian name (Šeho = *ḥd-h[r]*, "The Face Spoke") well known in Aramaic texts (see glossaries in *TAD* B and C) and the patronym occurs in Nabataean documents (Cantineau 1932:126). The name ^c*mrw* is found in Palmyrene (Stark 1971:45) and the root ^c*mr* is very popular in North Arabian names (Harding 1971:10-411). Is this root related to Biblical ^c*mr*, Omri (1 Kgs. 16:16)?

REFERENCES

Text: Rabinowitz 1956; *TAD* D15.3. Studies: Cantineau 1932; *DAE* No. 79; Dumbrell 1971; Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992:B.3.f.12; Harding 1971; Stark 1971.

SILVER BOWL (Brooklyn Museum 54.50.34) (2.51D)
(Second Half of Fifth Century BCE)

That which Kainu¹⁰ ^c son of Geshem¹¹ ^d king¹² of ^e Gen 4:1; 5:9 ^d Neh 2:19; 6:1-2, 6 ^e Gen 25:13 | 1 Chr 1:29; Isa 21:16-17; 42:11; 60:7; Jer 2:10; 49:28; Ps 120:5; Cane 1:5 ^f Ezra 7:17
Kedar¹³ ^c offered^d to Hanilat

¹⁰ The name is found in Nabataean inscriptions (Cantineau 1932:142) and the root *qyn* in North Arabian inscriptions (Harding 1971:492-493) and in Hebrew.

¹¹ Known as Geshem the Arabian, Geshem, or Gashmu, he was associated with Sanballat (Sin-uballit) the Horonite and Tobiah the Ammonite servant (of the king?) in opposition to Nehemiah, governor of Judah (Neh. 2:19; 6:1-2, 6). His memory survived for a couple centuries so that the land of Goshen, where Jacob's family settled, was designated by the translator of the Septuagint as the land of Gesem of Arabia (LXX Gen. 45:10, 46:34). Some would identify Geshem with Jašm son of Šahr who appears in a Lihyanite inscription from Dedan dated to the fifth century BCE (Winnert 1937:50-51), but others are sceptical (Eph^cal 1982:210-214). The name is common in Nabataean (cf. *NSI* p. 255; see Cantineau 1932:80 [where also *gšmw*]); Safaitic, Thamudic, Qatabanian, and Lihyanite inscriptions (as *jšm* [Harding 1971:162]).

¹² In his memoirs, Nehemiah withheld any title from his three opponents, although we know that Sanballat was "governor" (*phh*) of Samaria (*TAD* A4.7:29). Nor does Jašm (Geshem) bear a title in the Lihyanite inscription. During the time of Sennacherib, Hazail was styled "king of the Arabs" and his son Iauti is referred to by Ashurbanipal as "King of Kedar." For detailed discussion of the Kedarites see Eph^cal 1982.

¹³ Filiated with Ishmael, Kedar was associated with Dedan, Edom, Nebaioth, and Arabia; possessed tents, flocks, and camels with their chiefs (*ṣṣyʾym*) trading in lambs, rams, and goats. For geographical location see the references in Rabinowitz 1956:3.

REFERENCES

AC No. 44; Cantineau 1932:142; *DAE* No. 78; Dumbrell 1971; Eph^cal 1982; Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992:B.3.f.12; Harding 1971:492-493; *NSI*; Rabinowitz 1956; *TAD* D15.4; *SSI* 2:25; Winnert 1937:50-51.

C. MORTUARY INSCRIPTIONS

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1. HEBREW INSCRIPTIONS

KHIRBET EL-QOM (2.52)

P. Kyle McCarter

This late eighth-century BCE epitaph appears on a slab of limestone recovered in 1967 after having been looted from a cave-tomb at the site of Khirbet el-Qom, about eight miles west of Hebron in the Judean hills. The slab was originally part of a pillar adjoining one of the burial chambers in the tomb. The interpretation of the inscription, which is rather crudely written and not deeply incised, is hampered by the fact that much of the text has been retraced, with the result that many letters appear twice, sometimes superimposed on each other, so that it is often difficult for the epigraphist to decide which letters to read and which to ignore. The text surmounts a deeply incised representation of an inverted human hand, which, though it resembles the common Islamic talisman known as "the hand of Fatima," seems to have been in place before the Iron Age inscription was carved around it.

ʔUriyahu, the rich¹: (This is) his inscription.
Blessed was Uriyahu to Yahweh,² and from his
enemies,² by his asherah,³ he saved him.⁴

a1 Sam 15:13; 23:21; 2 Sam 2:5; Ps 115:15; Ruth 2:19, 20; 3:10 b 2 Sam 22:4 c Exod 34:13; Deut 7:5; 12:3; 1 Kgs 14:15, 23; 16:33; 2 Kgs 13:16; 17:10; 18:14; 21:3; 23:14; cf. 1 Kgs 15:1; 18:19; 2 Kgs 21:7; 23:4, 7; Jer 17:2; 1 Chr 15:16 d Ps 44:8

¹ Reading *h'šr*. This seems a strange way to identify the deceased, and in fact the *šr* is uncertain.

² When the overwriting described above is taken into account, the reading *nmšryh* seems secure and is now accepted by most scholars (the objection of Olyan [1988:24 and n. 6] to the spelling of the suffix must be taken seriously, but despite the contraction in the sixth-century Lachish form, *nmšw*, "his men," it is reasonable to suppose that the suffixed plural ending **-ayhā* remained uncontracted in the eighth century). Naveh (1979: 28-29) read *nšry*, "my guardian," yielding a translation that has the merit of conforming to the Kuntilet 'Ajrud blessing formula (see COS 2.47A-C): "Blessed be Uriahu by YHWH my guardian and by his Asherah."

³ This phrase, *l'šrth*, was partially clarified by the discovery of the Kuntilet 'Ajrud blessing formula ("Blessed be PN by Yahweh ... and his asherah!"), providing the clue that most interpreters of the Khirbet el-Qom text have followed (contrast Mitmann 1981). Thus Lemaire, arguing that the scribe wrote *l'šrth* out of sequence in Uriah's inscription, reconstructs *brk ʔryhw lyhw w'l'šrth nmšryh hwš' th*, "Blessed be Uriyahu by Yahweh and by his asherah; from his enemies he saved him!" In this way, Lemaire succeeds in producing a smooth and idiomatic reading that is consistent with the evidence of Kuntilet 'Ajrud. The rearrangement is too arbitrary to inspire confidence, however (but cf. Miller 1981:315-20), and other solutions, interpreting *l'šrth* as a vocative particle with a personal name (Angerstörfer 1982, "O Ashirta"; Zevit 1984, "O Asherata," with "double feminization") and/or appealing to the canons of poetic syntax (O'Connor 1987) have been proposed. As translated above, the text is understood to give credit to Yahweh's asherah — that is, his divine presence as available in the cult (see COS 2.47A, note 3) — for Uriyahu's salvation from his enemies during his lifetime.

⁴ The phrase *l'nyhw*, written just below the main inscription and to the viewer's left of the inverted hand, might be a indicator of the identity of the man who carved Uriyahu's inscription. Alternatively, it might be the laconic epitaph of another resident of the same burial chamber. Further down on the stone, on the same (left) side of the hand, appear two further lines, the meaning of which is enigmatic: *l'šrth w'l'šrth*, "To his asherah, and to his asherah."

REFERENCES

Text: *AHI* 25.003; *HAZ* 1: 199-211. Translations and studies: Angerstörfer 1982; Barag 1970; Dever 1969-70; Hadley 1987b; Jaroš 1982; Lemaire 1977; Margalit 1989; Miller 1981; Mitmann 1981; Naveh 1979; O'Connor 1987; Olyan 1988:23-25; Shea 1990; Tigay 1986:29-30; Zevit 1984.

THE KHIRBET BEIT LEI CAVE INSCRIPTIONS (2.53)

P. Kyle McCarter

These two inscriptions, along with several shorter texts and a number of graffiti, were discovered during road construction in a burial cave at the site of Khirbet Beit Lei, about five miles east of Lachish in the Judean Shephelah. Though found in a burial cave, the texts are not conventional tomb inscriptions, and no grave-goods were found with them. They offer praise to the god of Israel and invoke his help and succor, suggesting that they were incised in the rock walls by refugees seeking shelter in the cave. This also explains the discrepancy between the archaeological date of the burial cave, which is of a standard eighth- or seventh-century type (Lemaire), and the palaeographical date of the script, which, though difficult to date because of its crude character, seems to belong to

the beginning of the sixth century BCE (Cross; contrast Naveh, Lemaire and Mittmann; late eighth century; Gibson *SSI*: late sixth century).

Inscription A

Yahweh is the god of the whole earth.^a The highlands of Judah^b belong to the god of Jerusalem.^{1 c}

a Isa 54:5;
cf. Josh 3:11,
13; Mic 4:13;
Zech 4:14;
6:5; Ps 97:5

b 2 Chr 21:11 e 2 Chr 32:19; cf. Ezra 7:19 d Jon 4:2; Exod 34:6; Ps 86:15; Neh 9:31; cf. Joel 2:13; Pss 103:8; 111:4; 145:8; Neh 9:17; 2 Chr 30:9

Inscription B

Intervene,² O³ compassionate god!^{4 d} Absolve,
O³ Yahweh!

¹ The reading *hry ydh l'hy yrlm* is essentially that of Lemaire (followed by Renz *HAE* 246), who, however, reads *yhdh* despite the improbability of the internal vowel letter (*waw*) in a pre-exilic inscription. A substantially different interpretation of the entire text is offered by Cross (1970:299-302, followed in part by Miller 1981:320-332) and Weippert (1964:161-164).

² That is, *pgd* (Lemaire, Miller), but the reading is difficult. Cross reads *ngh*, "Absolve," as later in the line, and Naveh's original reading (corresponding to *pgd yh*, "Intervene, O ...") was *hmwryh*, "(Mount) Moriah ..."

³ Interpreting *yh* with Cross as the vocative particle known also from Aram. and Arab. (*yā*) as well as Ug. (*y*). The alternative is to render *yh*, as "Yah," the shortened form of "Yahweh," which is well known from the Bible but always in specialized circumstances and often in textually troubled contexts. To the end of Inscription B, compare especially "Yah, Yahweh" in Isa 12:2 and 26:4, both of which are textually uncertain (Renz *HAE* 248. n. 3).

⁴ That is, *l' hnn*, as also in Kuntillet 'Ajrud Pithos 2 (*COS* 2.47B, note 3).

REFERENCES

Text: *AHI* 15.005-008; *HAE* 1: 245-49; *SSI* 1: 57-58. Translations and studies: Cross 1970; Lemaire 1976; Miller 1981; Mittmann 1989; Naveh 1963; Weippert 1964.

THE ROYAL STEWARD INSCRIPTION (2.54)

P. Kyle McCarter

This damaged grave inscription was found beneath a modern building in a burial chamber hewn from the rock of the eastern slope of the Kidron Valley in the village of Silwan in southeastern Jerusalem. The tomb is widely believed to have been that of the Hezekiah's royal steward Shebna, who was condemned by the prophet Isaiah for, among other things, presuming to have a tomb cut for himself in the rock (Isa 22:15-25). Though he may have lost the office of royal steward at this time, he seems to have remained in Hezekiah's administration as a royal secretary, and in this capacity he was among the party sent by Hezekiah to negotiate with the Assyrians during Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem in 701 BCE (2 Kgs 18:13-19:7 = Isa 36:1-37:7).

Identification of the Deceased (line 1)

This is [the tomb¹ of Sheban]jah,^{2 a} who is over the house.^{3 b}

a 2 Kgs 18:18,
26, 37; 19:2
Isa 22:15;
36:3, 11, 22;
37:2

b 1 Kgs 4:6;
16:9; 18:3; 2 Kgs 10:5; 15:5; 18:18; Isa 22:15; 36:3

and the bones of his maidservant⁴ (who is) with him. Cursed be the man who opens this (tomb)!

Curse against Desecration of the Grave (lines 1-3)

There is no silver or gold here — only [his bones]

¹ The fem. pronoun that begins the inscription (*z't*, "this") requires the reconstruction in the lacuna of a feminine noun, probably *qbrt*, "the tomb of, the grave of."

² Only the end of the name of the deceased (*-yhw*) is preserved after the lacuna. The reconstruction is based on the script of the epitaph, which requires a paleographic date at the end of the eighth or beginning of the seventh century, that is, to the reign of Hezekiah. We know of two individuals, Shebna (Isa 22:15) and Eliakim (Isa 36:3; 37:2) who held the position of "the one who is over the house" in Hezekiah's administration. Of these two names, only that of Shebna in its longer form *ybrnyhw*, "Shebanyahu" or "Shebaniah" (cf. 1 Chr 15:24) fits here.

³ The title *z'fr l' hbyt*, "the one who is over the house," is well known from Heb. seals and the Bible, where it is held by high-ranking individuals (1 Kgs 4:6; 16:9; 18:3; etc.), who seem in particular to have had responsibility for the management of the king's household. For this reason, the position is often described as that of "royal steward," or "palace steward"; cf. *COS* 2.70D and T.

⁴ While it is true that biblical law makes special provision for the protection of a woman who was part of a man's household but not his legal wife (Gibson *SSI* 1:25), it is still surprising to learn that Shebaniah was buried with a servant.

REFERENCES

Text: *AHI* 4.401; *HAE* 1:261-265; *KAI* 2:#191B; *SSI* 1:23-24. Translations and studies: Avigad 1953; Clermont-Ganneau 1871; Good 1979; Katzenstein 1960.

2. PHOENICIAN INSCRIPTIONS

THE SARCOPHAGUS INSCRIPTION OF ʔAHIROM,
KING OF BYBLOS (2.55)

P. Kyle McCarter

The limestone sarcophagus of King ʔAhirom (fl. 1000 BCE) was found in 1923 during the French excavations at Byblos. ʔAhirom's epitaph, commissioned by his son and successor, ʔItobaʕl, is carved around the edge of the lid and the upper rim of the coffin. The inscription surmounts an elaborate relief, in which the king is depicted enthroned on a cherub throne and receiving offerings from a procession of dignitaries; women in mourning are depicted on the two ends of the coffin. The ʔAhirom epitaph is the earliest known Phoenician inscription of substantial length.

Identification of the sarcophagus (line 1)

The sarcophagus^a that ʔItobaʕl,¹ son of ʔAhirom,² the king of Byblos, made for ʔAhirom, his father, when he placed him in eternity.^{3 b}

Curses against desecration of the sarcophagus
(line 2)

And if a king among kings or a governor^c among governors or the commander^d of an army should

^a Gen 50:26
^b Eccl 12:5
^c Isa 22:15
^d Sam 11:1;
1 Kgs 14:25;
20:1; 2 Kgs
6:24; 16:9;
17:5; 18:9;
13; 24:10;
Isa 7:1; 36:1;
2 Chr 12:2, 9; 16:1

rise up against^d Byblos and uncover this sarcophagus, may the scepter^e of his rule be uprooted,^f may the throne of his kingship be overturned,^g and may peace depart from Byblos! And as for him, may his inscription be effaced with the double edge^h of a chisel (?)^h

Isa 11:1 f Isa 14:5; Jer 48:17 g Ps 89:45
2 Chr 12:2, 9; 16:1 e Isa 11:1 f Isa 14:5; Jer 48:17 g Ps 89:45

¹ ʔItobaʕl was also the name of the mid-ninth century king of Tyre whose daughter, Jezebel, was the queen of King Ahab of Israel; though his name is vocalized ʔetbaʕal, "Ethbaal," in MT, the correct Phoen. pronunciation is preserved in Josephus as *Itôbalos* (*Apion* 1.156). A second ʔItobaʕl of Tyre (*Tubaʕlu* in Assyrian inscriptions) ruled at the end of the eighth century. See COS 2.117B, note 5; ANET 287, 288.

² In shortened form, Hirom, the name appears as that of at least two kings of Tyre: the first, the biblical Hiram, was a contemporary of David and Solomon, and the second (*Hirunnu* in Assyrian records) ruled in the eighth century (ANET 283).

³ No precise parallel to the expression "placed him in eternity" exists, though its meaning seems clear. A number of scholars (Albright 1947:155 n. 19; Gallig 1950; Rosenthal, ANET 661), assuming a scribal error, would emend the text to read "as his abode in eternity" (*kā < b > th bʕlm*). The proposal of Tawil (1970-71; accepted by Gibson, SSI 3:15), that *bʕlm* is an abbreviation for *bt ʕlm*, "(in) the house of eternity," is unlikely in an early Phoen. text.

^a This meaning of Phoen. *imʔ*, which seems to occur in Punic as *imʔ* (Tombach 1978:341), is probable from the context.

^b The meaning of the final phrase is uncertain. To *lpp*, "with the double edge (of)," compare the use of *pīpīyōt* in Ps 149:6.

^c The conjecture that Phoenician *ʕl* is some kind of tool, such as a chisel (Donner 1953-54:157 n. 16), is based entirely on context, and several other suggestions, none persuasive, have been made.

REFERENCES

Text: KAI 2:2-4, 338; SSI 3:12-16. Translations and studies: ANET 661; Albright 1947; Donner 1953-54; Dussaud 1924; Gallig 1950; Greenfield 1971:254-257; Tawil 1970-71; Tombach 1978.

THE SARCOPHAGUS INSCRIPTION OF TABNIT,
KING OF SIDON (2.56)

P. Kyle McCarter

Tabnit's sarcophagus was found in 1887 during the excavation of a shaft tomb in Sidon. It was manufactured in Egypt of black basalt, and it bears a hieroglyphic inscription that shows it was originally intended for an Egyptian general by the name of Pen-Ptah (Assman 1963). It was evidently brought to Phoenicia as plunder and appropriated as a coffin for Tabnit, who ruled Sidon in the second quarter of the fifth century BCE (see n. 1). The eight-line Phoenician inscription, primarily a warning to discourage grave robbers, is engraved beneath the hieroglyphic text at the base of the sarcophagus, which is now in the Museum of Antiquities in Istanbul.

Identification of the deceased (lines 1-3)

I, Tabnit,¹ priest of ʿAshtart,² king of the Sidonians, son of ʿEshmunʿazor,³ priest of ʿAshtart, king of the Sidonians, am lying in this coffin.^a

Warning against desecration of the sarcophagus (lines 3-8)

Whoever you are, any man who comes upon this coffin, do not, do not³ open my cover and disturb

a Gen 50:26;
b 1 Sam 28:15;
c Deut 7:25;
12:31; 17:1;
18:12; 22:5;
23:19; 27:15;
d Eccl 4:15;
6:8; 7:2; 9:9;
e Eccl 4:15;
6:12; 9:9;
f Isa 14:9;
26:14, 19;
Ps 88:11; Job 26:5; Prov 2:18; 9:18; 21:16

me,^b for no silver is gathered with me (and) no gold is gathered with me or any kind of riches.^c I alone am lying in this coffin. Do not, do not open my cover and disturb me, for such a thing would be an abomination^d to ʿAshtart! And if you do open my cover and disturb me, may you have^e no offspring among the living^d under the sun^f or a resting place with the Repa^{im}.^{6 f}

¹ For historical and archaeological reasons the Sidonian dynasty founded by Tabnit's father, ʿEshmunʿazor I, must be dated to the fifth century BCE (Peckham 1968:78-87). Tabnit's reign, which was probably in the second quarter of the fifth century, was not a long one, as suggested by the testimony of the ʿEshmunʿazor inscription (COS 2.57), which indicates that Tabnit's son and heir, ʿEshmunʿazor II, was born after his father's death and that Tabnit's queen, ʿUmniʿAshtart, ruled as regent with her minor son during his own short reign.

² ʿAshtart was the principal goddess of Sidon, whose king, at least in Tabnit's case, held the sacerdotal office of her chief priest.

³ Note the emphatic repetition ʿl ʿl, "Do not, do not ...!" here and in line 5 below.

⁴ To *mšr*, "riches," cp. Akk. *mašrū*, "wealth, riches" (Lipiński 1974).

⁵ The text seems defective here, and most scholars reconstruct $y < k > n \text{ } l < k >$, following the text of line 8 of the ʿEshmunʿazor inscription (COS 2.57).

⁶ Deified royal ancestors — a group that appears frequently in the Ug. literature and occasionally in the HB, where the term also comes to refer to certain primordial inhabitants of Syria-Palestine and, in the Deuteronomistic literature, esp. Transjordan. For literature, see Hallo 1992:382-386.

REFERENCES

Text: KAI 2:17-19; SSI 3:101-105. Translations and studies: ANET 662; Assman 1963; Greenfield 1971:258-259; Hallo 1992:382-386; 1993:183-191; Lipiński 1974.

THE SARCOPHAGUS INSCRIPTION OF ʿESHMUNʿAZOR, KING OF SIDON (2.57)

P. Kyle McCarter

This black basalt sarcophagus, manufactured in Egypt and imported to Phoenicia, was found in 1855 in a shallow, rock-cut tomb in the Sidonian necropolis. After a false start on the head of the coffin itself, the stonecutter engraved the full inscription on the lid. ʿEshmunʿazor became king at the death of his father, Tabnit, in the mid-fifth century BCE. He was an infant at the time of his accession and lived to reign only fourteen years as a vassal ruler of the Persian Empire. The text recounts his achievements and those of his mother, who evidently served as regent during his reign (see further n. 9, and COS 2.56, note 1).

Introduction and date formula (lines 1-2)

In the month of Bul,^{1 a} in the fourteenth year — 14 — of the reign of King ʿEshmunʿazor,² king of the Sidonians, son of Tabnit,³ king of the Sidonians, King ʿEshmunʿazor, king of the Sidonians, said:

The king's self-lamentation (lines 2-4)

I was snatched away^b (when it was) not my time,^c a man of a limited number^d of days,^d an invalid,⁵ an orphan, the son of a widow⁶; and (now) I am

a 1 Kgs 6:38
b Isa 38: 9;
12; Ps 102:24-25; Job 10:20-22
c Job 22:16;
Eccl 7:17
d Job 10:20; 14:1

lying in this coffin, in this grave in a place that I built.

Curses against desecration of the sarcophagus (lines 4-13)

Whoever you are, any ruler or any (ordinary) man, do not open this resting-place and look for anything in it, for nothing has been placed in it, and do not carry away the coffin of my resting-place and move me from this resting-place to another resting-place! Even if men tell you (something different), do not

¹ The month of Bul was the eighth month in the old Canaanite calendar used by the Phoenicians and, originally, the Israelites (cf. *bāl* in 1 Kgs 6:38); it corresponded to the later Jewish month of Marcheshvan.

² ʿEshmunʿazor II (ca. 465-451 BCE) was the son of Tabnit (ca. 470-465 BCE) and the grandson of ʿEshmunʿazor I (ca. 479-470 BCE). The dates for the kings of the ʿEshmunʿazor dynasty are those calculated by Peckham 1968:78-87.

³ For Tabnit's epitaph, see COS 2.56.

⁴ Several scholars have compared the obscure term *mšk* to Syriac *sāk*, "end, limit, sum," which may be used in reference to the limit or summing-up of one's lifespan and commonly occurs in expressions stressing brevity.

⁵ The term *ʿzrm* remains unexplained. It is also used of a type of *mulk* or child sacrifice (Tombach 1974:9), but the relationship of this technical term to the present context is far from clear. The conjectural translation "invalid" is based on the observations of G. R. Driver (cf. Gibson SSI 3:110).

⁶ The meaning is presumably that Tabnit had died before ʿEshmunʿazor was born.

listen to their lies! For any ruler or (ordinary) man who opens the cover of this resting-place or carries off the coffin of my resting-place and moves from this resting place, let him have no resting-place with the Repha'im,⁷ let him not be buried in a grave, and let him have no son or offspring to take his place! And may the holy gods deliver him up to a mighty ruler who shall hold sway over him to bring an end to him — any ruler or (ordinary) man who opens the cover of this resting-place or carries off this coffin, or the offspring of that ruler or those (ordinary) men! Let him have no root below or fruit above⁸ or form⁸ among the living⁸ under the sun!⁸ For I deserve pity: I was snatched away (when it was) not my time, a man of a limited number of days; an invalid, an orphan, the son of a widow was I.

The achievements of ʔEshmunʔazor (lines 13-20)

For I, ʔEshmunʔazor, king of the Sidonians, son of King Tabnit, king of the Sidonians, grandson of King ʔEshmunʔazor, kings of the Sidonians, and my mother, ʔUmmiʔashtart,⁹ the priestess of ʔAshtart, our lady,¹⁰ the queen, the daughter of King ʔEshmunʔazor, king of the Sidonians — we

ʔ Isa 14:9;
26:14, 19;
Ps 88:11;
Job 26:5;
Prov 2:18;
9:18; 21:16

f Amos 2:9;
Job 18:16;
cf. Isa 37:31

g Eccl 4:15;
6:8; 7:2; 9:9

A Eccl 4:15;
6:12; 9:9

are the ones who¹¹ built the houses of the gods: [the house of ʔAshtart] in Sidon-Land-of-the-Sea¹² and enthroned¹³ ʔAshtart in the Majestic-Heavens¹⁴; and we are the ones who built the house of ʔEshmun, the holy prince,¹⁵ at the spring of YDLL¹⁶ on the hill, and enthroned him in the Majestic-Heavens; and we are the ones who built houses for the gods of Sidon in Sidon-Land-of-the-Sea, a house for Baʕl of Sidon¹⁷ and a house of ʔAshtart-Name-of-Baʕl.¹⁸ Moreover, the Lord of Kings¹⁹ gave us Dor and Joppa, the majestic corn lands that are in the Plain of Sharon, in accordance with the mighty deeds that I performed, and we added them to the limits of the land so that they would belong to the Sidonians forever.

Final warning against desecration (lines 20-22)

Whoever you are, any ruler or any (ordinary) man, do not open my cover, and do not take off my cover and move me from this resting-place, and do not carry away the coffin of my resting-place, lest these holy gods deliver them up and they — that ruler or those (ordinary) men — be brought to an end forever!

⁷ See the Tabnit inscription (COS 2.56, note 6).

⁸ The sense of ʔʔr is "form, visible presence" (cf. Gibson *SSJ* 3:111 n. 12).

⁹ ʔUmmiʔashtart is a common Phoen. name (Benz 1972:62) meaning "My (divine) mother is (the goddess) ʔAshtart." Her role as regent during her son's reign is made clear by the language of the inscription: "... we are the ones who built the houses of the gods ..., and we are the ones who built the house of ʔEshmun ..., and we are the ones who built houses for the gods of Sidon Moreover, the Lord of Kings gave us Dor and Joppa"

¹⁰ Probably a title of the goddess rather than another designation of the queen-mother.

¹¹ Assuming, with most scholars, that ʔm is a scribal error for ʔʔ.

¹² "Sidon Land-of-the-Sea" (*ʔdm ʔʔym*) was evidently the same district of the city called "Sidon-of-the-Sea" (*ʔdm ʔym*) in one of the two building inscriptions of ʔEshmunʔazor's successor, Bodʔashtart (*KAI* 2: 24).

¹³ Assuming, with most scholars, that *wyʔm* is a scribal error for *wyʔm*, the verb used immediately below in an identical context.

¹⁴ Here and below, "the Mighty-Heavens," refers to a shrine or precinct within a temple — in this case the seaside temple built (or rebuilt) for ʔAshtart and below the hilltop temple of ʔEshmun.

¹⁵ The same epithet is used of ʔEshmun in the two building inscriptions of ʔEshmunʔazor's successor, Bodʔashtart (*KAI* 2:23-25).

¹⁶ "The spring of YDLL" is evidently the same as "the spring of YDL" mentioned in the Baʕlshilleim inscription found in the temple of ʔEshmun at Bostan esh-Sheikh (Dunand 1965) north of Sidon, where the two inscriptions of Bodʔashtart, ʔEshmunʔazor's successor, were also found; the temple was located on a hill on the west bank of the river known today as the Nahr el-Awali, and "the spring of YDL(L)" must have been the ancient name of the source of this watercourse.

¹⁷ The "Baʕl" (*bʕl*) or "Lord" of Sidon must have been the local genius of the city, a divine embodiment of Sidon itself. He is not known from other sources, however, and his relationship to ʔEshmun, who is usually understood to be the principal god of Sidon, is unclear.

¹⁸ As her epithet "Name-of-Baʕl" indicates, this ʔAshtart was the consort of the city god, Baʕl of Sidon, and a personification of his cultically available presence (*ʔm*, "name").

¹⁹ The title *ʔdm mkm*, "Lord of Kings," or its equivalent was used from Assyrian to Hellenistic times, most often referring to the reigning emperor. In this case it denotes the Persian emperor (Peckham 1968: 80-86), probably Xerxes (486-465 BCE) or Artaxerxes I (465-425 BCE). The vassal-gift of Dor and Joppa with the Plain of Sharon was a generous one, including the port-city of Joppa as well as the whole of the former Assyrian province of Duni or Dor, including its rich farm lands and its own port.

REFERENCES

Text: *KAI* 2:19-23; *SSJ* 3:105-114; Translations and studies: *ANET* 662; Benz 1972; Dunand 1965; Galland 1963; Garbini 1977b; Ginsberg 1963; Greenfield 1971:259-265; Peckham 1968; Tomback 1978.

THE FUNERARY INSCRIPTION FROM PYRGI (2.58)

P. Kyle McCarter

The Phoenician inscription is engraved on a sheet of gold leaf found in excavations at the site of ancient Pyrgi (Santa Severa), the principal port of the wealthy Etrurian city of Caere (modern Cerveteri, ca. 30 miles north of Rome on the Tyrrhenian coast), in the ruins of a temple dated archaeologically to ca. 500 BCE. The sheet was found together with two similar plaques bearing Etruscan inscriptions, one of which seems to correspond in content to the Phoenician text, though, unfortunately for our knowledge of the still incompletely understood Etruscan language, the two inscriptions do not constitute a true bilingual. The text records the dedication of a shrine to the Phoenician goddess 'Ashtart, who was identified at Pyrgi with the Etruscan Uni, to whom the larger sanctuary was sacred. As shown by Knoppers (1992), the nature of the shrine was probably funerary, erected to commemorate the burial of a prominent individual, who was deified at death and is thus referred to in the inscription as "the god."

<i>Dedication and construction of the shrine</i> (lines 1-9)	<i>α 2 Sam 7:4-6; 1 Kgs 8:17-21</i>	my reign in the month of Kirar ⁶ on the day of the burial of the god. ⁷
To the Lady 'Ashtart ¹ : This holy place ² which Thebarye Velinas, king over Kaysriye, ³ made and dedicated in the month of the Sacrifice of the Sun ⁴ as a gift (and) as a temple. ⁵ I built it because 'Ashtart requested it from me ⁶ in the third year of	<i>δ Isa 14:13 (?)</i>	<i>A wish for the longevity of "the god" (lines 9-11)</i> And may the years during which ⁸ the god is in his house ⁹ be like these ¹⁰ stars! ^b

¹ In the Etruscan texts the divine name corresponding to 'Ashtart is Unialastres, whose name has been explained as a combination of the names of the Etruscan goddess Uni (the Roman Juno) and the Phoen. goddess 'Ashtart (Pallottino in Colonna, et al. 1964:84-85).

² The "holy place" was probably a shrine located within the precincts of the larger temple of Uni at Pyrgi (Garbini and Levi della Vida 1965:37). See also note 5 below.

³ The vocalizations of the name of the Etruscan king and the Etruscan name of the city of Caere are based on the Etruscan texts. Thebarye is probably the equivalent of Latin Tiberius.

⁴ Or "the month of the Sacrifices [pl.] of the Sun" (cf. Knoppers 1992:110-111). This month is also known from Phoen. inscriptions from Cyprus, though its position in the year is unknown. Knoppers (1992:111-112), noting the chthonic nature of the sun god in both Mesopotamian and Northwest Semitic religions, argues that the dedication of the shrine in this month is in keeping with the funerary character of the inscription.

⁵ Reading *bmm* ²*bbr*, with the ²*alep* understood as prosthetic (cf. Garbini and Levi della Vida 1965:41; Gibson *SSI* 3:156). The "temple" or "house" (*br*) referred to here and in line 10 ("his house") was probably not the larger temple of Uni itself but rather the funerary shrine of the deified deceased ("the god").

⁶ This month name appears several times in Phoen. and Punic texts, but, as in the case of the month of the Sacrifice of the Sun, the time of year to which it belonged is unknown. The same month-name (*Kiraru*) seems to have been known in northern Syria (Alalakh) already in the OB Period (*CAD* K 401).

⁷ As convincingly argued by Knoppers (1992:114-117) the "god" (²*lm*), which is frequently sing. in Phoen. (Tombback 1978:16-18), was probably a prominent citizen of Thebarye Velinas's kingdom whose burial and deification the shrine commemorates.

⁸ Construing *lm*²*š* as *lm*- (the long form of the prep. *l-*) and the relative particle ²*š* (Février 1965:11, 14-15).

⁹ The "god ... in his house" refers to the deceased deified and residing in his funerary shrine.

¹⁰ The expression "like these stars" (*km hkkm* ²*š*) evidently expresses the pious hope that the years of the "god" residing in his "house" should be as numerous as the stars in the night sky, but the referent of ²*š*, "these," is admittedly rather vague, and this has provoked a number of other interpretations. The most ingenious is that of Dahood (1965), who took the phrase to mean "like the stars of 'El," comparing *kōk'be-'el*, "the stars of 'El," in Isa 14:13 and explaining the *-m* of *hkkm* as enclitic.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: *KAI* 2:330-332; *SSI* 3:151-159; Colonna et al. 1964; Dahood 1965; Delcor 1968; Dupont-Sommer 1964; Ferron 1965; Février 1965; Fischer and Rix 1968; Fitzmyer 1966; Friedrich 1969; Garbini 1968; Garbini and Levi della Vida 1965; Heurgon 1966; Knoppers 1992.

3. ARAMAIC INSCRIPTIONS

THE TOMB INSCRIPTION OF ŠI'GABBAR, PRIEST OF SAHAR (2.59)

P. Kyle McCarter

Two funerary reliefs depicting deceased priests and inscribed with their epitaphs were found in 1891 at Nerab, southeast of Aleppo. The two inscriptions, which date to the early seventh century BCE, are written in the dialect known as Empire Aramaic, recognizable from a number of features of grammar and lexicon that show the influence of the dominant Assyrian language and culture of the period. The names of both priests honor the Assyrian god Sin, and it has been suggested that the sanctuary at Nerab was a satellite of the great temple of Sin at Harran (Gibson *SSI*

2:94). The epitaph translated here is written above a representation of the priest Si²gabbar, who is depicted in a seated position offering a libation at an altar, behind which is an attendant holding a fan.

Identification of the Deceased (lines 1-2)

Si²gabbar,¹ priest of Sahar² in Nerab. This is his picture.

The Piety of the Deceased (lines 2-6)

Because of my righteousness in his presence,³ he gave me a good name and prolonged my days.⁴ On the day I died, my mouth was not deprived of words, and with my eyes I beheld children of the fourth generation.⁵ They wept for me and were greatly distraught.⁶ But they did not place any sil-

cf. 1 Kgs 3:14;
cf. Deut 4:26,
40; 5:33;
11:9; 17:20;
22:7; 30:18;
32:47; Josh
24:31; Judg
2:7; Isa
53:10; Ps
72:5 (!);
Prov 28:16;
Job 29:18;
Eccl 8:13
δ Ps 128:6; Job 42:16 ε Ps 37:38; 109:13

ver or bronze with me; they placed me (here) with (only) my clothes, so that in the future my remains⁵ would not be carried off.⁶

Warning against Desecration of the Sarcophagus (lines 6-10)

Whoever you are, who do (me) wrong⁷ and carry me off, may Sahar, Nikkal⁸ and Nusk⁹ make his death ignominious, and may his posterity perish!⁶

¹ The element Si² is the West Semitic (Aram.) form of the name of the Mesopotamian god Sin (Kaufman 1970:271); thus Si²gabbar's name means "Sin is a warrior." [See also the Akk. attestation for the name, Parpola 1985: KLY].

² Sahar (*shr* = *šhr*) was the Aramean moon-god (cf. Syriac *sahrā*, "moon").

³ The assertion of "my righteousness in his presence" indicates, in the first place, simply that Si²gabbar's behavior met with Sahar's approval; but since Si²gabbar was a priest, the expression *qdmw*, "before him, in his presence," refers more specifically to his performance of his sacerdotal duties in the service of the god.

⁴ That is, *hwm* ²*thmw*. Evidently *hwm* (*hawm*) is a noun in cognate accusative construction rather than an infinitive absolute, for which we might have expected *hm* or *mhm* (cf. Gibson SSI 2:98 n. 6, but contrast Segert AaG 532).

⁵ On this word (²*rsy*) see Kaufman (1974:50), who explains it in light of Akk. *esitu*, "bone, skeleton."

⁶ The verb *ltns*, derived by some interpreters from a root *hns* (cf. Syriac ²*ns*, "press, compel," which in the ²Ethpe²el mean "be compelled, distressed," and Jewish Palestinian Aram. ²*ns*, "oppress, overwhelm") is better explained as Hap²el of *nws* with the meaning "carry off" (KAI 2:210, 275, 276).

⁷ Elsewhere in Aram., including Sefire III 20 (COS 2.82), and Hebrew the verb ²*šq* is transitive, meaning "oppress, do wrong (to), slander." Here the object is not expressed, but it may be implied or reverted from following verb.

⁸ Nikkal is the Aram.-Phoen. version of the Sum.-Akk. Ningal, the consort of Sin.

⁹ In Mesopotamian mythology Nuskā or Nusku was esp. associated with the sacrificial flame, so that he is often described in modern literature as a "fire god." One of his most important roles was the expulsion of demons.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: KAI 2:276; SSI 2:97-98; Kaufman 1970.

ARAMAIC MORTUARY TEXTS FROM EGYPT

Bezalel Porten

Achaemenid Egypt has yielded a half-dozen mortuary texts, one offering table and five stelae with Aramaic inscriptions. Their period of discovery spans two and one-quarter centuries (1704-1920's CE). Three certainly, and the others most likely, were found in the Memphis-Saqqarah area, and today each is housed in a different museum — Louvre in Paris (COS 2.60 [discovered 1851]), Musées Royaux d'Arts et d'Histoire in Brussels (COS 2.61 [1907]), municipal museum in Carpentras (COS 2.64 [1704]), and the Vatican in Rome (COS 2.65 [1860]). The one in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin was destroyed in World War II (COS 2.62 [pre-1877]) and the last one remains in an unknown storage site in Egypt (COS 2.63 [1920]). The Egyptian funerary scenes and the onomasticon indicate a ready adoption by Aramaean settlers of local practices, at the same time maintaining their native language, the *lingua franca* of the empire. Four stelae open with a blessing of the deceased (COS 2.61-64), three of them by the Egyptian god Osiris (COS 2.61-62, 2.64; cf. 2.65), who was slaughtered by his brother Seth and revived by his son Horus. The inscriptions came at the bottom of two or three registers of familiar Egyptian funerary scenes. The fifth stela inscription is merely a label identifying the deceased and it appears between two registers (COS 2.65). Two of the inscriptions are for a male (COS 2.63, 2.65), two for a female (COS 2.61, 2.64) and one for a couple (COS 2.62). This latter stela was prepared by a surviving son, adds a hieroglyphic inscription, and is dated to 4 Xerxes (482 BCE). The most famous of the stelae, that in Carpentras, is a quatrain of three four-beat bicola, internal rhyme in lines 2-3, and a concluding three-beat bicolon (COS 2.64). Twice the deceased, female and male, is designated by an Egyptian loanword meaning "(the) excellent (one)" (COS 2.64-65), while the Carpentras stela employs two more loanwords, one an epithet of deity, "Lord of Two Truths" (*nb m²c²ty*) and another of the defunct, "praiseworthy" (*ḥsyw*). Most of the names, both praenomen and patronym, are likewise Egyptian: *Bokriw* father of

Tuma (COS 2.61), *Ḥor* father of Abah (COS 2.62), *Petees[e]* son of *Yh²* [...] (COS 2.63), *Tabi* daughter of *Tahapi* (COS 2.64), and *Ankhohapi* son of *Takhabet* (COS 2.65). This is in stark contrast to the Jewish settlers in Egypt who preserved their Hebrew names. The names on the offering table were both Aramaean — Abitab son of Banit (COS 2.60). Though discovered in the Memphis Serapeum (thus dedicated to Osiris-Ḥapi = Serapis) in a Thirtieth Dynasty context (380-343 BCE), palaeographic considerations argue for an early fifth century date.¹ We may conjecture that along with numerous other tables, ours was moved from its original site to make way for the late pylon, in whose proximity they were then deposited. A new reading following recent collation presents a text which can best be understood as a calque on Egyptian grammar. In similar fashion, the Carpentras text (COS 2.64) may be seen as an abstract of Chapter 125 in the Book of the Dead (COS 2.12).²

¹ See Introduction to D20.1-6 in TAD D. Complete bibliography to these texts can be found there and in Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992.

² These conclusions were worked out in conjunction with the Egyptologist John Gee and most of the Egyptological references are due to him. A joint article entitled "Aramaic Funerary Practices in Egypt" is scheduled to appear in the P.-E. Dion *Festschrift*.

OFFERING TABLE FROM THE MEMPHIS SERAPEUM (2.60)

(Early Fifth Century BCE)

Bezalel Porten

Written somewhat carelessly without clear word separation, this four-line text (Louvre A0 4824) is susceptible to different interpretations (see notes). The smoothest translation is achieved if we view it as a calque on Egyptian grammar. We surmise that the memorial offering-table was originally deposited in a public place outside the sanctuary proper. Offerings, whether periodic or occasional, would subsequently have been made to the deity, and the deceased would have taken his share therefrom. Bible and Apocrypha know of the practice of feeding the dead directly (Deut 26:14; Tob 4:17).

Offering-table ¹ as an offering ² of Banit ³ ^a to ⁴	^a 2 Kgs 17:30 ^b 1 Chr 8:11	Banit made ⁷ for him ⁸ (so that) ⁹ he may be ¹⁰ before Osiris-Ḥapi (Serapis) ⁵ (which) Abitab ⁶ ^b son of	Osi > ḥ < ris-Ḥapi. ¹¹
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¹ While the formula in this dedicatory inscription is familiar from Phoen. (cf. *KAI* 2.1, 4-7, 25) and Aram. (*KAI* 2.201-202, 215, 229, 239, 242-243, 258; *TAD* D17.1), the formulation here is syntactically elliptical. The first word always refers to the object dedicated, hence *ḥpy* = Eg. *ḥp.t* means here "offering table" (*Glossar* 338; cf. *DAE*, Lipiński 1978:111) and not "offering" (so *NSI*, *KAI*). The text regularly proceeded either with the relative ("which"), followed by verb-subject-indirect object (*KAI* 2.1, 4-7, 25, 201-202, 229), or with the demonstrative ("this"), likewise followed by verb-subject-indirect object (*KAI* 2.215, 258; *TAD* D17.1:1 = COS 2.41). In the first pattern the word order occasionally changed to subject-verb-indirect object (*KAI* 2.242-243). In our text the word order is verb ("*bd*")-subject (Abitab)-indirect object (*ḥ*). There is neither a relative nor a demonstrative pronoun. Conceivably, one may take the opening expression as a title and render: "Offering-table for the offering of Banit to Osiris-Ḥapi. Abitab son of Banit made it for him." The awkwardness is eliminated if we assume the grammar imitates an Eg. pattern wherein the relative marker *nty* (= Aram. *zy*) is omitted in the past tense, replaced by a special relative form of the verb, *r-sdm.f*; see Johnson 1976:182.

² Official Aram. knows the use of the stem *grb* both in the sense of approaching a person (*TAD* C1.1:50, 54, 57, 193-194) and presenting an offering to deity (*KAI* 2.229 [Teima]; COS 2.51B-D; cf. *TAD* A4.7:25, 28 || 4.8:25, 27; *Ezra* 7:17). This is the only occurrence of the nominal form. Those who prefer the former sense point to the appearance of the defunct before Osiris for judgment (Book of the Dead, Chap. 125). But the terminology there is not "approach deity" but simply *iw r*, "come to (the hall)" (*Lexa* 1910:5) or *spr r*, "arrive at (the hall)" (*Naville* 1886:I, Pl. cxxxiii, line 1). Ordinarily in the Aram. inscriptions, the object would be dedicated (to a deity) for "the life" or "honor" of the deceased (references in *DNWSI* 812-813).

³ A Mesopotamian female deity, appearing here in a rare but not unparalleled occurrence as a personal name; cf. Eg. *Ḥr*, "Horus" (COS 2.61). Banit was embraced by the Aramaeans and had a temple at Syene (*TAD* A2.2:1, 12, 2.3:7, 2.4:1). She appeared there and at Elephantine, at the same time as our text, in such personal masculine names as Banitsar (*TAD* A2.2:5, 2.6:8), Banitsarel (*TAD* 2.3:2), Baniteresh (*TAD* B2.1:19), and the dominant Makkibanit (*TAD* A2.1:8, etc.). In a Neo-Assyrian text from Nineveh involving Egyptians, a name that may be read Banitu appears as witness; Postgate 1976:No. 13:34 and n. on p. 103. In the Neo-Babylonian onomasticon, on the other hand, Banitu was found almost exclusively in female names; Talletqvist 1905:21-22. See further Cogan 1995.

⁴ The preposition "to" appears in four votive bowl inscriptions (COS 2.51) but it alternates with "before" in blessings ("before:" COS 2.62; *TAD* D22:10-11, 16, 24, 26, 47, 49-52; "to:" *TAD* D22.13, 17-18, 29-32, 40-44).

⁵ Upon death the Apis bull (*ḥpy*) became known as Osiris-Apis. Greek Serapis, and was buried in the Serapeum. Popular in Ptolemaic times, the term *Wsir Ḥpy* is found already in Serapeum stelae 22-23 dating to year 2 of Pimay (772 BCE); Malinine, Posener, and Vercoutter 1968:I, 21-23; II, Pl. viii. *Ḥpy* was a popular element in the personal names in these funerary texts — Tahapi (COS 2.64) and Ankhohapi (COS 2.65). This fact suggested to Lévy 1927:285-286 that the respective stelae and the persons they commemorated stem from Memphis.

⁶ A good West Semitic name ("[My] divine father is goodness"), occurring also in a graffito at the Seti Temple at Abydos: Abitab son of Shumtab (*TAD* D22:9).

⁷ For the verb "*bd*" in this context see COS 2.41.

⁸ This word had been read *lhy* and rendered “thus(?)” with no satisfactory etymology. Careful examination of the offering table reveals that the first letter is a *lamed* whose horizontal bar is mistakenly curved to the left rather than to the right. Read *lh*, “to him” (i.e. to Banit) and attach the *yod* to the following word (*y^cbd*) (so Ada Yardeni). While word separation is not always clear in this text, there is noticeable space between *lh* and *y^cbd*. It was not uncommon for a child to fashion the funerary object for the parent (cf. *COS* 2.62; *KAI* 2.1, 215; cf. *KAI* 2.239, 248 [husband]; references in *DANWSI* 812-813 *passim*).

⁹ Aram. would normally employ the particle *kzy* to introduce a purpose (final) clause; Muraoka and Porten 1998:§52f. Its absence here is consonant with Eg. syntax which omits such a particle in the subjunctive *sdm=f* in purpose clauses; see the hieroglyphic text in *COS* 2.62 below (*di.f qrst nfr*, “so that he might give a good burial”) and discussion in Johnson 1976:279-280, esp. E492B-D. Alternately, we may view the verb *y^cbd* as jussive (“Let him be”) and the construction as “two asyndetic clauses loosely hanging together” (T. Muraoka, written communication). This rendition, however, appears somewhat awkward.

¹⁰ Aram. *bd* may be a calque of Eg. *iri* which besides its regular meaning of “do, make” may also mean “be, become.” See the expression *ir=t w^c m-b²h p² nb ntr.w*, “may you be one before the lord of the gods” in parallel to *ipy=k m-b²h p² nb ntr.w*, “may you be rejuvenated before the lord of the gods”; P. Louvre E 10607, lines 7-8 in Smith 1993:23, Pl. 7; see also *Glossar* 36-37. Proper ritual, including offerings, would enable Banit to be an attendant in the presence of Serapis (cf. 2.64). This would be the sense of the Aram. verb if we took it conjecturally to mean “act.” The verb also has the meaning of offering up a sacrifice, but with an object complement (*TAD* A4.7:21-22 || A4.8:21), here to be understood as “make (offerings).” The clause would then express the determination of the son to attend to the funerary rites of his father. Reading *y^cbr* and translating “Let it pass before Osiris-Hapi” does not seem to be an improvement. The simplest explanation is to assume an Eg. prototype, as argued above.

¹¹ The careless scribe, perhaps unskilled, anticipated the *heth* of the second word in the line (*hpy*) already at the beginning of the line.

REFERENCES

CIS 2.123; *DAE* No. 84; Donner 1969; Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992 B.3.e.8; *HNE* I, 128, 448, II, Pl. 28.2; Johnson 1976; *KAI* No. 268; Lévy 1927; Lexa 1910; Lipiński 1978; *NSI* No. 72; Malinine, Posener, and Vercoeur 1968; Muraoka and Porten 1998; Naville 1886; Postgate 1976; *TAD* D20.1; Smith 1993; Tallqvist 1905.

FUNERARY STELA (Brussels E. 4716) (2.61)
(Early Fifth Century BCE)

Bezalel Porten

Blessed¹ ^a be Tuma² daughter of Bokrin³ by^{1 a} | ^a Gen 14:19; Judg 17:2; 1 Sam 15:13; Ps 115:15; Ruth 3:10
Osiris.⁴

¹ In the formula *brk + l/qdm-DN*, the deity has been considered not the agent but the indirect object of the preposition, thus “I bless you to/before DN, i.e. I pray to/before DN that he bless you”; Muraoka 1979:92-94; Muraoka and Porten 1998:§ 54d. Lipiński 1975:96-98 rendered it here “Be recommended to Osiris.” For general discussion of this formula as commendation to deity cf. Scharbart 1975 2:279-308. The word *brk* occurs in four of the five stelae (*COS* 2.61-2.64), once with the preposition *qdm* (*COS* 2.62; see there *sub voce*). In the passive voice the dual formula occurs essentially in graffiti (“before” *TAD* D22:10-11, 16, 24, 26, 47, 49-52; “to:” D22.13, 17-18, 29-32, 40-44); in the active voice it appears in epistolary salutations (see references in *EPE* B1, n. 6). The passive formula also occurs in inscriptions from Hatra (*KAI* 2.244, 246 [*dkyr wbyrk PN qdm DN*]) and in a Heb. tomb inscription (Dever 1971).

² The name is found frequently in Palmyra (Stark 1971:56; Lipiński 1975b:98) and a third century BCE Aram. ostrakon mentions a “Tam wife of Malchiah son of Azgad” (*TAD* D7.57:4-5).

³ Bokrin³ = *b²k-n.f*, “Servant of his Name,” known through Greek transcription as Bochoris, this name was borne by a well-known king of the Twenty-fourth Dynasty. See Lipiński 1975b:99-101.

⁴ The name is here spelled *wry*; in the other texts it is written with an initial *aleph*. The graffiti know three different spellings — ^a*wry* (*TAD* D22.10, 24), ^a*sry* (*TAD* D22.13, 16), and *wry* (*TAD* D22.11, 18).

REFERENCES

Lipiński 1975b; Muraoka 1979; Muraoka and Porten 1998; *RÉS* 1788; Scharbart 1975; Stark 1971; *TAD* D20.2

FUNERARY STELA FROM SAQQARAH (BERLIN GIPSFORMEREI 939
FORMERLY ÄM 7707 [destroyed WW II]) (2.62)
(482 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

Aramaic text

Blessed be Abah son of Hor ¹ and Aḥatabu daughter of Adiyah, ² all (told), ³ of Khasemehi the city ⁴ before Osiris the god. ⁵	α Esth 1:1, etc.; Dan 9:1; Ezra 4:6	Absali son of Abah, ⁶ his mother (being) Aḥatabu, ⁷ thus said ⁸ in year 4, month of Meḥir, (of) Xerxes ⁹ the king ¹⁰ ...
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¹ The son bore a hypocoristic Aram. name (cf. Abah father of Itu, an Aramaean scribe at Syene [TAD B2.2:16]) and the father an Eg. one (*Hr*, "Horus"), popular at Elephantine (TAD B3.10:10 || 11:6, C3.4:16, 3.9:19, 3.10:3, 4.6:3, 4.8:7, etc.). The intermingling of Aram. and Eg. names was well-attested in the filiations of the Makkibani letters sent to Syene and Luxor, probably from Memphis (TAD A2.1-7); cf. Nabushezib son of Peṭeknum (TAD A2.1:15) and Makkibani son of Psami (TAD A2.2:18).

² Here there are apparently two Aram. names. The praenomen has been explained as abbreviation of the Ersatzname ²hr ²bwh, "Sister of her father" (NSI, KAI, SSI); Tallqvist 1905:3 compares Neo-Babylonian *Aḥ-at-bu-ū*. In the hieroglyphic text it is written ²hr ²bwh. The patronym is identical with Heb. Adaiash, well attested in fifth century BCE Judah (Ezra 10:29, 39; Neh. 11:12 [AC]) but the stem is found in Moabite ²d (Zadok 1988:300), Nabataean ²dyw (CIS 2.195:1 [KAI]); Cantineau 1932:127; Safaitic and Thamudic ²dy (Harding 1971:410-411), Arabic ²Adi, ²Adiyā² [Jewish] (EnIslam 1:195-196 [reference from F. Rosenthal]). The name Adaios in the Greek inscriptions (adduced by Lipiński 1978a:105-106) may reflect ²Adi and not ²Adi (Wuñnow 1930:12; F. Rosenthal orally); likewise with similar spellings such as Addaios, Adeios, Adeou. Our name is not to be found in the well documented onomasticon of Elephantine. Given the pattern of name-giving among the Jews there it is questionable whether among the five names represented here this alone is Jewish; see Porten 1968:133-150. Positive determination would mean that the Jew Adaiash had assimilated to the pagan Aramaean-Egyptian society; Lévy 1927:287.

³ Such enumeration of personal names was common in Aram. contracts (TAD B2.9:2-3, 2.11:2; 3.12:3, 11) and letters (TAD A6.3:5, 6.7:5).

⁴ The word now read by A. Yardeni as *qr̥r̥*, "the city" was formerly misread as *qr̥br̥* and erroneous derivations were proposed for the preceding *h̥sm̥h*. The newly retrieved formula is familiar from the Elephantine contracts with the addition of an ethnonim, "PN son of PN, Jew/Aramaean of Elephantine/Syene"; see discussion with references in EPE 153, n. 4. The site has been identified independently by K.-Th. Zauzich (orally) and J. Yoyotte 1995 with Khasemehi, adjacent to or identical with Marea at Egypt's western border where Herodotus (ii.30) cited the location of an outpost, just as at Elephantine.

⁵ Several Aram. graffiti on the walls of the Osiris temple at Abydos likewise contained the formula "Blessed be PN (son of PN) before Osiris" (TAD D22.10-11, 13, 16-18, 24). Here he is identified as "the god" and in the accompanying hieroglyphic inscription as "the great god" (*n̥tr* ²g).

⁶ Father and son both bear theophorous names compounded with ²b, "father." In the Jewish onomasticon at Elephantine this element survived only in the female names Abihi (TAD A3.7:2; B6.3:10; C3.15:93, 103), Abiosher (TAD C3.15:107), and in the apparently related Abioresh, of unknown gender, though possibly feminine (TAD D9.14:3). It appeared more frequently in the Egyptian Aramaean onomasticon — the above-cited Abah from Syene and the Abitabs from Memphis and Abydos, Abihu father of Rochel ("Merchant" in Aram. [TAD B4.4:20]), feminine Abut(a)i on an Aswan sarcophagus (TAD D18:16), and the frequently attested Abieti in the Ptolemaic period (TAD D7.57:1-2; 8.9:13, 8.10:1; 9.15:1). The element *shy* appears in the abbreviated biblical names, mostly exilic, Salli/Sallu (Neh 11:7; 12:7, 20) and in female Saltua (TAD B6.4:7) and Saltuah (TAD B4.6:10, 5.1:1, 6.4:3; C3.15:105) among the Elephantine Jews. Our name would mean "(Divine) Father Rejected (Sinners)" (cf. Ps 119:118; Lam 1:15; conversation with F. Rosenthal). For dubious derivation from Arabic *saṭa'a*, taken to mean "replace, substitute" cf. DAE, p. 462; Zadok 1988:110, 112, n. 34.

⁷ The addition of a mother in a filiation was common in Demotic documents but in Aram. contracts appears to be limited to a situation where the father may have had more than one wife (TAD B2.9:3, 2.10:3).

⁸ "PN thus (*kn*) said" was a common formula in Imperial Aram. documents of all sorts — letters (TAD A4.7:4; 6.2:2, 6.3:6; etc.), court record (TAD B8.7:3), and the Bisitun inscription (TAD C2.1:8, etc.). Heb. had a different word order — "Thus (*kh*) said PN" (e.g. Gen 32:4).

⁹ This Persian royal name was spelled in Aram. and Heb. in a variety of ways — *h̥šyrš* (TAD B4.4:1 [483 BCE]), *h̥šyrš* (here [482 BCE] and TAD D1.33b:1 [473 BCE]; B2.1:1 [471 BCE]), and *h̥šwrrwš* (Esth *passim*; Dan 9:1; Ezra 4:5).

¹⁰ The word order of this date formula (year, month, king) follows the Eg. pattern (see e.g. EPE C28-31, 33-35) rather than the Aram. one, which was month, year, king, on both monument (TAD D17.1 = COS 2.41) and in contracts (TAD B2-6). In 4 Xerxes = 482 BCE, the month of Meḥir = May 21-June 19. By 13 Xerxes = 473 BCE it became *de rigueur* to employ a synchronous Babylonian and Eg. month (TAD C3.8). See Porten 1990:16, 28.

Hieroglyphic text

1 *h̥p̥-di-nswt Wsir h̥n̥ty-imntyw n̥tr 2 nb 2 b̥d̥w*
di.f qrst
n̥fr̥t n
 2 *h̥rt-n̥tr rn n̥fr̥ hr̥tp*
 3 *2 n im 2 hy hr̥ n̥tr 2*
 4 *nb pr 2 h̥r̥*
 5 *bw*

(Transcription and translation by Miriam Lichtheim)

¹A royal offering (to) Osiris Khentamenthes (= Lord of the Westerners), great god, lord of Abydos, that he may give a good burial in ²the necropolis and a good name on ³earth to the one honored before the great god, ⁴lord of sky, Akhata²bu.

REFERENCES

- AC No. 21; Cantineau 1932; CIS 2.122; DAE #85; Donner 1969; EnIslam 1960; EPE; Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992:B.3.e.22; Harding 1971; HNE 1:448, 2:Pl. 28.1; KAI #267; Lévy 1927; NSI #71; Lipiński 1978; Porten 1968, 1990; TAD D20.3; Tallqvist 1905; SSI 2:119-120; Wuñnow 1930; Yoyotte 1995; Zadok 1988.

FUNERARY STELA (SAQQARAH; LOCATION UNKNOWN) (2.63)
(First Half of Fifth Century BCE)

Bezalel Porten

Blessed be Petees[e] son of Yh²!... by/before DN]

¹ The praenomen is Eg. (p²-dy-²s.t., "The [One] whom Isis Gave") but the fragmentary patronym is unrecoverable.

REFERENCES

Aimé-Giron 1939; Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992:B.3.e.28; TAD D20.4.

FUNERARY STELA (CARPENTRAS) (2.64)
(First Half of Fifth Century BCE)

Bezalel Porten

This inscription may be entitled "The Immortalization of Taba." Its composer was well-versed in Egyptian funerary vocabulary. In a grammatically correct, well-fashioned quatrain he has deftly woven original Aramaic formulae — "Blessed be Tabi" (1a), "Before Osiris blessed be" (3a), "serve" (4a) — into translations of Egyptian terminology and formulae. Bicolon (1b) employs a traditional term for the deceased (r² *mnḥt*) and associates it with Osiris. Bicolon (2) paraphrases two of the most attested clauses in the tomb autobiographies that contain negative confessions.¹ Bicola (3) and (4) are the earliest attestation of four benedictions recorded in Roman funerary papyri, with (3a) preferring traditional Aramaic terminology to Egyptian.² The a-b-c-d order of the clauses in the Egyptian text is completely altered (a-c-d-b) to create an Aramaic poetic balance:

a. qdm ² wsry brykh hwy	Before Osiris blessed be
a. ² nḥ p ² y=f by r nḥ	May his soul live forever
c. hwy plḥh nm ^c ty	Do serve the Lord of the Two Truths
b. mtw p ² y=f by šms Wsir	and may his soul serve Osiris
d. wbyn ḥsyh [f ^c lm hwy]	and among the praiseworthy [forever be].
c. mtw=f ḥpr šnw n ² hse.w Wsir	and may he be among the praiseworthy of Osiris
b. mn qdm ² wsry myn qhy	from before Osiris water take.
d. mtw=f t mw hr t ² ḥtp.t m-s ² Wsir	and may he take water on the offering-table after Osiris

The final product in Aramaic is a precis of the process the deceased experiences through the final judgment and beyond, as elaborated in Book of the Dead, chapter 125 (COS 2.12).

(1a) Blessed be Tabi daughter of Tahapi,³
(2a) Anything evil⁴ a she did not do

a Deut 17:1; 23:10; 2 Kgs 4:41 b Dan 3:8; 6:25	(1b) the excellent (one) ⁴ of Osiris the god. (2b) and the slander of a man ⁶ she did not say ⁷ b at all. ⁸
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¹ Thirty-four percent of these autobiographies contain the "no evil" clause while twenty-seven percent contain the "no slander" clause; Gee 1998:173-178 (evil), 190-194 (calumny).

² Spiegelberg 1901:9-11; Lévy 1927:288-294, and esp. 293-294 for why the Eg. expression "live forever" would be unsuitable for an Aramaean.

³ Both praenomen and matronym are Eg. — Tabi = *ta-b²*, "She of the Ba," Tahapi = *ta-ḥp*, "She of Apis." Taba (also = *ta-b²*) occurs frequently in the papyri (TAD B2.11:4-5, 12; 8.10:6; C3.17a:3, 3.19:8). Filializing a deceased (fe)male to mother rather than father was common in late Eg. funerary texts. The standard late period Book of the Dead was owned by Efonkh son of the woman Tsemminis (Lepsius 1842); see below COS 2.65.

⁴ *mnḥ²* = r² *mnḥ*, a term with special reference to the deceased, applied to a male in the Vatican stela (COS 2.65); the first of three Eg. loan words in this inscription. Though usually used as an adjective, it does occur as an epithet on a late gravestone — *mnḥ.t hr Ptḥ Skr Wsir*, "excellent (one) before Ptah-Sokar-Osiris" (P. Cairo 31153:1 in Spiegelberg 1904 1:62; Lipiński 1978a:112, n. 148).

⁵ The indef. pron. *md^cm* may function as a noun modified by an adj.; see Muraoka and Porten 1998:§ 44a. The comparable Heb. expression (*ḏbr r^c*) occurs in the Deuteronomist in a cultic sense. The Aram. expression and a similar Heb. one (*m²wmh r^c*) also bear the meaning of physical harm (TAD A6.7:8; Jer. 39:12). The cognate Eg. statement would be *n ir=i isf.t*, "I have not done iniquity" (Book of the Dead chapter 125 A1).

⁶ It is strange that Donner and Rölliig *KAI* should call the word *ṣyš* "a Canaanism!" It occurs in every type of document in the papyri.

⁷ The expression *kršn ṣmr* is a var. of the idiomatic Akk. loan *qršn ṣkl* (Dan 3:8, 6:25) < *karš akālu*; Kaufman 1974:63; DNWSI 537. Slander was condemned in Torah (Lev 19:16), Prophets (Jer 6:28), and Writings (Ps 34:4) and the sage Ahiqar advised extreme caution in speech (TAD C1.1:80-83, 93, 141). The deceased was pure in deed and word.

⁸ This word (*tmḥ*) is a crux. Metrically it overweighs the line. It is usually taken to mean "there" on earth as distinct from the world of the

(3a) Before Osiris blessed be; ⁹	(3b) from before Osiris water take. ¹⁰
(4a) Do serve ¹¹ the Lord of the Two Truths ¹²	(4b) and among the praiseworthy ¹³ [forever be]. ¹⁴

dead (*KAI*, *SSI*, *DAE*, *DNWSI* 1219-1220), but no Eg. parallel in funerary context supports this interpretation. The suggestion of Shea 1981 to restore metrical balance by reading it as the beginning of line 3 ("There before Osiris" in parallel to "from before Osiris") fails to explain why the scribe of this poem put it at the end of line 2. Lipiński 1978:112 took it as adjective "perfect," an interpretation rejected by *NSI*, who preferred the suggestion of Lagarde, citing Syriac *mwm* (from *mm*), "ever." Torrey 1926:247 proposed *tummā*, "completeness," as adverbial accusative "(not) at all." The Eg. autobiographies did not have a standard categorical denial of slander but only specific limited denials (e.g. "I never slandered anyone to the captain of the land;" Statue of *Dd-Dhwtj-ḫw=f-ḫ* [reign of Osorkon II] = Cairo JE 36697, line 20 in Janssen-Winkel 1985 1:49; 2:456). As translated above, the Aram. would have affirmed an absolute denial in parallel to the absolute denial in the first half of the line.

⁹ With inverted word order, verb first, this blessing appears regularly among the graffiti on the walls of the Temple at Abydos — "Blessed be PN before Osiris" (*TAD* D22.10-11, 13, 16, 24). The sequence "blessed-serve" is found in juxtaposition in reverse order in an Aram. statue inscription from Hatra where the king is designated *plh ʾlhʾ bryk ʾlhʾ*, "servant of the god, blessed of the god" (*KAI* 2.243).

¹⁰ Imperative *ghy* is no more a Canaanism (contra *KAI*) than is *ʾyš* (cf. *TAD* D1.14:2); see Muraoka and Porten 1998:§12b, 33d. As the Eg. parallel indicates, the libation offering is made to Osiris and then the deceased takes the water "after" him to quench her thirst (so John Gee; cf. also Donner 1969, *KAI*). The Aram. text is fashioned to duplicate the preposition — *qdm* and then *mn qdm*; Lévy 1927:289.

¹¹ The verb *plh* takes the direct object (*TAD* B3.6:11); here it appears in a periphrastic imperative, indicating a "sense of urgency and insistence;" Muraoka and Porten 1998:§ 55g. Others translate "Be a servant/worshipper" (*NSI*, *KAI*, *SSI*).

¹² An Eg. loan word — *nb mʿʿ-ry* (*DAE*, 342, note s.), a known epithet of Osiris (Book of the Dead chap. 136 b S = Allen 1974:111). It is apparently applied to him in the Declaration of Innocence in the Book of the Dead, chap. 125 a § S 1 because that text concerns entering the *wšḫ.t mʿʿ-ry*, "Hall of the Two Truths"; see *COS* 2.12. It appears both in the editions of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties (Maystre 1937:13 = Allen 1974:97) through the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties (Verhoeven 1993 1:228, 15.13; 2:79*); see also Couroyer 1970:19-20. A different explanation of the Eg. loanword has yielded the translation "Do attend on the righteous ones" (*nmʿ-ry < nʾ mʿʿ-ry*), this in parallel with the second hemistich, as restored, "and be among the beatified ones [of Osiris];" Lipiński 1977:112-115.

¹³ Aram. *hryh < Egi. hsy*, an epithet applied to the deceased (*Glossar*, 329-330). A Neo-Assyrian contract from Nineveh (Postgate 1976:No. 13) attaches the word *hasaya* to the Eg. patronym Ahertais father of Nabu-riḫtu-uṣur. Usually taken as a gentilic it is now understood as our Eg. word; Lipiński 1978:114. But an epithet "deceased" is not attached to a patronym in either Akk. or Eg. documents (W. W. Hallo, J. Gee orally).

¹⁴ Among the restorations proposed are *hwy šlymh*, "be complete" (*NSI*), *hwy lʾlm*, "live forever" (Couroyer 1970:20-21; *SSI* 2:122), *zy ʾwsry*, "of Osiris" (Lipiński 1978:112-115). In light of the Eg. parallel, it is tempting to restore *lʾlm hwy*, "forever be," opening and closing the bicolon with the same verb and creating an internal rhyme (cf. Lévy 1927:290) but the blank space in the damaged text does not allow for such a full restoration.

REFERENCES

AC #49; Allen 1974; *CIS* 2.141; Couroyer 1970; *DAE* #86; *DNWSI*; Donner 1969; Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992:B.3.f.18; Gee 1998; *Glossar*; *HNE* 1:91-92, 448, 2:pl. 28.3; Janssen-Winkel 1985; *KAI* #269; Kaufman 1974; Lepsius 1842; Lipiński 1977; 1978a; Maystre 1937; Muraoka and Porten 1998; *NSI* #75; Postgate 1976; Shea 1981; Spiegelberg 1901, 1904; *TAD* D20.5; Torrey 1926; Verhoeven 1993; *SSI* 2:120-122.

FUNERARY STELA (VATICAN MUSEUM I^o SALA 22787) (2.65)

Bezalel Porten

Ankhotapi son of Takhabes,¹ excellent (one)² of Osiris the god.

¹ Both names are Eg., as in the Carpentras stela (2.64 above), here as there, the parent being female rather than male. Ankhotapi = *ʿnh-ḥp*, "May Apis live;" Takhabes = *ta-ḫʾb.s*, "She of the Stars."

² The same Eg. loanword (*mnḫʾ < mnḫ*) as in the preceding inscription. Absent in this inscription is the traditional opening blessing.

REFERENCES

CIS 2.142; Donner 1969; Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992:B.3.f.28; *HNE* 1:448, 2:Pl. 28.4; *KAI* #272.

TOMBSTONE INSCRIPTION (GRECO-ROMAN MUSEUM 18361) (2.66)

(ca. End Third Century BCE)¹

Bezalel Porten

Among the tombstones uncovered at the necropolis in el-Ibrahimiya, Alexandria, in 1906 by E. Breccia were three of limestone with Aramaic inscriptions. They were published in 1907 by Clermont-Ganneau (*TAD* D21.4-6) and have

¹ The dating follows Lidzbarski (*ESE*). Most would date it to the early Ptolemaic period. Complete bibliography in Horbury and Noy 1992:#3.

been much discussed. The one reproduced here bears a name reminiscent of that of one of the last Davidides — Akkub son of Elioenai (1 Chr 3:24).² The praenomen, of course, is the hypocoristicon of Akabiah, the name here, and it is tempting, given the known practice of papponymy, to see in our deceased a descendant of the biblical figure. Breccia suggested that the buried were mercenaries. The inscription is spread across three lines and is painted in large red characters.

Akabiah³ son of Elioenai⁴

a 1 Chr 3:24; 4:36

² The sequence of Simeonite names Elioenai and Jaakobah (1 Chr 4:36) is most coincidental.

³ The root of this name (^cqb) is the same as that in Jacob and occurs in a variety of hypocoristica, borne primarily by Aramaeans, both at Elephantine/Syene (Akab [TAD C4.3:16; D1.1:12], Akbah [TAD A2.4:6] Akban [TAD B4.2:12] Akkub [TAD D1.2:1], Nabuakab [TAD A6.2:23, 28, etc.], and Saharakab [TAD B3.9:10]) and in the Ptolemaic period at Edfu (Akban [D7.56:3]). It is well attested elsewhere, as well; for references see Abbadi 1983:44-46, 85. In post-exilic Judah the name Akkub is borne by gatekeepers (Ezra 2:42 || Neh 7:45; 11:19; 12:25; 1 Chr 9:17), Levites (Neh 8:7), Nethinim (Ezra 2:45), and a Davidic descendant (1 Chr 3:24). This is the first occurrence of the name with the theophorous element -yh.

⁴ This noninal sentence name with three elements (^cl-yw-^cyny, "To YHW are My-Eyes [Lifted Up]") is unique in the Israelite onomasticon; Zadok 1988:57. Borne in pre-exilic times by a Simeonite and Benjamite (1 Chr 4:36; 7:8), it was popular in exilic times (Ezra 10:22, 27; Neh 12:41; 1 Chr 3:23-24).

REFERENCES

Abbadi 1983; Breccia 1907; Clermont-Ganneau 1907; ESE 49; Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992:B.3.f.39.3; Horbury and Noy 1992; TAD D21.4; Zadok 1988.

4. NABATAEAN INSCRIPTIONS

THE NABATAEAN TOMB INSCRIPTION OF KAMKAM AT MADĀ³IN ŠĀLIḤ (2.67)

J. F. Healey

The inscription, dated 1 BCE/CE, is the finest of 38 carved on Nabataean tomb facades (this one is tomb no. B 19) at the site of Madā³in Šālīḥ (ancient Hegra) in northern Saudi Arabia. The tombs were first described and the texts copied by C. Doughty in 1883. Subsequent work, especially by J. Euting and Frs A. Jaussen and R. Savignac (Jaussen and Savignac 1909), established the importance of this southern outpost of the Nabataean kingdom in the 1st century CE. The tomb inscriptions, many of which are precisely dated, are particularly informative on religion, social structure and legal matters. It is clear that the surviving texts were also preserved on papyrus in the legal archives of the city or one of its temples.¹

Ownership (lines 1-2a)

This is the tomb which Kamkam daughter of Wa³ilat daughter of Haramu and Kulaybat, her daughter, made for themselves and their descendants.²

Date³ (lines 2b-3a)

In the month of Ṭebet, the ninth year of Ḥaretat, King of the Nabataeans, lover of his people.⁴

Curse (lines 3b-7a)

And may Dushara⁵ and his throne and Allat of ^cAmnad⁶ and Manotu⁷ and her Qaysa curse anyone who sells this tomb or who buys it or gives it in pledge or makes a gift of it or removes from it body or limb or who buries in it anyone other than Kamkam and her daughter and their descendants.⁸

¹ The fullest discussion of the inscription is to be found in Healey 1993:154-162.

² It is noteworthy that there are several Nabataean tombs owned by and designed for the use of women.

³ December/January 1 BCE/CE.

⁴ Arenas IV (9 BCE - 40 CE) is usually given the nationalistic title "lover of his people."

⁵ Dushara ("the master of the Shara mountains") was the main Nabataean god. Astral in character, he is elsewhere called "the one who separates day from night" and "lord of the world." Dushara's "throne" (*mwtb*) was the object of separate veneration: see Healey 1993:156-158.

⁶ The divine name Allat is borrowed from Arabic. The apparent geographical name ^cmand cannot be identified.

⁷ Manotu is known from early Islamic evidence as Manāt.

⁸ The terminology is legalistic and it is reflected in such Nabataean legal papyri as have survived, notably those from the Babatha archive. See COS 3.

*Fine*⁹ (lines 7b-10)

And whoever does not act according to what is written above shall be liable to Dushara and Hubalu¹⁰ and to Manotu in the sum of 5 *shamads*¹¹ and to the exorcist-priest¹² for a fine of a thousand Haretite *sela*^cs,¹³ except that whoever produces in

his hand a document from the hand of Kamkam or Kulaybat, her daughter, regarding this tomb, this document will be valid.

*The Mason*¹⁴ (lines 11-12)

Wahballahi son of ^cAbd^cobodat made it.

⁹ The inclusion of fines in these texts is most unusual in the Semitic sphere (there is one Palmyrene example), but it is a characteristic feature of Lycian tomb inscriptions.

¹⁰ Hubal: one of the pre-Islamic deities of Mecca.

¹¹ The *šmd* has no obvious cognate. It is most likely that it is some kind of monetary unit, probably a large unit.

¹² Nabataean ^cpk^c. It occurs quite frequently and is also found in Palmyrene and Hatran Aramaic and in Sabaic, Minaean and Lihyanite. Cf. already Akk. *apkallu*, Sum. AB-GAL, Kaufman 1974:34.

¹³ The Nabataean *sela*^c is the normal unit of silver coin (here specified as according to the standard established by the king Haretat). It corresponds to the silver tetradrachm.

¹⁴ It is common for masons to be named, and since genealogical information is given it is clear that a small number of mason families was at work at Madā^c in Šāliḥ.

REFERENCES

Healey 1993; Jaussen and Savignac 1909.

THE NABATAEAN TOMB INSCRIPTION OF
HALAFU AT MADĀ^cIN ŠĀLIḤ (2.68)

J. F. Healey

For general comments see the Kamkam inscription above. The Ḥalafu inscription is dated 31/32 CE and located on the facade of tomb no. E 18.¹

Ownership (lines 1-7a)

This is the tomb which Ḥalafu son of Qosnatan² made for himself and for Su^caydu, his son, and his brothers, whatever male children may be born to this Ḥalafu,³ and for their sons and their descendants by hereditary title for ever. And his children may be buried in this tomb: this Su^caydu and Manu^cat and Šanaku and Ribamat and Umayyat and Salimat, daughters of this Ḥalafu. And none at all of Su^caydu and his brothers, males, and their sons and their descendants has the right to sell this tomb or write a deed of gift or anything else for anyone at all, except if one of them writes for his wife or for his daughters or for a father-in-law⁴ or

a Gen 31:5;
32:10; 43:23,
etc.

for a son-in-law a document for burial only.

Fine (lines 7b-9a)

And anyone who does other than this will be liable for a fine to Dushara the god of our lord⁵ ^a in the sum of five hundred Haretite *sela*^cs and to our lord for the same amount, according to the copy of this deposited in the temple of Qaysha.⁶

Date (lines 9b-10a)

In the month of Nisan, the fortieth year of Haretat, King of the Nabataeans, lover of his people.⁷

Masons (line 10b)

Ruma and ^cAbd^cobodat, the masons.

¹ Fulltest and most recent discussion: Healey 1993:226-231.

² This theophoric name appears to be formed on the Edomite divine name Qos. There is a view that the Nabataeans were not newcomers into the Jordan area but descendants of the Edomites.

³ The limitation to males is unique in the context of these inscriptions.

⁴ The term for father-in-law, *nšyb*, is an Arabic loan, though it has been Aramaicized.

⁵ The "god of our lord" is the "god of our lord the king" — the deity Dushara in the guise of (royal) family god. There is a certain analogy here with Albrecht Alt's "god of the fathers."

⁶ "The copy" (*nšht*) is best paralleled in Akk. legal terminology (*nšḫu*, originally "extract," coming to mean in Neo-Babylonian "official record"). Here we have explicit evidence that there was a corresponding document lodged in a temple. We can assume that this other copy was on papyrus like the Nabataean legal documents from Nahal Hever.

⁷ The year is 31/32 CE. On the titulature see the Kamkam inscription above.

REFERENCES

Healey 1993; Jaussen and Savignac 1909.

A NABATAEAN FUNERARY INSCRIPTION
FROM MADEBA (2.69)

J. F. Healey

There are two copies of this monumental funerary inscription, one in the Vatican, the other in the Louvre (AO 4454). They are identical except for a minor variation in line-division. In both exemplars words are separated by spaces; *scriptio continua* is the norm in Nabataean.¹

Ownership (lines 1-7a)

This is the tomb and two funeral monuments above it which ʿAbdʿobodat the governor made for ʔItaybel the governor,² his father, and for ʔItaybel, the camp commandant who is in Luḥitu and ʿAbarta, son of this ʿAbdʿobodat the governor; in the territory of their rule which they exercised

twice for thirty-six years during the time of Ḥaretat, King of the Nabataeans, lover of his people.

Date (lines 7b-8)

And the above work was executed in his forty-sixth year.³

¹ For the main edition of the text see *CIS* 2 #196 (Vatican text). For discussion see Starcky 1980 and Healey 1993:247-248.

² Nabataean ʔstrgʔ (< Greek στρατηγός). Nabataean *strategoi* are mentioned in Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII.112.

³ The date is 37/38 CE.

REFERENCES

CIS 2 #196; Healey 1993; Starcky 1980.

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D. SEAL AND STAMP INSCRIPTIONS

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1. SEALS AND SEAL IMPRESSIONS*

Jeffrey H. Tigay¹ and Alan R. Millard

Seals were used for stamping the names of their owners on clay bullae to seal letters and documents (1 Kgs 21:8; Isa 8:16; 29:11; Jer 32:9-14; Job 38:14; Esth 8:8; cf. Gen 38:18, 25; 41:42; Jer 22:24; Song 8:6; Esth 3:10), on pottery vessels to indicate ownership or some other type of relationship, and for other purposes. Hundreds of seals and seal impressions, containing inscriptions in Hebrew, Phoenician, Ammonite, Moabite, Edomite, Philistine, and Aramaic script are known, mostly from the eighth through sixth centuries BCE. The inscriptions, spread over one to four lines, usually contain the name of the seal's owner, often that of the owner's father and occasionally his grandfather, and sometimes the owner's title or some other phrase. They are a valuable source of information about history, religion, culture, government, and economy because of the onomastic information they contain, the fact that some of the owners are government or religious officials, that a few are individuals known from the Bible, and because of the objects to which they are affixed and the iconography on some of them. Seals that were found in controlled archaeological excavations are the most reliable sources of information; some of these come from occupation debris, as at Lachish (Diringer 1941), some from tombs (e.g. Barkay 1986:34), which are the most likely provenience for the majority. Bullae, often with imprints of papyrus on the back, were recovered in excavations at Lachish (Aharoni 1968:164-168) and Jerusalem (Shiloh 1986). Seals and bullae acquired on the antiquities market, notably the hoard of bullae published by Avigad (1986), are less reliable because their provenience is unknown, their date uncertain, and some may be modern forgeries.²

The seals may bear a design of imaginary, human or animal figures, floral or geometric motifs, with the inscription engraved above or below or in the field, sometimes clearly as an addition, usually in a space deliberately created. In this respect, Hebrew seals differ little from other West Semitic seals (see Bordreuil 1992; Sass and Uehlinger 1993). However, the majority of Hebrew seals carry only the owner's name and patronym or title, normally written in two lines divided by a ruling or simple design and enclosed in a border. The seals are usually under one inch in diameter, so the lettering is tiny, sometimes finely engraved, sometimes roughly cut and occasionally with errors.

HEBREW (2.70)

2.70A. Two bullae of Berechyahu son of Neriylahu the scribe, made by the same seal (Hebrew; provenience unknown).³ These identical inscriptions are written in the Hebrew script of the seventh century BCE. This Berechyahu is probably Jeremiah's secretary "Baruch son of Neriylahu the scribe" (Jer 36:32). Baruch is the hypocoristic, or nickname, for Berechyahu. The shorter form of Baruch's patronym, Neriylah, that appears in some biblical passages (such as Jer 36:4), reflects the form of the theophoric element that was common in the Second Temple period when earlier biblical manuscripts were recopied. Although the names Berechyahu and Neriylahu were common, the identification of this Berechyahu as Jeremiah's scribe is quite likely, for it is rare to find two individuals in the Bible and/or in Hebrew inscriptions who have both the same first name and patronym, especially among the relatively limited segment of the population that is likely to have owned seals (another case is the seal of Baruch's brother Serayahu son of Neriylahu [Avigad and Sass 1997 #390; Avigad 1978b:86-87; 1978a:56]; see also [C], below). The title "scribe" virtually clinches the identification.

(Belonging) to Berechyahu
son of Neriylahu⁴
the scribe

* [Millard furnished items 2.70 I-V and portions of the introduction, Tigay the rest. Ed.]

¹ Tigay notes: "I owe several helpful observations to Nili S. Fox."

² See Sass 1993:245-46; Naveh 1997:12; and the broader discussion of the problem of unprovenienced material by Fox 1997 chapter II, section C, 1.

³ Avigad and Sass 1997 #417; Davies 1991 100.509; Avigad 1978a:52-56; 1978b:86-87; Deutsch and Heltzer 1994:37-38.

⁴ The name Berechyahu means "YHWH has blessed (the family with this child)," while Neriylahu means "YHWH is my lamp." Like the vast majority of Israelite theophoric personal names of the Biblical period, both of these names contain the theophoric element *-yahu*, a short form

2.70B. The bulla of Jerahmeel, the king's son (Hebrew; provenience unknown).⁵ This inscription is also in seventh-century script. This bulla, reportedly found in the same group as that of Berechyahu ben Neriya (above), probably belonged to "Jerahmeel the king's son" who was sent by King Jehoiakim to arrest Baruch and Jeremiah (Jer 36:26). [For an actual seal with the same inscription, but of a different size see now Helzer 1999.]

(Belonging) to Jerahmeel⁶

The king's son⁷

2.70C. The seal impression of Hananyahu son of Azaryahu (Hebrew; provenience unknown).⁸ The inscription is written in the Hebrew script of the seventh century BCE. In view of the considerations discussed in (A) above, the owner of this seal may have been Hananyah son of Azur, denounced by Jeremiah as a false prophet (Jer 28; Azur is a hypocoristicon of Azaryahu).

(Belonging) to Hananyahu

son of Azaryahu⁹

2.70D. The bulla of Gedalyahu, over(seer of) the (royal) house (Hebrew).¹⁰ This bulla, found on the surface at Lachish, is inscribed in the Hebrew script of the seventh century BCE. Some scholars believe that the owner of this seal was Gedaliah son of Ahikam son of Shaphan, whom the Babylonians placed in charge of the Jews remaining in Judah after the destruction of Jerusalem; he was assassinated shortly afterwards (2 Kgs 25:22-25; Jer 40:5-41:2). Gedaliah was from a family that held several high offices at the court of Judah, and since the Babylonians appointed him, it is plausible that he had already held a high office such as overseer of the palace. The back of the bulla contains imprints of the papyrus document to which it was affixed. Perhaps the document was a letter sent by Gedaliah from the palace to the defenders of Lachish before it fell to the Babylonians.

(Belonging) to Gedalyahu¹¹

"Over(seer of) the (royal) house" (i.e. the palace steward)¹²

2.70E. The seal of Zecharyaw, Priest of Dor (Hebrew; provenience unknown).¹³ The other side of the seal bears the inscription "(Belonging) to Zadok son of Micha³," possibly the name of Zecharyaw's father. Both inscriptions are written in Hebrew script of the eighth century BCE.

[(Belonging) to Ze]charyaw¹⁴

Priest of Dor¹⁵

2.70F. The seal of Uzza son of Baalhanan (Hebrew; provenience unknown).¹⁶ The script on the seal has been classified as Hebrew of the eighth century BCE.¹⁷

of YHWH (Yahweh). This form is usually anglicized as *-iah* at the end of a name, *Jeho-* at the beginning. The fact that this element is used so extensively, while no other deity's name is used in more than one or two percent of Israelite names, probably indicates, when combined with other evidence, that the vast majority of Israelites, particularly in the eighth-sixth centuries BCE, was exclusively Yahwistic. See Tigay 1986; Pike 1990.

⁵ Avigad and Sass 1997 #415; Davies 1991 100.508; Avigad 1978a:52-56.

⁶ The name Jerahmeel (Heb. *Yerahme'el*) means "May God have mercy."

⁷ Several individuals mentioned in the Bible and on West Semitic seals are designated as "the king's son" (see 1 Kgs 22:26 = 2 Chr 18:25; 2 Kgs 15:5; Jer 36:26; 38:6; 2 Chr 28:7; for other seal inscriptions containing the title see Barkay 1993:109-114; cf. 2.70G, below). It is debated whether the phrase means simply "offspring of the king" (either of the current king or his predecessor) or is the title of some office not necessarily connected with royal descent; the former view is more likely. See the discussion by Brin 1969:433-465; Yeivin 1954:160; de Vaux 1961:119-120; Rainey 1969; 1975; Fox 1997 chap. III, section A, 1 and below, n. 38.

⁸ Avigad and Sass 1997 #165; Davies 1991 100.024; Moscati 1951 67 #24.

⁹ The name Hananyahu means "YHWH has been gracious," while Azaryahu means "YHWH has helped."

¹⁰ Avigad and Sass 1997 #405; Davies 1991 100.149; Tufnell et al. 1953:347-348.

¹¹ The name Gedalyahu means "YHWH was (i.e., has shown himself) great."

¹² The title *šāḥer* "at *ḥabaylū* ([*š*]r [*l*] *ḥbyl*), known from the Bible and from inscriptions, cannot be defined precisely. It refers literally to the major domo of the royal palace, which was probably the original role of those who bore this title (see below, 2.70T). Eventually individuals bearing this title took on major state responsibilities and we find them active in political and diplomatic affairs as well (see particularly 2 Kgs 15:5; 18:17-18; 19:2-7; see also Gen 43:16, 19; 44:1, 4; 1 Kgs 4:6; 16:9; 18:3; 2 Kgs 10:5; 15:5; 18:18, 37; 19:2; Isa 22:15; 36:3; 37:2). See also Avigad 1953:137-152; 1979b:119-126 no. 1; de Vaux 1961:125, 129-131; Katzenstein 1960; Yeivin 1971; Layton 1990; Fox 1997 chap. III, section B, 1; for a possible Ug. parallel, see Good 1979. See COS 2.54 and 2.70T.

¹³ Avigad and Sass 1997 #29; Davies 1991 100.323; Avigad 1975.

¹⁴ The name Zecharyaw is the equivalent of Zecharyahu (Zachariah) and means "YHWH remembered," perhaps meaning that the Lord remembered Zecharyaw's parents and gave them this child. The form of the theophoric element, *-yaw* (anglicized as *-io* [*Jo-a* + the beginning of a name]) instead of *-yahu*, is more commonly found in inscriptions of north-Israelite provenience.

¹⁵ Dor was a Canaanite harbor town on the coastal plain between Caesaria and Haifa. Its king was defeated by Joshua (Josh 12:23), but it was apparently only controlled by Israel from the time of David and Solomon (1 Kgs 4:11) until it was captured by Assyria in the latter part of the eighth century. The seal implies that there was a sanctuary, perhaps of YHWH, in the city in the eighth century.

¹⁶ Avigad and Sass 1997 #297; Davies 1991 100.036; Düringer 1934:195 #36.

¹⁷ Avigad 1987:197.

(Belonging) to Uzza,¹⁸ so-
n of Baalhanan¹⁹

2.70G. The seal of Maadanah the king's daughter (Hebrew; provenience unknown).²⁰ The inscription, written in the Hebrew script of the seventh century BCE, is one of about a dozen known seal inscriptions of Israelite women. Most are on seals, but at least one is in a seal impression stamped on a jar handle, showing that it was used functionally and not merely as jewelry. This raises the possibility that Israelite women enjoyed at least some of the rights enjoyed by men who owned seals, such as holding office and perhaps signing contracts and other documents (Avigad 1987:205-206; 1988:8). But, as in the case of "the king's son," it is not clear whether "the king's daughter" means simply "princess" or implies that Maadanah held public office.

(Belonging) to Maadanah²¹
the king's daughter

2.70H. The seal of Pelayahu son of Mattityahu, Overseer of the Corvée (Hebrew; provenience unknown).²² The inscriptions, on the front and back of the seal, are written in Hebrew script of the seventh century BCE. Pelayahu probably used side A of his seal for private purposes and side B for official ones.

Side A:
(Belonging) to Pelayah-
u²³ (son of)²⁴ Mattityahu²⁵

Side B:
(Belonging) to Pelayahu
Over(seer of)
the Corvée²⁶

2.70I. The seal of Nehemyahu son of Micayahu.²⁷ Both of these names are attested in the Bible (Neh 1:1 etc.; Judg 17:1 etc.).

(Belonging) to Nehemyahu son of Micayahu

2.70J. The seal of Yehoezer son of Yigdalyahu.²⁸ The patronymic recurs in Jer 35:4. For the owner's name cf. Yoezer in 1 Chr 12:7.

(Belonging) to Yehoezer son of Yigdalyahu

¹⁸ The name Uzza, a hypocoristicon meaning "(the deity so-and-so) is strong," is known from the Bible and other Northwest Semitic inscriptions.

¹⁹ The name Baalhanan, "Baal has been gracious," is also known from the Bible (a king of Edom, Gen 36:38-39; an official of David, 1 Chr 27:28); it is virtually synonymous with the Phoen./Carthaginian name Hannibal. The element *baal* is known in some names appearing in the Bible, the Samaria ostraca, and one or two other Heb. inscriptions; see, for example, Jerubbaal, Eshbaal, Meri(b)-baal, and Beeliada (Judg 6:32; 1 Chr 8:33, 34; 9:39, 40; 14:7); the Samaria ostraca clearly contain the names ²*bb*²*l* (SO #2:4), *b*²*c*²*p* (SO #1:7); *b*²*c*²*l**m**r* (SO #12:2-3), *b*²*c*²*l*²*z**k**r* (SO #37:3), and *mrb*²*l* (SO #2:7); for other possibly baalistic names in the Bible and inscriptions, see Tigay 1986:7-8, 65-66. It means "lord," and scholars debate its significance in Hebrew names. In Canaanite names and texts it refers to the Canaanite storm-god Hadad (see below, n. 49). Some think it has the same meaning in the Hebrew names. If that is the case, these names reflect the worship of Baal by some Israelites or foreigners living in Israel, but they do not show widespread worship of him because they constitute a minuscule percentage of all Israelite theophoric names (Tigay 1986; Pike 1990). Others believe that it does not refer to the Canaanite deity but functions as an epithet of YHWH, synonymous with ²*adon*, "Lord." The Hebrew names *Yehoba*²*al* (Avigad 1988:8) and *ba-li-ya-a-ma* (in the Murashu archives of the fifth century BCE Babylonia; see Coogan 1976:15, 69), both meaning "YHWH is Lord," indicate that *ba*²*al* was sometimes used as an epithet of YHWH (cf. also *Be*²*al**yah*, borne by a contemporary of David in 1 Chr 12:6; the masoretic vocalization of *be*²*al*- indicates a perfect-tense verb, and the name must mean "YH(W)H rules"). Hos 2:18 (possibly from the approximate time and place of the Samaria ostraca) states this almost explicitly: "On that day ... you will call 'My Husband' (²*is*²*h*), and no more will you call Me 'My ba²*al*.'"

²⁰ Avigad and Sass 1997 #30; Davies 1991 100.781; its authenticity has been doubted, Naveh 1997:12; Avigad 1978c.

²¹ The previously unknown name Maadanah, derived from the same root as "Eden," means something like "luxury," "lubricity" (Greenfield 1984). See above COS 2.34, note 4.

²² Avigad and Sass 1997 #20; Davies 1991 100.782; Avigad 1980.

²³ The name Pelayahu, "YHWH is wondrous" or "YHWH has acted wondrously," appears in its short form Pelaiah in Neh 8:7; 10:11.

²⁴ On side A the word *ben*, "son of," is omitted before the patronym, a common practice in Heb. seal inscriptions.

²⁵ The name Mattityahu (rendered as Mattathias in Greek and Matthew in English) means "Gift of YHWH." It appears in 1 Chr 15:18, 21; 25:3, 21, and in the short form Mattithiah in 1 Chr 9:31; 16:5; Ezra 10:43; Neh 8:4.

²⁶ The title "Over(seer of) the Corvée" is known from the Bible, where it is borne by Adoram/Adoniram son of Abda, Overseer of the Corvée in the days of David, Solomon, and Rehoboam (2 Sam 20:24; 1 Kgs 4:6; 5:28). Opposition to the corvée was the principal reason why northern Israel seceded from Judah, and Adoram/Adoniram was stoned to death by north Israelites at the time of the secession (1 Kgs 12:1-18). The continuation of the corvée into late seventh century Judah seems implied by Jeremiah's critique of Jehoiakim for forcing fellow Israelites to build his palace with no pay (Jer 22:13), but this seal is the only explicit evidence of the practice in that period.

²⁷ Avigad and Sass 1997 #265; Davies 1991 100.030.

²⁸ Avigad and Sass 1997 #1073; Davies 1991 100.421.

2.70K. The seal of Zephanyah (son of) Mattanyah.²⁹ Here the divine name is reduced to *yh* (usually anglicized as *-lah*), its least common abbreviation in pre-exilic documents, becoming usual later.

(Belonging to Zephanyah (son of) Mattanyah)

2.70L. The seal of Yeho³adan daughter of Uriyahu.³⁰ That women could own seals in their own right — although only a few out of the total — is noted above, see 2.70G.

(Belonging) to Yeho³adan daughter of Uriyahu

2.70M. The seal of Abigail wife of Asayahu.³¹ Another seal belonging to a woman.

(Belonging) to Abigail wife of Asayahu

2.70N. The seal of Hanan son of Hilqiyahu, the priest.³² As a Hilqiah was High Priest in the time of Josiah (2 Kgs 22:4 etc.), this seal could have belonged to his son.

(Belonging) to Hanan son of Hilqiyahu, the priest

2.70O. The bulla of X son of Zakkur.³³ The bulla is incomplete, so the owner's name is unknown.

(Belonging) to [X] son of Zakkur, the physician³⁴

2.70P. The bullae of Elyaqim squire of Yawkin.³⁵ When first found, imprints of this seal on jars were thought to belong to a servant of Jehoiachin, king of Judah, taken to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar in 597 BCE (2 Kgs 24). But excavations at Lachish demonstrated that this type of jar belonged to the level destroyed by Sennacherib in 701 BCE, implying that the master lived earlier. The word 'squire' (*na^car*) applies to anyone who is not an independent citizen, yet not a slave, from a child (1 Sam 1:22) to a responsible man (2 Sam 9:9) as here.

(Belonging) to Elyaqim squire³⁶ of Yawkin

2.70Q. Seals of "servants" (ministers) of unnamed kings. At least eleven seals or impressions have been found with this title, denoting a certain position or rank, rather than simply 'slave' of the king.³⁷ Other seals belonged to sons of unnamed kings.³⁸

(Belonging) to Obadyahu, "servant" (i.e. minister) of the king³⁹

2.70R. Seals of "servants" (ministers) of named kings. The names of the masters can all be identified with eighth century kings of Israel and Judah; no other personal names occur after *'bd*. For the last, note the existence of Eliakim, son of Hilqiah, in Hezekiah's court (2 Kgs 18:18 etc.), perhaps this seal owner's brother.⁴⁰

(Belonging) to Shema, servant of Jeroboam

(Belonging) to Abiyaw servant of Uzziyahu

(Belonging) to Shebanyahu servant of Uzziyahu

(Belonging) to Ushna servant of Ahaz

(Belonging) to Yehozarah son of Hilqiyahu servant of Hizqiyahu

2.70S. The seal of Miqneyahu servant of Yahweh.⁴¹ The unique title (*'bd yhw^h*) may indicate a high official in the temple, Cross 1983:62-63, argued for a singer, cf. Ps 135:1 etc.

(Belonging) to Miqneyahu servant of Yahweh

2.70T. The bulla of Adoniyahu, palace steward (*'šr 'l hbyt*).⁴² The title, literally 'who is over the house' is explained as 'in charge of the palace' by comparing 2 Kgs 15:5 with 2 Chr 26:21. Cf. note 12 above.

(Belonging) to Adoniyahu, "over(seer of) the (royal) house" (i.e. palace steward)⁴³

²⁹ Avigad and Sass 1997 #340; Davies 1991 100.716.

³⁰ Avigad and Sass 1997 #38; Davies 1991 100.855.

³¹ Avigad and Sass 1997 #31; Davies 1991 100.062.

³² Avigad and Sass 1997 #28; Davies 1991 100.734.

³³ Avigad and Sass 1997 #420; Davies 1991 100.804.

³⁴ Gen 50:2; 2 Chr 16:12.

³⁵ Avigad and Sass 1997 #663; Davies 1991 100.108, 277, 486. See Ussishkin 1976.

³⁶ Gen 22:3; Exod 24:5; Judg 9:54; Jer 1:6.

³⁷ Avigad and Sass 1997 #9; Davies 1991 100.070.

³⁸ See Davies 1991 100.072, 110, 209, 252, 506, 507, 508, 719, 760, 784, and one daughter, 781; Avigad and Sass 1997:467; and #30.

³⁹ 1 Kgs 18:3 etc.

⁴⁰ Avigad and Sass 1997 #2, 4, 3, 5, 407; Davies 1991 100.068, 065, 067, 141, 321.

⁴¹ Avigad and Sass 1997 #27; Davies 1991 100.272.

⁴² Avigad and Sass 1997 #404; Davies 1991 100.501, 502. See also COS 2.54.

⁴³ 2 Kgs 18:18; 19:2; Isa 22:15.

2.70U. Two bullae of the governor of the city (*sr h^cyr*).⁴⁴ This title appears beneath figures cut in imitation of Assyrian style.

Governor of the city⁴⁵

2.70V. The bulla of Eltolad.⁴⁶ This bulla indicates a fiscal process otherwise unrecorded. If the year is a regnal year, then it can only be that of Josiah of Judah, in the south of whose realm the town of Eltolad (Josh 15:30; 19:4) or Tolad (1 Chr 4:29) lay, i.e. 613 BCE.

In year 26, Eltolad, belonging to the king

AMMONITE (2.71)

Many seals inscribed with the first letters of the alphabet — from four to eight — are regarded as Ammonite; they are probably practice pieces; see Avigad and Sass 1997:366-371; Hestrin and Dayagi-Mendels 1979 ## 127, 129.

The seal impression of Milkom-or, minister of Baalyasha (Ammonite).⁴⁷ This seal was discovered in excavations at Tell el-^cUmeiri in Jordan.

(Belonging) to Milkom-or⁴⁸

"servan-

t" (minister) of Baalyasha⁴⁹

MOABITE (2.72)

The seal of Kemosham son of Kemoshel the scribe (Moabite; provenience unknown).⁵⁰ This seal is in the Moabite script of the eighth-seventh centuries BCE.⁵¹

(Belonging) to Kemosham⁵²

(son of) Kemoshel⁵³

the scribe

EDOMITE (2.73)

The bulla of Qawsgabar, king of Edom (Edomite).⁵⁴ This is one of the few known Edomite seal inscriptions (see Herr 1978:161-169). It was found at Umm el-Biyara in Jordan, near Petra.

(Belonging) to Qawsg[abar]⁵⁵

King of E[dom]

⁴⁴ Avigad and Sass 1997 #402; Bordreuil 1992:192; Davies 1991 100.402, 510.

⁴⁵ Judg 9:30; 1 Kgs 22:26; 2 Kgs 23:8; 2 Chr 34:8.

⁴⁶ See Avigad and Sass 1997 #421; Bordreuil 1992:193.

⁴⁷ Avigad and Sass 1997 #860; Herr 1985.

⁴⁸ The name Milkom-or means "Milkom is light." According to the Bible, Milkom was the national god of the Ammonites (1 Kgs 11:5, 33; 2 Kgs 23:13). His name is mentioned in one or two Ammonite inscriptions (Jackson 1983:10, 13, 74) but, oddly, rarely in Ammonite personal names. There are Milkomit (if the name is complete) in an Ammonite inscription from Tell el-Mazar, Jordan (Yassine and Teixidor 1986:48-49), and the seal inscription of one Tanak-^cel, where the patronym reads either "(son of) Bodmilkom (*b^dmlkm*)" or, less likely, "son of Milkom (*br mlkm*)" (CIS 2:94); see Avigad 1965:225 n. 12; 1985:5 n. 25; cf. Cross 1973:128 n. 6. Most often, ^cel, "god," serves as the theophoric element, which may suggest that El was the chief god of the Ammonites and that Milkom was his title, meaning something like "the King."

⁴⁹ The name Baalyasha (the name could also be read as Baalisha, comparable to Hebrew Elisha) means "the Lord (*baal*) has saved (*yasha^c*)" or "the Lord is salvation (*yeshu^c*)," referring either to the Canaanite storm god or some other deity. Since the title "minister" (*b^d*, lit. "servant") commonly refers to the minister of a king in seal inscriptions, it is likely that Baalyasha/Baalisha was a king. Some think him identical with Baalis, king of the Ammonites ca. 586 BCE according to Jer 40:14 (the script is also compatible with the early sixth century). This seems possible, since the theophoric element *baal* is rare in Ammonite names and Baalis is the only other definite example. In this view Baalis, a name admittedly hard to explain, is an error for Baalyasha or Baalisha (the final ^cayin may be reflected in the Septuagint of Jer 40:14, which renders Baalis as *Bel(e)isa*; see Herr 1985:172). However the Ug. names *b^cls* and *Baalasi* indicate that Baalis is probably a name in its own right (Ahluv 1992:241; see Gröndahl 1967:102, 115, 116).

⁵⁰ Avigad and Sass 1997 #1010; Hestrin and Dayagi-Mendels 1979 #2.

⁵¹ Avigad 1970:289; Herr 1978:156-157.

⁵² Kemosham means "Kemosh is a kinsman." Kemosh was the Moabite national deity, known from the Bible and Moabite inscriptions. See Num 21:29; Judg 11:24; 1 Kgs 11:7, 33; 2 Kgs 23:13; Jer 48:7, 13, 46. And also COS 2.23; Reed and Winnet 1963; Avigad and Sass 1997:373, 380-382.

⁵³ The name means "Kemosh is god."

⁵⁴ Avigad and Sass 1997 #1048; Bennett 1966:399-401.

⁵⁵ The name is restored on the basis of inscriptions of the Assyrian kings Esarhaddon (680-669 BCE) and Ashurbanipal (668-627 BCE) that mention Qawsgabri King of Edom (ANET 291, 294), almost certainly the same individual. The name means something like "Qaws is mighty" or "Qaws has prevailed" (on *gabri* see Noth 1928:190). Qaws was the Edomite deity, known from the postexilic name Barqos (Ezra 2:53 = Neh 7:55) and extrabiblical sources; see Vriezen 1965; Herr 1978:162, 164-165; Naveh 1975 ##1, 10, 20-21, 32-33, 43.

PHOENICIAN (2.74)

The seal of Yahzibaal (probably Phoenician; provenience unknown).⁵⁶ The script fits the ninth-eighth century.

(Belonging to) Yahzibaal⁵⁷

PHILISTINE (2.75)

The seal of Abd-Ililb son of Shabeath, minister of Mittit son of Zidqa (Philistine; provenience unknown).⁵⁸ Mittit and his father Zidqa must be Mitinti II and Zidqa, the kings of Ashkelon mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions. Zidqa and his family were exiled to Assyria when Sennacherib conquered Ashkelon in 701 BCE, and Mitinti II paid tribute to Esarhaddon in 677 and to Ashurbanipal in 667.⁵⁹

(Belonging) to Abd-Ililb⁶⁰

son of Shabeath⁶¹

"servant" (i.e. minister) of Mittit⁶² son of
Zidqa⁶³

EARLY ARAMAIC (2.76)

The seal of Hadadezer (Aramaic).⁶⁴ This seal, found at Saqqarah, Egypt, is inscribed in the Old Aramaic script and orthography of ca. the eighth century BCE.

(Belonging) to Hadadezer⁶⁵

ROYAL JUDAEAN SEAL IMPRESSIONS (2.77)

Over 1700 royal seal impressions, stamped on jar handles from at least 65 sites, are known.⁶⁶ With few exceptions, each impression contains the word *lamelekh* (*lmlk*), "(Belonging, or pertaining) to the king," on the top line, a four-winged scarab or a two-winged symbol (possibly the sun-disc) in the middle, and on the bottom line one of four place names: Hebron and Ziph in Judah, Sochoh in the Shephelah, and an otherwise unknown place whose name is spelled *mmst*.⁶⁷ Such impressions have been found at most of the excavated sites in Judah, particularly Lachish, Jerusalem, and Ramat Rahel, as well as at Tell en-Nasbeh, Gibeon, Gezer, Beth Shemesh, Timnah, and elsewhere, including border sites in northern Israel and Philistia (apart from Arad, they have been found only rarely in the Negev). These impressions, mostly found in public buildings, are from the reign of Hezekiah at the end of the eighth century BCE.⁶⁸ Almost all of the "*lamelekh*" jars were probably manufactured and stamped at a single central location: neutron activation analysis of typical jars showed that all were made of the same clay, from the Shephelah, possibly

⁵⁶ Avigad and Sass 1997 #1143; Hestrin and Dayagi-Mendels 1979 #118; Avigad 1968:49.

⁵⁷ The name Yahzibaal, "May Baal see," meaning "May Baal look favorably upon" the bearer of the name, is similar to the Biblical names Yahziel and Yahzeyah, "May God/YH(WH) see" (Ezra 8:5; 10:15; 1 Chr 12:4; 16:6; 23:19; 24:23; 2 Chr 20:14). The theophoric element *ba'al*, "Lord, Master," referring particularly to the storm-god, is very common in Phoenician and other Canaanite names. See Benz 1972:288-290; Gröndahl 1967:114-117.

⁵⁸ Avigad and Sass 1997 #1066; Ahituv 1992:212. Main discussion by Bergman 1936:224-226; Naveh 1985:9, 18.

⁵⁹ ANET 287a, 291bc, 294b.

⁶⁰ The name Abd-Ililb is comparable to Biblical Abdiel, Obadiah, etc., and must mean "Servant of the deity Ililb (*ʾilʾb*). The word *ʾilʾb* is known from Ug. and Akk. texts, where it means "god of the father," apparently something like an ancestral spirit. See UT Aqht i.27, 45; ii.16 (COS 1.103 and n. 6); UT 17:14; 44:3, 5; 72:1; 2004:5; Nougayrol et al. 1968:44 (no. 18 line 1), 45-46; Roberts 1972:secs. 27-28; Lambert 1981; cf. Old Akk. Ilaba, mentioned in UET 1, 275 ii.28 (cited in CAD G 25c); Albright 1968:141-142.

⁶¹ Shabeath seems to be a variant of the name Sheba, known from the Bible and inscriptions (2 Sam 20:1, etc.; 1 Chr 5:13; SO #2:6; Aharoni 1975 #38:4; Avigad and Sass 1997 #356; cf. Shībʿah[?] in Cowley AP #82:2; Bathsheba in 2 Sam 11:3, etc.; Yehosheba in 2 Kgs 11:2 = Yehoshabeath in 2 Chr 22:11; and Elisheba in Exod 6:23 etc., rendered Elisabeth [= Elishabeath] in the Septuagint). The underlying root *š-b-ʿ* resembles the Heb. root(s) meaning "seven" and "swear," but the meaning of the names containing this element is uncertain.

⁶² Mittit, "gift" (cf. Heb. *matat*, 1 Kgs 13:7; Prov 25:14) is a hypocoristic of a name meaning "gift of the deity so-and-so," comparable to Heb. Mattiyahu (above, 2.70H). Cf. Hebrew Mattathah (Ezra 10:33) and Mattan (2 Kgs 11:8, etc.). The vocalization Mittit is not certain; it is based on the forms found in Assyrian inscriptions. See Benz 1972:356.

⁶³ Zidqa (*šidqa*) is a hypocoristic of a name meaning "The deity so-and-so is my vindicator," comparable to Heb. Zedekiah (*šidqiyahuf*). "YHWH is my vindicator" (2 Kgs 24:17, etc.; cf. Jer 23:6; Ps 4:2).

⁶⁴ Avigad and Sass 1997 #785; CIS 2:124; Galland 1941 no. 103; Herr 1978 Aram. #1.

⁶⁵ Hadadezer, "Hadad is (my) help," is a typical Aram. name. Essentially same name appears on an Aram. seal in the form *hdʿdr* (CIS 2:77; Herr 1978 Aram. #73). Hadad, the storm god, was head of the Aramean pantheon. See Greenfield 1994:54-61. The same name was held by Hadadezer son of Rehob, King of Aram Zobah, defeated by David (2 Sam 8:3, 5; 10:16 [= 1 Chr 18:3, 5; 19:16], and by the king of Damascus in the days of Ahab (873-852 BCE) and Shalmaneser III (858-824 BCE). The name of the latter Hadadezer is represented in cuneiform as Adad-idri. See COS 2.113A, note 23.

⁶⁶ Vaughan 1996:219, 231-251; Fox 1997 chap. IV, section A, 2.

⁶⁷ Samples in Hestrin et al. 1973:95-99; Ahituv 1992:139-140.

⁶⁸ Ussishkin 1976, 1977, 1979.

in the same workshop;⁶⁹ all the impressions were made from about twenty seals;⁷⁰ and some jars may have been stamped with a second seal carrying certain personal names, identical impressions of which appear on jars from several sites.⁷¹

The exact significance of the iconography and inscriptions on these impressions is uncertain. The winged figures may be royal symbols, perhaps symbolizing Judean independence and indicating the type or grade of the contents of the jars to which they were affixed. *lamelekh* probably means that the jars and their contents belong to the king. There are various theories about the significance of the place names. They may have been agricultural regions in which the royal estates were located (the additional seal impressions with personal names, stamped on some of the jars, may have belonged to government officials who had been given grants of crown land in those regions). Other possibilities are that they were district centers where products of royal estates, such as wine and oil, were gathered for marketing; that they refer to storage cities where food was kept in royal warehouses or where taxes in kind were collected; or that they were military garrisons or administrative centers to which, or from which, supplies were sent for royal bureaucrats and the Judean army, especially while Hezekiah was preparing to rebel against Assyria. The latter use may be reflected in the fact that most of these jars were found in destruction levels caused by the retaliatory Assyrian invasion of 701 BCE.⁷²

PERSIAN PERIOD (2.78)

2.78A. Seals and seal impressions of the Persian province of Yehud (Aramaic)⁷³

The one-word inscription *Yehud*, the name of the Persian province of Judah (Ezra 5:8), is inscribed on a seal and stamped on several hundred jar handles from various Persian-period sites in Judah and on several bullae from an unknown site (there are also coins similarly inscribed). The bullae gave official sanction to the documents to which they were affixed, and the stamped jar handles indicated that the contents of the jar belonged to the government, perhaps as taxes in kind.

2.78B. The bulla of Elnathan the Governor (Aramaic; provenience unknown).⁷⁴ For the seal of Elnathan's "maidservant," see below, 2.78C.

(Belonging) to Elnathan⁷⁵
the Governor⁷⁶

2.78C. The seal of Shelomit, "maidservant" of Elnathan the Governor (Hebrew in Aramaic script; provenience unknown).⁷⁷

(Belonging) to Shelomit.⁷⁸
Maidservant⁷⁹ of El <na>-
than the Gove[rnor]

⁶⁹ Mommsen, Perlman, and Yellin 1984.

⁷⁰ Mazar 1990:455.

⁷¹ Avigad 1979a:37.

⁷² See Avigad 1979a:37; Mazar 1990:455-458; Rainey 1982; Na'aman 1979; 1986; Fox 1997 chap. IV, section A, 2.

⁷³ Avigad 1976:3-4, 21-23. In these inscriptions, *Yehud* is spelled both fully (*yhwḏ*) and defectively (*yhd*).

⁷⁴ Davies 1991 106.017; Avigad 1976:5-7.

⁷⁵ The name Elnathan ("God has given [this child to his parents])" is known from the Bible; in the Persian period it was borne by two or three of Ezra's associates (Ezra 8:16).

⁷⁶ Aram. *phw*², apparently a variant of *pht*², equivalent to Heb. *hphh*; see Avigad 1976:6; cf. Avigad and Sass 1997:33 n. 45 (contrast the view of Greenfield and Naveh cited there). This was the title of provincial governors in the western part of the Persian empire, including Sheshbazzar, Zerubbabel, and Nehemiah who were governors of Judah (Hag 1:1; Ezra 5:14; Neh 5:14; 12:26). Sanballat, Governor of Samaria (below, COS 2.78D), and Bagohi, Governor of *Yehud*, mentioned in an Aram. papyrus from Elephantine (Cowley *AP* 30:1; *ANET* 492). See also the seals of an unnamed governor of *Yehud* and two other named governors (Avigad 1976:22-23).

⁷⁷ Davies 1991 106.018; Avigad 1976:11-13.

⁷⁸ The name Shelomit is related to *šalom*, "peace," "wellbeing," and *šalem*, "well," "unimpaired," and expresses a wish that its bearer will enjoy these blessings. It is known from the Bible and elsewhere as a name of both men and women (Lev 24:11; 1 Chr 23:18; etc.), including the daughter of Zerubbabel, Governor of Judah toward the end of the sixth century BCE (1 Chr 3:19); the owner of this seal could be the same Shelomit (Meyers and Meyers 1987:12-13).

⁷⁹ The significance of the description of Shelomit as "maidservant" is uncertain. Seals of two Ammonite "maidservants" are also known (Hestrin and Dayagi-Mendels 1979 #28, 29). These women were hardly menials, since they would then have had no need to own seals. At the very least, they must have been secondary wives of prominent men, like the maidservant of the overseer of the palace, whose burial alongside the overseer is noted in the latter's tomb inscription from Siloam village (Avigad 1953; Hestrin et al. 1973 #24; COS 2.54). Conceivably, "maid-servant" is the feminine equivalent of *ʿebed*, the "minister" of a king, and is used in some of these cases for female ministers of high officials. In any case, Shelomit did hold an important office in the Governor's administration. This is shown by the official character of the collection in which it was found: the collection included an official *Yehud* provincial seal and several *Yehud* bullae (2.78A), a bulla of the governor (2.78B), bullae containing the name of the province and other officials, and ten bullae of a scribe, as well as forty-four bullae of six other individuals; the only personal seal in the collection was that of Shelomit, suggesting that she was in charge of the collection and used both the provincial seal and

2.78D. The bulla of the son of Sanballat, Governor of Samaria (Hebrew).⁸⁰ This bulla was attached to an Aramaic deed of sale for a vineyard, written on papyrus, found at Wadi Daliyeh, north of Jericho. It probably dates from the reign of Artaxerxes III (358-338 BCE).

(Belonging) to [...]iah son of [San-]
ballat,⁸¹ Governor of Samar[ia]

her own for official purposes. It is unclear whether her title "maidservant" refers to her official position or simply to her marital status, and whether she owed her position to that status (Avigad 1976:11-13, 30-32; see also Avigad and Sass 1997:33 n. 45).

⁸⁰ Davies 1991 100.408; Hestrin et al. 1973 #148; Ahituv 1992:207-208; Cross 1971:47 and figs. 34-35; Naveh, 1982:115.

⁸¹ Sanballat, spelled *sn'blt* in extrabiblical documents (Cross 1971:47 n. 4; Cowley *AP* 30:29), is a Babylonian name, originally *Sin-uballit*, meaning "Sin (the moon god) gave life." "Sanballat" is the vocalization found in the Bible. The biblical Sanballat was the governor of Samaria who was Nehemiah's contemporary and opponent (Neh 2:10, 19; 3:33; 4:1; 6:1-14); he is also mentioned in the Elephantine papyri (Cowley *AP* 30:29). The document accompanying this bulla bears a date that is too late for this to be the Biblical Sanballat; he is probably his descendant (see Cross 1966:201-206). The Babylonian name does not necessarily imply that either Sanballat was a foreigner. Such names were common among Jews in the Persian period, and both of these men gave their sons Yahwistic names: those of Nehemiah's contemporary were named Delaiah and Shelemiah (Cowley *AP* 30:29), and the son of Sanballat named on this seal also had a Yahwistic name. For further discussion see Cross 1966; Williamson 1992.

REFERENCES

Texts and Translations: Avigad and Sass 1997; Davies 1991; Ahituv 1992; Avigad 1979b; 1986; Barkay 1986; 1993; Bordreuil 1992; Cross 1971; 1973; 1983; Deutsch and Heltzer 1994; Herr 1978; 1985; Hestrin, R. et al. 1973; Hestrin and Dayagi-Mendels 1979; Sass 1993; Sass and Uehlinger 1993; Shiloh 1986; Ussishkin 1976; 1977; Yassine and Teixidor 1986.

THE SEAL OF ʿAŠAYĀHŪ (2.79)

Michael Heltzer

The Hebrew seal is dated paleographically to the second half of the 7th century BCE.¹

(Belonging) to ʿAšayāhū
"servant" (minister) of the king

It is most probable that this ʿAšayāhū of the seal is identical with "Ašayā, servant of the king," mentioned in 2 Kings 22:12, 14 and 2 Chronicles 34:20. He appears as one of the team, sent by king Josiah (*Yōšiyāhū*) in the year 622 to the temple in connection with the finding of the book, which is by most scholars identified with Deuteronomy. Among the other persons of the team involved in this event was a Ḥilqiyāhū, the High Priest. There is a seal that reads: ⁽¹⁾*lhnn b* ⁽²⁾*n ḥlqyhw* ⁽³⁾*hklm* "Belonging to Ḥanan son of Ḥilqiyāhū, the priest."² There is also a seal impression dated ca. 600 BCE which reads: ⁽¹⁾*c zryhw* ⁽²⁾*bn ḥlqyhw* "c Azaryāhū, son of Ḥilqiyāhū."³ Moreover there are additional persons who are mentioned in the 2 Kings 22 and 2 Chronicles 34 whose seals or whose fathers' seals are known.⁴

¹ Deutsch and Heltzer 1994:49-51.

² Elayi 1987:54-56; 1992:680-685; above, *COS* 2.70N.

³ Shiloh 1986: No. 27.

⁴ Schneider 1991:26-33.

REFERENCES

Deutsch and Heltzer 1994; Elayi 1987; 1992; Shiloh 1986; Schneider 1991.

2. STAMPS

STAMPS (2.80)

Michael Heltzer

There are more than one hundred stamps on identical handles, and as proved by the examinations of D. Ussishkin in Lachish, they appear on one or two of the four handles where the others had the *lmk* stamps (COS 2.77). These stamps belonged to more than 30 persons, who were the officials responsible for the standard measures of the jars.¹ The following are a few examples.

<i>Yhwhyl Šhr</i>	Yehoḥayil (son of) Šaḥar
<i>lNhm Hšlyhw</i>	(Belonging) to Naḥum (son of) Hiššilyāhū
<i>Šbnyhw ʿzryhw</i>	Šebanyāhū (son of) ʿAzaryāhū

No seal which was used for stamping the handles before firing the jar was ever found.²

¹ See Garfinkel 1985:105-118.

² There is now known a stamped seal impression on a jar-handle clearly showing that the seal was cut from timber.

REFERENCES

Ussishkin 1977; Garfinkel 1985.

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E. WEIGHT INSCRIPTIONS

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HEBREW WEIGHT INSCRIPTIONS (2.81)

Alan Millard

Four hundred or more inscribed stone weights have been found, mostly in the area of Judah and made in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE. They are flat-based dome-shaped stones, with values engraved on the top. (Two weights have their values marked in ink which suggests the numerous uninscribed stones of the same type may have had their values noted in the same way.) The majority bear a sign like a loop, believed to denote the shekel, followed by a numeral in a system derived from Egyptian hieratic. A series of smaller weights bear single words and yet smaller ones numerical signs alone.

Shekel weights occur with the values 1, 2, 4, 8, 12, 16, 24, 40, the shekel being about 11.33 grams.

Fractions of the shekel named are *nsp*, 5/6, *pym*, 2/3 and *bq^c*, 1/2, their values being determined metrologically.

Discovery of the *pym* weights elucidated an obscure phrase in 1 Sam 13:21, which can now be rendered "the charge was two thirds of a shekel for ploughshares and mattocks ..."

The *bq^c* occurs once in the Bible as the value of the nose-ring given to Rebekah by Eliezer, Gen 24:22.

The very small weights, marked 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, are believed to be multiples of the *gerá*, 1/20th of a shekel, see Exod 30:13; Lev 27:25, although a system of 24 *gerás* to the shekel fits the metrology better. The slightly heavier "shekel of the sanctuary" may be the special standard the texts specify.

Variation in weight between stones of the same value is rarely more than 5%, except in the very small ones. The cheating often condemned lay in using two sets of weights, heavy for buying and light for selling; see Deut 25:13; Prov 20:10, 23; Mic 6:11.

REFERENCES

Kletter 1991; 1998.

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F. "FUNCTIONAL" INSCRIPTIONS

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1. TREATIES

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF BAR-GA²YAH AND MATI^cEL FROM SEFIRE (2.82)

Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J.

These inscriptions of Sefire (once called Sujin) were discovered by S. Ronzevalle in 1930 in a village southeast of Aleppo. Two of them became the property of the Damascus Museum in 1948. The third stele was acquired by the Beirut Museum in 1956. The three steles are related not only by their provenience, but also by their contents, script, and language. They are inscribed in Old Aramaic and date from the mid-eighth century, sometime prior to 740 BCE, the year in which Tiglath-pileser III conquered Arpad and made it part of the Assyrian empire.

STELE I

What remains of this inscription is engraved on three sides of a basalt stone, 51.5 inches high, which was cut subsequently to its engraving so that it lacks several letters at the end of the lines of face A and at the beginning of the lines of face B. The text that was engraved on face D is completed lost today. Also missing are several lines in the middle of the faces that are otherwise preserved.

Face A

The title, introducing the contracting parties
(lines 1-6a)

The treaty^a of Bar-ga²yah,¹ king of KTK,² with Mati^cel,³ the son of ^cAttarsamak,⁴ the king [of Arpad; and the treaty of the sons of Bar-ga²yah with the sons of Mati^cel; and the treaty of the grandsons of Bar-ga²yah and] his [offspring] with the offspring of Mati^cel, the son of ^cAttarsamak, the king of Arpad; and the treaty of KTK with [the treaty of] Arpad; and the treaty of the lords of KTK with the treaty of the lords of Arpad; and the treaty of Ha[burju]⁵ with all Aram, and with Mišr⁶ and with his sons who will come after [him], and [with the kings of] all Upper-Aram and Lower-Aram and with all who enter the royal palace.

The gods who are witnesses to this treaty (lines 6b-14a)

And the st[ele with t]his [inscription] they have set

a Isa 33:8
(read ^cdyw;
cf. 1QIsa^a
27:8)

b Gen 15:18;
Jer 34:18

c Gen 14:13-
19

d Deut 4:26;
30:19; 31:28

e Gen 31:50

f 2Kgs 19:16;
Isa 37:17

up (as) this treaty. Now (it is) this treaty which Bar-ga²[yah] has concluded⁷ b [in the presence of Assur] and Mullesh⁸ in the presence of Marduk and Zarpanit, in the presence of Nabu and T[ashmet, in the presence of Ir and Nus]k, in the presence of Nergal and Laš, in the presence of Shamash and Nur, in the presence of S[in and Nikkal, in the presence of Nikkar and Kadi²ah, in the presence of all the gods of Raḥbah and Adam(?)⁹ [... in the presence of Hadad of A]llep[po], in the presence of Sibitti, in the presence of El and ^cElyan,¹⁰ in the presence of Hea[ven and Earth,^d in the presence of (the) A]bbyss and (the) Springs, and in the presence of Day and Night — all the god[s of KTK and the gods of Ar]pad (are) witnesses (to it).^e Open your eyes, (O gods!), to gaze upon the treaty of Bar-ga²yah [with Mati^cel, the king of Arpad].

Curses against Mati^cel, if he violates the treaty
(lines 14b-35a)

Now if Mati^cel, the son of ^cAttarsamak, the kin[g

¹ The name, meaning "son of majesty," may be a title, possibly for Šamši-ilu, the *turtanu* of northern Syria; see: Lemaire and Durand 1984:3-58.

² The place is still not identified with certainty. For recent discussion of it, see: Lemaire and Durand (ibid.); Fitzmyer 1995:167-174.

³ Called Mati^citu in related Akk. treaties.

⁴ Called *Ataršumki* in related Akk. treaties.

⁵ Instead of the name *Hbwrw*, one could rather read *h[ab]r*, "federation, union." So Dupont-Sommer, who supplied *[ʔrrr]w*, "of Urartu," a restoration that has created many historical problems and is unlikely.

⁶ Dupont-Sommer (1960:18) originally translated this last phrase, "et avec <le roi de> Mušru," understanding *msr* as the name of a land. On the problems that this creates, see Garelli 1957:1469-1470; 1971. Others have interpreted *msr* as the name of a person. So Lipiński 1975a:25.

⁷ Lit., "has cut" (as in I A 40). Cf. Heb. *kārat berit* (Gen 15:18; Jer 34:18).

⁸ *šr*, pronounced in Assyrian fashion "Assur," is restored with certainty as the consort of *mīš*, which represents the Neo-Assyrian form *Mullissu* (< Mullitu) or Ninlil. See Barré 1985.

⁹ Interpreted as in I A 35.

¹⁰ Here treated apparently as two gods; cf. Gen 14:18-19.

of Arpad], should prove unfaithful [to Bar-ga²yah, the king of KTK, and if the offspring of Mati^cel should prove unfaithful [to the offspring of Bar-ga²yah ... [and if the Benê-Jush¹¹ should be unfaithful ...] [from YM[...]] ... and should seven rams cover] a ewe, may she not conceive; and should seven nurses] anoint [their breasts and] nurse a young boy, may he not have his fill; and should seven mares suckle a colt, may it not be sa[te]d; and should seven] cows give suck to a calf, may it not have its fill; and should seven ewes suckle a lamb, [may it not be sa]te]d; and should seven hens(?) go looking for food, may they not kill(?) (anything)!¹² And if Mati^cel] should be unfaithful <to Bar-ga²yah> [and to] his son and to his offspring, may his kingdom become like a kingdom of sand, a kingdom of sand, as long as Assur rules! (And) [may Ha]dad [pour (over it) every sort of evil (which exists) on earth and in heaven and every sort of trouble; and may he shower upon Arpad [ha]it-[stones]]!¹⁴ For seven years may the locust devour (Arpad), and for seven years may the worm eat, and for seven [years may] TWY come up upon the face of its land! May the grass not come forth so that no green may be seen; and may its vegetation not be [seen]! Nor may the sound of the lyre be heard in Arpad; but among its people (let there rather be) the din of affliction and the noi[se of crying and lamentation]! May the gods send every sort of devourer against Arpad and against its people! [May the mouth of a snake [eat], the mouth of a scorpion, the mouth of a bear(?), the mouth of a panther. And may a moth and a louse and a [... become] to it a serpent's throat!¹³ May its vegetation be destroyed unto desolation! And may Arpad become a mound to [house the desert animal],¹⁴ the gazelle and the fox and the hare and the wild-cat and the owl and the [] and the magpie! May [this] ci[ty] not be mentioned (any more), [nor] MDR² nor MRBH nor MZH nor MNLH nor Sharun nor Tu²im nor Bethel nor BYNN nor [... nor Ar]neh nor Hazaz nor Adam!¹⁵

Curses with accompanying rites (lines 35b-42)

Just as this wax is burned by fire, so may Arpad be burned and [her gr]eat [daughter-cities]! May Hadad sow in them salt¹⁶ and weeds(?), and may it not be mentioned (again)! This GNB² and [] (are) Mati^cel; it is his person. Just as this wax is burned by fire, so may Mati^cel be burned by fi]re!¹⁶ Just as (this) bow and these arrows are

z Lev 26:26

h Exod 10:4-5; Ps 105:32, 34

i Deut 28:38-42

j Ezek 26:13

k Zeph 1:10

l Isa 13:21

m Judg 9:45; Deut 29:22

n Ps 68:3

o Hos 1:5

p Jer 39:7

q Jer 34:18; Gen 15:10

r Jer 13:26-27

s 2 Kgs 18:28

t Ps 25:10; 119:2

u 2 Kgs 23:21

v Gen 37:22; Exod 22:7, 10

broken, so may Inurta and Hadad break [the bow of Mati^cel],¹⁶ and the bow of his nobles! And just as the man of wax is blinded, so may Mati^cel be blinded!¹⁷ [Just as] this calf is cut in two, so may Mati^cel be cut in two, and may his nobles be cut in two!¹⁸ [And just as] a [har]lot is stripped naked,¹⁹ so may the wives of Mati^cel be stripped naked, and the wives of his offspring, and the wives of [his] nobles! And just as this wax woman is taken] and one strikes her on the face, so may the [wives of Mati^cel] be taken [and]

Face B

The sacred character of the treaty (lines 1-15?)

[The treaty of Bar-ga²yah, king of KTK, with Mati^cel, son of Attarsamak, the king of Ar]pad; and the treaty of the son of Bar-ga²yah with the sons of Mati^cel; and the treaty of the [grandsons of Bar-ga²yah with the offspring of Mati^cel and with the offspring of any king who [will come up and rule] in his place, and with the Benê-Gush and with Bêt-SLL and with [all] Ar]am;¹⁶ and the treaty of KTK with the treaty of Arpad; and the treaty of the lords of KTK with the treaty of the lords of Ar]pad and with its people. The treaty of the gods of KTK with the treaty of the g[ods of Arpad]. This is the treaty of gods, which gods have concluded. Blessed(?) forever be the reign of [Bar-ga²yah], a great king,¹⁶ and from this happy treaty [] and heaven. [All the gods] shall guard [this] treaty.¹⁷ Let not one of the words of thi[s] inscription be silent, [but let them be heard from] Arqu(?) to Ya²d[i and] BZ, from Lebanon to Yabrud, from Damascus to Aru(?) and M.W., [and fr]om the Valley to KTK [... in Bêt-Gush and its people with their sanctuary(?), this treaty [...]YTH HŠK.HW². . . in Mušr and MRBH [...] DŠ. . . .TM to Mati^cel, son [of Attarsamak ...]

[A few letters are legible on lines 14-15; lines 16-20 are missing.]

The stipulations of the treaty (lines 21-45)

[...] to your house. And (if) Mati^cel will not obey [and (if) his sons will not obey, and (if) his people will not obey, and (if) all the kings who will rule in Arpad [will not obey] the [] [] .LMNYN, you will have been unfaithful to all the gods of the treaty whi[ch is in this inscription.¹⁸ But if you obey and car]ry out this treaty and say, "[I] am an ally," [I shall not be able to raise a hand] against you;¹⁹ nor will my son be able to raise a hand against

¹¹ Restored according to I B 3.

¹² The reading and meaning of this line is highly contested. Dupont-Sommer read it: *wšb^c bñh yñkñ bñt tñm w²l yhrñn*, which I have translated above. In light of Fakhariyah 22 (COS 2.34), Kaufman (1982:72) would rather read: *wšb^c bñh y²pn b..t tñm w²l ym²n*, "and may his seven daughters bake bread in an oven(?) but not fill (it)." Cf. Lev 26:26. Cf. Fitzmyer 1995, ad loc.

¹³ The division of the letters into words is disputed; see Fitzmyer 1995, ad loc.

¹⁴ The restoration follows Isa 13:21.

¹⁵ Most of these ancient places are not yet identified, especially those written in capital letters.

¹⁶ Restored as in I A 5.

[your] son, or my offspring against [your] offspr[ing]. And if] one of (the) kings [should speak a word] against me or one of my enemies (should so speak) and you say to any king, "What are you [going to do?]" and he should raise a hand against] my son and kill him and raise his hand to take some of my land or some of my possessions, you will have been unfaithful to the treaty which is in this inscription. If one of (the) kings comes and surrounds <me>, [your] ar[my] must come [to me with every arch[er] and every sort [of weapon], and you must surround those who surround me and you must draw for me [...] and I shall pile corpse upon corpse in Ar[pad] ... some king L³WYN WMWT [...] and if on a day when (the) gods [...] the rebels, you (sg.) do not come with your army and (if) [you (pl.) do not] come with your (pl.) armies to strengthen my ho[use] and [if your] off[spring] does not] come to strengthen [my] offspring, [you will have been unfaithful to] the gods of the treaty which is in this inscription. And (when) [...] Y³PN with me, I shall be able [to drink] water [of the well of ...]L; whoever lives around that well shall not be able to destroy (it) or raise a hand against the water of [the] well[!]. [And the king] who will enter and take LBKH or H³....., who will take ... B³H. [...] to destroy ²NGD² ... MLHM ... M ... KD in the town of ²YM²M. And if (you do) not (do) so, you will have been unfaith[ful] [to the treaty] <which is in> this <inscription>. And if ... Q. LY ... L²K.L ... LHMY ... Y.NŠ², you shall send ...². [...]M, and if you do not give (me) my provisions, [or] deduct provisions from me, and do not deliver (them), you will have been unfaithful to this treaty. [... You can[not] deduct provisions ²NH K²YM

▼ Qoh 1:3,
9, 14

YQM LK, and you yourself will seek and will go [... to] your [cit]y and to your house YN. ... ZR². ... for myself [and for eve]ry person of my household and for T [...] in it your son(?); and the kings of Ar[pad] will not cu[t any]thing off from them because it is a living pact. [...] H.... TLL H² WSH H² WBL H² NTRHM for yourself ²M. [...]. ... K². ... with you; so you will cut the ²PL². And if ... [...] NQ ... he will strengthen the QLBT of my house against ... L.H.²Y²QL. ... [...] . [against] my son or against one of my courtiers; and (if) one of them flees and com[es ...]

Face C

Conclusion (lines 1-9)

Thus have we spoken [and thus have we writ]ten. What I, [Mat]i^cel, have written (is to serve) as a reminder for my son [and] my [grand]son who will come a[fter] me. May they make good relations [beneath] the sun" [for (the sake of) my] ro[yal] house that no ev[il] may be done against] the house of Mat[i^cel and his son and] his [grand]son for[ever]

Blessings (lines 7-16)

... may (the) gods keep [all evils] away from his day and from his house.

Curses (lines 17-24)

Whoever will not observe the words of the inscription which is on this stele or will say, "I shall efface some of its words," or "I shall upset the good treaty-relations and turn (them) [to] evil," on any day on which he will d[o] so, may the gods overturn th[at m]an and his house and all that (is) in it! May they make its lower part its upper part! May his sci[on] inherit no name!

STELE II

When stele II was obtained by the Damascus Museum, it consisted of about a dozen fragments. When assembled, they yielded the middle part of three sides of an inscribed monument similar to stele I. Stele II is clearly related to stele I, mentioning the same kings, Bar-ga²yah and Mat[i^cel], and having very similar curses and stipulations, but it is not simply another copy of the same text. Hence the relation of the two steles is debated.

Face A

Curses (lines 1-14)

... [and should seven mares suckle a colt, may it not be sated; should seven cows give suck to a calf, may it n[ot] have its fill; should seven [ewes suckle a lamb, may it not be sated; and should seven goats suck]le a kid, may it not be sa[ted]; and should seven hens(?) go looking for food, may they not kill(?) (anything).¹⁷ And if (Mat[i^cel] should be un]faithful to Bar-ga²yah and to [his son and to his offspring, may his kingdom become like a kingdom of sand; and may his name be for]gotten, and may

[his grav]e be ... [and for se]ven years thorns, ŠB[...] [...] and for se]ven years may there be [...] [...] among all the nobles of ... [...] and his land. And a cry [...] and may] the mouth of a lion [eat] and the mouth of [a ...] and the mouth of a panther [...]

[Lines 10-14 are practically illegible.]

Face B

Stipulations (lines 1-20)

... the treaty and the amity whi[ch] the gods have

¹⁷ See n. 12 above.

made in [Arpad and among its people; and (if) Mati^cel will not obey], and (if) his sons will not obey, (if) his nobles will not obey, and (if) his people will not obey, and (if) [all the kings of Arpad] will not o[bey ...] YM who are watch-ful(?). But if you obey, (may) tranquility [... And] if you say in your soul and think in your mind,^a ["I am an ally, and I shall obey Bar-ga^yah] and his sons and his offspring," then I shall not be able to raise a ha[nd against you, nor my son against your son, nor my offspring against your offspring], either to rout them, or to destroy their name.^b And [if one of my sons says, "I shall sit upon the throne] of my father, for he is babbling(?) and growing old," or (if) my son seeks [my head to kill me and you say in your soul, "Let him kill whom-ever he would kill," (then) you will have been unfaithful to all the gods [of the treaty which is in this inscription ...] [...JNK and Bêt-Gush and Bêt-ŠLL and [...] [...] and corpse ... upon corpse [...] [...] and on a day of wrath for all [...] [...] will come to my son and [my] grandsons [...] sons of [my] sons [...] from the hand of my enemies and [...], you will have been unfaithful [to this treaty ...] RB²B..KMY ... ŠMR WBSQ. [...] and let no

^a Zech 7:10;
8:17
^b Deut 7:24;
12:3
^c Gen 28:19

one oppress him. If he oppresses (him) in QR[...] LHW.H ... if you should seek and not ... [...] you [will have been unfaithful to] all the [gods of the treaty which is in [this] inscription [...] [...]LY^c [...] he will surpass you until [...]JHN [...] who will be stronger than you [...]

Face C

Safekeeping of the inscribed treaty (lines 1-17)

... [and whoever will] give orders to efface [th]ese inscriptions from the bethels,^c where they are [wr]itten, and [will] say, "I shall destroy the inscript[ion]s, and with impunity(?) shall I destroy KTK and its king," should that (man) be frightened from effacing the inscriptions from the bethels and say to someone who does not understand, "I shall engage (you) indeed(?)," and (then) order (him), "Efface these inscriptions from the bethels," may [he] and his son die in oppressive torment. [...] and all the gods of the [treaty which is in [this] inscription will [...] Mati^cel and his son and his grandson and his offspring and all the kings of Arpad and all his nobles and their people from their homes and from their days.

SEFIRE III

The nine fragments of this stele, when pieced together, yielded an extended text of 29 lines. In this case, the text was engraved only on one side of a broad slab, roughly 102 cm. x 72 cm. Though stele III is related to the other two steles, Bar-ga^yah's name has been restored in III 25, and that may be questionable. But it does mention "the kings of Arpad" (lines 1, 3, 16, 27), which does relate it to the other two. Neither the beginning nor the end of this text is preserved; it contains only stipulations imposed on the kings of Arpad.

Concerning the surrender of plotters (lines 1-4a)

[... And whoever will come to you] or to your son or to your offspring or to one of the kings of Arpad and will s[pea]k [ag]ainst me or against my son or against my grandson or against my offspring, indeed(?), any man who rants(?)¹⁸ and utters evil words^b against me, [you] must [not] accept such words from him. You must hand them (i.e., the men) over into my hands, and your son must hand (them) over to my son, and your offspring must hand (them) over to my offspring, and the offspring of [any of the ki]ngs of Arpad must hand (them) over to me. Whatever is good in my sight, I will do to them.^c And if (you do) not (do) so, you shall have been unfaithful to all the gods of the treaty which is in [this] inscription.

Concerning the surrender of fugitives (lines 4b-7a)

Now if a fugitive flees from me, one of my officials, or one of my brothers, or one of my courtiers, or one of the people who are under my

^a Lam 4:20;
Prov 1:23;
Isa 11:15
^b Qoh 8:3
^c 2 Sam 19:38;
Josh 9:25;
2 Kgs 10:5
^d Exod 16:29
^e Gen 34:10;
42:34
^f 1 Kgs 20:2

control, and they go to Aleppo,¹⁹ you must not gi[ve th]em food or say to them, "Stay quietly in your place"; and you must not incite them against me. You must placate(?) them and return them to me. And if they [do] not [dwell] in your land, placate(?) (them) there, until I come and placate(?) them. But if you incite them against me and give them food and say to them, "Stay where [yo]u are^d and do not (re)turn to his region," you shall have been unfaithful to this treaty.

Concerning freedom of passage (lines 7b-9a)

Now (as for) all the kings of my vicinity²⁰ or any one who is a friend of mine, when I send my ambassador to him for peace or for any of my business or (when) he sends his ambassador^e to me, the road shall be open to me. You must not (try to) dominate me in this (respect) or assert your authority over me concerning [it]. [And] if (you do) not (do) so, you shall be unfaithful to this treaty.

¹⁸ Lit., "who causes the breath of his nostrils to boil"; cf. Lam 4:20; Prov 1:23; Isa 11:15.

¹⁹ For Aleppo and its temple as a place of asylum, see Greenfield 1991a.

²⁰ The noun *šhry* may mean "trading area"; cf. the use of the verb *šhr* in Gen 34:10; 42:34.

Concerning vengeance to be taken in the case of assassination (lines 9b-14a)

Now if any one of my brothers or any one of my father's household or any one of my sons or any one of my officers or any one of my [off]icials or any one of the people under my control or any one of my enemies seeks my head to kill me²¹ and to kill my son and my offspring — if they kill m[e], you must come and avenge my blood²² from the hand of my enemies. Your son must come (and) avenge the blood of my son from his enemies; and your grandson must come (and) avenge the blood of my grandson. Your offspring must come (and) avenge the blood of my offspring. If it is a city, you must strike it with a sword. If it is one of my brothers or one of my slaves or [one] of my officials or one of the people who are under my control, you must strike him and his offspring, his nobles(?), and his friends with a sword.²³ And if (you do) not (do) so, you shall have been unfaithful to all the gods of the [tr]eaty which is in this inscription.

Concerning plots against the suzerain (lines 14b-17a)

If the idea should come to your mind²⁴ and you should express with your lips²⁵ (the intention) to kill me; and if the idea should come to the mind of your grandson and he should express with his lips (the intention) to kill my grandson; or if the idea should come to the mind of your offspring and he should express with his lips (the intention) to kill my offspring; and if the idea should come to the [mi]nd of the kings of Arpad, in whatever way anyone²¹ shall die, you shall have been false to all the gods of the treaty which is in this inscription.

Concerning duty in a strife for succession to the throne (lines 17b-19a)

If [my] son, who sits upon my throne, quarrels <with> one of his brothers, and he would remove him, you shall not interfere²⁶ with them,²² saying to him, "Kill your brother or imprison him and do no[t] let him go free." But if you really make peace between them, he will not kill and will not imprison (him). But if you do not make peace be-

g Jer 26:21;
Ps 37:32

2 Kgs 9:7

i Deut 13:16;
Josh 11:11;
i Sam 22:19

j Isa 65:17;
Jer 3:16

2 Ps 16:4c

i Dan 7:13;
1 QapGen
21:13;
11 QgJob
26:3

m Prov 6:19b

n 1 Kgs 19:4

o Deut 24:2

p Jer 33:7;
Ps 126:1

tween them, you shall have been unfaithful to this treaty.

Concerning the reciprocal return of fugitives (lines 19b-20)

And as for [k]ings [of my vicin]ity, if a fugitive of mine flees to one of them, and a fugitive of theirs flees and comes to me, if he has restored mine, I will return [his; and] you yourself shall [no]t (try to) hinder me. And if (you do) not (do) so, you shall have been unfaithful to this treaty.

Concerning plots against the suzerain's household (lines 21-23a)

You shall not interfere in my house or (with) my grandsons or (with) the sons of my bro[thers] or (with) the sons of my off[spring] or (with) the sons of my people, saying to them, "Kill your lord, and be his successor! For he is not better than you."²⁷ Someone will avenge [my blood. If you do com]mit treachery against me or against my sons or against [my] offspring, you shall have been unfaith[ful] to all the gods of the treaty which is in th[is] inscription.

Concerning the territory of Tal²ayim (lines 23b-27a)

[Tal²ay]im,²³ its villages, its lords, and its territory (once belonged) to my father and to [his house from] of old. When (the) gods struck [my father's] house, [it came to belong] to another.²⁸ Now, however, (the) gods have brought about the return²⁹ of my [father's ho]use, [and] my father's [house has grown great], and Tal²ayim²⁴ has returned to [Bar-ga²y]ah and to his son and to his grandson and to his offspring forever. [If my son quarrels and (if) my [grand]son quarrels and (if) my offspring quarrels [with your offspring a]bout Tal²ayim and its villages and its lords, whoever will raise [... the ki]ngs of Arpad [...]LNH, you shall have been unfaithful to this treaty.

Concerning gifts (?) (lines 27b-29)

And if [] and they bribe in any way a king who will [... all th]at is beautiful and all that is go[od] [...]

²¹ Lit., "a son of man." This is the earliest occurrence of this phrase in Aram., where it is used in a generic sense. Cf. Dan 7:13; 1 QapGen 21:13; 11 QgJob 26:3.

²² Lit., "you shall not send your tongue between them."

²³ The name is restored according to Sf III 25-26.

²⁴ Identified as *Talhayim*, known from Akk. texts; see Noth 1961:156.

REFERENCES

Text: KAI 2:238-274, 342; SSI 2:18-5; ANEP 659-661; Translations and Studies: TUAT 1:178-189; Barré 1985; Dupont-Sommer and Starcky 1956; 1960; Fitzmyer 1995; Garelli 1957; 1971; Greenfield 1991a; Kaufman 1982; Lemaire and Durand 1984; Lipiński 1975a:27-76; McCarthy 1978; Noth 1961; Ronzevalle 1930-1931; van Rooy 1989.

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G. MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

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THE KETEF HINNOM AMULETS (2.83)

P. Kyle McCarter

These two tiny silver scrolls were found in 1980 by Gabriel Barkay during the excavation of a burial cave in Jerusalem near the Church of St. Andrew on a rocky hillside overlook the Valley of Hinnom — hence, Ketef Hinnom or “the Shoulder of Hinnom.” When unrolled, the scrolls proved to be amulets containing several lines of Hebrew script, the preserved portions of which include blessings almost identical to the so-called priestly or Aaronid Benediction of Num 6:24-26. In design, the burial chamber is typical of the early sixth century BCE, and since the majority of the artifacts belong to that period, Barkay assigned a similar date to the two scrolls. The tomb continued in use until the first century BCE, however, and Renz (*HAE* 447-452) argues on paleographic and orthographic grounds that the inscriptions should be dated to the second or first century BCE — that they are written, in other words, in the archaizing Paleo-Hebrew script. Nevertheless, Yardeni (1991:179-180), the principal decipherer of the scrolls, has mounted a forceful argument on the same grounds for an early sixth-century date.

Amulet 1: concluding benediction (lines 14-19)
[...] May Yahweh bless you¹ [and] keep you. May Yahweh cause his face to shine [on you^a ...].

^a Num 6:24-25a
^b Num 6:24-25a, 26b; cf. Ps 67:2

Amulet 2: benediction (lines 5-12)
[...] May Yahweh bless you and keep you. May Yahweh cause his face² to shine [on] you³ and give you peace^a [...].

¹ The spelling in both amulets is *ybrk* in comparison to *ybrkk* in Num 6:24; this feature is attested elsewhere in epigraphic Heb. as early as the beginning of the ninth century (Kuntillet ‘Ajrud). See *COS* 2.47.

² The spelling of the third-person suffix after the formally plural noun “face” as *-yw* is a late orthographic feature, reminiscent of the MT but contrasting with inscriptional forms of the seventh-sixth centuries BCE, such as Yabneh Yam *’lw*, “to him,” and Lachish *’nsw*, “his men.” This supports Renz’s argument for a Hellenistic date for the amulets. The same would be true of the *plene* spelling of *šlwm*, “peace,” in the next line, though in that case the *waw* in question is doubtful (not read by Yardeni).

³ The text of the second amulet includes no equivalent of Num 6:25b-26a, “... and be gracious to you. May Yahweh lift up his face to you” There seems to have been room at the end of the first amulet for *wyhnk*, “... and be gracious to you,” but the text is not extant.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: *AHI* 4.301-302; *HAE* 1:447-56; Barkay 1986; 1989; 1992; Haran 1989; Rösel 1986; Yardeni 1991.

THE EL KHADR ARROWHEADS (2.84)

Gordon Hamilton

These five arrowheads, inscribed with Old Canaanite alphabetic letters, were found near Bethlehem and published between 1954 and 1980.¹ Their weight and size, between 9.5 and 10.5 cm, fall within normal parameters for arrowheads used for practical purposes.² Dating to ca 1100-1050 BCE,³ these inscriptions provide witness both to literacy and goddess religion in Palestine during the late second millennium.

1 (The) Arrowhead of ‘Abd-Labī⁴t⁴
2 (The) Arrowhead of ‘Abd-Labī⁴t⁴
3 (The) Arrowhead of ‘Abd-Labī⁴t⁴

^a Judg 3:31;
5:6

4 (The) Arrowhead of ‘Abd-L⁵t⁵
5 ‘Abd-Labī⁴t⁴ Bin-‘Anat⁶ ^a

¹ For the most recent discussions, see Mitchell 1985:137-148; Sass 1988:76-78; Cross 1993:542.

² See Mitchell 1985:140-142 and, for previous proposals, Cross 1979:103, n. 28.

³ Since all five were purchased in the marketplace, their dating depends on combining the typological analysis of their scripts and the form of the arrowheads themselves. See Cross and Milik 1956:15-23 and Mitchell 1985:142-145; cf. Sass 1988:76.

⁴ The name ‘Abd-Labī⁴t on Arrowheads 1, 3 and the first name of 5 means “(The) Servant/Slave/Worshipper of (the) Lioness,” a reference to a goddess, possibly ‘Anat (Cross 1967:13*-14* and 1980:7). The spelling of the same name on Arrowhead 2, ‘*bdlbt*, either shows an accidental omission of the *’aleph* (so Cross 1980:5) or loss of that letter at the end of a syllable (Milik and Cross 1954:8).

⁵ Cross (1980:5) interpreted the name on Arrowhead 4, ‘*bd-L⁵t*, as exhibiting another error, the omission of a *bē*. It is also possible to view the 2nd element, *’t*, as a genuine name given **it’atum* in Amorite (Gelb 1980:312, 323) and *lš’ā*, Leah, in BH; the meaning might then be “(The) Arrowhead of (the) Servant/Slave/Worshipper of (the) Prevailing One,” another reference to a goddess (cf. Lioness in 1, 2, 3 and ‘Anat in 5).

⁶ Bin-‘Anat either could be the name of the father of ‘Abd-Labī⁴t or indicate that the latter was a member of an archers’ guild (Cross 1980:7). For occurrences of the term on another arrowhead and elsewhere cf. Hallo and Tadmor 1977:4f. See also Beem 1991:158-162.

REFERENCES

Text: Milik and Cross 1954; Cross and Milik 1956. Studies: Cross 1967; 1979; 1980; Mitchell 1985; Sass 1988; Deutsch and Heltzer 1994:11-21.

THE GEZER CALENDAR (2.85)

P. Kyle McCarter

This limestone plaque, found at Gezer in 1908, is inscribed with a brief text associating the months of the year with various agricultural activities — hence its familiar designation as a “calendar.” The limestone from which the small, hand-sized tablet is made is soft, and both surfaces show evidence of erasing and reuse. This suggests that it may have been a practice tablet and that its apparently formulaic inscription may have been a standard text used in scribal training. The text probably dates to the tenth century BCE, and its archaic language, which exhibits features not found in later inscriptional Hebrew, is probably most safely described as a South Canaanite dialect rather than specifically Hebrew.

<i>A list of agricultural activities</i> (lines 1-7)	<i>a</i> Exod 23:16; 34:22; Isa 32:10 <i>b</i> Gen 8:22; Lev 26:5 <i>c</i> Amos 7:1 <i>d</i> Exod 9:31 <i>e</i> 2 Sam 21:9; Ruth 1:22; 2:23 <i>f</i> Lev 25:3-5; Cant 2:12 (?) <i>g</i> 2 Sam 16:1-2; Isa 16:9; Jer 40:10-12; 48:32; Amos 8:1-2; Mic 7:1	month is summerfruit. ^a
His double-month ¹ is ingathering. ² ^a His double-month is sowing. ³ ^b His double-month is late-planting. ⁴ ^c His month ⁵ is chopping flax. ⁶ ^d His month is barley harvest. ^e His month is harvest and measuring (?). ⁷ His double-month is pruning. ^f His		<i>A personal name</i> (margin) Abiya. ⁸

¹ Interpreting the difficult *yṛḥw* with Albright (1943:22) as *yārḥēw*, a dual noun with masculine singular suffix vocalized according to the pronunciation of the South Canaanite dialect of Gezer in the tenth century.

² Probably the harvest of grapes and olives.

³ That is, the planting of grain.

⁴ Cf. Targumic Aram. *laqqiṣ*, which refers to late rain and other late-season activities.

⁵ Instead of *yṛḥw*, “his two months,” we now have *yṛḥ* (*yārḥō*), “his month,” for four of the remaining five activities. The combination of four double-months and four single months yields a total of twelve.

⁶ To “*ṣd pṣt*, cf. BH *mā-āṣād*, “axe,” and [*pṣet*], *pīṣā*, “flax.”

⁷ The reading *wkṭ* is problematic. The interpretation “measuring” is based on the root *kāl*, “contain, hold,” and (presumably) by extension “measure.” A form of the word seems also to occur in an agricultural context in line 5 of the Meṣad Hashavyahu (Yabneh Yam) inscription (COS 3).

⁸ These three letters, ^a*by*, are written sideways at the edge of the tablet. They evidently represent a personal name, possibly that of the scribe. If the name is complete, it corresponds to a common hypocoristic pattern, shortened with final -y.

REFERENCES

Text: EHO 46-47; KAI 2:181-82; SSI 1:1-4; AHI 10.001. Translations and studies: ANET 320; Albright 1943; Diringer 1934:1-20, 337-338; Février 1948; Garbini 1954-56; Honeyman 1953; Lidzbarski 1909; Rahlfs 1961; Segal 1962; Talmon 1963; 1986; Wirgin 1960.

AN AMULET FROM ARSLAN TASH (2.86)

P. Kyle McCarter

Two small limestone plaques, bearing a series of inscriptions and drawings and perforated at the top for wall-mounting, were purchased in 1933 at Arslan Tash, Syria (ancient Ḥadattu). The first plaque, which was published in 1939, is translated here. The main text is written on the front and back of the plaque in the spaces not occupied by illustrations; it consists of six lines on the obverse, eight on the reverse, and three more on the edges. Depicted on the obverse is a winged sphinx inscribed with two lines of text and, beneath the sphinx, a wolf devouring a child and inscribed with yet another line of text. On the reverse is portrayed a warrior-god wielding an axe, on or alongside which are eight other short lines of text. While the language of the text is Phoenician or a local Canaanite dialect, the script is Aramaic, paleographically datable to the seventh century BCE. Somewhat surprisingly, the orthography sides with the language (Phoenician) rather than the script.

Main text: obverse (lines 1-6)

Incantations^a against the Flyers,¹ the goddesses, (against) Sasm² son of Padrishisha³, the god, and against the Strangler of the Lamb.³ The house I enter, you shall not enter!^b

Main text: reverse (lines 7-14)

The court I tread, you shall not tread! Ashur⁴ has made^c an eternal covenant^d with us. He has made (a covenant) with us, along with all the sons of ²El^e and the leaders of the council of all the Holy Ones,^f with a covenant of the Heavens and Eternal Earth, with an oath of Ba^cl,

Bottom edge (line 15)

Lord of Earth, with

Left edge (line 16)

an oath of Hawran,⁵ whose mouth is true,

a Isa 3:20
b Exod 12:21-32
c Gen 15:18; Exod 34:10, 27; Deut 5:2, 3; 28:69; 29:13, 24; Josh 24:25;
1 Kgs 5:26; 2 Kgs 11:17; etc.
d Gen 9:16; 17:7, 13, 19; Exod 31:16; Lev 24:8; Num 18:19; 25:13; 2 Sam 23:5; etc.
e Gen 6:2, 4; Ps 29:1; 89:7; Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7 f Zech 14:5; Ps 89:6, 8; Job 5:1; 15:15; Dan 8:13 g Ezek 46:12 h Isa 2:18

Right edge (line 17)

and his seven consorts, and the eight wives of Ba^cl Qudsh.⁶

On the winged sphinx (lines 19-20)

Against the Flyers: From the dark chamber pass away! At once! At once, O night demons!

On the man-eating wolf (line 21)

In the house, against the Crushers (?)⁷: Go!

On the warrior-god (lines 22-29)

As for Sasm, let (the house) not be opened to him,⁸ and let him not come down to the doorposts! Let the sun arise against Sasm! Pass away,⁸ and forever fly away!

¹ Reading $\ell^c < p > \ell^c$. The p is missing, but the parallelism of $\ell^c p \ell^c$, "Flyers," and $\ell^c n$, "night demons," in the text on the sphinx strongly favors the reconstruction (Cross and Saley 1970:44 n. 5). Since the wolf must be the "Strangler of the Lamb" (see n. 3), the winged sphinx must either be one of the Flyers or, less likely, Sasm.

² For the little that is known about this god, who seems to be Hurrian in origin, see *KAI* 2:44. He is probably the warrior-god depicted on the reverse.

³ As pointed out by du Mesnil du Buisson 1939, this demon finds a parallel in an Arabian she-wolf demon called Qarinar, who also has the epithet "Strangler of the Lamb" and who carried off children at night. She must be the wolf depicted on the obverse.

⁴ Ashur, the god of Assyria, seems to have assumed the role of senior deity in northern Syria at this time when Hladattu was an imperial Assyrian administrative center (Zevit 1977:115). The alternative is to reconstruct $\ell^c s r < t >$, "²Asherah," with Albright (1939:8 n. 16), or read a dialectal form (²ashir) with Cross and Saley (1970:45 n. 17).

⁵ Hawron or Horon, a Syro-Canaanite deity known from Ug. to Greco-Roman times, had a chthonic aspect, though his full character is not known.

⁶ Evidently Ba^cl Qudsh, "the Lord of Holiness," was an epithet of Hawron.

⁷ Reading $\ell^c p h s t$ with Cross and Saley (1970:46).

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Text: *KAI* 2: *SSI* 3:78-88. Translations and studies: *ANET* 658; Albright 1939; Caquot 1973; Cross and Saley 1970; Du Mesnil du Buisson 1939; Dupont-Sommer 1939; Gaster 1942; Lipiński 1978a:247-49; Röhlig 1974; Torczyner 1947; van den Branden 1961; Zevit 1977.

THE TEL DAN BOWL (2.87)

P. Kyle McCarter

This short Aramaic inscription is incised on the base of bowl found among a collection of ninth- and eighth-century pottery from Tel Dan. It consists of six Aramaic letters, five of which are fully or partly extant, written alongside a five-pointed star.

(Belonging) to the butchers.¹ ^a

a 1 Sam 8:13; 9:23, 24; cf. Gen 37:36; 2 Kgs 25:8; Dan 2:14

¹ That is, $\ell^c b[h] \ell^c$. The noun can mean "butchers" or "cooks," but titles like Hebrew $\ell^c r h b h y m$ (Gen 37:36) and $\ell^c r b h y m$ (2 Kgs 25:8), both lit. "chief of the butchers" and Aram. $\ell^c r b h y m \ell^c d y m l k$ (Dan 2:14), lit. "chief of the butchers of the king," came to designate high-ranking officers, and it is possible that the Tel Dan bowl belonged to such an individual.

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INSCRIBED NIMRUD IVORIES (2.88)

P. Kyle McCarter

A number of inscribed fragments of ivory inlay were found during the 1961 season of the British excavations of the stronghold of Fort Shalmaneser at Nimrud, the ancient Assyrian capital of Calah, on the east bank of the Tigris. The ivories, which bear both Aramaic and Hebrew inscriptions, are believed to have been brought to Calah as booty by the Assyrian army returning from campaigns in the West. The ivory plaque translated here is inscribed with well-written Hebrew characters dating paleographically to the middle of the eighth century BCE, and it is reasonable to surmise that it was part of the plunder taken from Samaria when the city fell to Shalmaneser V in 722 BCE. The first editor (Millard 1962) understood the preserved lines as an imprecation included in a votive or commemorative plaque to threaten with divine retribution anyone in the future who should damage the inscription.

[...] may Ya[hweh] shatter ¹ * [...] who come af]ter me, from great king ² [to ... if they should co]me and efface ³ th[is ivory ⁴ ...]	a Pss 68:22; 110:5-6 b 1 Kgs 10:18; 22:39; Amos 3:15; 6:4; 2 Chr 9:17
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¹ Millard's readings in the *editio princeps*, though highly tentative in view of the very fragmentary character of the text, have not been substantially improved upon and are generally followed here. The first sequence that admits of any possible interpretation is [...]*lypt*[. *lyshw* ...]. Millard identifies the verb as *pt*, "break into pieces, shatter," which occurs in BH only as the infinitive in Lev 2:6, but which has reflexes in Syriac and Arabic.

² Millard may be correct in understanding *mmk gdl*, "from great king," as the first part of such phrases found frequently in curses as "from great king to common man"; cf., for example, "Whoever you are, any ruler or any (ordinary) man" in the ³Eshmun^cazor epitaph (COS 2.57). As Millard also points out, if the ivory text read *nmmlk hgd*, "from the great king," we would suspect a reference to the Assyrian emperor (*šarru rabū*) in this period (cf. 2 Kgs 18:19).

³ That is, *wmh*, presumably a plural from *māhā*, "wipe, wipe out, obliterate, efface."

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AKKADIAN MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS

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A. BUILDING AND DISPLAY INSCRIPTIONS
(Akkadian and Sumerian)

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1. OLD AKKADIAN INSCRIPTIONS

INSCRIPTION OF SARGON: FOUNDATION OF THE AKKADIAN EMPIRE (2.89)

Burkhard Kienast

This inscription, originally encarved on the socle of a statue, is preserved only on two clay tablets containing a collection of several inscriptions of Sargon (2334-2279 BCE), Rīmuš (2278-2270 BCE) and Maništūsu (2269-2255 BCE). The text deals with the defeat of Lugalzagesi of Uruk and his allies, a victory which eventually led to the foundation of the Akkadian Empire.

Titles of the king (lines 1-11)

Sargon, king of Akkade,
solicitor of Ištar,
king of the Universe,
anointed priest of An,
king of the Land,
governor of Enlil.

Victory over Lugalzagesi of Uruk (lines 12-34)

He won in battle with Uruk.
Fifty city-rulers he ...¹
with the mace of Abā²
and he conquered the city.
and tore down its walls.
And he captured
Lugalzagesi, king of Uruk, in battle
(and) led him in a neck-stock
to the Gate (of the temple) of Enlil.

Victory over the city of Ur (lines 36-46)

Sargon, king of Akkade,
won in battle with Ur
and he conquered the city
and tore down its walls.

Victory over the state of Lagaš (lines 47-61)

He conquered É-nin-MAR.KI
and tore down its walls.
He conquered its territory
as well as Lagaš (down) to the sea;
he washed his weapons in the sea.

Victory over Umma (lines 62-70)

He won in battle with Umma
and he conquered the city
and tore down its walls.

Description of the empire (lines 71-108)

Sargon, king of the Land:
Enlil did not give him a rival,
(but) he gave him indeed
the Upper Sea and the Lower (Sea)
From the Lower Sea up to the Upper Sea
citizens of Akkade (now)
hold governorships.
Even Mari and Elam
stand (at service) before Sargon, king of the Land.
Sargon, king of the Land,
restored (?) Kiš
(and) let them both ... the city.³

Curse formula (lines 109-131)

As for one who removes this inscription,
may Enlil and Šamaš pull out his roots
and pick up his seed.
Whoever takes away this statue,
may Enlil take away his son;
may he break his weapon:
He shall not last before Enlil.

Colophon

Inscription on the socle (of a statue);
it is written in front of Lugalzagesi.

¹ The syntax requires at this place a predicate left out by the copyist.

² Abā is the clan god of the Sargonic kings. The name (*A-ba₄) is read ū-a-ba₄ by others on ground of a late entry in a god list; see in detail Kienast 1990:203.

³ Lines 103-108 are difficult. Frayne translates: "Sargon ... altered the two sites of Kiš. He made the two (parts of Kiš) occupy (one) city" following Edzard 1980:610f. This refers to the unification of Kiš and Īursagkalama in one city, which seems to be out of date. Our translation is based on the Sum. version of a bilingual parallel.

REFERENCES

Text: Gelb and Kienast 1990:170-174; Frayne 1993:13-15.

INSCRIPTION OF NARĀM-SĪN: DEIFICATION OF THE KING (2.90)

Burkhart Kienast

This inscription is preserved on the socle of a statue made of copper, representing a crouching male figure of a *laḫmu*-Monster with the upper part of the body missing. The statue was found 1975 near Bāšetkī, a small village on the way from Mossul to Zākhō, during road construction. The text deals with the background of the deification of Narām-sin and the erection of his chapel at Akkade. Henceforth rulers of Babylonia often wrote their name with the divine determinative to underline the claim of rulership over all of Babylonia, a custom that ended with the foundation of the Hammurabi Empire.

The king's title (lines 1-4)

Narām-Sin, the Mighty,
king of Akkade:^a

Summary of the great revolt (lines 5-19)

When the Four Quarters (of the world)
all together revolted against him,
he won nine battles in only one year
through the love Ištar showed to him
and he captured the kings
who had risen against him.

Request for deification (lines 20-56)

Because he strengthened
the base of his city
in these hard times,
(the citizen of) his city
requested him
from Ištar in E'anna,
from Enlil in Nippur,

^a Gen 10:9-10

from Dagān in Tuttul,^b
from Ninḫursag in Keš,
from Enki/E'a in Eridu,
from Sin in Ur,
from Šamaš in Sippar
(and) from Nergal in Kutha^c
(to become) the god of their city
and they built a temple for him
in the midst of Akkade.

^b 1 Sam 5:2-7, etc.

^c 2 Kgs 17:30

Curse formula (lines 57-74)

As for one who removes
this inscription,
may Šamaš
and Ištar
and Nergal,
the solicitor of the king,
and all those gods (mentioned)
pull out his roots
and pick up his seed.

REFERENCES

Text: Gelb and Kienast 1990:81-83; Frayne 1993:113-114. Studies: Hallo 1999b.

INSCRIPTION OF NARĀM-SĪN: CAMPAIGN AGAINST ARMĀNUM AND EBLA (2.91)

Burkhart Kienast

This inscription was originally encased on the socle of a statue also showing the relief of a city on top of a mountain; it is preserved in three Old Babylonian copies on clay tablets from Ur. Exemplar A contains lines 1-118 and the captions describing the city, exemplar B has the lines 119-185 and two short captions while exemplar C seems to contain the complete text of A and B; the beginning of C is lost and therefore only a few lines (100-106) are parallel with A. The text deals with a campaign of Narām-Sin to northern Syria and with the conquest of Armānum and Ebla.

Summary of the campaign (lines 1-60)

Concerning the fact¹
from old from the creation of men
no one among the kings

had overthrown
Armānum and Ebla:
With the help of the weapon of Nergal
Narām-Sin,² the Mighty,

¹ The beginning of the inscription is not given in the copy, probably because the original was in a fragmentary condition when copied. We expect the king's titles and a report on the cities conquered and the enemies captured or killed.

² The name of the king is written here and elsewhere in exemplar A with the divine determinative (⁴*Na-ra-am-EN.ZU*), in exemplars B and C without it (*Na-ra-am-EN.ZU*). Therefore, Frayne argues that B and C represent an inscription different from A. But the reconstruction of C shows there is exactly the space needed for A lost and both exemplars, A and C overlap just in the unusual "*Declaration of Narāmsin*" (see note 4). Given the fact that we deal here with an OB copy of unknown history the problem is still open for discussion.

opened the only path (there)
and he (Nergal) gave him
Armānum and Ebla.
He also granted him
the Amanus, the Cedar Forest,
and the Upper Sea.
Indeed,
with help of the weapon of Dagān,
who has made his kingship great,
Narām-Sîn, the Mighty,
conquered
Armānum and Ebla.
And from the bank of the Euphrates
until Ulišum
he subjugated the people
whom Dagān granted him recently
and they now carry
the basket (in service) of Abā, his god.
Finally, he won control
over the Amanus, the Cedar Forest.

Dedication formula (lines 61-81)

When Dagān
had rendered judgement
for Narām-Sîn, the Mighty,
and given Riš-Adad, king of Armānum,³
in his hand,
so that he (Narām-Sîn) himself
could take him (Rišadad) prisoner
in the midst of his 'entrance',⁴
he (Narām-Sîn) fashioned his statue from diorite
and dedicated it to Sîn.

Declaration of Narām-Sîn (lines 82-118)⁴

Thus (said) Narām-Sîn, the Mighty,
king of the Four Quarters (of the world):
'Dagān gave me Armānum and Ebla
and I captured Riš-Adad, king of Armānum.
And at that time I fashioned
a likeness of myself
and dedicated it to Sîn.
No one shall remove my name!
May my statue stand in front of Sîn.
What(ever) his god allots to someone
may he perform;
(but) the task I had to perform
was exceeding.'⁵

Curse formula (lines 119-185)⁶

Whoever removes the name
of Narām-Sîn, the Mighty,
king of the Four Quarters (of the world),
and puts his name on the statue
of Narām-Sîn, the Mighty,
saying "(it is) my statue",
or shows (the statue) to another man
saying "remove his name
and put my name in,"
may Sîn, the owner of this statue,
and Ištar Annunītum,
An,
Enlil,
Abā,
Sîn,
Šamaš,
Nergal,
Ūm,
Ninkarak
(and) the great gods
all together
curse him with an evil curse;
he shall not hold the scepter for Enlil
nor the kingship for Ištar;
he shall not last before his god;
Ninhursag and Nintu
shall not grant him
a son or heir;
Adad and Nisaba
shall not make his furrow prosper;
Enki/E'a shall fill
his (irrigation) ditch with mud
and not increase his understanding.
... ..⁷

Captions according to exemplar A:

Description of Armānum

- (a) From the strong wall to the great wall:
130 cubits (is) the height of the mountain,
44 cubits (is) the height of the wall.
- (b) From the outer wall to the strong wall:
180 cubits (is) the height of the mountain,
30 cubits (is) the height of the wall.
- (c) In total: 404 cubits height
from the ground to the top of the wall.

³ The name of the king of Armānum is rendered *Ri-DA-IM* in line 67 and *Ri-ID-IM* in line 93. The affair of Armānum has been compared with the Babylonian historical tradition, as e.g. given in the Chronicle of Early Kings (cf. Grayson 1975:154): "Narām-Sîn, the son (sic!) of Sargon marched against Apišal. He made a breach (in the city wall) (*pišū ip-luš-ma*) and captured Rišadad (*Ri-iš-IM*), king of Apišal, and the vizier of Apišal with his (own) hand." Here the name of the city of Apišal is obviously a play on the phrase *pišū ip-luš-ma*, and the "breach (in the city wall)" is a reference to the "entrance" (*nārabtum*) of our inscription. Since *Riš-Adad* is not attested otherwise in the onomasticon, the emendation into *Riš-Adad* is justified.

⁴ The passage called "*Declaration of Narām-Sîn*" has a parallel only once in an inscription of Erridupizir (see Gelb and Kienast 1990:303-307, lines 58-80; Frayne 1993:221-223, lines ii 13-10'). It would be a very peculiar coincidence if in exemplars A and C of our text two different inscriptions with a "*Declaration of Narām-Sîn*" were represented, especially in view of the facts given in note 2.

⁵ Lines 110-118 are difficult and especially the two last lines are without translation in Frayne and open to discussion.

⁶ We expect in accordance with the parallel from an inscription of Erridupizir (see note 4) after the "*Declaration of Narām-Sîn*" some curse formulas; these are, in our view, given in exemplars B and C or otherwise lost as the beginning of the inscription of exemplar A.

⁷ No translation is possible.

(d) He destroyed (?) the city Armānum. <i>Colophon 1</i> What (is written) on the side (of the statue) (facing) the chapel of the New Court.	30 cubits (is) the height of the wall. <i>Colophon 2</i> What (is written) on the side (of the statue) (facing) the large statue of Sīnerībam.
(e) From the river to the outer wall: 196 cubits (is) the height of the mountain, 20 cubits (is) the height of the wall.	<i>Captions according to exemplar B:</i>
(f) From the outer wall to the strong wall: 156 cubits (is) the height of the mountain,	(a) [Above:] ..., Imlik. ⁸ (b) Below: The general of Sumer and Akkad, PN ⁸

⁸ Since we are dealing with a fragmentary inscription no arguments can be drawn from these two captions as to the relationship between exemplars A and B+C.

REFERENCES

Text: Foster 1982:27-36; Gelb and Kienast 1990:253-264; Frayne 1993:132-135.

2. EARLY OLD BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTIONS

ISIN DYNASTY

Hegemony over the land of Sumer and Akkad eventually passed from Akkad(e) to Ur (COS 2.138-141) and from Ur to Isin with the collapse of the Ur III state ca. 2004 BCE. Isin, the new center of power, was located at modern Ishan Bahrīyat. The site has been excavated since 1973 by an expedition of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft under the direction of B. Hrouda. The names of fifteen kings of the Isin I dcynasty are known; they reigned from 2017-1794 BCE.

ISHBI-ERRA (2.92)

Douglas Frayne

Ishbi-Erra, the first king of the Isin Dynasty, reigned ca. 2017-1985 BCE. A Sumerian royal inscription known from a contemporary tablet copy from Nippur records the fabrication by the king of a lyre for the god Enlil of Nippur.

(1-3) For the god Enlil, lord of the foreign lands, his lord, (4-6) Ishbi-Err[a], mighty king, lord of <his> land (7-9) fashioned a great lyre ^a for him, which ... the heart.	^a Psc 33:2; 43:4; 49:4; 57:8; 71:22; 81:2; 92:3; 98:5; 108:2; 137:2; 147:7; 149:3	(10) He dedicated it [for his own] life. (12-15) The name of the lyre is "Ishbi-Erra trusts in the god Enlil."
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REFERENCES

Text: Kärki 1980:2; Frayne 1990:6-7.

SHU-ILISHU (2.93)

Douglas Frayne

The name of what is probably the third year of Shu-ilishu (the second king of the Isin I dynasty, who reigned ca. 1984-1875 BCE) commemorates the construction of a standard for the moon god Nanna, tutelary deity of Ur. The deed is recorded in a Sumerian school tablet copy excavated by Sir Leonard Woolley at Ur.

Standards, with divine or animal images on their tops, were often used in ancient Mesopotamia to muster and lead troops in battle (cf. for example, the depiction of troops with standards standing behind Naram-Sin in the famous

"Victory Stele" in the Louvre; see *ANEP* fig. 309). They are directly comparable to the standards of the Israelite tribes mentioned in Num 2:10.

(i.1-7) For the god Nanna, trusted one of heaven and earth, true princely son of the god Enlil, the lord who, as far as heaven and earth, uniquely surpasses the gods, (i.8-14) Shu-ilishu god of his land, mighty king, king of Ur, beloved of the gods An, Enlil, and Nanna, (i.15-22) a great divine standard, ^a a tree fit for a (rich) harvest, evoking wonder, colored with gold, silver, and shining lapis lazuli, ...	^a Exod 17:15, 16; Num 2:10; Isa 5:26; 13:2; 18:3; Jer 4:21; 50:2; 51:27; Ps 74:4; Cant 2:4; 6:4, 10	a sil[ver] image ... Lacuna (ii.1-7) he fashioned for him (the god Nanna) [when] he (Shu-ilishu) establish[ed] in their abodes [in U]r(?) the people] scattered as far away as A[nshan]. (ii.8-9) He dedicated it for his own life. (A curse formula follows).
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REFERENCES

Kärki 1980:2-3; Frayne 1990:16-18.

ISHME-DAGAN (2.94)

Douglas Frayne

A Sumerian inscription found on various stamped or inscribed bricks from Nippur indicates that they originally came from a socle built by Ishme-Dagan (third king of the Isin I dynasty, who reigned c. 1953-1935 BCE) for the ceremonial mace of the god Ninurta, the god Enlil's second in command at Nippur. Isin-Larsa period account texts from Nippur record offerings made for this mace, an apparently impressive monument (Sigrist 1984:150). For a depiction of a possibly similar ceremonial mace erected to the god Ningirsu (a local variant of Ninurta at Girsu) by Gudea, see Börker-Klähn 1982:Plate volume fig. 89a.

Archaeological excavations in Mesopotamia have turned up numerous examples of stone and metal mace-heads (see Solyman 1968). They are comparable to the "war club" (KJV "maul") mentioned in the Bible.

(1-7) When the god Enlil had Ishme-Dagan, king of the land of Sumer and Akkad, take the god Ninurta, his might champion as bailiff, (8-9) (Ishme-Dagan) fashioned for him (Ninurta) the	^a Prov 25:18	<i>Šita</i> -weapon, the mace ^a with fifty heads (10-12) (and) set up his beloved weapon on a baked brick platform for him.
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REFERENCES

Kärki 1980:8-9; Frayne 1990:35-36.

LIPIT-ESHTAR (2.95)

Douglas Frayne

Numerous clay cones found or excavated at Isin record the construction by Lipit-Eshtar (the fourth king of the Isin I dynasty, who reigned ca. 1934-1924 BCE) of a storehouse (*ganthum*) for the gods Enlil and Ninlil.

This text provides us with the earliest Akkadian translation of the Sumerian royal title lugal KI-EN-GI KI-URI, Akkadian *šar māt šumerim u akkadim*, "king of the land of Sumer and Akkad."

(1-19) I, Lipit-Eshtar, humble shepherd of Nippur, true farmer of Ur, unceasing (provider) for Eridu, <i>en</i> -priest suitable for Uruk, king of Isin, king of the land of Sumer and Akkad, ^a favorite of the goddess Eshtar, (20-23) a storehouse of the ... offerings of the gods	^a Gen 10:10	Enlil and Ninlil, (24-26) in Isin, my royal city, at the palace gate, (27-29) I, Lipit-Eshtar, son of the god Enlil, (30-35) when I established justice in the land of Sumer and Akkad, (36) built (it).
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REFERENCES

Kärki 1980:19-20; Frayne 1990:49-51.

UR-NINURTA (2.96)

Douglas Frayne

A tablet from Nippur contains the copy of one (or more) Sumerian royal inscriptions of Ur-Ninurta (the fifth king of the Isin I dynasty, who reigned ca. 1923-1896 BCE). The excerpted section deals with the fashioning of a statue depicting the king holding a votive goat kid at his breast; the statue was set up in the courtyard of the goddess Ninlil (Enlil's spouse) in Nippur. In Mesopotamia, as in Israel, kids were commonly used for sacrificial purposes.

(vi.6'-12') I fashioned (for the goddess Ninlil[?]) a [copper] statue, whose form was endowed with my face, clasping a votive kid, standing to make supplications for me, an ornament of the main	a Num 15:11	courtyard of the Gagishshua (temple). (vi.13'-14') I dedicated it to her for my own life. (A curse formula follows).
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REFERENCES

Kärki 1980:24-26; Frayne 1990:66-68.

UR-DUKUGA (2.97)

Douglas Frayne

A Sumerian cone inscription of Ur-dukuga, the thirteenth king of the Isin I dynasty (who reigned ca. 1830-1828 BCE), records the construction of a temple of the god Dagan in the royal city of Isin.

Dagan was an important Mesopotamian and West Semitic deity with major cult centres at ancient Tuttul (modern Tell Bi'a near the junction of the Euphrates and Balih rivers) and Terqa (modern Tell 'Asherah on the Euphrates about 13 km upstream from Mari). The etymology of the DN is unknown. While a connection with Hebrew *dag* "fish" is highly unlikely, a connection of the Semitic root *dgn* when translated as "grain" is possible (*ABD* 2:2).

(1-3) For the god Dagan, "great lord of the foreign lands, the god who created him, (4-20) Ur-dukuga, shepherd who brings everything (needed) for Nippur, superb farmer of the gods An and Enlil, provider of Ekur, who provides abundance for Eshumesha (and) Egalmah, who returned to the gods the regular offerings which had been	a Judg 16:23; 1 Sam 5:2-7; 1 Chr 10:10; 1 Macc 10:84; 11:4	expropriated from the sanctuaries, mighty king, king of Isin, king of the land of Sumer and Akkad, spouse steadfastly looked upon by the goddess Inanna, (21-24) built for him the Edurkigara ("House — the well founded residence") in Isin, his shining beloved residence.
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REFERENCES

Kärki 1980:34-35; Frayne 1990:94-95.

LARSA DYNASTY

The city of Larsa (modern Sinkara) struggled with Isin for hegemony over the land of Sumer and Akkad in early Old Babylonian times. The site has been dug by a series of French expeditions in 1933-34 and 1967 (directed by A. Parrot), 1969-70 (directed by J.-Cl. Margueron) and since 1970 (directed by J.-L. Huot).

The names of fourteen kings of the Larsa dynasty are known; they reigned from ca. 2025-1763 BCE.

GUNGUNUM (2.98)

Douglas Frayne

Gungunum, the fifth member of the Larsa dynasty and its first effective king, reigned from ca. 1931-1906 BCE. A Sumerian cone inscription from Ur deals with the construction there of a storehouse for the sun god by En-ana-tuma, *en*-priestess of the moon god Nanna. Though installed by her father Ishme-Dagan of Isin (above, 2.94), she was allowed to keep her priestly office even after Larsa captured Ur from Isin. The sun god, Sumerian Utu, Akkadian Shamash, was the tutelary deity of the dynastic capital of Larsa.

(1-7) For the god Utu, offspring of the god Nanna, ... son of the Ekishnugal, whom the goddess Ningal bore, her lord,	the god Nanna in Ur, daughter of Ishme-Dagan, king of the land of Sumer and Akkad,
(8-11) for the life of Gungunum, mighty man, king of Ur,	(18-20) built his Ehili ("Charming House"), built his shining storehouse for him.
(12-17) En-ana-tuma, <i>zirru</i> -priestess, <i>en</i> -priestess of	(21-22) She dedicated it to him for her own life.

REFERENCES

Kärki 1980:41; Frayne 1990:115-117.

NUR-ADAD (2.99A)

Douglas Frayne

A Sumerian inscription from Ur belonging to Nur-Adad, eighth king of the Larsa dynasty (who reigned ca. 1865-1850 BCE) deals with the king's construction of a KIR₄-MAĜ "great (bread) oven" and a DU₃-MAĜ (possibly "great cauldron") for the moon god Nanna. Copies of the text are inscribed on three copper cylinders and several clay cones that were found in a room northwest of the ziqqurat at Ur; it is to probably to be identified as a temple kitchen. The Sumerian word KIR, "(bread) oven" was apparently borrowed into Akkadian as *kīru(m)* "kiln (for lime and bitumen)" and, in all likelihood is to be connected with Akkadian *kūru(m)*, "crucible, kiln, brazier" and Hebrew *kwr* "pot or furnace for smelting metals," (see reference a).

(1-6) For the god Nanna, crown of heaven and earth, whose face is adorned with charming rays, the god Enlil's first-born son, his lord,	a Deut 4:20; 1 Kgs 8:51; Isa 48:10; Jer 11:4; Ezek 22:18, 20, 22 Prov 17:3; 27:21	the god Nanna, his lord, his (proper) boundary, (37-41) at that time, a great (bread) oven ^a for the meals of the god Suen, which (also) provides bread for all the gods
(7-25) Nur-Adad, mighty man, provider of Ur, king of Larsa, who makes first fruit offerings reach the Ekishnugal, who looks after the shrine Ebabbar, whom the youth, god Utu has truly chosen in his heart, one given the scepter by the god Nanna, subduer of the foreign lands for the god Utu, called by a good name by the god Ishkur,		(42-46) (and) a great <i>cauldron</i> cared for in the (dining) hall, roaring loudly at the morning and evening meals,
(26-36) when he had made Ur content, had removed evil (and the cause for any) complaint from it, had regathered its scattered people (and) had given to		(47-48) he made for him (the god Nanna) and for his own life.
		(49-50) He restored the traditional cleansing rites.
		(51-56) May a long life-span (and) a reign of abundance come forth from the Ekishnugal for Nur-Adad, shepherd of righteousness.

REFERENCES

Kärki 1980:51-52; Frayne 1990:140-142.

NUR-ADAD (2.99B)

A Sumerian clay cone records Nur-Adad's construction of Enki's *abzu* temple at Eridu.

(1-3) [For] the god En[ki], lord of Eridu, [his] lord,	god Utu,
(4-8) Nur-[Adad], mighty man, provider of Ur, king of Larsa, subduer of the foreign land for the	(9-16) when he had restored Ur and Larsa, had resettled their scattered people in their residence,

their captive people ... the foundation tru[ly ...], Eridu [...], (17-19) at that time (he did not let) any one who might do evil (against) the god Enki [enter] it. (20-21) Divine lord Nudimmud was pleased at this.	(22-24) Beside his ancient temple (Nur-Adad) built anew for him (Enki) his Abzu (temple), the Eme- kukuga ("House which purifies the me's"). (25-28) Into it he brought his throne, standard, (and) ancient treasures.
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REFERENCES

Frayne 1990:146.

SIN-IDDINAM (2.100)

Douglas Frayne

A Sumerian inscription known from an Old Babylonian period tablet copy deals with the construction by Sin-iddinam (the ninth king of the Larsa dynasty, who reigned ca. 1849-1843 BCE) of a throne for the storm god Ishkur/Adad.

The inscription's account of two butting bull (figures) standing on either side of the base of the throne (lines 75-78) can be compared with the passage in 1 Kings 10:14 describing two lion (figures) standing by the armrests of king Solomon's throne. The biblical account, in turn, can be compared with the relief found on the stone sarcophagus of Ahiram, king of Byblos (*ANEP*² #458; cf. above, 2.55) and the scene carved on an ivory plaque from Megiddo (*ANEP*² #332); both show lion figures standing below the armrests of the ruler's throne (cf. *IDB* 4:637). In these two cases the lions have wings spreading backward in an apparent attitude of flight. They are, then, comparable to the Biblical winged *cherubim* which stood as sentinels and supports by God's throne (*IDB* 1:131). Hebrew *cherubim*, in turn, are likely connected with the Akkadian word *kuribu(m)* "representative of a protective genius with specific non-human features" (cf. *IDB* 1:131); *kuribu(m)* genii stood guard with other demons at doorways in Babylonian and Assyrian temples.

(1-8) For the god Ishkur, lord, an[gry] storm, [...] great storm of heav[en and earth], who trusts in his supremacy, foremost one, advocate, son of An, whose head is clothed in magnificence, lord, raging leader, great storm, in whose ... has no rival, who masses the clouds, at his rushing in the storm wind he causes the earth to tremble.

(9-17) In broad heaven he is a mighty wind which roars, whose [rum]ble is abundance. At his roar the land and the great mountains are afraid. Great champion, who holds the sceptre in the hand (and) is clothed in authority. At his thundering (over) the sea (and) covering the land with ra<diance>), great (hail)stones rain ... (which are) difficult to see through,

(18-24) In their ... they set up for him ... like a (19-21) [...] like a reed.

(22-23) On their own accord, at his presence they lift ... to him. He spies the numerous people.

(25-33) Lord of abundance, who makes splendor plentiful, who gives sustenance to the land, merciful prince whose compassion is good, shade of Larsa, helper of Sin-iddinam in the field of battle, who stands in combat with the troops at his side, great lord, canal inspector of the gods An and Enlil, whose destiny cannot be rivalled, for his lord, (34-40) Sin-iddinam, mighty man, humble prince

who reverences the god Enlil, he is the "yea" of the Ekur, youth called by a good name by the god Nanna, provider of Ur, king of Larsa, king of the land of Sumer and Akkad,

(41-53) given broad wisdom and surpassing intelligence by the god Nudimmud, granted a good reign, a long life-span, and abundance without end by the god Ishkur, his personal deity, who puts in order the rites of Eridu, who perfects the offerings of the gods, wise one, who [r]estored the ancient me's, one whom his numerous people truly [ch]ose — (54-67) a lofty [thron]e, [...] with surpassing form, placed for his [personal deity], [grand]ly made with [...] refined silver, [...] of the green heaven, [...] befitting his greatness, suitable for *sitting on* — amidst jubilation, he finished the work there.

(68-82) At that time, the god Ishkur, his (personal) deity, grandly sat down there on his throne of glory. Then, for the future (Sin-iddinam) made its form surpassing. He sought out a place for its rites and supreme me's. He set below, on the right and left, two great wild bulls at the throne butt[ing] at the enemies of the king, a ... beast ... the A[nunna gods] set u[p] abundance [from] the horizon ... beside him. He [fashioned] its (cult) statue and [set it] on its (the throne's) lap.

(85-88) He ... there [...]

REFERENCES

Michalowski 1988:265-275; Frayne 1990:177-179.

WARAD-SIN (2.101A)

Douglas Frayne

A Sumerian cone inscription of Warad-Sin (the thirteenth king of the Larsa dynasty who reigned from 1834-23 BCE) records the construction of the chief storehouse in Ur. This building was apparently not a storeroom for grain, but rather a repository for precious objects donated to the city temples.

(1-4) For the god Nanna, lord who beams forth brightly in shining heaven, first-born son of the god Enlil, his lord,	(as for) myself, what am I?"
(5-13) I, Kudur-mabuk, father of the Amorite land, son of Simti-shilhak, the one who is attentive to the god Enlil, who finds favor with the goddess Ninlil, who reverences the Ebabbar, provider of the Ekur, constant (attendant) for the Ekishnugal, the one who makes Nippur content,	(25-27) In respect of this, to the god Nanna, my lord, as I prayed fervently,
(14-15) when the god Nanna agreed to my entreaty	(28-38) I built the Ganunmah, the house of silver and gold, the god Suen's storehouse with heavy treasure — it had been built in the past (and) had become dilapidated — for my own life and for the life of Warad-Sin, my son, king of Larsa.
(6-18) (and) delivered into my hands the enemies who had thrown down the top of the Ebabbar temple,	(39) I restored it.
(19-21) he (the god Nanna) returned Mashkan-shapir and Kar-Shamash to Larsa.	(40-42) May the god Nanna, my lord, rejoice at my deed
(22-24) "Nanna, my lord, it is you who has done it,	(43-47) (and) grant to me a destiny of life, a good reign, (and) a throne with a secure foundation.
	(48-49) May I be the shepherd, beloved of the god Nanna.
	(50) May my days be long.

REFERENCES

Kärki 1980:97-98; Frayne 1990:214-216.

WARAD-SIN (2.101B)

Kudur-mabuk's construction of the throne of the god Nanna of Ur for his son Warad-Sin is known from two Sumerian school tablet copies found in Sir Leonard Woolley's excavations at Ur. The deed was commemorated in the name of the sixth year of Warad-Sin.

The two protective genie (Sumerian LAMMA) described in lines 68-75 of this text as protecting the god Nanna's throne may be compared with the Hebrew *cherubim* who guarded Yahweh's throne (*IDB* 1:131). Although the probable animal nature of these lamina's is not specified in this text, their description as genii "stretched out towards the statue of me praying, as if (making) new *šuilā* prayers and entreaties" suggests a connection with the Akkadian *karibū* noted above (2.100), since the latter word is derived from a root (*krb*) meaning "to bless." What they stretched out is not specified; comparative evidence suggests it might have been wings. The four breed bulls mentioned in lines 78-79 can be compared with the two small bull heads depicted on the arm-rests of the throne of the Aramean ruler Bar-Rakib in the relief from Zinjirli (ancient Sam'al) (*ANEP*² fig. 460; for the Bar-Rakib inscription see *COS* 2.38); in all four bull heads would have been placed at the corners of the king's throne.

(1-6) For the god Nanna, great lord, light which fills shining heaven, who holds the princely crown aloft, reliable god, who alternates days and nights, who establishes the months, who completes the year.	favor for the Ebabbar temple (and) adorned it for the god Utu, his lord, who gathered the scattered people (and) put in order their disorganized troops, who made his land peaceful, who smote the head of its foes, snare of his land, who smashed all the enemies, who made the youth, god Utu, supreme judge of heaven and earth, reside contentedly (in) his princely residence, in Larsa, the place of regular offerings.
(7-9) In the Ekur he humbly receives the true decisions from the father who engendered him (Enlil) —	(36-38) I, Kudur-mabuk, humble shepherd, who stands in supplication for the shrine Ebabbar,
(10) son beloved of the goddess Ninlil,	(39-46) when the gods An, Enlil, Enki, and Ninmah had given to me, on account of my order by the
(11-13) (for) the god Ashimbabbar, who listens to prayers and entreaties, his lord,	
(14-35) (I), Kudur-mabuk, father of the Amorite land, son of Shimti-shilhak, the one who repaid a	

supreme decree of the gods Nanna and Utu, the true scepter suitable to lead the people (and) a reign with eternal <i>me</i> 's, whose <i>me</i> 's cannot be altered, (47) on account of this, as I made an ardent prayer ...	^a Exod 25:18-20; 37:7-9; 1 Kgs 6:23-28; 8:6-7 Isa 37:16	(72-75) I fixed them there here at the perimeter of that throne (area with their ...) stretched out towards the statue of me praying, as if (making) new <i>šuilā</i> prayers and entreaties. ^a
(48-58) ..., shining star(s) radiance ... a ... awe-inspiring,	^b 1 Kgs 10:19	(76-77) I sought out will-chosen <i>me</i> 's for the calf of heaven, ^b that was in its entirety a masterpiece.
(59-60) that throne [was inlaid] with red gold,		(78-79) I fixed there four breed bulls.
(61-67) [...] the days which I live ... a work ... [...] a statue of the god Nanna [whose] fo[rm] was fashioned correctly ..., [...], ... grandly I ...		(80-82) Its great seat was of <i>kiškanūm</i> wood. Its crosspieces, (depicting) a lion seizing a kid, were inlaid with refined silver.
(68-71) A pair of protective genii ... [giving] good omens [...], being there daily ... [...] I set up on either side of it.		(83-88) I dedicated it to him for my life and for the life of Warad-[Sin], my son, offspring of ... eternal name, son of ..., provider of Ur, who reverences] the E[babbar, king] of Larsa.

REFERENCES

Kärki 1980:122-126; Frayne 1990:219-222.

RIM-SIN (2.102A)

Douglas Frayne

A Sumerian cone inscription of Rim-Sin (the fourteenth king of the Larsa dynasty, who reigned ca. 1822-1763 BCE) records the construction of a temple of the god Dumuzi in Ur.

Dumuzi was in origin a Sumerian shepherd god who, with the goddess Inanna, served as tutelary deity of the ancient city of Badtibira (var.: Patibira), modern Tell al-Mada'in. For the most recent discussion of the cult of Dumuzi see Kutscher 1990:29-44.

Dumuzi was the parade example of the tragic lover in Sumerian mythology; the Sumerian myth "Death of Dumuzi" describes how the hapless god was pursued and finally killed by five evil demons.

In astral terms, Dumuzi was equated by the ancients with the constellation they called the "Hired Man"; it corresponded in the main to the modern constellation of Aries ("The Ram") (Foxvog 1989). The heliacal setting of the constellation Aries during the fourth month of the Babylonian year (month Dumuzi) was apparently the annual occasion for wailing rites for the disappearing god. A Mari text (Dossin 1975:27-28; Kutscher 1990:42) dated to the month Abum (which alternates with Dumuzi) refers to cleansing rituals for (the statues of) Ishtar and Dumuzi, and another Mari text dated to the same month (but two years later) (Biot 1960 ARM(T) 175; Kutscher 1990:40) records a disbursement of grain for "wailing women" (MUNUS.MEŠ *ba-ki-tim*). The wailing that accompanied the Dumuzi cult was evidently a female prerogative.

Dumuzi was adopted as a fertility god under the name Tammuz by the inhabitants of Syro-Palestine. A passage in Ezekiel condemns the women of Jerusalem for their apostasy in wailing for "the Tammuz." In Syria Tammuz was often designated by his title Adonis (Greek Adonis from Semitic *adōn* "lord").

(1-6) For the god Dumuzi, ^a lord of offerings, beloved husband of the goddess Inanna, shepherd of the broad steppe, fit to to care for (all the creatures), his lord,	^a Ezek 8:14	filled with butterfat"), his beloved residence suitable for his habitation, for his own life and for the life of Kudur-mabuk, the father who engendered him.
(7-11) Rim-Sin, prince who reverences Nippur, provider of Ur, king of Larsa, king of the land of Sumer and Akkad,		(20-24) On account of this may the god Dumuzi, his lord, rejoice in him and multiply cattle and sheep for him in the pens and folds.
(12-19) built for the future the Eigarasu ("House		

REFERENCES

Kärki 1980:153; Frayne 1990:275-276.

RIM-SIN (2.102B)

A different Sumerian cone inscription of Rim-Sin commemorates the construction of a temple of Nergal in Ur.

Nergal was a deity venerated by Assyrian deportees (especially those from Cuthah) who were re-located in Samaria following the downfall of Israel in 722 BCE.

(1-6) For the god Nergal, ^a supreme lord, who possesses great might, the one with a perfect fearsome splendor and aura, foremost one, who destroys all the evil foreign lands (and) piles up the rebellious land in heaps, his god, (7-11) Rim-Sin, prince who reverences Nippur, provider of Ur, king of Larsa, king of the land of Sumer and Akkad, (12-19) built for the future Eerimhashhash ("House	a 2 Kgs 17:30	which smashes the enemy"), his residence of valor suitable for habitation, for his own life and for the life of Kudur-mabuk, the father who engendered him. (20-28) On account of this may the god Nergal, his divine creator, look at him with shining eyes, and dwell at his right side in the field of battle. May he conquer the foreign land that rebels against him.
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REFERENCES

Kärki 1980:157-158; Frayne 1990:277-278.

RIM-SIN (2.102C)

A Sumerian cone inscription from Ur records Rim-Sin's construction of the temple of Ninsi²ana, here taken to be a male deity, who (as noted, see COS 2.139A) was likely a manifestation of the planet Venus as "Morning Star."

(1-16) For the god Ninsi ² ana, god whose station shines from clear heaven, whose light shines forth, lofty one, who fills the great hall, whose utterance is favorable, aristocrat, whose fiat (carries) weight in the assembly, who goes at the fore of the great gods, foremost hero, who perfectly executes the artful <i>me</i> 's, who truly puts instruction and counsel in heaven, judge, supreme adviser, who distinguishes (between) truth and falsehood, god with patient mercy, who provides a protective genius of well-being, a ... guardian spirit, and a very great life-span for the one who is in awe of him, for my lord, (17-26) I, Rim-Sin, mighty man, whose offerings	are the greatest for the shrine Nippur, who perfectly executes the <i>me</i> 's and rites of Eridu, reliable provider of Ur, who reverences Ebabbar, king of Larsa, Uruk, (and) Isin, king of the land of Sumer and Akkad, (27-29) when the god Ninsi ² ana delivered all my enemies into my hands, (30-40) on account of this, for the god Ninsi ² ana my lord, as I established a colleagueship (with him), I built in a pure place the Eeshbarzida ("House of reliable decisions"), suitable for his divinity, his residence which pleases him. I wrote my name there, on the lintel (and) door jamb of the temple, for the future.
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REFERENCES

Kärki 1980:160-161; Frayne 1990:297-298.

RIM-SIN (2.102D)

A rock-crystal jar, probably once used to hold unguent, was dedicated in Sumerian to the god Mardu/Amurrum for the life of Rim-Sin by the king's chief physician.

The evidence of the vessel's inscription suggests that this purchased piece originally came from Larsa. It apparently belonged to a hoard from the Amurrum temple in Larsa that consisted of at least four pieces (see Braun-Holzinger 1984 nos. 192-194): (a) this vessel, (b) a "bronze" statue of a kneeling figure with an inscription dedicating the piece to the god Amurrum for the life of Hammu-rapi (see COS 2.107C below); (c) a "bronze" figure of a recumbent ram with an inscription dedicating the piece to the god Amurrum for the life of a king of Larsa whose name is unfortunately corroded away, and (d) a "bronze" statuette depicting three rampant goats standing on a pair of divine figures, likely Amurrum and Ashratum (their divine status is indicated by their horned crowns). All were apparently

obtained through illicit excavations around the time of A. Parrot's excavations at Larsa in 1933-34. For color photos of objects (b) and (d), see Strommenger 1964:pl. xxx.

The cult of the god Amurru, eponymous deity of the Amorites, was elevated to high status during the reigns of Warad-Sin and Rim-Sin of Larsa. This may be accounted for by the fact that the family dynasty at Larsa at this time was apparently of Amorite origin; Kudur-mabuk, father of Warad-Sin and Rim-Sin, styles himself in his royal inscriptions as "father of the Amorite land" and "father of Emutbala," the latter an Amorite tribal designation. Further evidence of the veneration of the god Amurru at Larsa during the reign of Rim-Sin is provided by a hymn dedicated to the god Amurru and his wife Ashratum; it ends with a prayer for the life of Rim-Sin (Gurney 1989:text no. 1; von Soden 1989).

At Ugarit a divine name cognate with Amurru is the element Amrr in the compound Qdš-w-Amrr. While in Mesopotamia the divine pair Amurru and Ashratum (the latter is cognate with Ugaritic Atirat) are linked as husband and wife, in Ugarit Amrr is demoted to a subservient role as helpmate of Atirat.

(1-2) To the god Mardu/Amurru, his lord,		the servant who reverences him, dedicated to him
(3-5) for the life of Rim-Sin, king of Larsa,		(this) vessel of rock-crystal, whose lip is inlaid
(6-12) Shep-Sin, son of Ipqusha, the chief physician,		with gold (and) whose base is inlaid with silver.

REFERENCES

Frayne 1990:305-306.

ESHNUNNA

Year names of Ibbi-Sin, the last king of the Ur III dynasty, cease on tablets from Eshnunna (modern Tell Asmar) during the third year of the king. Shortly thereafter Eshnunna became independent and remained so until it was defeated by Hammu-rapi of Babylon. Most of the extant Eshnunna inscriptions stem from excavations carried out by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago at Tell Asmar under the direction of H. Frankfort during the years 1930-35.

IPIQ-ADAD II (2.103)

Douglas Frayne

One of the most energetic of the rulers of Eshnunna was king Ipiq-Adad II; during his lengthy reign he greatly expanded the territory controlled by Eshnunna, a fact proclaimed by his adoption of the title "king who enlarges Eshnunna." A brick inscription from ancient Nerebtum (modern Ishchali) commemorates his donation of the city to the goddess Eshtar-Kititum.

(1) To the goddess Eshtar-Kititum,		(people), beloved of the god Tishpak, son of Ibal-
(2-9) Ipiq-Adad (II), mighty king, king who en-		pi-El (I)
larges Eshnunna, shepherd of the black-headed		(10) donated Nerebtum to her.

REFERENCES

Greengus 1979:1; Frayne 1990:545-546.

URUK

About the time of Sin-iddinam of Larsa a small independent kingdom was established on the Lower Euphrates with its capital at the city of Uruk. The names of eight of its rulers are known. The kingdom came to an end ca. 1800 BCE with its capture by king Rim-Sin of Larsa.

SIN-KASHID (2.104)

Douglas Frayne

German excavations at Uruk have unearthed a large palace built by Sin-kashid, the probable founder of the Old Babylonian period Uruk dynasty. Innumerable bricks and clay tablets found in the walls of the palace (and scattered over the surface of the mound) commemorate its construction in Sumerian. Of interest is Sin-kashid's title "king of Amnanum," an Amorite tribal name.

(1-7) Sin-kashid, mighty man, king of Uruk, king of	the Amnanum, built his royal palace.
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REFERENCES

Kärki 1980:176-177; Frayne 1990:441-444.

ANAM (2.105)

Douglas Frayne

A Sumerian inscription found on small stone tablets from Uruk commemorates king Anam's construction of the wall of Uruk, a structure said to have been built in ancient times by divine Gilgamesh.

(1-4) Anam, chief of the army of Uruk, son of Ilan-shemea,	work of divine Gilgamesh,
(5-8) who restored the wall of Uruk, the ancient	(9-12) constructed in baked brick (the moat) "Water roars as it goes around."

REFERENCES

Kärki 1980:190; Frayne 1990:474-475.

SIMURRUM — IDDI(N)-SIN (2.106)

Douglas Frayne

The city of Simurru (for a possible location see Frayne 1997b), long the target of military campaigns waged by the Ur III kings Shulgi and Amar-Suena, gained its independence after the fall of the Ur III dynasty. In Early Old Babylonian times it served as the capital of a kingdom that likely stretched along the Zagros foothill road that ran from the area of the Diyala River to Arrapha (modern Kirkuk). Inscriptions naming two of its rulers, Iddi(n)-Sin and Zabazuna, are known. One of these, a rock inscription found near the village of Bardi-Sanjian in the Bitwatah district, deals with the setting up of a table for the goddess Eshtar.

(1-3) Iddi(n)-Sin, mighty king, king of Simurru,	inscription of because of its curse incites another
(4-5) Zabazuna (is) his son —	(to do so),
(6-11) Kullunum rebelled and waged war against Zabazuna.	(34-53) that man — may the gods Anum, Enlil, Ninhursag, Ea, Sin, Adad, lord of weapons, Shamash, lord of judgements, Eshtar, lady of battle, Ninsi'ana, my god (and) the god Nishba, my lord, inflict on him an evil curse.
(12-21) The gods Adad, Eshtar, and Nishba heard the word of Zabazuna (and) he (Zabazuna) destroyed the city (of Kullunum) and consecrated it to those gods.	(54-57) May they destroy his seed and rip out his foundation.
(22-25) He set up a table of the goddess Eshtar, his lady.	(58-66) May they not grant him heir or offspring. May life be his taboo. As (when) there is no harvest, may it be difficult for his people.
(26-33) He who removes my work, or erases my	

REFERENCES

Al-Fouadi 1978; Frayne 1990:708-709.

3. LATE OLD BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTIONS

BABYLON

About the time of king Sumu-El of Larsa, an Amorite chief named Sumu-abum installed himself as ruler of Babylon, then an inconsequential town on the Arahnum canal north of Dilbat. Subsequently, kings of an Amorite dynasty were to rule in Babylon for a period of almost 300 years. Under the reigns of kings Sin-muballit and Hammu-rapi there was a great expansion in the Babylonian realms; it culminated with Hammu-rapi's defeat of kings Rim-Sin of Larsa and Silli-Sin of Eshnunna. In so doing Hammu-rapi was able establish the hegemony of Babylon over the entire land of Sumer and Akkad, a feat unparalleled since the days of the Ur III state.

HAMMU-RAPI (2.107A)

Douglas Frayne

Hammu-rapi, the sixth king of the Babylon I dynasty reigned ca. 1792-1750 BCE. The name of his 23rd year commemorates the laying of the foundation of the wall of Sippar, that of year 25 the construction of the wall itself. These deeds were commemorated in a long cone inscription known in both Sumerian and Akkadian versions.

Ancient Sippar, cult center of the sun god Utu/Shamash was located at modern Abu Hatab. Excavations were carried out at the site for the British Museum by H. Rassam (1879-82), for the Imperial Ottoman Museum by V. Scheil (1894), for the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft by J. Jordan (1927), and for the College of Arts, Baghdad University by W. al-Jadir (since 1978).

The name Sepharvaim of 2 Kgs 17:24 was connected by early scholars with Mesopotamian Sippar. The equation is almost certainly false; a more likely hypothesis connects Sepharvaim with the GN Sibraim of Ezek 47:16, a city situated between Hamath and Damascus (*IDB* 4:273). Unfortunately, the old reading Sippar has stuck and is now conventional; the correct form of the name would be Sippir.

A long held Mesopotamian tradition considered Sippar to be "the eternal city" (Akkadian *al šāti*) normally spared from attack and exempted from corvée obligations.

(1-12) When the god Shamash, great lord of heaven and earth, king of the gods, with his shining face, joyfully looked at me, Hammu-rapi, the prince, his favorite, granted to me everlasting kingship (and) a reign of long days,	mountain. I built (that) high wall.
(13-27) made firm for me the foundation of the land which he had given me to rule, spoke to me by his pure word which cannot be changed to settle the people of Sippar and Babylon in peaceful abodes, (and) laid a great commission on me to build the wall of Sippar (and) to raise its head,	(46-50) That which from the past no king among the kings had built, for the god Samas, my lord, I grandly built.
(28-35) at that time, I, Hammu-rapi, mighty king, king of Babylon, reverent one, who heeds the god Shamash, beloved of the goddess Aia, who contents the god Marduk, his lord,	(51-55) The name of that wall is "By the decree of the god Shamash, may Hammu-rapi have no rival."
(36-45) by the supreme might which the god Shamash gave to me, with the levy of the army of my land, I raised the top of the foundation of the wall of Sippar with earth (until it was) like a great	(56-61) In my gracious reign which the god Shamash called, I cancelled corvée duty for the god Shamash for the men of Sippar, the ancient city of the god Shamash.
	(62-69) I dug its canal (and) provided perpetual water for its land. I heaped up plenty and abundance. I established joy for the people of Sippar.
	(70-81) They pray (Sumerian: they prayed) for my life. I did what was pleasing to the god Shamash, my lord, and the goddess Aia, my lady. I put my good name in the mouths of the people (in order) that they proclaim it daily like (that of) a god and that it not be forgotten forever.

REFERENCES

Kärki 1983:6-10; Frayne 1990:333-336.

HAMMU-RAPI (2.107B)

The name of year 33 of Hammu-rapi commemorates the digging of the canal named "Hammu-rapi is the abundance of the people." This deed is commemorated in a stone foundation tablet which also describes the construction of "Fort-Sin-muballit" (Sin-muballit was Hammu-rapi's father). The foundation tablet likely came from this fortress.

(1-9) I, Hammu-rapi, mighty king, king of Babylon, king who makes the four quarters be at peace, who achieves the victory of the god Marduk, shepherd who satisfies him, (10-16) when the gods Anum and Enlil gave to me the land of Sumer and Akkad to rule, (and) entrusted their nose-rope into my hands, (17-20) I dug the canal Hammu-rapi-nuhush-nishi ("Hammu-rapi is the abundance of the people"), which brings abundant water to the land of Sumer and Akkad. (21-37) I turned both its banks into cultivated areas. I kept heaping up piles of grain. I provided perpetual water for the land of Sumer and Akkad (and) gathered the scattered peoples of the land of Sumer	a Ps 23:2	and Akkad (and) provided for them pastures and watering places.^a In abundance and plenty I shepherded them. I settled them in peaceful abodes. (38-49) At that time, I, Hammu-rapi, mighty king, favorite of the great gods, by the mighty strength which the god Marduk gave to me, raised high a tall fortress with great (heaps of) earth, whose tops were like a mountain. I built (it) at the intake of the Hammu-rapi-nuhush-nishi canal. (50-57) I named that fortress Dur-Sin-muballit-abim-walidiia ("Fort Sin-muballit, father who engendered me"). (Thus) I made the name of Sinmuballit, the father who engendered me, preeminent (throughout) the (four) quarters.
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REFERENCES

Sollberger and Kupper 1971:216-217; Kärki 1983:13-15; Frayne 1990:340-342.

HAMMU-RAPI (2.107C)

A copper figurine in the Louvre bears a Sumerian dedicatory inscription to the god Mardu/Amurru for the life of Hammu-rapi.

As noted (see COS 2.102D above), this figurine likely came from the hoard unearthed in illicit excavations in the area of the Amurru temple in Larsa.

(1-2) For the god Mardu/Amurru, his god, (3-5) for the life of Hammu-rapi, king of Babylon, (6-11) Lu-Nanna [...], son of Sin-le²i, fashioned for		him, for his life, a suppliant statue of copper, [its] face [plated] with gold. (12-13) He dedicated it to him as his servant.
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REFERENCES

Sollberger and Kupper 1971:219; Frayne 1990:360.

HAMMU-RAPI (2.107D)

A limestone slab from Sippar was dedicated in Sumerian to the goddess Ashratum, wife of the god Mardu/Amurru, for the life of Hammu-rapi.

Ashratum's name is cognate with Ugaritic ²Aṭirat. Ashratum's epithet "daughter-in-law of An" follows from the fact that her husband Amurru was conceived by the ancient Mesopotamians to be the offspring of the sky-god An. Similarly her connection with the mountain echoes Amurru's epithet "lord of the mountain" (*bēl šadī*).

(1-10) For [the goddess Ash]ratum, daughter-in-law of the god An, the one suitable for ladyship, lady of voluptuousness and joy, tenderly cared for in the mountain, lady with patient mercy, who prays reverently for her spouse, his lady,		(11-13) for the li[fe] of Hammu-r[api], king of the Amo[rites], (14-20) Itur-ashd[um], chief of the [Si]lakku canal (district), son of Shuba-il[an], the servant who re[verences] her, set up] as a wonder a protective
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genius befitting her d[ivi]nity, [in her] beloved | residence.

REFERENCES

Sollberger and Kupper 1971:219; Frayne 1990:359-360.

SAMSU-ILUNA (2.108)

Douglas Frayne

A royal inscription of Hammu-rapi's son Samsu-iluna (the seventh king of the Babylon I dynasty who reigned ca. 1749-1712 BCE) known in both Sumerian and Akkadian versions on clay cylinders excavated at Tutub (modern Hafaji) records the construction of "Fort Samsu-iluna" on the banks of the Turul (Diyala) river. The deed was also commemorated in the name of year 24 of Samsu-iluna.

(1-6) Samsu-iluna, mighty king, king of Babylon, king of Kish, king who makes the four quarters be at peace, (7-19) king who at the order of the gods An and Enlil slew all those who engaged in hostility against him, shepherd to whom the goddess Inanna gave her favorable omen and help, who bound the hands of all those who were disloyal, who made all evil ones disappear in the land, (20-24) who caused bright daylight to come forth for the numerous people, foremost first-born son of Hammu-rapi, the lord who extended the land, (25-41) king who subjugated the land of Idamaraz from the border of Gutium to the border of Elam with his mighty weapon, who conquered the numerous people of the land of Idamaraz, who demolished all the various fortresses of the land of Warum who had resisted him, who achieved his victory and made his strength apparent. (42-49) After two months had passed, having set free and given life to the people of the land of Idamaraz whom he had taken captive, (and) the troops of Eshnunna, as many prisoners as he had	taken, (50-56) he (re)built the various fortresses of the land of Warum which he had destroyed (and) regathered and resettled its scattered people. (57-65) At that time, Samsu-iluna, mighty man, in order that the people who dwelled along the banks of the Turul and Taban rivers might reside in peaceful abodes, that they might have no one who terrified them, (and) in order that all the land might sing the praise of his mighty valor, (66-76) in the course of two months, on the bank of the Turul river, he built Fort Samsu-iluna. He dug its (surrounding) moat, piled up its earth there, formed its bricks, (and) built its wall. He raised its head like a mountain. (77-89) On account of this the gods An, Enlil, Marduk, Enki, and goddess Inanna determined as his destiny (and) gave to him a mighty weapon that has no rival, (and) a life that like (that of) the gods Nanna and Utu is eternal. (90-94) The name of that wall is "The god Enlil has made the land of those who had become hostile to him bow down to Samsu-iluna."
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REFERENCES

Sollberger and Kupper 1971:226-227; Kärki 1983:39-43; Frayne 1990:388-391.

AMMI-DITANA (2.109)

Douglas Frayne

Ammi-ditana, Hammu-rapi's grandson and ninth king of the Babylon I dynasty, reigned ca. 1683-1647 BCE. A Sumerian inscription known from an original cone fragment and a much later Neo-Babylonian tablet copy commemorates his construction of the wall of Babylon.

(i.1-12) I, Ammi-di[an]a, mighty king, king of Babylon, king of Kish, king of the land of Sumer and Ak[kad], king of all the Amorite land, I, descendant of Sumu-la-Il, [s]on of the great champion Abi-eshuh, favor[ite] of the god Enlil, belo[v- ed of the goddess ...]	Lacuna (ii.1-4) In Babylon, the city of my kingship, he proc[laime]d his lofty decree [in] heaven and earth. (ii.5-10) At that time, by the wisdom that the god En[ki verily granted] to me,
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Lacuna

(ii.1'-3') I made (Babylon) dwell in an abode of joy.
 (ii.4'-8') The name of that wall is "May Asarluhi
 turn into clay in the underworld the one who makes

a breach in the clay (of the wall)."

(Colophon): (Property) of Bel-ushallim, son of D[fa-
 bi]bi, the exorcist.

REFERENCES

Kärki 1983:45; Frayne 1990:411-412.

EKALLATUM — SHAMSHI-ADDU (2.110)

Douglas Frayne

Arguably the most energetic rulers of Old Babylonian times was the king Shamshi-Addu. The origins of this remarkable figure are obscure; while we know the name of his father (Ila-kabkabu) and his brother (Aminum), the original seat of his dynasty is still uncertain (it may have been ancient Ekallatum, probably modern Tell Haikal 17 km north of Aššur). Because of the campaigns directed by king Naram-Sin of Eshnunna against Ekallatum and Aššur eighteen years after Shamshi-Addu's accession to the throne, Shamshi-Addu fled southwards, finding refuge in Babylon. Shortly after the death of Naram-Sin of Eshnunna he returned to Ekallatum and three years later conquered Aššur. The king continued his conquests, founding a new capital city at Shubat-Enlil (modern Tell Leilan) in the Upper Habur region. His campaigns in the west culminated with the taking of the city of Mari and the installation of his son Iasmah-Addu as city ruler there.

In a long inscription found on stone foundation tablets from Aššur Shamshi-Addu records the construction of the Aššur temple equating it with the temple of the god Enlil.

(1-17) Shamshi-Addu king of the universe, builder of the temple of the god Aššur, pacifier of the land between the Tigris and Euphrates, by the command of the god Aššur who loves him, whom Anu and Enlil called by name for greatness among the kings who went before:

(18-58) The temple of the god Enlil which Erishum (I), the son of Ilu-shumma, had built and which had become dilapidated, and I abandoned it. I constructed the temple of the god Enlil, my lord, the fearful dais, the large chapel, the seat of the god Enlil, my lord, which were methodically made by the skilled work of the building trade within my city Aššur. I roofed the temple with cedar (beams). I erected in the rooms cedar doors with silver and gold stars. (Under) the walls of the temple (I placed) silver, gold, lapis lazuli, (and) carnelian; cedar resin, best oil, honey, and ghee I mixed in the mortar. I methodically made the temple of the god Enlil, my lord, and called it Eamkurkurra, "The Temple — Wild Bull of the Lands," the temple of the god Enlil, my lord, within my city, Aššur.

(59-72) When I built the temple of the god Enlil, my lord, the prices in my city Aššur, (were): two kor of barley could be purchased for one shekel of silver; fifteen minas of wool for one shekel of

a Jos 9:1

silver; and two seahs of oil for one shekel of silver, according to the prices of my city Aššur.

(73-87) At that time I received the tribute of the kings of Tukrish and of the king of the Upper Land, within my city, Aššur. I set up my great name and my monumental inscription in the land of Lebanon of the shore of the Great Sea."

(88-98) When the temple becomes dilapidated: may whoever among the kings, my sons, renovates the temple anoint my clay inscriptions with oil, make a sacrifice, and return them to their places.

(99-135) Who(ever) does not anoint my clay inscriptions and my monumental inscriptions with oil, does not make a sacrifice, does not return them to their places, (but) instead alters my monumental inscriptions, removes my name and writes his (own) name (or) buries (the monumental inscriptions) in the earth (or) throws (them) into the water: may the gods Shamash, Enlil, Adad and Sharru-matim pluck the offspring of that king; may he and his army not prevail in the face of a king who opposes him; may the god Nergal take away by force his treasure and the treasure of his land; may the goddess Eshtar, mistress of battle, break his weapon, and the weapons of his army; may the god Sin, "god of my head," be an evil demon to him forever.

REFERENCES

Meissner 1926:12-27; Grayson 1972:19-21; Grayson 1987:47-51.

MARI

The ancient city of Mari (modern Tell Hariri) was a major player on the Mesopotamian stage from Early Dynastic to Old Babylonian times. The site has been excavated by a long series of French expeditions led by A. Parrot (1933-38, 1951-74) and J.-Cl. Margueron (since 1979).

After a long period of rule by "viceroys" (*šakkanakāi*) in the Sargonic, Ur III and early Old Babylonian periods, the Amorite leader Iahdun-Lim was installed as "king" (LUGAL) in Mari. In a lengthy inscription found on foundation tablets from the Shamash temple in Mari he records his defeat of a coalition of Amorite tribes on the Upper Euphrates and his trip to the Mediterranean Sea.

IAHDUN-LIM (2.111)

Douglas Frayne

(1-16) To the god Shamash, king of heaven and earth, judge of gods and mankind, whose concern is justice, to whom truth has been given as a gift, shepherd of the black-headed (people), resplendent god, judge of those endowed with life, who is favorably inclined to supplications, who heeds prayers, who accepts entreaties, who gives a long-lasting life of joy to him who reveres him, who is the lord of Mari:

(17-27) Iahdun-Lim, son of Iaggid-Lim, king of Mari and the land of Hana, opener of canals, builder of walls, erector of steles proclaiming (his) name, provider of abundance and plenty for his people, who makes whatever (is needed) appear in his land, mighty king, magnificent youth,

(28-33) when the god Shamash agreed to his supplications and listened to his words, the god Shamash quickly came and went at the side of Iahdun-Lim.

(34-40) From distant days when the god El built Mari, no king resident in Mari reached the sea, reached the mountains of cedar and boxwood, the great mountains, and cut down their trees,

(41-50) But Iahdun-Lim, son of Iaggid-Lim, powerful king, wild bull of kings, by means of his strength and overpowering might went to the shore of the sea, and made a great offering (befitting) his kingship to the Sea. His troops bathed themselves in the Sea.

(51-66) (Next) he entered into the cedar and boxwood mountains, the great mountains, and cut down these trees — box, cedar, cypress, and *elammakum*. He made a commemorative monument, established his fame, and proclaimed his might. He made that land on the shore of the Sea submit, made it subject to his decree, and made it follow him. Having imposed a permanent tribute on them, they now bring their tribute to him.

(67-91) In that same year, — La²um, king of Samanum and the land of the Ubrabium, Bahlukullim, king of Tuttul and the land of the Amnanum, Aialum king of Abattum and the land of the Rabbum — these kings rebelled against him. The troops of Sumu-Epuh of the land of Iamhad came as auxiliary troops (to rescue him) and in the city of Samanum the tribes gathered together against

him, but by means of (his) mighty weapon he defeated these three kings of ... He vanquished their troops and their auxiliaries and inflicted a defeat on them. He heaped up their dead bodies. He tore down their walls and made them into mounds of rubble.

(92-98) The city of Haman, of the tribe of Haneans, which all the leaders of Hana had built, he destroyed and made into mounds of rubble. Now, he defeated their king, Kasuri-Hafa. Having taken away their population he controlled the banks of the Euphrates.

(99-107) For his own life he built the temple of the god Shamash, his lord, a temple whose construction was perfect with finished workmanship, befitting his divinity. He installed him in his majestic dwelling. He named that temple Egirzal-anki ("House—rejoicing of heaven and earth").

(108-117) May the god Shamash, who lives in that temple, grant to Iahdun-Lim, the builder of his temple, the king beloved of his heart, a mighty weapon which overwhelms the enemies (and) a long reign of happiness and years of joyous abundance, forever.

(118-131) (As for) the one who destroys that temple, who ... it to evil and no good, who does not strengthen its foundation, does not set up what has fallen down, and cuts its regular offerings off from it, who effaces my name or has it effaced and writes his own name previously not there, or has it written there, or because of (these) curses incites another to do so,

(132-136) that man, whether he be king, viceroy, mayor, or common man,

(137-157) may the god Enlil, judge of the gods make his kingship smaller than that of any other king. May the god Sin, the elder brother among the gods, his brothers, inflict on him a great curse. May the god Nergal, the lord of the weapon, smash his weapon in order that he not confront warriors. May the god Ea, king of destiny, assign him an evil destiny (and) may the goddess bride Aia, the great lady, put in a bad word about him before the god Shamash forever. May the god Bunene, the great vizier of the god Shamash, cut his throat;

may he take away his progeny and may his offspring and descendants not walk before the god	Shamash.
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REFERENCES

Text: Dossin 1955:1-28; Sollberger and Kupper 1971:245-249; Frayne 1990:604-608. Studies: Malamat 1989:41-43, 107-121.

ZIMRI-LIM (2.112)

Douglas Frayne

After a period of rule over Mari by Shamshi-Addu of Ekallatum and his son Iasmah-Addu, Zimri-Lim, son of Iahdun-Lim, was able to reassert control of the "Lim" dynasty over Mari. He reigned in Mari for a period of about 15 years until his defeat at the hands of Hammurabi of Babylon.

An inscription known from four clay tablet copies records Zimri-Lim's building of an ice-house for the god Dagan in Terqa.

(1-4) Zimri-Lim, son of Iahdun-Lim, king of Mari, [Tuttul], and the land [of Hana], (5-8) builder of an ice-house, (something) which formerly n[o] k[ing] had built on the bank of the Euphrat[es],	(9) had ice of ... brought over and (11-14) [had] an ice-house [built] on the bank of the Euphrat[es], in Terq[a, the city] beloved of the god [Dagan].
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REFERENCES

Sollberger and Kupper 1971:249; Frayne 1990:625.

4. NEO-ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTIONS

SHALMANESER III (2.113)

KURKH MONOLITH (2.113A)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Inscribed on a large stone stela discovered at Kurkh, this version of the annals of Shalmaneser III is identified by Schramm as Recension A (EAK 2:70-72, 87-90). Since the text ends abruptly with the last narrated event being the battle of Qarqar (853 BCE), the inscription seems to date from 853-852 BCE. The monument was apparently carved in great haste resulting in numerous scribal errors (Tadmor 1961a:143-144). This is quite unfortunate since the stela contains the most detailed extant account of the battle of Qarqar in which Ahab, king of Israel, participated in an alliance with other kings of the west in opposition to Shalmaneser III.

(i.29b-36a)

In the month of Iyyar, the thirteenth day, I departed from Nineveh. I crossed the Tigris River (and) I traversed Mount Hasamu and Mount Dihnu. I approached the city of La²la²tu, which belonged to Ahuni,¹ (the man) of Bit-Adini.² * The fear of the splendor of Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed them. In order to save their lives they went up(stream). I razed, destroyed and burned the city.

* Amos 1:5

I departed from the city of La²la²tu. I approached the city of Til-Barsip,³ the fortified city of Ahuni, (the man) of Bit-Adini. Ahuni, (the man) of Bit-Adini trusted in the massed might of his troops, and he became hostile against me in order to make war and battle. With the support of Aššur and the great gods, my lords, I fought with him. I decisively defeated him. I confined him to his city.

¹ While Ahuni paid tribute and gave up hostages to Aššurnasirpal II, he rebelled against Assyrian rule under Shalmaneser III. See PNA 1:84-85.

² For Bit Adini, see Dion 1997:86-96; Millard 1993; Sader 1987:47-98. For Shalmaneser's campaign against Bit Adini, see Ikeda 1999:271-273. For the equation with Bet-Eden (Amos 1:5), see Hallo 1960:38f.

³ For Til Barsip (Tell Ahmar), see Dornemann 1997b; Bunnens 1995. The hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions indicate that the Luwian name of the city was Masuwari (see Hawkins 1996-97:110-111).

I departed from the city of Tīl-Barsip.⁴ I approached the city of Burmar²ina, which belonged to Aḥuni, (the man) of Bīt-A[dini]. Besieging the city, I captured it. I felled with the sword 300 of their fighting men. I made a pile of heads in front of his city. In the course of my advance, I received the tribute of Ḥapini, the Tīl-Abnīan, Ga²uni, the Sarugaeon,⁵ Gīri-Adad, the Immerinaean: silver, gold, oxen, sheep, (and) wine.

(i.36b-39)

I departed from the city of Burmar²ina. I crossed the Euphrates in rafts (made of inflated) goatskins.⁶ I received the tribute of Qatazilu, the Kummūhite:⁷ silver, gold, oxen, sheep, (and) wine. I approached the city of Paqaruḥbuni,⁸ one of the cities belonging to Aḥuni, (the man) of Bīt-Adini, which is on the opposite bank of the Euphrates. I decisively defeated his land. I laid waste his cities. I filled the wide plain with the corpses (lit. "defeat") of his warriors. I felled with the sword 1,300 of their battle troops.

(i.40-41a)

I departed from the city of Paqaruḥbuni. I approached the cities of Mutalli, the Gurgumite.⁹ I received the tribute of Mutalli, the Gurgumite: silver, gold, oxen, sheep, wine, (and) his daughter with her rich dowry.

(i.41b-51a)

I departed from the city of Gurgum. I approached the city of Lutibu, the fortified city of Ḥayāni,¹⁰ the Sam²alite. Ḥayāni, the Sam²alite, Sapalulme, the Patinaean,¹¹ Aḥuni, (the man) of Bīt-Adini, (and) Sangara, the Carchemishite, put their trust in each other. They prepared for war. They marched against me to do battle. With the exalted power of the divine standard which goes before me (and) with the fierce weapons which Aššur, my lord, gave, I fought with them. I decisively defeated them. I felled with the sword their fighting men. Like Adad, I rained down upon them a devastating flood. I piled them in ditches (and) filled the extensive plain with the corpses of their warriors. Like wool, I dyed the mountain with their blood. I took away from them (lit. "him," i.e. Ḥayāni) numerous chariots (and) teams of horses. I made a pile of heads in front of his city. I razed, destroyed (and) burned his cities.

At that time, I praised the majesty of the great gods; I proclaimed the valor of Aššur and Šamaš. I made a large royal statue of myself (and) I wrote on it my heroic deeds (and) my victorious achievements. I erected (it) before the source of the Saluara River, at the foot of Mt. Amanus.

(i.51b-ii.10a)

I departed from Mt. Amanus. I crossed the Orontes River. I approached the city of Ališir (or Alimuš), the fortified city of Sapalulme, the Patinaean. Sapalulme, the Patinaean — in order to save his life — received into his military forces Aḥuni, (the man) of Bīt-Adini, Sangara, the Carchemishite, Ḥayāni, the Sam²alite, Katē, the Qucan, Piḥirim, the Ḥilukaean,¹² Bur-Anate, the Yasbuqaeon, Adānu, the Yaḥanaean. By the command of Aššur, my lord, I scattered their combined forces. Besieging the city, I captured it. I carried off valuable booty — numerous chariots (and) teams of horses. I felled with the sword 700 of their fighting men. In the midst of the battle, I captured Bur-Anate, the Iasbuqaeon. I ca[ptured] the great cities of the Patinaean. I overwhe[elmed] like ruin mounds of the flood [the cities on the shore of the] upper [sea] of the land Amurru, also called the western sea. I received the tribute of the kings on the seashore. I marched justly (and) victoriously throughout the extensive region of the seashore. I made a statue of my lordship, establishing my reputation (lit. "name") for eternity. I erected (it) by the sea. I climbed Mt. Amanus (and) cut down beams of cedar (and) juniper. I marched to Mt. Atalur,¹³ where the image of Anum-ḥirbe stands. (And) I erected my image with his image.

(ii.30b-35a)

In the eponymy of Aššur-bēlū-ka²²in,¹⁴ in the month of Iyyar, the thirteenth day, I departed from Nineveh. I crossed the Tigris (and) I traversed Mounts Hasamu and Diḥnunu. I <approached> the city of Tīl-Barsip, the fortified city of Aḥuni, (the man) of Bīt-Adini. I captured (it). Aḥuni, (the man) of Bīt-Adini, in the face of the splendor of my fierce weapons and my ferocious battle array, crossed the Euphrates, which was [in flood], in order to save his life. He crossed over to strange lands. By the command of Aššur, the great lord, my <lord>, I seized the cities of Tīl-Barsip,

⁴ For the reading of Tīl-Barsip in this line (i.33), see Yamada 1995 and Grayson *RIMA* 3:15 (note i.33).

⁵ See Dion 1997:46, n. 106.

⁶ See *CAD* D 202, s.v. *dušā*.

⁷ The name Kummūh was applied to both the land and its capital city, which should be identified with the enormous site, *hōyūk* and lower town, of Samsat (Hawkins 1995b:92-93).

⁸ Paqaruḥbuni (Paqaruḥbuni in Aššur Clay Tablet, *RIMA* 3:38, iii.17) was located in the modern province of Gaziantep (Hawkins 1995b:94).

⁹ The land of Gurgum was located in the Maraš plain (Hawkins 1995b:93-94).

¹⁰ Hayya of the Kulamuwa Inscription. See *COS* 2.30, n. 2. Sam²al, also known as Bīt-Gabbari, is modern Zinjirli.

¹¹ Patina is equated with Umq/Unqi, the modern Amuq, the plain of Antioch (Hawkins 1995b:94-95).

¹² The land of Ḥilakku was Plain and Rough Cilicia.

¹³ Or Mt. Lallar. For a discussion of the mountain's name, see Grayson, *RIMA* 3:17, n. ii.10.

¹⁴ I.e., 856 BCE. See Millard 1994:27. For this individual, see *PNA* 1:172.

Alligu, [Nappigu], (and) Rugulitu as my royal cities. I settled Assyrians in their midst. I founded inside palaces as my royal residences. I renamed Til-Barsip as Kār-Shalmaneser, Nappigu as Lita-Aššur, Alligu as Ašbat-lā-kunu, (and) Rugulitu as Qibīt-[Aššur].

(ii.35b-40a)¹⁵

At that time, the city of (Ana)-Aššur-utēr-ašbat, which the people of the land of Ḫatti call Pitru¹⁶ (and) which is on the River Sagur[ra by the opposite bank] of the Euphrates, and the city of Mutkīnu, which is on the bank of the Euphrates, which Tiglath-pileser (I), my ancestor, a prince who preceded me, had established — at the time of Aššur-rabi (II), king of Assyria, the king of Aram¹⁶ had taken (these two cities) away by force — I restored these cities. I settled Assyrians in their midst. While I was residing in the city of Kār-Shalmaneser, I received the tribute of the kings of the seashore and kings on the banks of the Euphrates: silver, gold, tin, bronze, bronze (and) iron vessels, oxen, sheep, garments with multi-colored trim, and linen garments.

(ii.78b-81a)

In the eponymy of Dayān-Aššur,¹⁷ in the month of Iyyar, the fourteenth day, I departed from Nineveh. I crossed the Tigris. I approached the cities of Giammu on the River Balīḫ. They were afraid of my lordly fearfulness (and) the splendor of my fierce weapons; and with their own weapons they killed Giammu, their master. I entered the cities of Saḫlala and Til-ša-turaḫi. I took my gods into his palaces; (and) celebrated the *tašlitu*-festival in his palaces. I opened his treasury (and) saw his stored-away wealth. I carried off his possessions (and) property. I brought (them) to my city, Aššur.

(ii.81b-86a)

I departed from the city of Saḫlala. I approached

b Num 22:5;
Deut 23:5

c 2 Sam 8:9;
10; 2 Kgs
14:28; 1 Chr
18:9-10

d 1 Kgs 17,
etc.

e Gen 10:18;
Ezek 27:8,
11; 1 Chr
1:16

the city of Kār-Shalmaneser. I crossed the Euphrates in its flood, for a second time^{17a} in rafts (made of inflated) goatskins. In the city of Ana-Aššur-utēr-ašbat, which is by the opposite bank of the Euphrates on the River Sagura (and) which the people of the land of Ḫatti call the city of Pitru, in (this city) I received the tribute of the kings on the opposite bank of the Euphrates — Sangara, the Carchemishite, Kundašpu, the Kummuhite, Arame, (the man) of Bīt-Agūsi, Lalla, the Melidite, Ḫayāni, (the man) of Bīt-Gabbari, Qalparuda, the Patinacian, (and) Qalparuda, the Gurgumite: silver, gold, tin, bronze, (and) bronze bowls.

(ii.86b-102)

I departed from the Euphrates. I approached the city of Aleppo (Ḫalman). They were afraid to fight. They seized my feet. I received their tribute of silver (and) gold. I made sacrifices before Hadad¹⁸ of Aleppo (Ḫalman).

I departed from the city of Aleppo (Ḫalman). I approached the cities of Irḫulēni,¹⁹ the Hamathite.²⁰ I captured Adennu, Pargā, (and) Arganā, his royal cities.²¹ I carried off captives, his valuables, (and) his palace possessions. I set fire to his palaces.

I departed from the city of Arganā. I approached the city of Qarqar.²² I razed, destroyed and burned the city of Qarqar, his royal city. 1,200 chariots, 1,200 cavalry, (and) 20,000 troops of Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri)²³ of Damascus;²⁴ 700 chariots, 700 cavalry, (and) 10,000 troops of Irḫulēni, the Hamathite; 2,000 chariots,²⁵ (and) 10,000 troops of Ahab,²⁶ the Israelite (*Sir²alāia*); 500 troops of Byblos;²⁶ 1,000 troops of Egypt;²⁷ 10 chariots (and) 10,000 troops of the land of Irqanatu (Irqata);²⁸ 200 troops of Matinu-ba'al of the city of Arvad;²⁹ 200 troops of the land of Usanatu (Usnu);³⁰ 30 chariots (and) [],000 troops of Adon-ba'al of the land of

¹⁵ Cf. Aššur-dan II (*RIMA* 2:133-135; lines 23-32, 60-67); and Adad-nirari II (*RIMA* 2:150-151, 49b-60). Also possibly the Assyrian Chronicle, Fragment 4 (Grayson *ABC* 189); but see Pitard 1996:299.

¹⁶ MAN KUR *a-ru-mu*. The king's identity is enigmatic. Malamat (1973:142) suggests Hadad-ezer (2 Sam 8:3; 10:16). But see Ikeda 1999:275.

¹⁷ 853 BCE. See Millard 1994:27, 93. For the individual, see PNA 1:368.

^{17a} Yamada (1998:92-94) argues that the phrase *ša kanālešu* means "another time, again," not "for a second time."

¹⁸ Adad the stormgod, the city god of Aleppo. Cf. also the Sefire Inscription A (line 10), *COS* 2.82.

¹⁹ For Irḫulēni, see Hawkins 1976-80a:162.

²⁰ For Hamath, see Hawkins 1972-75a:67-70; Dion 1997:137-170.

²¹ These Hamathite campaigns with the captures of the cities Pargā, Adā (= Adennu), Qarqar, and Aštamaku (captured in the 848 campaign) are represented in the reliefs of Shalmaneser's bronze gates. See the discussion of Marcus 1987.

²² See Domeneq 1997a.

²³ There is disagreement whether Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri) should be equated with the Ben-Hadad (II) of 1 Kgs 20-22. Favoring this identification, see Hallo 1960:39-40; Wiseman 1972-75. Against this identification, see Pitard 1987:114-125; 1992a; and Kuan 1995:36-38; PNA 1:46.

²⁴ For the name KUR ANŠE-ŠU (*Imērišu* / *Ša-Imērišu*), see Pitard 1987:14-17.

²⁵ There is debate over the accuracy of the numbers in this passage and especially the number of chariots attributed to Ahab. Some scholars argue that this is an accurate number (e.g. Elat 1975:29; Briquel-Chatonnet 1992:80-81; Kuan 1995:34-36). Others argue that this is a scribal error (e.g. Na'aman 1976:97-102; Mitchell *CAH*³ 3/1:479). De Odorico (1995:103-107) discusses the problem and concludes that the scribe decided on what had to be the approximate size of the Syro-Palestinian army ($\approx 70,000$) and renfolded some numbers until he got this value.

²⁶ Tadmor argues for the emendation: *Gu-<ba>-a-a* "Byblos" (1961:144-145).

²⁷ *Mu-us-ra-a-a* = "Egyptian." See Tadmor 1961:144-145; Borger *TUAT* 1/4:361, n. 92a; and Redford 1992:339. However, Lemaire (1993:152) and Dion (1997:164-165) read *Šumur*.

²⁸ Tell 'Arqā northeast of Tripoli, Lebanon (Borger *TUAT* 1:361, n. 92b). See also Thalmann 1991. Cf. Gen 10:17.

²⁹ See Badre 1997; Bonatz 1993; Dion 1997:113-136.

³⁰ See Dion 1997:185, n. 66.

Šianu (Siyannu);³¹ 1,000 camels of Gindibu³² of Arabia;³² [] hundred troops of Ba³asa, (the man) of Bīt-Ruḥubi, the Ammonite³³ — these 12 kings³⁴ he took as his allies.

They marched against me [to do] war and battle. With the supreme forces which Aššur, my lord, had given me (and) with the mighty weapons which the divine standard, which goes before me, had granted me, I fought with them. I decisively defeated³⁵ them from the city of Qarqar to the city of Gil-zau.³⁶ I felled with the sword 14,000 troops,³⁷ their

fighting men. Like Adad, I rained down upon them a devastating flood. I spread out their corpses (and) I filled the plain. <I felled> with the sword their extensive troops. I made their blood flow in the wadis(?)³⁸ [39]. The field was too small for laying flat their bodies (lit. "their lives"); the broad countryside had been consumed in burying them. I blocked the Orontes River with their corpses as with a causeway.⁴⁰ In the midst of this battle I took away from them chariots, cavalry, (and) teams of horses.

³¹ See Bounni and al-Maqdissi 1992.

³² Eph^al 1982:75-76.

³³ The debate concerning the last allied participant has centered primarily on the word KUR *A-ma-na-a-a*. Commonly scholars (Luckenbill *ARAB* 1:§611; Oppenheim *ANET* 279; Na³aman 1976:98, n. 20; Millard 1992:35) have understood this to refer to Ammon, the small Transjordanian state (Gen 19:38, etc.). Some scholars (Cogan 1984:255-259; Dion 1997:176, 186; *PNA* 1:275) have understood the word to refer to Amanah, the Anti-Lebanon mountain range (cf. 2 Kgs 5:12Q, Song 4:8). Moreover, beside the similarity of place name, Forrer (1928:134, 328) equated the patronym with Rehob, father of Hadad-ezer of Sobah, named in 2 Sam 8:3, suggesting Rehob was the dynastic name of the kings of Sobah. For a fuller discussion, see Rendsburg 1991.

³⁴ Possibly an erroneous addition since only eleven kings are listed (see Grayson *RIMA* 3:23, note ii.90-95); or possibly the twelfth king was erroneously omitted (Tadmor 1961:144-145); or as Reinhold suggests "das angegriffene Karkar" was the twelfth state (1989:125); or "Ba³asa, (the man) of Bīt-Ruḥubi, the Ammonite" is really a reference to two entities: Beth-Rehob and Ammon (Kuan 1995:32-34; Ikeda 1999:278); or possibly a rounding of the number to an even dozen, a conventional number with symbolic significance (De Odorico 1995:133-136). The last option seems preferable. Interestingly, one text of Shalmaneser III, carved along with a second inscription into a rock face at the Tigris' source, gives the number of the allied enemies as "15 cities of the seashore" (*RIMA* 3:94-95, line 21).

³⁵ While Shalmaneser may have captured the city of Qarqar, most scholars believe that his claim to victory over the coalition in the ensuing battle was in reality an Assyrian defeat, since he returned in 849 (his 10th year), 848 (his 11th year) and 845 (his 14th year) to fight against this same coalition with little greater success (see Hawkins 1972-75a:67). The two rock face inscriptions at the source of the Tigris refer to the "4th time" in which Shalmaneser faced this coalition (see *RIMA* 3:94-95, 95-96). There may have been some limited successes in these campaigns. E.g., in 848 he was apparently able to capture Aššammaku (see below *COS* 2.113B, ii.68-iii.15). For the resistance to Shalmaneser, see Dion 1995c.

³⁶ URU *gīl-za-ū*. However, Fort Shalmaneser Stone Throne Base (*RIMA* 3:107 line 32) and Fort Shalmaneser Door Sill (*RIMA* 3:107 line 27) read: URU *di-il-zi-a-ū*.

³⁷ In later versions of the annals, the number of enemies killed is 20,500, 25,000 and 29,000. See the discussions of De Odorico (1995:107) and Mayer (1995:46-47).

³⁸ Grayson *RIMA* 3:24.

³⁹ "The end of the line is incomprehensible" (Grayson *RIMA* 3:24, n. ii.99).

⁴⁰ Grayson (*RIMA* 3:24) and Borger (*TUAT* 1:362) translate *tiṭurri* "bridge." See also *AHW* 1363 s.v. *tiṭurum*, *tiṭurru* "bridge." However, in this context with this verb (*kesēru* "to dam, stop up, clog, etc.") *CAD*'s "causeway" seems better. See *CAD* K 313.

REFERENCES

Text: 3 R pla. 7-8; *RIMA* 3:11-24; Brinkman 1978. Translations and studies: *DOTT* 47-49; *ARAB* 1:§§594-611; *ANET* 277-278; *TUAT* 1:360-362; Tadmor 1961a; Schramm *EAK* 2:70-72, 87-90; Kuan 1995:27-47; Dion 1997:184-190.

ANNALS: AŠŠUR CLAY TABLETS (2.113B)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Written on clay tablets from Aššur dating to 842 BCE, this edition of the annals is identified as Recension C.¹ It narrates the military campaigns of Shalmaneser III in chronological order from the accession year to the sixteenth year by using regnal year formula: "in my Xth regnal year (*palū*).² It includes narration of Shalmaneser's campaigns against the coalition of kings that fought him in years 853, 849, 848 and 845 BCE. The text concludes with a summary of Shalmaneser's mighty achievements: a geographically arranged résumé of his conquests, a description of the appointment of governors, the increase of agricultural production, and the growth of the Assyrian army.²

(ii.19b-33)

In my sixth regnal year, I departed from Nineveh. I approached the cities on the banks of the Balih

(Palih) River. They became afraid in the face of my mighty weapons (and) they killed Giammu, their city ruler. I entered the city of Tīl-turahi. I

¹ Schramm *EAK* 2:73-75. A unique feature of this text is the use of dividing lines on the tablet to separate the regnal years.

² Many of these are motifs first encountered in the annals of Tiglath-pileser I (see Grayson *RIMA* 2:7-8).

claimed the city as my own.

I departed from the Balih (Palih) River. I crossed the Euphrates in its flood. I received the tribute of the kings of the land of Ḫatti.

I departed from the land of Ḫatti. I approached the city of Aleppo (Ḫalman). I made sacrifices before Hadad of Aleppo (Ḫalman).

I departed from Aleppo (Ḫalman). I approached the city of Qarqar. Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) Irḫulēni, the Hamathite, together with twelve kings of the shore of the sea, trusted in their combined forces; (and) they marched against me to do war and battle. I fought with them. I felled with the sword 25,000 troops,³ their fighting men. I took away from them their chariots, their cavalry (and) their military equipment. In order to save their lives they ran away. I boarded ships (and) I went out upon the sea.

(ii.55-67)

In my tenth regnal year, I crossed the Euphrates for the eighth time. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned the cities of Sangara, the Carchemishite.

I departed from the cities of the Carchemishite. I approached the cities of Arame. I captured the city Arnē, his royal city. I razed, destroyed (and) burned (it) together with 100 cities in its environs. I slaughtered their people. I plundered them.

At that time, Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) Irḫulēni, the Hamathite, together with twelve kings on the shore of the sea, trusted in their combined forces; and they marched against me to do war and battle. I fought with them. I decisively defeated them. I took away from them (their) chariots, their cavalry, (and) their military equipment. In order to save their lives they ran away.

(ii.68-iii.15)

In my eleventh regnal year, I departed from Nineveh. I crossed the Euphrates in its flood for the ninth time. I captured 97 cities of Sangara. I captured, razed, destroyed (and) burned 100 cities of Arame. I took to the slopes of Mt. Amanus.

I crossed Mt. Yaraqū (and) I descended to the cities of the people of Hamath. I captured the city of Aštammaku⁴ together with 89 cities. I slaughtered their people. I plundered them.

At that time, Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Dama-

scene, (and) Irḫulēni, the Hamathite, together with twelve kings on the shore of the sea, trusted in their combined forces; and they marched against me to do war and battle. I fought with them. I decisively defeated them. I felled with the sword 10,000 troops, their fighting men. I took away from them (their) chariots, their cavalry, (and) their military equipment. On my return, I captured Aparāzu, the fortified city of Arame.

At that time, I received the tribute of Qalparunda: silver, gold, tin, horses, donkeys, oxen, sheep, blue-dyed wool, (and) linen garments. I climbed Mt. Amanus; (and) I cut beams of cedar.

(iii.24-33)

In my fourteenth regnal year, I mustered (the troops of my) extensive land in countless numbers. With 120,000 troops⁵ I crossed the Euphrates in its flood.

At that time, Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) Irḫulēni, the Hamathite, together with twelve kings on the shore of the sea, above and below, mustered their troops in countless numbers. They marched against me. I fought with them. I decisively defeated them. I destroyed their chariots (and) their cavalry. I took away their military equipment. In order to save their lives they ran away.

(iv.26-36)

Conqueror from the upper and lower seas of the land of Nairi and the great sea of the west as far as Amanus mountain range, I ruled over the land of Hatti in its entirety. I (lit. "he") conquered from the source of the Tigris to the source of the Euphrates. I devastated like a flood from the land of Enzi to the land of Suḫni (Su²unu), from the land of Suḫni to the land of Melid, from the land of Melid to the land of Daiēnu, from the land of Daiēnu to the city of Aršaškun, from the city of Aršaškun to the land of Gilzānu,⁶ (and) from the land of Gilzānu to the city of Ḫubuškia.⁷

(iv.37-39)

In the lands and mountains over which I ruled, I appointed governors everywhere and imposed upon them tax, tribute, (and) corvée.⁸

(iv.40-44)

The gods Ninurta and Nergal, who love my priesthood, gave to me the wild beasts and commanded me to hunt. I killed from my ... chariot 373 wild bulls (and) 399 lions with my valorous assault. I

³ See COS 2.113A note 37.

⁴ For the identification of Aštammaku with Sūma between Idlib and Rīḥa, see Sader 1987:225.

⁵ For a discussion of the size of the Assyrian army (120,000), see De Odorico 1995:107-112.

⁶ Gilzānu may have been located on the western shores of Lake Urmia (Liverani 1992a:23); and/or perhaps on the plain of Ushnu (Ushnaviyeh) and Solduz with its most important center at Hasanlu (Reade 1979:175; 1995:35-36). Until the end of the 9th century, Gilzānu furnished the Assyrians with their best horses.

⁷ For Ḫubuškia, see Lanfranchi 1995 and Medvedskaya 1995.

⁸ Lit. "basket carriers."

drove 29 elephants into ambush. (iv.45-48) I hitched up plows in the districts of my land. I piled up more grain and straw than ever before. I hitched up teams of horses to 2,002 chariots (and	equipped) 5,542 cavalry for the horses of my land. (iv. 49-51) The month of Tashrit, the twenty-second day, eponymy of Taklāk-ana-šarri, governor of the city of Nēmed-Ištar. ⁹
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⁹ 842 BCE. See Millard 1994:28, 56.

REFERENCES

Text: *RIMA* 3:32-41; Michel 1947-52:7-20, 63-71, 454-475, pls. 1-3, 5-6, 22-24; Cameron 1950. Translations and studies: *ARAB* 1:§§627-639; *ANET* 278-279; Schramm *EAK* 2:73-75, 87-90.

ANNALS: CALAḤ BULLS (2.113C)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This is a reconstructed recension (Recension D according to Schramm *EAK* 2:76-77) based on inscriptions on two monumental bulls found at Calah and supplemented by two small fragments of inscribed stones. The edition apparently dates to 841 BCE¹ and is the first edition of Shalmaneser's annals that documents Shalmaneser's campaign in his eighteenth regnal year against Hazael of Damascus, and which also mentions the tribute paid to Shalmaneser by Jehu of Israel.

(12'6-19')
In my sixth regnal year, I departed from Nineveh. I approached the cities on the banks of the Baliḥ (Paliḥ) River. They became afraid in the face of my mighty weapons (and) they killed Giammu, their city ruler. I entered the city of Til-turaḥi. I claimed the city as my own.
I departed from the Baliḥ (Paliḥ) River. I crossed the Euphrates in its flood. I received the tribute of the kings of the land of Ḫatti.
I departed from the land of Ḫatti. I approached the city of Aleppo (Ḫalman). I made sacrifices before Hadad of Aleppo (Ḫalman).
I departed from Aleppo (Ḫalman). I approached the city of Qarqar. Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) Irḫulēni, the Hamathite, together with twelve kings of the shore of the sea, trusted in their combined forces; and they marched against me to do war and battle. I fought with them. I felled with the sword 25,000 troops, their fighting men. I took away from them their chariots, their cavalry (and) their military equipment. In order to save their lives they ran away. I boarded ships (and) I went out upon the sea.
(29'-34')
In my tenth regnal year, I crossed the Euphrates for the eighth time. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned the cities of Sangara, the Carchemishite.
I departed from the cities of the Carchemishite. I approached the cities of Arame. I captured the city Arnē, his royal city. I razed, destroyed (and) burn-

ed (it) together with 100 cities in its environs. I slaughtered their people. I plundered them.
At that time, Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) Irḫulēni, the Hamathite, together with twelve kings on the shore of the sea, trusted in their combined forces; and they marched against me to do war and battle. I fought with them. I decisively defeated them. I took away from them their chariots, their cavalry, (and) their military equipment. In order to save their lives they ran away.
(35'-41')
In my eleventh regnal year, I departed from Nineveh. I crossed the Euphrates in its flood for the ninth time. I captured 97 cities of Sangara. I captured, razed, destroyed (and) burned 100 cities of Arame. I took to the slopes of Mt. Amanus.
I crossed Mt. Yaraqū (and) I went down to the cities of the Hamathites. I captured the city of Aštammaku together with 99 cities. I slaughtered their people. I plundered them. At that time, Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) Irḫulēni, the Hamathite, together with twelve kings on the shore of the sea, trusted in their combined forces; and they marched against me to do war and battle. I fought with them. I decisively defeated them. I felled with the sword 10,000 troops, their fighting men. I took away from them their chariots, their cavalry, (and) their military equipment. On my return, I captured Aparāzu, the fortified city of Arame.

¹ The date depends somewhat on whether one understands there to be a lacuna at the end of the text or not (see Grayson *RIMA* 3:42).

At that time, I received the tribute of Qalparunda, the Patinaean: silver, gold, tin, horses, oxen, sheep, (and) linen garments. I climbed Mt. Amanus; (and) I cut beams of cedar.

(44'b-47'a)

In my fourteenth regnal year, I mustered (the troops of my) extensive land in countless numbers. With 120,000 of my troops² I crossed the Euphrates in its flood.

At that time, Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) Irhulēni, the Hamathite, together with twelve kings on the shore of the sea, above and below, mustered their troops in countless numbers. They marched against me. I fought with them. I decisively defeated them. I destroyed their chariots (and) their cavalry. I took away their military equipment. In order to save their lives they ran away.

(1'-27'')

In my eighteenth regnal year, I crossed the Euphra-

a 2 Kgs 8:7-15; 10:32-34

b Deut 3:9

c Deut 20:19

d 2 Kgs 9:1-10:36

tes for the sixteenth time. Hazael^a of Damascus trusted in the massed might of his troops; and he mustered his troops in great numbers. He made Mt. Saniru/Senir,^b a mountain peak, which (lies) opposite Mount Lebanon, his fortress. I fought with him. I decisively defeated him. I felled with the sword 16,000 of his troops, his fighting men. I took away from him 1,121 of his chariots, 470 of his cavalry, together with his camp. In order to save his life he ran away. I pursued after him. I confined him in Damascus, his royal city. I cut down his orchards.^c I marched to the mountains of Haurāni. I razed, destroyed and burned cities without number. I carried away their booty without number. I marched to the mountains of Ba³li-rasi^d at the side of the sea. I erected a statue of my royalty there.

At that time, I received the tribute of the Tyrians and the Sidonians, and of Jehu (*Ja-ū-a*),^d (man of) Bīt-Humrī (Omri).⁵ (lacuna?)

² See COS 2.113B, note 5.

³ For the destruction of orchards, see Cole 1995. For a similar context, see Tiglath-pileser III, COS 2.117A, note 32, and COS 2.2A, note 61.

⁴ The identification of Ba³li-rasi is debated. Three locations have been proposed: (1) in the neighborhood of Tyre (Borger *TUAT* 1:366, n. 21a); (2) in the vicinity of the Nahr el-Kelb (Wiseman *DOTT* 49; Honigsmann *RLA* 1:395); and (3) Mt. Carmel (Astour 1971:384-385; Green 1979:36). See the discussion in Dion 1997:196-197. "The ravaging of Beth-arbel by Shalman on the day of battle" (Hos 10:14) is understood by some scholars as a reference to an attack on the Israelite town by an Assyrian king, perhaps Shalmaneser III in connection with this campaign in 841 BCE (Astour 1971; Timm 1989:319-320).

⁵ Clearly a reference to Jehu (Ungnad 1906; Halpern 1987:81-85). Na³aman (1997a:19-20) argues that the transcription should be *Ja-ū-a mār Ḥumrī* (see also Zadok 1997:20). Schneider (1995; 1996) has suggested that the phrase *mār "ḥu-um-ri-i* means "son (descendent) of Omri" and that Jehu was a descendent of the Omride dynasty, perhaps by a different branch than the ruling descendants of Ahab. But see the criticisms of Na³aman (1998a:236-238) and Dion (1997:231, n. 36). The Assyrians often denoted countries by the name of the founder of the ruling dynasty at the time of their first acquaintance with it (e.g. "Bīt Baḥlani, Bīt Agusi, Bīt Ḥumrī"), regardless of which dynasty was currently in power.

REFERENCES

Text: *RIMA* 3:42-48; Michel 1947-52:265-268. Translations and studies: *ARAB* 1:§§640-663, 671-672; *ANET* 279-280; *TUAT* 1:363-366; *EAK* 2:76-77, 87-88.

ANNALS: MARBLE SLAB (2.113D)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Engraved on a large marble tablet (80 x 60 cm) found in the wall of the city of Aššur, this version of the annals can be identified as Recension E (Schramm *EAK* 2:77-78). The narration covers through Shalmaneser's twentieth year and therefore dates to 839 BCE.

(ii.13-25)

In my sixth regnal year, I approached the cities on the banks of the Baliḥ River. They killed Giammu, their city ruler. I entered the city of Tīl-turaḥi.

I crossed the Euphrates in its flood. I received the tribute of the kings of the land of Ḥatti.

Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) Irhulēni, the Hamathite, together with twelve kings of the shore of the sea, trusted in their combined forces; and they marched against me to do war and battle. I fought with them. I decisively defeated

them. I took away from them their chariots, their cavalry (and) their military equipment. I felled with the sword 25,000 troops, their fighting men.

(ii.51-iii.5)

In my eleventh regnal year, I crossed the Euphrates for the ninth time. I conquered 97 cities of Sangara. I took (the way) along the slopes of Mt. Amanus. I crossed Mt. Yaraq. I went down to the cities of the Hamathites. I captured the city of Abšimaku (Aštammaku?) together with 89 cities.

At that time, Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) Irhulēni, the Hamathite, together with twelve kings on the shore of the sea, trusted in their combined forces; and I fought with them. I decisively defeated them. I felled with the sword 10,000 troops, their fighting men.

(iii.14-25)

In my fourteenth regnal year, I mustered (the troops of my) extensive land in countless numbers. With 120,000 of my troops I crossed the Euphrates in its flood.

At that time, Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) Irhulēni, the Hamathite, together with twelve kings on the shore of the sea, above and below, mustered their troops in countless numbers. They marched against me. I fought with them. I decisively defeated them. I took away their chariots, their cavalry (and) their military equipment. In order to save their lives they ran away.

(iii.45b-iv.15a)

In my eighteenth regnal year, I crossed the Euphra-

a 2 Kgs 8:7-15; 10:32-34

b Deut 3:9

c 2 Kgs 9:1-10:36

tes for the sixteenth time. Hazael ^a of Damascus trusted in the massed might of his troops; and he mustered his army in great number. He made Mt. Saniru/Senir ^b a mountain peak, which (lies) opposite Mount Lebanon, his fortress. I felled with the sword 16,020 troops, his fighting men. I took away from him 1,121 of his chariots, 470 of his cavalry, together with his camp. In order to save his life he ran away. I pursued after him. I confined him in Damascus, his royal city. I cut down his orchards. I burned his shocks. I marched to the mountains of Haurānu. I razed, destroyed and burned cities without number. I carried away their booty. I marched to the mountains of Ba³li-ra³si at the side of the sea and opposite Tyre. I erected a statue of my royalty there. I received the tribute of Ba³almanzēr, ¹ the Tyrian, and of Jehu (*Ja-a-ū*), ² ^c (the man) of Bīt-Humri (Omri).

On my return, I went up on Mt. Lebanon. I set up a stela of my royalty with the stela of Tiglath-pileser (I), the great king who went before me.

¹ See PNA 1:242; Lipiński 1970 (note Josephus, *Against Apion* i.124).

² See COS 2.113C, note 5.

REFERENCES

Text: RIMA 3:50-56; Michel 1954-59:27-45; Safar 1951. Translations and studies: Schramm EAK 2:77-78; TUAT 1:366-367; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:334.

KURBA³IL STATUE (2.113E)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Engraved on a statue of Shalmaneser (measuring 103 cm in height), the text belongs to Recension E of his annals. Since the last regnal year narrated is the twentieth, the statue must date to 839-838 BCE. While it belongs to the same recension as the Marble Slab (COS 2.113D), the narrative concerning Shalmaneser's eighteenth year campaign against Hazael more closely follows that of the Calah Bulls (COS 2:113C). The statue was dedicated to the god Adad of Kurba³il, but was discovered in excavations of Calah. While it may have been brought to Calah for repair (Oates 1962:16), it seems more likely that there was a shrine to Adad of Kurba³il at Calah since this deity was an important god in the Neo-Assyrian period.¹ Here only the eighteenth regnal year (841 BCE) is translated.²

(lines 21-30a)

In my eighteenth regnal year, I crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth time. Hazael ^a of Damascus trusted in the massed might of his troops; and he mustered his army in great numbers. He made Mount Saniru/Senir, ^b a mountain peak, which (lies) opposite Mount Lebanon, his fortress. I fought with him. I decisively defeated him. I felled with the sword 16,000 of his men-of-arms. I took away from him 1,121 of his chariots, 470 of his cavalry, together with his camp. In order to save his life he

a 2 Kgs 8:7-15; 10:32-34

b Deut 3:9

c 2 Kgs 9:1-10:36

ran away. I pursued after him. I confined him in Damascus, his royal city. I cut down his orchards. I marched to the mountains of Haurāni. I razed, destroyed and burned cities without number. I carried away their booty without number. I marched to the mountains of Ba³li-ra³si at the side of the sea. I erected a statue of my royalty there.

At that time, I received the tribute of the Tyrians, the Sidonians, and Jehu ^c (*Ja-a-ū*), (the man) of Bīt-Humri (Omri).

¹ Besides in the city of Kurba³il, the deity, Adad of Kurba³il, also had a major shrine in Assur. See Postgate 1983:367-368.

² Grayson notes: "The whole narrative begins with a broad geographical sweep of Shalmaneser's conquests, except for Babylonia, ending with a more explicit narrative of recent campaigns to the west and concluding with the first invasion of Que. This initial campaign against Que was apparently a great success (see CAH 3/1 p. 263) and it is not surprising that a statue would have been sculpted to commemorate it" (RIMA 3:59).

REFERENCES

Text: *RIMA* 3:58-61; Kinnier Wilson 1962:90-115. Translations and Studies: Schramm *EAK* 2:78-79; Oates 1962:16-17.

BLACK OBELISK (2.113F)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Sculpted from black alabaster, the famous "Black Obelisk," is 2.02 meters in height and contains the longest account of Shalmaneser's reign, stretching down to the king's thirty-first regnal year.¹ It was discovered by Layard at Calah in 1846. The text is identified as Recension F and dates to 828-827 BCE. The Obelisk is formed in the shape of a ziggurat, having four sides with five panels on each side containing reliefs of the tribute being brought to the king (*ANEP* 120-121). This form may reflect the special appeal which these temple towers appear to have had for the Assyrians (Porada 1983:16).² While each panel has an epigraph, the main text is found above and below the five panels on all four sides.

On the front side, the second panel or register contains the famous relief of Jehu of Israel (or his envoy) paying his tribute to Shalmaneser (see epigraph 2 below). The first or top register holds a scene of the ruler of Gilzānu, a land near Lake Urmia, paying his tribute (see epigraph 1 below). By juxtaposing the portrayals of the tribute from these two countries — the first being in the easternmost area of the empire and the second being in the southwesternmost area — the obelisk creates a pictorial merism stressing the gigantic extent of Shalmaneser's Assyrian empire (Green 1979; Porada 1983; Lieberman 1985).

(54b-66)³

In my sixth regnal year, I approached the cities on the banks of the Balih River. They killed Giammu, their city ruler. I entered the city of Til-turahi. I crossed the Euphrates in its flood. I received the tribute of [all] the kings of the land of Hatti. At that time, Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) Irhulēni, the Hamathite, together with the kings of the land of Hatti and on the shore of the sea, trusted in their combined forces; and they marched against me to do war and battle. By the command of Aššur, the great lord, my lord, I fought with them. I decisively defeated them. I took away from them their chariots, their cavalry (and) their military equipment. I felled with the sword 20,500 troops, their fighting men.

(87-89a)

In my eleventh regnal year, I crossed the Euphrates for the ninth time. I captured cities without number. I went down to the cities of the Hamathites. I captured 89 cities. Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) twelve kings of the land of Hatti stood together with their combined forces. I decisively defeated them.

a 2 Kgs 8:7-15; 10:32-34

(91b-92a)

In my fourteenth regnal year, I mustered (my) land. I crossed the Euphrates. Twelve kings marched against me. I fought <with them.> I decisively defeated them.

(97b-99a)⁴

In my eighteenth regnal year, I crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth time. Hazael⁵ of Damascus attacked to do battle. I took away from him 1,121 of his chariots, 470 of his cavalry together with his camp.

(102b-104a)

In my twenty-first regnal year, I crossed the Euphrates for the twenty-first time. I marched to the cities of Hazael of Damascus. I captured 4 of his fortified settlements. I received the tribute of the Tyrians, the Sidonians, and the Byblians.

Epigraph 1 (RIMA #87)

I received the tribute of Sūa,⁶ the Gilzānean:⁶ silver, gold, tin, bronze vessels, the staffs of the king's hand, horses, (and) two-humped camels.

¹ Since the Black Obelisk relates that the aged Shalmaneser dispatched Dayan-Aššur for the military expedition against the lands of Mušāšir and Gilzānu in 828 BCE (while he himself stayed in Calah), the obelisk, in a way, is effectively a memorial to Dayan-Aššur as well as to Shalmaneser III. See Reade 1981:159.

² The Assyrians may have thought that inherent in the shape of the ziggurat was the protective function of the deity of the ziggurat. Thus this protective function of the deity may explain the use of the miniature ziggurats at the tops of the obelisks on which were portrayed the king's important actions in the Middle Assyrian examples and the tribute of subjected peoples in the extant Neo-Assyrian obelisks (Porada 1983:17). See also Reade 1980:20-21.

³ Cf. with the Kurkh Monolith's description of this campaign above (*COS* 2.113A, ii.86b-102).

⁴ Cf. with the Calah Bulls above (*COS* 2.113C, 1"-27").

⁵ "Šu-ā-a. In the Kurkh Monolith, this name is also spelled "a-su-ū (*RIMA* 3:15, i.28) and "a-sa-a-ū (*RIMA* 3:21, ii.61).

⁶ For the location of Gilzānu, see *COS* 2.113B, note 6.

Epigraph 2 (RIMA #88)

I received the tribute of Jehu (*Ia-ú-a*) (the man) of Bīt-Ḫumri: silver, gold, a golden bowl, a golden goblet,⁷ golden cups, golden buckets, tin, a staff of the king's hand,⁸ (and) javelins(?).⁹

Epigraph 3 (RIMA #89)

I received the tribute of Egypt:¹⁰ two-humped camels, a water buffalo (lit. "river ox"), a *rhinoceros*, an antelope, female elephants, female monkeys, (and) apes.

⁷ See CAD Z 166 s.v. *zuqutu*; Landsberger and Gurney 1957:58:442.

⁸ Elat notes that another monarch, Šia, king of Gilzānu, is pictured on the Obelisk giving Shalmaneser *ḫuḏre* "staffs." He argues for a distinction between *ḫuḏru* and *ḫaḏu*. The latter he sees as a symbol of royal authority, i.e. a scepter. The former was a symbol of protection or ownership of property. Thus Jehu and Šia, in handing over the *ḫuḏru* to Shalmaneser III, "wished to symbolize that their kingdoms had been handed over to the protection of the king of Assyria" (1975:33-34). See CAD H 265 s.v. *ḫuḏru* A.

⁹ The transliteration and meaning is uncertain. Michel suggests that it is a kind of weapon, based on the reading *Giš bu-dū-ḫa-ti* (Michel 1954:59:141). Luckenbill translates "javelins" (ARAB 1:§590) (so also Cogan and Tadmor 1988:335). Oppenheim transliterates as *Giš pu-ru-ḫa-ti*, but does not translate (ANET, 281, n. 2). Wiseman translates "*puruhati*-fruits" (DOTT 48-49). Apparently following von Soden (AHw 844, s.v. *pašḫu* II). Grayson (RIMA 3:149) transliterates: *Giš pu-aš-ḫa-ti* and translates "spears."

¹⁰ The date of this tribute is uncertain. While Egypt participated in a minor way in the battle of Qarqar (853 BCE), it is doubtful that the tribute is connected to this conflict.

REFERENCES

Text: RIMA 3:62-71, 149-150; Michel 1954-59:137-157, 221-233. Translations and Studies: ARAB 1:§§553-593; DOTT 48-50; ANET 278-281; TUAT 1:362-363; ANEP² figs. 351-355; Schramm EAK 2:79-81, 87-90; Porada 1983; Lieberman 1985; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:335; Marcus 1987.

AŠŠUR BASALT STATUE (2.113G)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This is a Summary or Display inscription which is incised on the front, left hip and back of a broken basalt statue of Shalmaneser. It was discovered in the 1903 German excavations at the entrance to a Parthian building where it had been moved from its original location at the Tabira Gate. The statue had been broken into two large and many small pieces and the head was missing. The text appears to date to 833 BCE based on the its inscriptional content.

The two portions translated here narrate Shalmaneser's campaign against the western "12" king coalition in 853 BCE and his campaign against Hazael of Damascus in 841 BCE.

(i.14-24)¹

I decisively defeated Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene together with 12 kings, his allies. I laid low 29,000 of his men-of-arms like sheep. I threw the rest of their troops into the Orontes River. In order to save their lives, they ran away.

(i.25-ii.6)²

Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri) passed away. Hazael,³ son

a 2 Kgs 8:7-15; 10:32-34

of a nobody,³ took the throne. He mustered his numerous troops; (and) he moved against me to do war and battle. I fought with him. I decisively defeated him. I took away from him his walled camp. In order to save his life he ran away. I pursued (him) as far as Damascus, his royal city. I cut down his orchards.

(Remainder of column too fragmentary for translation)

¹ Cf. the account of this campaign in the Kurkh Monolith (COS 2.113A, ii.86b-102).

² Cf. the narration of this campaign with its counterparts translated above: COS 2.113C (1"-27"); 2.113D (iii.45b-iv.15a); and 2.113E (21-30a).

³ A clear declaration of Hazael's illegitimate regnal status. For discussion, see Pitard 1987:132-138. For the form of the name in the Šeh Ḥamad texts, see Fales 1993.

REFERENCES

Text: RIMA 3:117-119; Michel 1947-52:57-63; Messerschmidt 1911: no. 30. Translations and Studies: ARAB 1:§§679-683; ANET 280; Schramm EAK 2:82-83, 87-90; Pitard 1987:132-138; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:334.

BLACK STONE CYLINDER (2.113H)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This short inscription is engraved on a small, black and white marble cylinder (1.5 x 4.1 cm) discovered on the northeast side of the small ziqqurra in Aššur (i.e., the Anu-Adad temple). The cylinder was brought to Aššur by Shalmaneser as booty from Hazael of Damascus;¹ and was perhaps used as a foundation deposit for the city wall.

(lines 1-8)

Booty from the temple of the god Šēru² of the city of Malaḫa,³ a royal city of Hazael of Damascus, which Shalmaneser, son of Aššur-našir-pal, king of

α 2 Kgs 8:7-15; 10:32-34

Assyria, brought back inside the wall of the Inner city (Aššur).

¹ For a contrast, see Hazael's Booty Inscriptions (COS 2.40).

² The deity mentioned here cannot be identified with certainty.

³ The location of Malaḫa is uncertain.

REFERENCES

RIMA 3:151; Galter 1987:1, 13, 19; Michel 1947-52:269-270. Translations and Studies: ANET 281; Schramm EAK 2:92; TUAT 1:367.

THE DIE (PŪRU) OF YAḪALI (2.113I)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

In ancient Assyria, the system of dating was by eponym (see COS 1.136). Each year was named after the *ltmu*, "eponym," who was a high officer of state. Inscribed clay cubes were used as dice for casting lots to determine the eponyms. This die (27 x 27 x 28 mm) belonged to Yaḫali, an official of Shalmaneser III. He held the office of eponym twice during Shalmaneser's reign (833 and 824 BCE).

The use of lots for many legal and commercial purposes is well attested throughout ancient Mesopotamian history. Presumably the inscribed lots were thrown, either by their owners or by an impartial third party, and priority was established by the location in which they fell. In the case of Yaḫali, perhaps the lot which fell closest to the statues of the gods Aššur and Adad took first place. On the other hand, it is possible that the lots were placed in a container and whichever "fell" out first was the lot taken.¹

The term in this inscription translated "die" (i.e. *pūru*) provides the name for the festival of Purim in the book of Esther (cf. Esth 3:7) (Hallo 1983). Lots were used in a number of instances in the Hebrew Bible.²⁻⁴

(Panel i)

Aššur, the great lord! Adad, the great lord!
(This is) the die of Yaḫali, the Chief Steward
(*mašennu*)³

(Panel ii)

of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria; governor⁴ of the
city of Kibšuni, the land of Qumēni,

α Lev 16:7-10, 21-22;
Josh 7:14;
14:2; 18:6;
1 Sam 14:42;
1 Chr 6:39-50, 54-60;
Prov 16:33;
Neh 10:34;
Esth 3:7

(Panel iii)

the land of Meḫrāni, the land of Uqi, (and) the
land of Erimmi;⁵ chief of customs. In his eponymy
(assigned to him by) his die (*pūru*),

(Panel iv)

may the harvest of Assyria prosper and thrive.
Before Aššur (and) Adad, may he throw his die.⁶

¹ Hallo 1983:20. The typical verb used in all these contexts, in Sum. as well as in both dialects of Akk., is one of the many terms for "to fall" or "to throw."

² The Urim and Thummim may have also been a type of lot. See Exod 28:30; Deut 33:8; and Ezra 2:63.

³ See Parpola, 1995:379-401. See also CAD M 1:363-364 s.v. *mašennu*. Importantly, Whiting notes: "The reading ^(maš)*mašennu* for ^(lu)*IGL DUB* is preferred over ^(maš)*abaraku* for the Neo-Assyrian period. There is no doubt, both from syllabic writings and Aramaic correspondences, that *mašennu* was the correct reading in the seventh century. Since a syllabic writing of *mašennu* appears already in the Nuzi texts and, apart from literary sources, there are no syllabic writings of *abaraku* after the Old Babylonian period (see CAD s.v. *abaraku* and *mašennu*), it is extrapolated that *mašennu* was correct for the ninth and eighth centuries and probably for the Middle Assyrian period as well" (see Millard 1994:7, n. 14).

⁴ Postgate (1995a:6-7) discusses this governorate of the *mašennu*. He states: "There is clear evidence that this territory is in the mountains north and east of the Al-Kosh plain, in the region of Atrush."

⁵ Both Millard and Hallo translate: "the Cedar Mountain." But Grayson comments: "The reading proposed by some scholars for our passage of KUR (= *šadē*) *e-ri-ni*[m?]) is unlikely; 'cedar mountain' would hardly be the name of a province." See also Postgate 1995a:6.

⁶ Grayson reads: *li-ḫa* from *nadū* "to throw, cast." Millard reads: *li-ḫa* from *elū* "come up," and translates: "may his lot come up (or

fall out).¹ Hallo: "may his lot (*paṛu*) fall." Interestingly, the Black Obelisk reads: *ina 31 BALA.MEŠ-ia šá-nu-te-šú pu-ú-ru*^{1 078} *ina 101 aš-šur* ¹ŠKUR *ak-ru-ru* "In my thirty-first regnal year, I threw the die for a second time before Aššur and Adad" (*RIMA* 3:70, 174b-175a).

REFERENCES

RIMA 3:179; Hallo 1983; Millard 1994:8; Postgate 1995a:6-7.

ADAD-NIRARI III (2.114)

ANTAKYA STELA (2.114A)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This inscription is carefully incised on a stone stela which was discovered by a farmer digging a well near the Orontes river about 1.5 km outside the city of Antakya (undoubtedly in the ancient territory of Unqi, see Hawkins 1995b:96). While the stela is damaged on the left side, from top to bottom, and on the top and top right corner, it records clearly the establishment of a boundary between Zakkur of Hamath and Ataršumki of Arpad, in which there was a cession to Arpad, presumably at the expense of Hamath, of an unknown city Nahlasi and a stretch of the Orontes river.¹ Notably, it is the king Adad-nirari and his commander-in-chief (*turtānu*), Šamši-ilu, who are recorded as jointly² establishing the boundary. The historical background seems to fit with the events of 796 BCE, the year of Adad-nirari's final western campaign. For the possibility that he is alluded to as a "savior" of Israel in 2 Kgs 13:5, see Hallo 1960:42 and n. 44.

(lines 1-3)

Adad-nirari,³ great king, mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Šamši-Adad, mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Šalmaneser, king of the four quarters.

(lines 4-8a)

The boundary⁴ which Adad-nirari, king of Assyria, (and) Šamši-ilu, the commander-in-chief (*turtānu*), established between Zakkur,⁵ the Hamathite, [and] Ataršumki,⁶ son of Adrame: the city of Nahlasi together with all its fields, its orchards [and] its settlements is Ataršumki's property. They divided the Orontes River between them. *This is*⁷ the border.

(lines 8b-11a)

Adad-nirari, king of Assyria (and) Šamši-ilu, the commander-in-chief (*turtānu*), have released it

(from obligations) free and clear to Ataršumki, son of Adrame, to his sons, and his subsequent grandsons. He has established his city (and) its territories [...] to the border of his land.

(lines 11b-19)

By the name of Aššur, Adad and Ber, the Assyrian Enlil,⁸ the Assyrian [Ninlil],⁹ and the name Šin, who dwells in Harran, the great gods [of] Assyria: whoever afterwards speaks ill of the terms of this stela, and takes away by force this border from the possession of Ataršumki, his sons, or his grandsons, [and] destroys the written name (and) writes another name: may [Aššur], Adad, and Ber, Šin who dwells in Harran, the great gods of Assyria [whose] names are recorded [on] this stela, not listen to his prayers.

¹ It is very difficult to identify the scene of this action with the find-spot of the stela in the middle of Unqi (as does Weippert 1992:58-59). It is easier to suppose that the stela was somehow conveyed down the Orontes from an original emplacement in the neighborhood of Jisr eš Šagur, where the location of an Arpad-Hamath frontier seems much more probable (Hawkins 1995b:96).

² The stela has a broken relief at the top which portrays two figures (Adad-nirari and Šamši-ilu) with a perpendicular object standing between them.

³ For Adad-nirari III, see *PNA* 1:31-34.

⁴ The word *taḫḫumu* is used in these inscriptions with the meaning "border, territory" (*AHW* 1303) and with the meaning "boundary stone" (Donbaz 1990:5-7).

⁵ For Zakkur, see *COS* 2.35.

⁶ See Sefire treaty *COS* 2.82 (*KAI* 222 A lines 1.3, 14), and a seal (Bordreuil 1986) (Dion 1997:374). The name is spelled *ʿtrsmk* :: ʿAttarsumki(?) "(the deity) ʿAttar is my support" (Lipiński 1975:61-62; *PNA* 1:236).

⁷ *NAM A* is a problem. Grayson notes (following Donbaz): "One could read *NAM* as *ana* (an attested value of *NAM*), giving *ana-a* = *anā*. Or should one regard this as metathesis for *a-nam* = *anām*?" (*RIMA* 3:203, n. 8).

⁸ See Donbaz 1990:7.

⁹ The Assyrian name of Ninlil is Mullissu.

REFERENCES

Text: *RIMA* 3:203; Donbaz 1990. Translations and studies: Weippert 1992.

PAZARCIK / MARAŞ STELA (2.114B)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This stela was discovered during the construction of the Pazarcık dam in the village of Kızkapanlı near Maraş, Turkey. The inscription found on the obverse of the stela belongs to Adad-nirari III (on the reverse is an inscription of Shalmaneser IV, see below COS 2.116). The text records the establishment of the boundary (*taḫāmu*) between Kummuh and Gurgum by Adad-nirari III (and surprisingly, his mother Sammuramat, also called Semiramis, see COS 2.114H below). This followed a battle at the city of Paqirahubuna against an Arpad-led alliance of nine kings (including Arpad). This event may be dated to 805 BCE¹ and Kummuh clearly appears here as an Assyrian client. Since Pazarcık lies on the Maraş-Malatya road,² it appears that the stela was found more or less *in situ*.

Not only is the text unusual for the mention of Adad-nirari's mother Sammuramat (Semiramis), but also for the fact that she is said to have crossed the Euphrates with Adad-nirari to attack Ataršumki of Arpad and his allies.

(lines 1-7a)

Boundary stone of Adad-nirari, king of Assyria,
son of Šamši-Adad, king of Assyria,
(and) Sammuramat (Semiramis),
the palace-woman³ of Šamši-Adad, king of Assyria,
mother of Adad-nirari, mighty king, king of Assyria,
daughter-in-law of Shalmaneser, king of the four quarters.

(lines 7b-15a)

When Ušpilulume,⁴ king of the Kummuhites, caused Adad-nirari, king of Assyria, (and) Sammuramat (Semiramis),⁵ the palace woman, to cross the Euphrates, I fought a pitched battle with them — with

a 2 Kgs 18:34

Ataršumki,⁶ the son of Adrame, the Arpadite,⁷ together with eight kings who were with him at the city of Paqirahubuna.⁸ I took away from them their camp. In order to save their lives they ran away.

(lines 15b-18)

In this year, they erected this boundary stone between Ušpilulume, king of the Kummuhites, and Qalparuda, son of Palalam, the king of the Gurgumites.

(lines 19-23)

Whoever takes (it) away from the possession of Ušpilulume, his sons, (or) his grandsons, may Aššur, Marduk, Adad, Šin, and Šamaš not stand (with him) in his lawsuit. Interdict⁹ of Aššur, my god, (and) Šin,¹⁰ who dwells in Ḫarran.

¹ The Eponym Chronicle records a campaign against Arpad for this year. See Millard 1994:33, 57; and Weippert 1992:55-60.

² See Astour 1979:82.

³ See Parpola 1983:73-76.

⁴ Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from the region mention a king named Suppiluluma who is probably the same king as Ušpilulume in this inscription. See the discussion of Hawkins 1995b:93.

⁵ See Pettinato 1988; Weinfeld 1991. For other references see Hallo *Origins* 253-255.

⁶ See previous inscription (Antakya) COS 2.114A, note 6.

⁷ Arpad is modern Tell Rifāt, 30 km northwest of Aleppo. The capital of Bīt-Agusi only from the time of Adad-nirari III.

⁸ See COS 2.113A (Shalmaneser III), note 8.

⁹ See CAD I/J 57 s.v. *ikkibu*.

¹⁰ See Stol 1995:1480-1481; Green 1992.

REFERENCES

Text: RIMA 3:204-205; Timm 1993; Donbaz 1990.

ORTHOSTAT SLAB OF UNKNOWN PROVENANCE (2.114C)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This text is inscribed on a very fragmentary stone slab of unknown provenance. It seems to describe a western campaign of Adad-nirari III that may have included the defeat of Ataršumki of Arpad.

... [...]

They drew the yoke of [my lordship. The kings of the extensive land of Ḫatti] who, in the time of

Šamši-[Adad, my father, had become strong and caused] the lords of the river¹ Or[ontes?] / Eu[phrates? to rebel ...] he heard [of my approach]

¹ The reading [D.A. [...]] can be restored as either [D.A. [RAD]] "the Euphrates" or [D a-[ramtu]]. The text of the Antakya stela associates Ataršumki with the Orontes and may argue in favor of that restoration (see Grayson RIMA 3:206, n. 4'; Scheil 1917:159). However, Millard notes that the

and Atarš[umki ² ...] trusted [in his own strength, attacked to wage war and battle. I decisively defeated him. I took away his camp. [...] the treasure of [his pal]ace [I carried off.] [... Ataršum-	ki], the son of Aramê, ³ [...] I received without number [...] (lacuna)
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river is the Euphrates in the Tell Sheik Hammad stela (COS 2.114D) which rules out the Orontes (Millard and Tadmor 1973:61).

² The restoration is "quite conjectural, but seems to fit the traces" (Millard and Tadmor 1973:61).

³ The father of Ataršumki is Adrame in the Antakya Stela (COS 2.114A) and the Pazarcık Stela (COS 2.114B). Arame, (the man) of Bit-Agüsi, was a tributary to Shalmaneser III. See Kurkh Monolith (COS 2.113A, ii.83).

REFERENCES

Text: *RIMA* 3:205-206; Millard and Tadmor 1973:60-61; Scheil 1917. Studies: Schramm *EAK* 2:118.

TELL SHEIK HAMMAD STELA (2.114D)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This fragmentary text (81 x 48 cm) is inscribed on a broken black basalt stela found in 1879¹ at Tell Sheik Hammad (ancient Dūr-Katlimmu).² The fragment also preserves a partial relief of the king's portrait and divine symbols.

(lines 1-2) [Adad-nirari, the great king,] the mighty [king], king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Šamši-Adad, [king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of] Shalmaneser, king of the four quarters.	march] to the land of Ḫatti. I crossed the Euphrates in its flood. I descended [to the city of Paqarhu]-buna. ³ Ataršumki ⁴ [the Arphadite and the kings] of the land of Ḫatti who had rebelled and [trusted in their own strength,] the fearful splendor of Aššur, my lord, [overwhelmed them]. [...] [In a sin]gle year, I con[quered] the land of Ḫatti [in its entirety ...].
(lines 3-10) [At the command of Aššur], I mustered my [chariotry, troops] (and) camp. [I ordered (them) to	

¹ For a description of its discovery and description, see Millard and Tadmor 1973:57.

² See Kühne 1994; 1995:69-87, esp. 72. Assyrian attention to the steppe during the reign of Adad-nirari III is attested by inscriptions of this king from Tell Sheik Hammad / Dūr-Katlimmu, from Para (the western edge of the Sinjar), from Tell al Rimah (see COS 2.114F) and from Saba'a (COS 2.114E). See Weippert 1992:43.

³ See COS 2.113A (Shalmaneser III), note 8.

⁴ See the Antakya inscription, COS 2.114A, note 6.

REFERENCES

Text: BM 131124; *RIMA* 3:206-207; Millard and Tadmor 1973. Translations and Studies: Schramm *EAK* 2:118; Tadmor 1973:141; *TUAT* 1:369.

SABA'A STELA (2.114E)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This inscription is engraved on a badly worn stone stela from Saba'a, south of Jebel Sinjar. The stela is 192 cm in height and contains a relief of the king along with divine symbols on its top and text below. Interestingly, about two-thirds of the text (lines 1-22) are a royal dedicatory inscription; then Nergal-ēreš, a governor under Adad-nirari III, is introduced with his titles (lines 23-25). Finally, the last lines (26-33) are concluding curses given by Nergal-ēreš. The text dates to 797 BCE or perhaps later, since it was in that year that Ḫindānu was added to Nergal-ēreš's domain by royal decree.¹

(lines 1-5) [To] Adad, canal-inspector of heaven and earth, son of Anu, the perfectly splendid hero who is mighty in strength, foremost of the Igigi-gods, warrior of	the Anunnakki-gods, who is clothed with luminosity, who rides the great storms (and) is clothed with fierce splendor, who causes the evil one to fall, who carries the holy whip, who causes the light-
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¹ For this decree, see *RIMA* 3:213-216, obv. 4-5.

ning bolt, the great lord, his lord.

(lines 6-11a)

[Adad-nir]ārī, great king, mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, unrivalled king, wonderful shepherd, exalted vice-regent, who likes to pray (and) to offer sacrifices, whose shepherdship the great gods have made pleasing to the people of Assyria like a healing drug, and whose land (the gods) have widened;

son of Šamši-Adad, mighty king, [king of the universe], king of Assyria; son of Šalmaneser, commander of all rulers, scatterer of (the inhabitants of) enemy lands.

(lines 11b-20)

In the fifth year, <after> I had ascended nobly the royal throne, I mustered the land. I ordered the extensive troops of the land of Assyria to march to the land of Ḫatti. I crossed the Euphrates in its flood. The kings of the extensive [land of Ḫatti] who, in the time of Šamši-Adad, my father, had become strong and had withheld(?) their [tribute], by the command of Aššur, Marduk, Adad, Ištar, the gods who support me, (my) fearful splendor overwhelmed them and they submitted to me (lit. "they seized my feet"). Tribute (and) tax [...] they brought to Assyria (and) I received.

I ordered [my troops to march to the land of Damascus²]. I [confined] Mari³ in the city of Damascus. [He brought to me] 100 talents of gold

α2Kgs 13:24-25

Isaiah 6:5; 7:12; Joel 1:4

(and) 1,000 talents of silver as tribute. [...]

(lines 21-22a)

At that time, I made a stela of my lordship. I inscribed on it my heroic victories (and) achievements. I erected it in Zabanni.

(lines 22b-25)

[The inscribed stone(?) of Nergal-ēreš,⁴ governor of the cities of Nemed-Ištar, Apku, Mari, the lands of Rašappa,⁵ Qatru, the city of Dūr-katlimmu, Kār-Aššurnasirpal, Sirqu, the land of Laqê, the land of Ḫindānu, the city of Anat, the land of Suḫu (and) the city of (Ana)-Aššur-utēr-ašbat.

(lines 26-33)

A later prince who takes this stela from its place; whoever covers (it) with dirt or puts (it) in a Taboo House, or erases the name of the king, my lord, and my name, and writes his own name;

may Aššur, the father of the gods, curse him and destroy his seed (and) his name from the land.

May Marduk [...] overthrow his rule. May he give him up to be bound by the hands (and) over the eyes.

May Šamaš, judge of heaven and earth, cause there to be darkness in his land so that no one can see the other.

May Adad, canal-inspector of heaven (and) earth, tear out (his) name; (and) may he attack like an onslaught of locusts⁶ so that his land falls.

² Tadmor (1973:145) restores: ana KUR šā-ANŠE-šā DU.

³ While there have been different proposals for the identity of Mari² of Damascus, most scholars identify him with Ben-Hadad III, the son of Hazael, mentioned in the Zakkur inscription (see COS 2.35). For further discussion see Pitard 1987:166-167.

⁴ For Nergal-ēreš (803-775 BCE), see Galter 1990; Grayson 1993:27-28; Liverani 1992b:38-39; Fales 1992:106-107.

⁵ The geographic pattern is counter-clockwise (Liverani 1992b:38). Cf. the counter-clockwise border descriptions for Judah (Josh 15:1-12) and Benjamin (18:12-20). For the province of Rašappa, see Liverani 1992b and Fales 1992.

REFERENCES

Text: *RIMA* 3:207-209; Tadmor 1973:144-148; Unger 1916:8-12. Translations and studies: *ARAB* 1:§§734-737; *DOTT* 51-52; *ANET* 282; *TUAT* 1:369; Tadmor 1969; Schramm *EAK* 2:111-113.

TELL AL RIMAH STELA (2.114F)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

The stela was discovered at Tell al Rimah, near Jebel Sinjar, where it stood in "position inside the cella of a Late Assyrian shrine, set beside the podium, a placing that is unparalleled among the find spots of other royal stelae" (Page 1968:139). The monument is 130 cm in height and 69 cm in width. Like the Saba²a stela it has a relief of the king with divine symbols on the top and the text below. It also contains, like the Saba²a stela, an inscription of Adad-nirari III with a text of Nergal-ēreš, although this portion has been deliberately erased. It is uncertain when Nergal-ēreš fell from power and when the erasure would have taken place. Finally, like the Saba²a stela, it must date to 797 BCE or perhaps later, since it was in that year that Ḫindānu was added to Nergal-ēreš's domain by royal decree.¹

To Adad, the greatest lord, powerful noble of the gods, first-born son of Anu, unique, awesome,

lofty, the canal-inspector of heaven and earth, who rains abundance, who dwells in Zamaḫu, the great

¹ For this decree, see *RIMA* 3:213-216, obv. 4-5.

lord, his lord.

Adad-nirari, mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; son of Samši-Adad, the king of the universe, king of Assyria; son of Shalmaneser, the king of the four quarters.

I mustered (my) chariots, troops and camps; I ordered (them) to march to the land of Ḫatti. In a single year,² I subdued the entire lands of Amurru (and) Ḫatti. I imposed upon them tax and tribute forever.

I (text: "he") received 2,000 talents of silver, 1,000 talents of copper, 2,000 talents of iron, 3,000 linen garments with multi-colored trim — the tribute of Mari³ of the land of Damascus. I (text: "he") received the tribute of Joash (*ḫu²asu*)⁴ the Samarian, of the Tyrian (ruler), and of the Sidonian (ruler).

I marched to the great sea in the West. I erected a statue of my lordship in the city of Arvad which is in the midst of the sea. I climbed Mt. Lebanon; (and) I cut down timbers: 100 mature cedars, material needed for my palace and temples.

a2Kgs 13:24-25

I (text: "he") received tributes from all the kings of the land of Nairi.

b2Kgs 13:10-25

At that time, I ordered Nergal-ēreš, the governor of the lands of Rašappa, Laqē, Ḫindānu, the city of Anat, the land of Suḫu, and the city of (Ana)-Aššur-(uṭēr)-ašbat, my courtier: the city of Dūr-Ištar with its 12 villages, the city of Kār-Sîn with its 10 villages, the city of Dūr-katlimmu with its 33 villages, the city of Dūr-Aššur with its 20 villages, the city of Dūr-Nergal-ēreš with its 33 villages, the city of Dūr-Marduk with its 40 villages, the city of Kār-Adad-niriri with its 126 villages, in (the area of) Mt. Sangar, 28 villages in (the area of) Mt. Azalli?, the city of Dūr-Adad-niriri with its 15 villages in the land of Laqē, the city of Adad with its 14 villages in the land of Qatnu, — altogether 331 small towns, which Nergal-ēreš undertook to rebuild by the order of his lord.

Whoever shall blot out a single name from among these names, may the great gods fiercely destroy him.

² A literary convention in which several campaigns to Syria have been telescoped into one. See Younger 1990:122; Tadmor 1973:62, 143. Page 1968:141; 1969:483-484. For the campaigns, see Millard 1973; Weippert 1992.

³ See COS 2.114E, note 3.

⁴ *ḫu²-a-su* is to be identified with Joash. See Cogan and Tadmor 1988:147-152.

REFERENCES

Text: *RIMA* 3:209-212; Page 1968. Translations and Studies: Page 1969; Donner 1970; Millard 1973; Schramm *EAK* 2:113-115; Tadmor 1973; *TUAT* 1:368; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:335.

CALAH ORTHOSTAT SLAB (2.114G)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Discovered in 1854 at Calah, the text was inscribed on a broken stone slab which was left on the mound of Nimrud. It is known only through its publication based on the paper squeezes¹ made by Norris on the site. Only the latter half of the inscription is translated here.

(lines 11-14)

I subdued from the bank of the Euphrates, the land of Ḫatti, the land of Amurru in its entirety, the land of Tyre, the land of Sidon, the land of Israel (Ḫumri),² the land of Edom,³ the land of Philistia,⁴ as far as the great sea in the west. I imposed tax (and) tribute upon them.

(lines 15-21)

I marched to the land of Damascus. I confined

Mari⁵,⁶ the king of Damascus in the city of Damascus, his royal city. The fearful splendor of Aššur, my ("his") lord, overwhelmed him; and he submitted to me.⁶ He became my vassal. 2,300 talents of silver, 20 talents of gold, 3,000 talents of bronze, 5,000 talents of iron, linen garments with multi-colored trim, an ivory bed, a couch with inlaid ivory, his property (and) his possessions without number — I received inside his palace in Damascus, his royal city.

¹ These paper squeezes were subsequently destroyed. See Galter, Reade and Levine 1986:27.

² KUR *ḫu-un-ri-i*. Cf. the attribution of Joash's tribute in Tell al Rimah Stela (2.114F, note 4): Joash, the Samarian.

³ On Edom, see Millard 1992:35-39.

⁴ KUR *pa-la-as-ti*.

⁵ See COS 2.114E, note 3.

⁶ Lit. "he seized my feet."

(lines 22-24)

The kings of the land of Chaldea became my vassals. I imposed on them tax and tribute in perpetuity. At Babylon, Borsippa, (and) Cuthah

they delivered up the remnant offerings of the gods Bēl, Nabû, (and) Nergal. [I made] pure sacrifices. (Lacuna)

REFERENCES

Text: *RIMA* 3:212-213; Tadmor 1973:148-150. Translations and studies: *ARAB* 1:§§738-741; *DOTT* 51; *ANET* 281-282; Schramm *EAK* 2:115-116; Millard 1973; *TUAT* 1:367-368.

STELA OF SAMMURAMAT (SEMIRAMIS) (2.114H)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This engraved stela was discovered in the row of stelae unearthed by the German excavations in the southern part of the city wall built by Shalmaneser III at Aššur (Andrae 1913). Sammuramat (classical references know her as Semiramis) was the wife of Šamši-Adad V and mother of Adad-nirari III. It is a most unusual aspect of the reign of Adad-nirari that the queen mother attained such a high profile with her name appearing in royal inscriptions (see *COS* 2.114B above) and in her own inscribed stela translated here.

While Andrae theorized that the stelae formed a type of calendar for reckoning the years, it is more likely that the place was a depository for discarded monuments removed from the temple from time to time and placed respectfully in the position in which they were found. The stones would have stood in a shrine as substitutes for the persons named, possibly commemorating them after their lifetimes, as well as during them, as did stelae of similar shape in the west (Millard 1994:12).¹

(lines 1-7)

Stela of Sammuramat (Semiramis), the palace-woman² of Šamši-Adad, king of the universe, king

of Assyria, mother of Adad-nirari, king of the universe, king of Assyria, daughter-in-law of Shalmaneser, king of the four quarters.

¹ See further Miglus 1984 and Canby 1976. Canby suggests possible links with the biblical *maššēbôr*. Gen 28:18, 22; 31:13; 35:14; Exod 23:24; 34:13; Deut 7:5; 12:3; 1 Kgs 14:23; 2 Kgs 3:2; 10:27; 18:4; 23:14; Hos 3:4; 10:1; etc.

² See Parpola 1988.

REFERENCES

Text: *RIMA* 3:226; Andrae 1913: no. 5. Translations and studies: *ARAB* 1:§§730-731; Schramm *EAK* 2:111; Canby 1976; Miglus 1984; Weinfeld 1991; Millard 1994:11-12.

OFFICIALS' INSCRIPTIONS (2.115)

The recent discoveries of cuneiform tablets from the Middle Euphrates, combined with older known documents, have enabled a more comprehensive picture to emerge of the situation in the Assyrian state during the eighth century BCE. During this period, Assyrian influence had so declined that the cohesive political entity represented in the rulers Aššur-nasir-pal II and Shalmaneser III had become geographically fragmented with various districts being ruled by a select few powerful men who might or might not pay lip service to the Assyrian king. In fact, while most of these individuals were high officials or governors in the "Assyrian" kingdom, this is clearly just a sham, because they otherwise behave like independent rulers (in some cases even alluding to their roles as "kings").¹ Brinkman has designated this a "period of local autonomy" in Assyrian regions as well as in Babylonia.² (For Nergal-ēreš, see above, *COS* 2.114E).

¹ For more discussion, see Dion 1995a; 1995b; Grayson 1993; 1994; 1995.

² Brinkman 1968:218-219.

ŠAMŠI-ILU — STONE LIONS INSCRIPTION (2.115A)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This inscription was incised on two colossal, dark gray basalt lions that were discovered at Tell Ahmar (Til-Barsip/Kār Shalmaneser)¹ originally in 1908. A study of one of the lions in 1988 revealed that it was 258 cm in height; with a length of 250 cm; and a width of 120 cm (Roobaert 1990:127). While the text is in the form of a royal dedicatory inscription, its author is not an Assyrian monarch, as would be expected, but a commander-in-chief (the *turtānu*) named Šamši-ilu.² Thus it highlights his victorious campaign against the Urartian king Argištu (I) and erection of the two lions with their fierce names. There is no mention of the Assyrian king.

(lines 1-8a)

Aššur, great lord, king of the gods, [who] determines destinies;

Anu, mighty, foremost, progenitor of the great gods;

Enlil, father of the gods, lord of the lands, who makes kingship great;

Ea, the wise, king of the *apsū*, who grants wisdom;

Marduk, sage of the gods, lord of omens, commander of all;

Nabū, scribe of Esagil, possessor of the tablet of destinies³ of [the gods], who resolves conflicts;

Sin, luminary [of heaven and earth], lord of the lunar disk, who brightens the firmament;

Ištar, lady of wa[r and] battle, overturner of the fierce;

Gula, the great chief woman physician, wife of the hero of the gods, the son of mighty Enlil.

(lines 8b-11a)

[Šamši]-ilu, the commander-in-chief (*turtānu*),⁴ the great herald,⁴ [the administrator of] temples, chief of the extensive army, governor of the land of Ḫatti (and) of the land of the Guti, and all the land of Namri, conqueror of the mountains in the West, who lays waste [...], who overthrows the lands of Mušku and Urartu, who plunders its people, who devastates the lands of Utū, Rubū, Ḫatallu,⁵ (and) Labdudu, who brings about their annihilation.

(lines 11b-13a)

When (at that time) Argištu,⁶ the Urartian, the number of whose forces is massive like a heavy fog and who had not had relations with⁷ any previous

α2Kgs 18:17;
Isa 20:1

king, he (Argištu) rebelled and assembled the people together at the land of the Guti. He put his battle array in good order. All his troops marched toward the battleground in the mountains.

(lines 13b-18)

By the command of the father, Aššur, the great lord, and the lofty mother of Ešarra, foremost among the gods, the goddess Ninlil; Šamši-ilu, the commander-in-chief (*turtānu*), the great herald, [the administrator of] temples, chief of the extensive army, concentrated the soldiers within these mountains. With the loud noise of the drums⁸ (and) prepared weapons that dreadfully roar, he blew like the *imḫullu* wind.⁹ He had his high-mettled horses that were harnessed to his chariot fly against him (Argištu) like the *Anzu*-bird;¹⁰ and he decisively defeated him. He (Argištu) deserted; and his army (and) his assembly scattered. He was frightened by the battle. Like a thief I took (his) arrows away from him. I personally captured his camp, his royal treasure, (and) his [...].

(lines 19-24)

At that time, I erected two outstanding lions in the gate of the city of Kār-Shalmaneser, the city of my lordship, on the right and on the left; and I named them. The name of the first is: "The lion who [...], fierce *Amu*-demon, unrivalled attack, who overwhelms the insubmissive, who obtains what his heart desires." The name of the second, which stands before the gate, is: "Who goes through resistance, who levels the enemy country, who casts out evildoers, (and) who brings in good people."

¹ For Tell Ahmar, see Bunnens 1990; 1995. See COS 2.113A (Shalmaneser III), note 3.

² See Grayson 1993:27; 1994:74-80. Malamat (1953:25-26) argues that Šamši-ilu is referred to in Amos 1:5; Millard (1993:173*-177*) argues for a different understanding. For his golden cup inscription, see Fadlil 1990:482. For his votive inscription, see Reade 1987; Watanabe 1994:248.

³ For the "Tablet of Destinies," see Paul 1973.

⁴ For this office, see Sassmannshausen 1995.

⁵ KUR ḫa-ḫa(?)¹-lu. For the reading, see Grayson's remarks, RIMA 3:232, 11a. Liverani (1992b:37) reads this as a reference to the Ḫatallu tribe (or better, confederation of tribes). For the Ḫatallu, see COS 2.115B, note 7.

⁶ For Argištu I, see PNA 1:129-130. For Urartu, see Zimansky 1995.

⁷ Lit. "stretched out his hand to."

⁸ Following Grayson RIMA 3:3:233.

⁹ *imḫullu* wind refers to a specific type of destructive wind with supernatural qualities. See CAD I/J 116.

¹⁰ The *Anzu*-bird was a monstrous bird, subject of various mythological stories.

REFERENCES

Text: RIMA 3:231-233; Thureau-Dangin 1930:11-21. Studies: Schramm EAK 2:120-121; Kuan 1995:108-112; Grayson 1993.

NINURTA-KUDURRĪ-UŠUR — SUĦU ANNALS #2 (2.115B)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Discovered by Iraqi archaeologists in salvage work in the Ḥadītha Dam area, this four-column clay tablet was found at Sūr Jar^a and contains a lengthy account of Ninurta-kudurri-ušur. It was apparently composed in the seventh year of his "governorship" (see lines iv.38b'-40').¹ Written in the Babylonian dialect with both Assyrian and Aramaic influences, the text describes Ninurta-kudurri-ušur's mighty achievements, especially his defeat of the Ḥatallu tribal confederation headed by the wily leader Šama²gamni. It also records Ninurta-kudurri-ušur's victory over the city of Ra³il and the capture of a caravan from Temā and Šaba².

(lines i.1-7a)

I, Ninurta-kudurri-ušur, governor of the land of Suḫu and the land of Mari, son of Šamaš-rēša-ušur,² ditto³ (governor of the land of Suḫu and the land of Mari), son of Iqīša-Marduk, ditto (governor of the land of Suḫu and the land of Mari), descendant of Adad-nādin-zēri, ditto (governor of the land of Suḫu and the land of Mari), the one of everlasting seed, distant descendant of Tunamissah, son of Ḥammu-rāpi,⁴ king of Babylon: the chosen, upon whom Šamaš and Marduk, Adad and Apla-Adad⁵ joyfully (and) radiantly glanced with their powerful shining faces; to whom they gave complete power and kingship⁶ over the land of Suḫu; and for my allotted destiny they bestowed justice.

(lines i.7b-16a)

Barely three months had passed in the initial year of my governorship, when I sat on the throne of my father, when 2000 men of the Ḥatallu tribe⁷ — from the Sarugu (clan) to the Luḫūāya⁸ (clan) — with their archers and their military commanders⁹ gathered together; and they imparted a command to each other.¹⁰ Šama²gamni, the herald (*nāgiru*)¹¹ of the Sarugu, who is thoroughly confused by falsehood, was their chieftain. They came up for a raid against the land of Laqē. And while in the steppe they thought to themselves, thus: "the governor of

^a Job 2:11;
8:1; 18:1;
25:1; 42:9

^b Num 20:24

^c Deut 20:19;
20

Suḫu is hostile to us. How will we go past to make a raid on the land of Laqē?"

(lines i.16b-27a)

Šama²gamni, the herald (*nāgiru*) of the Sarugu and Iā²e, the son of Balammu,¹² ^b the Amatite,¹³ their military commanders, said the following to them:

"Among the governors of the land of Suḫu, his ancestors, none dared to go to war against 1,000 Arameans. Now he must go to war against 2000 Arameans! If he does attack us, we will go to war against him and gain possession of the land of Suḫu. But if he does not attack, we will bring down the booty; and (more) troops will join us; and we will go and attack the houses¹⁴ of the land of Suḫu; we will seize his cities of the steppe; and we will cut down their fruit trees."¹⁵ ^c

(lines i.27b-30a)

They trusted in their strength and they advanced against the land of Laqē. They seized 100 villages of the land of Laqē; they plundered booty without number; and they turned the land of Laqē into ruin mounds.

(lines i.30b-32)

Adad-da²²ānu, the governor of the land of Laqē, came to me with 4 chariots and 200 troops. He kissed the ground before me; and he entreated me

¹ While Ninurta-kudurri-ušur never specifically calls himself "king," he does state in this inscription that the gods Šamaš, Marduk, Adad and Apla-Adad gave him "kingship over the land of Suḫu" (see note 6 below).

² Concerning this individual, see Mayer-Opificius 1995.

³ The cuneiform repeating sign is used.

⁴ See COS 2.107A-D.

⁵ Apla-Adad (lit., "son of Adad") was a deity that was, in particular, worshipped in the Middle Euphrates region. The deity's name is known from personal names and from texts as well as on a cylinder seal discovered at Beer-Sheba (see COS 2.125A below). See Rainey 1973; Lipiński 1975. The strong link between Apla-Adad (Apladad) and the land of Suḫu may help the explication of the second friend of Job "Bildad the Shuhite" (Job 2:11; 8:1; 18:1; 25:1; 42:9). The name, Bildad, may be equated with the name, Apla-Adad (Apladad), and Shuhite may be equated with Suḫu. See Dion 1995a:72.

⁶ LUGAL-ū-tu šā KUR Su-ḫi. This is a clear claim of kingship by Ninurta-kudurri-ušur. Cf. Hadad-yith^ci, COS 2.34, note 5.

⁷ The Ḥatallu tribe was a confederation of tribes composed of those mentioned here (i.e., the Sarugu and the Luḫūāya) and the Amatu (i.17 below). The confederation's homeland was located northeast of Suḫu in the Wadi Tharthar area. See Liverani 1992b and COS 2.115A, n. 5.

⁸ lu-ḫu-ū-a-a: Frame RIMB 2:295.

⁹ LÚ SAG KALxBAD.MEŠ-šā-nu, "their head(s) of camps." See Dion 1995b:9 "heads of tents." Cf. the much later phrase *rwš hnhnyh* "the head of the camp" in DJD ii 42².

¹⁰ I.e., came to an agreement.

¹¹ For this title, see Sassmannshausen 1995; Parpola 1995.

¹² The name is spelled here: "Ba-la-am-mu" (i.17); in RIMB 2:301, it is spelled: "Ba-ii-am-mu" (i.8). Dion (1995a:68-69) connects the paternal name to the biblical form Balaam, and the Amatu with Hamath. Cf. also the Deir 'Alla Inscription (COS 2.27).

¹³ The Amatu clan.

¹⁴ The word "houses" (É.MEŠ) probably refers to households, families, clans, etc. rather than to physical structures.

¹⁵ For the cutting down of orchards, see Shalmaneser text COS 2.113C, note 3.

(for help). I accepted his entreaty.

(lines i.33-35)

Furthermore, Šin-šallimanni,¹⁶ the provincial governor of the land of Rušapu/Rašappu, came against them (the Arameans) together with the entire strength of the land of Rušapu/Rašappu. But (when) he saw them, he became afraid [...]

(lines i.36-?)

(But) I am Ni[nurta-kudurri-ušur ...]

(lacuna)

(lines ii.1-29a)

I brought upon them an inundation. From inside my chariot, I washed them away like [barley] reeds.¹⁷ Like locusts the arrows whizzed over my camp. (But) no one in my camp fell dead! Although they wounded 38 soldiers in my camp, not one among them fell dead in the steppe.¹⁸ I fell upon them (the Arameans) like a blazing fire, and I put to the sword 1,616 of their troops.¹⁹ Furthermore, I removed the hands and lower lips of 80 of their troops; and I let them go free to (spread the news of my) glory. From the well of Makiri (and) the well of Gallabu and up to the well Suribu, at (these) three wells, I decisively defeated them. I annihilated them. I scattered their substantial auxiliary troops; and I broke up their troop contingents. I captured those who attempted to escape. I caused their blood to flow like waters of a river. The road with their corpses was visible²⁰ to the eagles and vultures.²¹ I filled the mountains and wadis with their skulls like mountain stones. Birds made nests in their skulls. 304 of their troops had quickly fled before me. (Since) my horses and my troops had become thirsty for water due to the fighting, I did not pursue them. 40 of (these) troops perished due to thirst for water. 254 of their troops got away. I killed 1,846 of their troops. This is a single defeat that Ninurta-kudurri-ušur, governor of the land of Suḫu and the land of Mari, inflicted

d Gen 15:11;
1 Sam 17:44

upon the Ḫatallu (tribesmen). Šamašgamni, the herald (*nāgiri*) of the Sarugu (clan), their leader, the dishonest servant whom the land of Suḫu, the land of Assyria and my fathers rejected,²² I captured him. When I killed him, my heart calmed down. Having stripped off his skin like the skin of a sheep, I set (it) in front of the gate of Āl-gabbāri-bānī. I inflicted such a defeat as none of <my ancestors> had ever inflicted. My ancestors had defeated the enemy ten times, but they did not achieve as much as I.²³ In inflicting a single defeat, I surpassed my ancestors.

(lines ii.29b-35)

Anyone in the future who comes forward and says: "How [did] Ninurta-kudurri-ušur, governor of the land of Suḫu and the land of Mari, [inflict] this defeat?" (should be told that) I did [not] inflict (this) [by my own power, (but rather) I inflicted this]²⁴ defeat by the power of Šamaš and Marduk, A[dad and Apla-Adad, the great gods]. [Anyone in the future] who comes forward and [should ask] the elders of [his] la[nd] ...]

(lacuna)

(lines iii.1'-22a')²⁵

[...] I saw [... at] the well of Bukrê, but [...] had not been built(?). Above the well of Buk[rê ...] I discovered. It was depressions(?), a reed marsh. I opened it up and its water was abundant. Three routes which [...] which go to the land of Laqê, the city of Ḫindānu²⁶ and the land of Suḫu, which in the days of the governors of the land, my ancestors, who had left no mounted troops there <...> Anyone in the future who comes forward and says: "How is it that a stranger who passes by may drink from this water?" (should be told) that he may drink from the well which we formed(?).²⁷ Before my time, no city had been built there. I conceived the idea to build this city. While the priestly workforce²⁸ was making the bricks for it, before the city

¹⁶ Šin-šallimanni was governor of Rašappu and held the office of eponym in 747 BCE (Millard 1994:43, 59). His march against the Arameans and his subsequent flight without battle, "no doubt, displeased his master the Assyrian king who removed him from office and possibly had him executed" (Grayson 1993:23).

¹⁷ Restoration is based on *RIMB* 2:302 (ii.4-5) and *RIMB* 2:308 (i.15').

¹⁸ Lit., "no one among them (i.e. the 38), his corpse fell in the steppe."

¹⁹ For an attempt to reconcile the various figures cited in these texts for the numbers of enemy who were killed and who got away alive, see Cavigneaux and Ismail 1990:352-353.

²⁰ Lines 14b-15a read: *ḫar-ṣar-nu ina lū.ūš.MEŠ-šū-nu a-ru-ū u zi-bu in-na-aṭ-tal*. Cavigneaux and Ismail (1990:355) see possibly an Aramaic influence. They translate: "über ihre Leichen schwebten Adler und Geier hinunter :: over their corpses eagles and vultures hover." See also Frame *RIMB* 2:296. However, the verb could be a N Durative 3cs of *naṭṭu* "to appear, become visible." The verb is singular; hence it seems that *ḫarrānu* is the subject. See *CAD* N 2:128 for this very form. However, *RIMB* 2:310 (i.19'-20') reads: *[ḫar-ra]-[a]-ni i-na lū.ūš.MEŠ-šū-nu* TL₁MUSEN²⁰ *[u zi-bu in-na-aṭ-tal]*.

²¹ For birds of prey, cf. Gen 15:11; 1 Sam 17:44.

²² Frame suggests reading for ii.25: *ū-šā-an-si(*)-<ku(?)>-šu*. See *RIMB* 2:293, n. i.41.

²³ For the motif of achieving what the ancestors could not, see Kulamawa (*COS* 2.30, lines 2-5a).

²⁴ Following the suggested restorations of Frame *RIMB* 2:297.

²⁵ For this section cp. the inscription of Azatiwada (*COS* 2.31).

²⁶ The land of Ḫindānu was located between Laqê and Suḫu. The location of the city of Ḫindānu is uncertain (perhaps in the area of Abu Kemal, Dion 1995a:55-57; 1995b:6). See also Postgate 1972-75:415.

²⁷ See Cavigneaux and Ismail 1990:356; Frame *RIMB* 2:298, n. iii.11'.

²⁸ Following Frame (*RIMB* 2:298, n. iii.13'), the term *kīnaltu/kīništu* is translated "the workforce," even though it is normally used in connec-

had been built (i.e. finished), a twenty-man band²⁹ of Arameans came there, but one officer of the mounted troops whom I had stationed there on guard captured them! I built a city there and named it Dūr-Ninurta-kudurrī-ušur.³⁰ I settled people in it (and) stationed mounted troops in it. For the sake of the security of the land of Suḫu, it (the city) is the open eyes of the land of Suḫu. No one in the future who comes forward should become negligent of this city (or) expel the inhabitants whom I settled in this city. For the sake of the security of the land of Suḫu, they should (continually) guard against the enemy. Just as I (did), he should not become negligent of this city.

(lines iii. 22b'-32')

I, Ninurta-kudurrī-ušur, governor of the land of Suḫu and the land of Mari, discovered a tract of land (capable of being) cultivated on the top of a cliff and I conceived the idea of building a city there. When I had laid a stone foundation, I reinforced (it). I built a city upon (it), and named it Kār-Apla-Adad.³¹ I [settled] 50 ..., citizens of the land of Suḫu, who had approached (me), Ninurta-kudurrī-ušur, governor of the land of Suḫu and the land of Mari, about settling in (this) city, saying: "Settle us in your city!" I planted orchards near it. I built a temple to Apla-Adad and [...]. I settled inside (it) [...] of Apla-Adad, who had (previously) dwelt in the city of Anat. I established one *sānu*³² of bread and fine beer [...] as regular offerings for him. I presen[ted] (them) to the temple entrants³³ and the mayor. I built a palace for the governor there. I repaired the embankment(?) from the Euphrates; and I made it high; (and) I built a [...] upon it.

(lacuna)

(lines iv. 1'-9a')

I, Ninurta-ku[du]rrī-ušur, governor of the land of Suḫu and the land of Mari: the *Aktu*-temple of the gods Adad and Mešar (Mišarum) — the great gods who dwell in the city of Udada — had become old and had been abandoned. None am[ong] my ancestors had paid attention (to it) and had rebuilt (it). I completely rebuilt this *Aktu*-temple; and I dedicated (it) to Adad and Mešar (Mišarum), the great gods, my lords, in order to ensure my good health

e 2 Kgs 5:2;
6:15-23;
13:20;
Hos 6:9

f Pss 45:7;
67:5; etc.

g Ezek 27:17;
22f.

(and) the well-being of my offspring, to prolong my days, to make my reign firm, (and) to defeat the land of the enemy.

(lines iv. 9b'-15a')

The palace of Enamḫe-zēra-ibni, governor of the land of Suḫu, (which is located in) the district of the city of Ra'il, which is in the middle of the Euphrates (river), had become old and I abandoned it. I built another palace above it: 64 cubits is its length (and) 12½ cubits is its width. I made it 20 cubits longer (and) 4 cubits wider than the palace of Enamḫe-zēra-ibni. I built (even) another palace above it. I made it 45 cubits long (and) 9 cubits wide.

(lines iv. 15b'-26a')

The people of Ra'il (and) their rebels, they had rebelled against my father, but my father had defeated them. At the beginning of my governorship, when I had sat on the throne of my father, the people of Ra'il rebelled against me; but I defeated them. In this regard, I did not pay (much) attention to it and did not make a relief (commemorating) it. No one in the future who comes forward should become negligent of the people of Ra'il! Regarding the city of Āl-gabbāri-bānī, the city which Šamaš-rēša-ušur, governor of the land of Suḫu and the land of Mari, had built, I built an enclosure³⁴ around it. I made the city longer and wider, and I strengthened (it). The wall of the enclosure which I built is 13 cubits thick. I dug a moat around the city; and I surrounded the city on all sides with water.

(lines iv. 26b'-38')³⁵

I, Ninurta-kudurrī-ušur, governor of the land of Suḫu and the land of Mari: regarding the Temanites and Sabaeans,³⁶ whose country is far away, from whom no messenger had ever come to me, and (who) had never travelled to meet me, their merchant caravan³⁷ came near to the water of the wells of Martu (Amurru?) and Ḫalatu, but it passed by and entered into the city of Ḫindānu. While in the city of Kār-Apla-Adad, I heard a report about them at noon; and I (immediately) harnessed (the horses of) my chariot. I crossed the river during the night and reached the city of Azlāyanu before noon of the next day. I waited in the city of Azlā-

tion with temple personnel. See CAD K 386 s.v. *kinīštu* "a class of priests of lowly status concerned with the preparation of food offerings."

²⁹ The word *gudūdu* is cognate to Heb./Aram. *g'dūd* (See Cavigneaux and Ismail 1990:356, n. iii.14). The activities of these Aramean bands in this text parallels chronologically those of the Aramean and Moabite *g'dūdīm* "bands" mentioned in the Elisha cycle (2 Kgs 5:2; 6:15-23; 13:20); and Hos 6:9; 7:1. Earlier cf. 1 Kgs 11:23-25; later 2 Kgs 24:2.

³⁰ For a similar episode, cf. the Azatiwada inscription (COS 2.31, ii.9-iii.2).

³¹ Lit. "Quay of Apla-Adad."

³² Approximately 10 liters.

³³ I.e., those privileged to enter the temple.

³⁴ The word written *a-di-ri* is a hapax and following the suggestion of Cavigneaux and Ismail (1990:357) and Frame (RIMB2:299) it is translated here as "enclosure." It may be connected to the Heb. root *ʔzr*.

³⁵ For this passage and a discussion of Taimā, see Liverani 1992c; Livingstone 1995:137-140; Kitchen 1997:134-135.

³⁶ Saba, South Arabia, biblical Sheba. See Kitchen 1997:127-128.

³⁷ Postgate (1995b:404) remarks: "*alaktu* has the sense of 'a (single) trip' especially with the concrete nuance of a merchant caravan."

yanu for three days and on the third day they approached. I captured 100 of them alive. I captured their 200 camels, together with their loads — blue-purple wool, ... wool, iron, <pappār> dilū-stones,³⁸ every kind of merchandise. I plundered

their abundant booty and brought it back into the land of Suḫu.

In the 7th year of Ninurta-kudurrī-ušur, governor of the land of Suḫu and the land of Mari, this report was made. Collated.

³⁸ Agates and onyxes were often used for their magical powers (Sax 1992). The *pappardilū* stone was one of these (Dalley 1999:77; Tallon 1995; Gaher 1987:15). Agates for seals and beads were items traded by the South Arabians. Note the seal from 'Ana with a South Arabian inscription made of agate (Collon 1987: #379).

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Frame *RIMB* 2:294-300; Cavigneaux and Ismail 1990:343-357; Dion 1995a; 1995b; Grayson 1993; 1994; 1995.

NINURTA-KUDURRĪ-UŠUR — SUḪU ANNALS (#18) (2.115C)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Inscribed on a stone stela discovered on the island of ʿAnā, this text describes a revolt of the city of Anat (before the days of Ninurta-kudurrī-ušur) and the subsequent disaster when “the Assyrian” took action against the city. It records Ninurta-kudurrī-ušur’s restoration of the city, emphasizing his goodness and kindness.

(lines i.1-5)

I, Ninurta-kudurrī-ušur, governor of the land of Suḫu and the land of Mari, son of Šamaš-rēša-ušur, ditto¹ (governor of the land of Suḫu and the land of Mari), descendant of Adad-nādin-zēri, ditto (governor of the land of Suḫu and the land of Mari), the one of everlasting seed of Tunamissah, son of Hammu-rāpi, king of Babylon.

(lines i.6-22a)

Tabnēa, the governor of the land of Suḫu, went up to Assyria with his tribute for an audience, but he (“the Assyrian”) killed him in Assyria. Then the inhabitants of the city of Anat rebelled against the land of Suḫu. They joi[ned] hands with the Assyrian² and brought the Assyrian up to the city of Anat. (However) the Assyrian [to]ok the city of Anat neither by force nor by battle; (instead) the men — the citizens of the city themselves — (simply) gave (it) [to] the Assyrian. Afterwards, the Assyrian exited them and scattered them over (all) the lands. He turned the houses on (both) the landside and the hillside of the city of Anat into heaps of ruins. Then the Assyrian settled his own men in the city of Anat.

(lines 22b-ii.19a)

From (the time of) Tabnēa, Iqīša-Marduk, and Našir-Adad — three governors (in all) — for fifty years, the city of Anat was (under the control) of the Assyrian, (and also) for three years, in the days of Šamaš-rēša-ušur, ditto (governor of the land of Suḫu and the land of Mari), my father, be[fore] ...

[... I sat on] the throne of [my] father. When the gods Adad and Apla-[Adad] set [...], the city of A[nat] returned (its allegiance) [to my father]. After four(?) [years], during which the city of Anat pros[pered(?)], [my father di]ed.³ I [sat on] the throne of my father, I (re-)established the regular offerings, offe[rings, (...)] and religious festivals of the god Adad [...] according to the wording (of the commands) of Ham[mu]-rāp[i], king of Babylon, and] the father who begot me. [...] In addition, I settled people in the city of Anat on (both) the landside and on the hi[ll]side. I settled the city of Anat as (it had been) before, on (both) the landside and the hillside. I returned the gods of (both) the landside [and the hillside of] the city of Anat who had gone [t]o the city of Ribaniš⁴ on account of the Assyrian [...] and I settled them in their dwelling(s), (just) as (they had been) before.

(lines ii.19b-25)

I built an *Aktu*-temple in the city of Anat: 1[00] cubits is its length (and) 16 cubits is its width. I built a ... palace beside (it): 47 cubits is its length (and) 8 cubits is its width. A palace of gladness [...]

(lines iii.1-7)

(No translation possible)

(lines iii.8-18)

[Anyone in the future who] comes forward [... I made] this foundation [10 cubits] deep. [I qua]rried large mountain-stones, laid the foundation, [and]

¹ The cuneiform repeating sign is used.

² It is unclear who “the Assyrian” is. While it may refer to an Assyrian governor, it more probably refers to the Assyrian king (cf. Cavigneaux and Ismail 1990:386). Apparently, Tabnēa would have taken his tribute to Assyria for an audience with the Assyrian monarch.

³ Lit. “[went] to his fate.”

⁴ On the identification of this city, see the comments of Frame (*RIMB* 2:279).

made (it) firm. [I s]et my own name [with] his own [na]me. Anyone in the future [who] comes forward should revere the gods Adad and Apla-[Adad] and	not become negligent of those who are favorable and those who are hostile to the city of Anat. Like me, may he (then) enjoy happiness!
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REFERENCES

Text and translations: Cavigneaux and Ismail 1990:383-388, 437-439; *RIMB* 2:315-317.

NINURTA-KUDURRĪ-UŠUR — SUĦU ANNALS (#17) (2.115D)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This inscription is engraved on a stone stela found on the island of ^cĀnā. It also contains a relief of Ninurta-kudurri-ušur venerating the goddess Anat. In the text, Ninurta-kudurri-ušur describes his restoration of the statue and cult of the goddess after the desecration of the Assyrian following a revolt of the city of Anat against the land of SuĦu, narrated in *COS* 2.115C above. The same events are presented through political and religious filters.

(lines 1-9a)

For the goddess Anat, the perfect lady, most exalted of goddesses, strongest of goddesses, greatest of the Igīgu gods, excellent lady, whose godhead is splendid, splendid lady, whose valor is not equalled by (any of the other) goddesses, one who grasps the hand of the powerless, grants life, and gives instruction(s) to the king who reverences her, (one who) presents to the people of her settlements prosperity and abundance, who dwells in Ešuziana¹ — holy cella, the excellent shrine — the great lady, his lady.

(lines 9b-14)

I, Ninurta-kudurri-ušur, governor of the land of SuĦu and the land of Mari, son of Šamaš-rēša-ušur, governor of the land of SuĦu and the land of Mari, descendant of Adad-nādin-zēri, governor of the land of SuĦu and the land of Mari, distant descendant of Tunamissaḥ, son of Ḥammu-rāpi, king of Babylon.

(lines 15-23a)

The people of Anat who live in the city of Anat

rebelled against the land of SuĦu. They joined hands with the Assyrian and brought the Assyrian up to the city of Anat. (However), he defiled the city of Anat and its gods. He defiled the fine garment of the goddess Anat, the *šarīru*-gold, the precious stones, and all the (other) things befitting her godhead. Then he placed her (statue) by itself in a hidden place.

(lines 23b-32)

I, Ninurta-kudurri-ušur, governor of the land of SuĦu and the land of Mari, the servant who reverences her great godhead, brought Anat out from (that) hidden place and [returned] (her) fine garment, the *šarīru*-gold, and ... the precious stones. [I] made her godhead complete (again). Then I caused her to reside in [...]. I (re-)established the regular [offerings ... and] her [...] according to the wording (of the commands) of Ḥammu-rāpi, king of Babylon, a king who preceded me.

(lines 33-34)

(No translation possible)

(lacuna)

¹ Lit., "House, True hand of Heaven."

REFERENCES

Text and translations: Cavigneaux and Ismail 1990:380-383, 435-436; *RIMB* 2:317-318.

SHALMANESER IV — PAZARICIK / MARAŞ STELA (2.116)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This inscription is incised on the back of the stone stela that contains an inscription of Adad-nirari III (see its description in *COS* 2.114B above). Like that earlier inscription, Shalmaneser IV's text confirms the boundary of Ušpilulume, king of Kummuh. It also contains the mention of another individual in a significant role in addition to the king of Assyria; in this case, Šamši-ilu, the commander-in-chief (*nurtanu*) (see his inscription, *COS* 2.115A); Adad-nirari's text mentions his mother Sammuramat. Finally, the inscription makes reference to a campaign by Šamši-ilu against a Ḥadiyāni (*ḥa-di-a-ni*) of Damascus which resulted in tribute being given to the Assyrian monarch by the Damascene. This inscription dates to 773/772 BCE, the date of this particular campaign against Damascus.

(lines 1-3)

Shalmaneser, mighty king, king of Assyria, son of Adad-nirāri (III), mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Šamši-Adad (V), king of the four quarters.

(lines 4-10)

When Šamši-ilu, the commander-in-chief (*turtānu*), marched to the land of Damascus, the tribute of Ḫadiyāni,¹ the Damascene — silver, gold, copper, his royal bed, his royal couch, his daughter with her extensive dowry, the property of his palace without number — I received from him.

(lines 11-13a)

On my return, I gave this boundary stone to Ušpi-

α For a king having this name, though not the individual mentioned here, see 1 Kgs 15:18

lulume, king of the Kummuhites.

(lines 13b-20)

Whoever takes (it) away from the possession of Ušpilulume, his sons, and grandsons, may Aššur, Marduk, Adad, Sin, (and) Šamaš not stand (with him) at his lawsuit; may they not listen to his prayers; may they quickly smash his country like a brick; (and) may he no longer give advice to the king.²

Interdict of Aššur, my god, (and) Sin, who dwells in Ḫarran.

¹ For "ḫa-di-a-ni, see Dion 1997:182, n. 47, 208-209; Timm 1993:75-77. Cp. the name "ra-ḫi-[a]-ni "Rezin" (see COS 2.117A, n. 2).

² These last two sentences (lines 18 and 19) pose great difficulties in both the correct reading of the cuneiform and the proper translation. For recent full discussions, see Zaccagnini 1993 and Ponchia 1991:8-12. Donbaz (1990:10), Timm (1993:58-59) and Grayson (*RIMA* 3:240) transliterate: ⁽¹⁸⁾ KUR-su ki-i SIG₄ lu-ša-bi(?)⁽¹⁹⁾ ur-ru-uḫ ⁽¹⁹⁾ mim-ma ina UGU MAN la i-ma-līk, and translate: "may they quickly smash his country like a brick; (and) may he no longer give advice to the king." Ponchia 1991:8-11 follows Donbaz's transliteration and translation of line 18, but reads line 19 as: *mām-ma ina UGU-šā¹ la i-ma-līk* "nessuno gli darà consiglio(?)." She proposes alternative interpretations of the line as "nessuno (gli) darà consigli (come) ad un re (ina UGU MAN)" or "mai più darà consigli al re." Zaccagnini (1993:55) argues for a different transliteration and translation of both lines: "May his country become quickly as small as a brick, in no way may he exercise kingship over the (legitimate) king."

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: *RIMA* 3:239-240; Zaccagnini 1993; Timm 1993; Ponchia 1991:8-12; Donbaz 1990.

TIGLATH-PILESER III (2.117)

THE CALAH ANNALS (2.117A)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

In the final years of Tiglath-pileser's reign,¹ the royal scribes composed what became the final "full" edition of his Annals, made up of seventeen *palū's* (or regnal years). This edition was inscribed between two registers of reliefs on stone slabs already in place decorating the walls of Tiglath-pileser's palace at Calah (Nimrud). However, the palace was never completed, and the slabs were later dismantled by Esarhaddon. During early excavations, some of these slabs were recovered in Tiglath-pileser's palace while others were discovered in Esarhaddon's South-West Palace.

But many slabs were lost or destroyed in antiquity, or while being excavated. In fact, major portions of the originals have survived only in squeezes or hand copies made by the early discoverers: A. H. Layard, H. Rawlinson and G. Smith. The fragmentary state of the extant texts, along with difficulties in the squeezes and hand copies, makes it difficult to understand the Annals' contents and to arrange the material chronologically. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Annals of Tiglath-pileser can be divided into parallel series that differ in the number of lines per column: the seven-line series, the twelve-line series, and the sixteen-line series, originating from different halls. Finally, through much hard work and persistence of study, H. Tadmor has recently published the Calah recension of the Annals following the chronological order of the preserved twenty-eight annal units (1994:27-89).

(Ann. 21:1'-10'; Tadmor 54-55)

Bī-[Agusi ...] in the midst of [...] of Ma[ti²il ...] I placed there. From Rezin³ α [...] x talents of gold, 300 talents of silver, 200 talents of [...] 20 talents of ladanum,³ 300 ... 30 [...] Kuštašpi, the Kum-

α2Kgs 15:37; 16:5-9; Isa 7:1-8; 8:6

muḫite, [...], the Tyrian, Urikki,⁴ [the Queen], [...] Pisiris, the Carchemishite, Tarḫulara, [the Gur-gumite], [...] iron, elephant hides, elephant tusks (ivory), red-purple wool, [...]

¹ The biblical texts concerning Tiglath-pileser are: 2 Kgs 15:16; Isa 7: 8:1-10, 23; 10:9; 17:1-3; Amos 6:2; 1 Chr 5:6, 26; 2 Chr 28:16-21.

² Concerning the name "ra-ḫi-[a]-ni, i.e., Rezin, see Pitard 1987:181; 1992b; Na'aman 1995c.

³ *šim-la-du-nu* "the aromatic plant." See CAD L 36 s.v. *ladanu*.

⁴ See the Karatepe bilingual: Hieroglyphic Luwian: COS 2.21, n. 11; Phoen.: COS 2.31. See also the Cebel Ires Daği inscription (COS 3).

(Ann. 25:1'-12'; Tadmor 56-59)

elephant hides, elephant tusks (ivory), red-purple wool, multi-colored garments, linen garments — numerous clothes of their lands. [...] weapons, spindle(s)⁵ [...] I received within the city of Arpad. [Tutammu, king of the land of Unqi]⁶ broke [the loyalty oath sworn by the great gods] (and) forfeited his life.⁷ My enemy [...] [he did not consult me. In my fury [...] of Tutammu, together with [his] nobles [...] I captured Kinalia,⁸ his royal city. His people, together with their possessions, [...] mules I counted in the midst of my army like sheep. [...] I set up my throne inside Tutammu's palace. [...] 300 talents of silver, by the heavy standard, 100 talents of [...] war equip[ment], multi-colored garments, linen garments, all kinds of spices,⁹ the furnishings of his palace, [...] I reorganized (the administration of) Kinalia (as an Assyrian provincial capital). I [subdued] Unqi to its full extent. [...] I placed my eunuchs as governors over them.

(Ann. 19*:1-12; Tadmor 58-63)

[...] Azriyau¹⁰ [...] I seized and [...] tribute like that [of the Assyrians ...] the city of [...] his helper(s). The city of El[...] the cities of [Usnu], Siannu, [...] Kašpuna, which are on the seashore, together

b Isa 10:9;
Amos 6:2c 2 Kgs 15:14-
22, esp. 19

with the towns [...] [up to Mount Saue], which nudges¹² the Lebanon, Mount Ba'ali-šapūna,¹³ up to Anti-Lebanon,¹⁴ the boxwood mountain, all the Mount Saue,¹⁵ the province of Kar-Adad,¹⁶ the city of Hatarikka,¹⁷ the province of Nuqudina, [Mount Hasu], together with the towns of its environs, the city of Ara [...], both of them, the towns of their environs, all of Mount Sarbua, the city of Ašḫani, (and) the city of Yatabi, all of Mount Yaraqū, ... the city of Ellitarbi, the city of Zitanu, up to the city of Atinni ..., the city of Bumame¹⁸ — 19 districts of Hamath together with the towns of their environs, which are on the western seashore, which in sin and criminal outrage were seized for Azriyau, I annexed to Assyria. I placed two of my eunuchs¹⁹ over them as governors. [...] 83,000 (people) [...] in/from those cities in the province of Tuš[han] I settled. I settled 1,223 people in the province of Ulluba.²⁰

(Ann. 13*:10-Ann. 14*:5; Tadmor 69-71)

I received the tribute of Kuštašpi, the Kummūḫite, Rezin, the Damascene, Menahem,²¹ the Samarian, Hiram, the Tyrian, Sibittibi'il,²² the Byblian, Urikki, the Quean, Pisiris, the Carchemishite, Eni-il, the Hamathite, Panammuwa,²³ the Sam'alite, Tarḫulara, the Gurgumite, Sulumal, the Melidite,

⁵ *Giš.pilaqu* "spindles." Cf. Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty, SAA 2:56 (lines 616-617): *ki-i Giš.pil-laq-qi lu-ša-aš-bi-ru-ku-nu ki-i Ml ina IGi LÜ.KÜR-ku-nu le-pa-šu-ku-nu* "May (the gods) spin you around like a spindle, may they make you like a woman before your enemy."

⁶ For the restoration, see Tadmor 1994:56, n. 2'.

⁷ The Akk. *lī-miš nap-ša-ti-šu* appears cognate to the Heb. *mw's npsw* (Prov 15:32). See Tadmor 1994:56.

⁸ Kinalia/Kinalua (Tell Tayinat) was the capital of Unqi. Unqi was conquered and annexed in 738 BCE according to the evidence of the Eponym Chronicle. It is to be equated with biblical Kullani (Na'aman 1974:82-83; Tadmor 1994:58; Hawkins 1995b:95). Cf. Isa 10:9; Amos 6:2.

⁹ *Šim.tl.A DU.A-ma* (*riqqē kalāma*) "all kinds of spices."

¹⁰ The identification of this individual is uncertain. Three proposals have been made. Two of these proposals were based on a supposed join to ITP Ann 19* (= ICC 65), namely K 6205 — a fragmentary tablet that contains an account of a war against the land of *Yaudi* and a certain individual called [...] *ša-a-u KUR Ia-u-da-a-a*. Thus some scholars have proposed that Azriyau was the king of Y²dy/Sam'al, the southeastern Anatolian state (e.g. Winckler 1893). This view, however, is the least likely since Y²dy/Sam'al was always rendered *KUR/URU Sam'al(la)* in Assyrian records, whereas *Yaudi* exclusively refers to Judah. Others suggested that Azriyau was Azariah, the powerful king of Judah (Tadmor 1961b; see also Roberts 1985). The third proposal was put forth by Na'aman (1974). He argued convincingly that K 6205 should be joined to another fragment and that both of these derive from the reign of Sennacherib (see the Azekah inscription, COS 2.119D below). This meant that the Azriyau of Tiglath-pileser's annals no longer was attributed to a particular country. Thus Na'aman (1995b:276-277) argued that this Azriyau was an otherwise unattested king of Hatarikka (biblical Hadrach), a Syrian state neighboring Hamath, and postulated an alternative reconstruction of the events of 739 and especially 738, the year in which Tiglath-pileser annexed Unqi, Hatarikka and the "19 districts of Hamath" (Ann 19*:9-10). See also Weippert 1976-80; Hawkins 1976-80b:273. Until new evidence is discovered, any interpretation of the Azriyau episode must remain conjectural. For further discussion, see Tadmor 1994:273-276; and PNA 1:240.

¹¹ Borger (TUAT 1:370) reads "Simya," which was a city south of Arvad.

¹² *it-tak-ki-pu-ni*. Tadmor (1994:61) notes that in a geographic context *nakāpu* is unattested in Akk. and compares Heb. "pg^c b..." in similar delimitations of boundaries (e.g. Josh 16:7; 19:22, 26; etc.).

¹³ Ba'al-šapūna. Jebel el-Aqra in northern Syria. See Röhlig RIA 4:241-242.

¹⁴ Lit. Mt. Ammanana. See Cogan 1984:255-259.

¹⁵ For a discussion of the reading, see Tadmor 1994:60.

¹⁶ Kar-Adad. Perhaps Aleppo, the center of storm-god worship. Cf. Hawkins 1972-75:53.

¹⁷ Hatarikka is the Hazrik of the Zakkur inscription (COS 2.35). Cf. Heb. Hadrach (*hadrk*) of Zech 9:1.

¹⁸ Perhaps this should be emended to URU *Bu-ta-me*. See Weippert 1973:42, n. 61.

¹⁹ See Grayson 1995.

²⁰ The province was organized immediately after the campaign to Ulluba in 739 BCE.

²¹ On the date of Menahem's tribute see Tadmor 1994:274-276. According to 2 Kgs 15:19, Menahem gave Pul of Assyria 1,000 talents of silver. That the names Tiglath-pileser (*Tukulti-apil-Ešarra*) and Pul (*Pālu*) were used to designate a single ruler is no longer seriously called in question (Brinkman 1968:61). The name Pul is often understood as Tiglath-pileser's Babylonian throne name (Oded 1997:109). On the other hand, Brinkman (1968:61-62, n. 317; 240-241, n. 1544) and Tadmor (1994:280, n. 5) understand it either as Tiglath-pileser's original name or as a quasi-hypocoristic for the second element of the name Tiglath-pileser — *apil*. In either case, *pālu*, *pālu*, i.e. "limestone block," could also have served in folk etymology as a nickname for the ruthless empire-builder. See further Loretz and Mayer 1990:228-229.

²² Spelled here (Ann. 13*:11): "*Si-bi-i-bi-i-ili*. Spelled in Iran Stela (iii.A.7): "*Si-bi-ba-il*."

²³ See the Panammuwa inscription, COS 2.37.

Dadīlu,²⁴ the Kaskean, Uassurme, the Tabalian,²⁵ Ušhitti, the (A)Tunean,²⁶ Urballā,²⁷ the Tuḥanean, Tuḥamme, the Ištundian, Uirime, the Hubišnean, Zabibe, queen of the land of Arabia: gold, silver, tin, iron, elephant hides, elephant tusks (ivory), multi-colored garments, linen garments, blue-purple wool, and red-purple wool, ebony,²⁸ boxwood, all kinds of precious things from the royal treasure, live sheep whose wool is dyed red-purple, flying birds of the sky whose wings are dyed blue-purple, horses, mules, cattle and sheep, camels, she-camels together with their young.

(Ann. 23*:1'-18'; Tadmor 78-81)

[... of] Rezin²⁹ [the Damascene ...]. [I captured] heavy [booty] [...] his advisor [...] [(With) the blood of his] war[riors] I dyed a reddish hue the river of [...], raging [torrent]; [...], his courtiers, charioteers and [...], their weapons I smashed; and [...] their horses I [...]. I captured his warriors,

archers, shield- and lance-bearers; and I dispersed their battle array. That one (i.e. Rezin), in order to save his life, fled alone; and he entered the gate of his city [like] a mongoose. I impaled alive his chief ministers; and I made his country behold (them). I set up my camp around the city for 45 days;³⁰ and I confined him like a bird in a cage.³¹ His gardens, [...] orchards³² without number I cut down; I did not leave a single one.

... the town of ...[h]adara, the home of the dynasty of Rezin the Damascene, [the pl]ace where he was born, I surrounded (and) captured. 800 people with their possessions, their cattle (and) their sheep I took as spoil. I took as spoil 750 captives from the city of Kurūṣṣa (and) the city of Sama, 550 captives from the city of Metuna. I destroyed 591 cities of 16 districts of Damascus like mounds of ruins after the Deluge.

Annals 18 compared with Annals 24 (Tadmor 80-84)³³

(Ann. 18:3'-13')

[... of 16] districts of Bīt-[H]umria (Is[rael]) I [leveled to the grou]nd ...
[... captives from the city of ...]bara,
625 captives from the city of [...]
[...]
[... x captives from the city of] Hīnatuna,^d
650 captives from the city of Ku[...]
[...]
[... x captives from the city of Ya]tbite'
656 captives from the city of Sa... [...]
[...]
[...]
[... the cities of Aruma' and Marum^e [...]
[...]

^d Josh 19:14

^e 2Kgs 21:19

^f 2Kgs 23:36

^g Josh 11:1,
5

(Ann. 24:3'-16')

of 16 di[stricts] of Bīt-Humria (Israel))
[...]
[... capti]ves from ...
[...]
226 [captives from ...]
captives [from ...]
[...]
400 [(+ x) captives from ...]
[...]
656 captives from the city of Sa... (altogether)]
13,520 [people ...]
with their possessions [I carried off to Assyria]
[... the cities of Aruma and Marum]
[situated in] rugged mountains [I conquered (?) ...]

²⁴ Dadīlu or Tadihu. Apparently a Luwian PN, see *PN4* 1:364.

²⁵ Uassurme of Tabal (Bīt-Burutaš) is known from Hieroglyphic Luwian as Wasussamma and ruled a minimum 738-730 BCE. See Hawkins and Postgate 1988:38. For a possible connection with Ben-Tab'al (Isa 7:6), see Hallo 1960:49.

²⁶ Or Annanean (Iran Stela, *COS* 2.117B). See Hawkins and Postgate 1988:35, 37-38.

²⁷ Urballa of Tuḥana is attested in a recently discovered Hieroglyphic Luwian-Phoenician bilingual found in 1986 in Ivriz, near Ereğli, Turkey. The inscription was commissioned by Muwahama, the son of Warpalawa, king of Tuwana (Tuḥana, classical Tyana). Warpalawa may be identified with Urballu of Tuḥana (ca. 738-710 BCE). See Dinçol 1994:117-128 and Röllig 1992:98.

²⁸ Giš ušū is probably "ebony." For a discussion of the ušū tree, see Stol 1979:34-49; *AHW* 1442.

²⁹ For the reading, see Tadmor 1994:78.

³⁰ The capture of Damascus and the execution of Rezin are only recorded in 2 Kgs 16:9.

³¹ GIM iṣ-sar qu-up-pi e-sir-šū. This motif recurs in Sennacherib's description of his siege of Jerusalem during his campaign against Hezekiah in 701 BCE (*COS* 2.119B, note 9). Tadmor remarks: "The true sense of these passages is that of a total blockade, and the hyperbole is employed as a face-saving device to cover for a failure to take the enemy's capital and punish the rebellious king. In the case of Rezin, this was accomplished in the following year (732); in the case of Hezekiah, Sennacherib was forced to make do with heavy tribute delivered to Nineveh after his retreat" (1994:79, n. to 11').

³² For this motif in the earlier inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (also concerning a siege of Damascus), see *Calah Annals COS* 2.113C, note 3.

³³ See Na'aman 1993:105; 1995b:271-275; Younger 1998:210-214.

REFERENCES

Text: Smith 1875; Rost 1892; Tadmor 1994:58-63; 69-71; 78-81; 80-84. Translations: *ARAB* 1:§§770-771, 772-774; 776-779; *DOIT* 54-55; *ANET* 282-283; *TUAT* 1:370-373; Na'aman 1986a:125; 1995b:271-275.

THE IRAN STELA (2.117B)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This inscription is incised on a stela from somewhere in western Iran, perhaps Luristan (Levine 1972:11). The exact provenance is unknown. It is the only known stela of Tiglath-pileser III. After his second campaign in the area in his 9th *palû* (regnal year) (i.e. 737 BCE), he set it up on the border of one of the states that he had defeated during that campaign.¹

(lines iii.A.1-23)

The kings of the land of Ḫatti, (and of) Aram of the western seashore, the land of Qedar² (and) the land of Arabia:³ Kuštašpi, the Kummuḫite, Rezin,⁴ the Damascene, Menahem,⁵ the Samarian, Tu-ba⁶il,⁷ the Tyrian, Sibitba⁸il,⁶ the Byblian, Urik-(ki),⁷ the Quean, Sulumai, the Melidite, Uassurme, the Tabalian,⁸ Ušḫiti, the Atunean, Urballā, the Tuḫanean, Tuḫamme, the Ištundian, Uirime, the Ḫubišnean, Dadi-ilu, the Kaskean,⁸ Pisiris, the Carchemishite, Panammuwa,⁹ the [Sa]m²alite, Tarḫularu, the [Gur]gumite, Zabibe, the queen of the land of Arabia — I imposed on them tribute of silver, gold, tin, iron, elephant hides, elephant tusks (ivory), blue-purple (and) red-purple garments, multi-colored garments, linen garments, camels, (and) she-camels.

a Gen 25:13;
Isa 21:16-17;
42:11; Jer
2:10; 49:28;
Ezek 27:21;
Ps 120:4[5];
1 Chr 1:29

b 2Kg515:19

(lines iii.A.24-30)

And as for Iranzu, the Mannaeen,¹⁰ Daltā,¹¹ the Ellipian, the city rulers of the land of Namri, the land of Singibutu (and) all the eastern mountains — I imposed on them (as tribute) horses, mules, Bactrian camels, cattle (and) sheep (so that) I might receive¹² (it) regularly on an annual basis in the land of Assyria.

(lines iii.A.31-36)

I caused a stela to be made in the vicinity of the mountain, (and) I depicted on it (the symbols of) the great gods, my lords, (and) I engraved upon it my own royal image; and the mighty deeds of Aššur, my lord, and achievements of [my] hands, which were done throughout all the lands, I wr[ote] on it. [At] the border, which is at ... [...].

¹ See lines iii.A.31-36 and iii.B.1'-10'. See Levine 1972:15; Tadmor 1994:92. For different views on the stela's dating see Cogan 1973:97-98; Na'aman 1986b:81-82; Kuan 1995:150-152.

² KUR Qid-ri. This is the earliest mention of the Qedarites. See Eph'el 1982:83; Kitchen 1994:49-51, 117-119, 167-169, 237.

³ Weippert treats KUR a-ri-bi as an appositive of KUR qid-ri. While this is possible, it is more likely that they are two separate entities parallel in ways to Ḫatti and Aram in the previous line.

⁴ Here spelled: "Ra-qi-a-nu. In other texts the name is spelled: "Ra-ḫi-a-nu (e.g. COS 2.117A, note 1 above).

⁵ "Tu-ba-il is most likely the Phoen. name "tb²i, "Ehba'al/Inoba'l. See Zadok 1978:70-71 for the transcription of ba-il for b²i. See also Pitard 1987:185; Kuan 1995:153.

⁶ See COS 2.117A note 22 above.

⁷ See COS 2.117A note 4 above.

⁸ For these kings, see COS 2.117A notes 24-26; Hawkins and Postgate 1988. For Dadi-lu, see COS 2.117A, note 24.

⁹ See the Panamuwa inscription, COS 2.37.

¹⁰ See Postgate 1987-90. Ir²anzi seems to have remained pro-Assyrian until his death in ca 717 BCE.

¹¹ For Daltā, the king of Ellipi, who plays a role in Tiglath-pileser III's and Sargon II's reigns, see PNA 1:375.

¹² šat-ti-šam-ma am-da-na-ḫa-ra. This verbal form is a GTN durative 1cs + vent. Both the -tan- infix and the durative tense stress the expected regularity of the tribute on a yearly basis.

REFERENCES

Text: Levine 1972; Tadmor 1994:90-110 (106-109). Translations and Studies: TUAT 1:378; Weippert 1973:29-32.

SUMMARY INSCRIPTION 4 (2.117C)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Incised on fragmentary pieces of an apparent pavement slab, this summary inscription was discovered in excavations at Nimrud and left *in situ*. It is preserved in squeezes that are no longer extant. Thought originally to be part of the Tiglath-pileser's Annals (note Luckenbill ARAB 1:§§ 815-819 and Oppenheim ANET 283), Wiseman (1956:118) recognized correctly the text's affinity to Summary Inscriptions 1 and 9.

(lines 1'-8'a)

[...] which [...] the city of Hatarikka up to Mount Sau[e], [...] the city of] Byblos, [...] the city of Šimarra, the city of Arqa, the city Zimar[ra], [...]

the city of] Usnu, [the city of Siannu, the city of Ma]araba, the city of Ri²sišu[ri] [...] the cities [...] of the Upper [Sea] I ruled. I placed six [of my]

eunuchs¹ [over] them [as governors].

[... the city of Kaš]puna,² which is on the shore of the Upper (text: Lower) Sea [... the city of ...]nite,³ the city of Gil[ead?],⁴ and [the city of] Abel-...,⁵ which are the border of Bit Ĥumri[a]⁶ — I annexed to Assyria the en[tire] wide land of [Bit-Ĥaza⁷i]li.⁷ [I plac]ed [x eunuchs over them] as governors.

(lines 8'b-15'a)⁸

Ĥanunu of Gaza, [who] fle[d before] my weapons, (and) escaped [to] Egypt — [I conquered] Gaza [... his royal city], [I seized] his property (and) his gods. [I made a (statue) bearing the image of the gods my lo]rds and my (own) royal image [out of gold]. I set (it) up in the palace [of Gaza]; (and) I counted it among the gods of their land; I established [their ...].

As for [him (i.e. Hanunu), the fear of my majesty] overwhelmed him and like a bird he flew (back) [from Egypt]. [...] I returned him to his position and [I turned his city(?) into an Assyrian] em[porium (*kāru*)]. I received [gold], silver, multi-colored garments, linen garments, large [horses], [...].

(lines 15'b-19'a)

I carried off [to] Assyria the land of Bit-Ĥumria (Israel),¹⁰ "auxiliary [army,]" [...] all of its people, [...] [I/they killed]¹¹ Pekah,¹² their king, and I installed Hoshea¹³ [as king] over them. I received from them 10 talents of gold, x talents of silver, [with] their [possessions] and [I car]ried them [to Assyria].

a2Kgs 15:29;
1 Chr 5:26

b2Kgs 15:25-31;
16:5; Isa 7:1-8:6

c2Kgs 15:30;
17:1-6

d Gen 25:13-15;
Prov 30:1; 31:1;
1 Chr 1:29-30

e Job 1:15;
6:19

f Gen 25:4;
1 Chr 1:33

(lines 19'b-36')¹²

As for Samsi, the queen of the land of Arabia, at Mount Saqurri I sle[w 9,400] of her warriors. I seized 1,000 people, 30,000 camels, 20,000 cattle [...] 5,000 (leather pouches) of all kinds of spices¹³ [...] seats of her gods, [arms (and) staffs of her goddesses,] and her property. And she, in order to save her life, [...] to] a desert, an arid place, like an onager [made off]. [The rest of her possessions] (and) her [ten]ts, her people's watchmen,¹⁴ within her camp [I set on fire].

[Samsi], who took fright at my mighty [weapo]ns, she brought [to Assyria] to my [presence] camels, she-camels, [together with their young]. I installed an official administrator (*qēpu*)¹⁵ over her; and [...] 10,000 soldiers ...].

The people of Massa¹⁶,¹⁶ Temā, Saba¹⁷,¹⁷ [Hayap-pā],¹⁸ Badanu, Ĥatte, Idiba¹⁹ilu, [...], who dwell] on the border of the countries of the setting sun (western lands) [of whom no one (of my ancestors) knew and whose place is far] away, the fame of my lordship [(and of) my heroic deeds they heard, and they made supplication to] my lordship. [They brought before me]: gold, silver, [camels, she-camels, all kinds of spices], their tribute, as one; [and they kissed] my feet. I appointed [Idibi²⁰ilu¹⁷ as the prebend of the "Gatekeeper"¹⁸] facing Egypt [...] of] Aššur I placed therein. [...] I made and [...] the yoke of Aššur, my lord, [I placed over them ... in all the lands through which] I have marched.

¹ Concerning eunuchs, see Grayson 1995; Deller 1999.

² Concerning the erroneous reading Rašpuna, see Wiseman 1951:21-24; and Tadmor 1985b.

³ "One might restore here [adi libbi ^{nu}Qa]-[ni¹]-se: Biblical Kenath (Num 32:42, 1 Chr 2:23) modern Qanawat in the Hauran. However, other restorations are not excluded" (Tadmor 1994:139, n. 6'). Na²aman (1995:105-106) suggests the restoration: [Min]nite. Cf. Judg 11:33.

⁴ For the reading "the city of Gil[ead?]," see Tadmor 1994:139, 186. Cf. Hos 6:8. Na²aman suggests that this is a reference to Mizpeh-Gilead (Judg 10:17; 11:29) (1995c:105-106). See also COS 117F, note 5.

⁵ ^{nu}A-bi-il-x₁-x₂ has been identified with Abel-beth-Ma²acah of 2 Kgs 15:29. In fact, Rost read ^{nu}A-bi-il-ak-k[a] (1892:78) and ^{nu}A-bi-il-ak¹-[ka¹] (pl. xxv). Tadmor, however, states: "This reading cannot be sustained any longer ... One might read ^{nu}A-bi-il-¹šit¹-¹il¹. Perhaps it is ²bi-¹šit¹ of Num 33:48-49" (Tadmor 1994:139, note to 6'). Tadmor also adds: "If A-bi-il-x₁-x₂ is read A-bi-il-¹šit¹-¹il¹ and identified with Abel-shittim, 'located in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho' (Num 33:48-49), this would indicate that Aram on the eve of its fall controlled a much larger territory east of Jordan than I had suggested in IEJ 12 (1962) 114-122" (1994:281, n. 10). Na²aman (1995c:105-106) argues for an identification with Abel-shittim. Recently, Oded suggested Abila (1997:110).

⁶ On the spelling Bit-Ĥumria instead of Bit-Ĥumri, see Zadok 1978:306.

⁷ I.e. Aram Damascus.

⁸ The prominence given to Gaza is probably due to economic factors, esp. in connection with the spice trade. See Ehrlich 1991, esp. 54.

⁹ Tadmor (1994:140, n. 13') suggests that this lacuna probably included a statement about Hanunu's submission and plea for forgiveness. On Hanunu's return and restoration to power in Gaza, see Ehrlich 1996:94-98.

¹⁰ Concerning Tiglath-pileser III's deportations of the northern kingdom, see Younger 1998:201-214; Na²aman 1993.

¹¹ The restoration of the verb describing Pekah's fate is uncertain. Possible restorations include: [i]-du-[ku-ma] "they killed" or [a]-du-[uk-ma] "I killed" (Tadmor 1994:141, n. 17'). Rost's restoration *is-ki-pu-ma* is doubtful. According to 2 Kgs 15:30, Hoshea assassinated Pekah.

¹² For this episode, see Eph^al 1982:33-36, 83-86; Tadmor 1994:225-230.

¹³ See Eph^al 1982:128, n. 447; cf. COS 2.117A, note 9.

¹⁴ *ḥurādāt nišēša* ... *ašrup*. Tadmor (1994:143, n. 24') argues that in this context the phrase seems unlikely to refer to the burning of watchmen (*ḥurādu*). Thus he understands the phrase metaphorically and renders "safeguard(?)," referring to Samsi's encampment. However, if adolescent boys and girls could be burned (e.g. by Aššur-nasir-pal II), why not watchmen? The term *ḥurādu* seems to refer to a type of soldier (CAD H 244). See also Borger *TUAT* 1:374.

¹⁵ This title was generally given to Assyrian officials of various ranks who supervised the policy and administration in provinces and vassal states. See CAD Q 264-268 s.v. *qēpu*.

¹⁶ For these tribes, see Eph^al 1982:215-218.

¹⁷ See Eph^al 1982:43.

¹⁸ See CAD A 2:522 s.v. *atūtu*.

REFERENCES

Text: Smith 1875:284-285; Rost 1892:78-83; Tadmor 1994:136-143. Translations and studies: ARAB 1:§§ 815-819; ANET 283; DOTT 55; Spieckerman 1982:324-327; TUAT 1:373-374; Irvine 1990:62-69; Kuan 1995:62-69.

SUMMARY INSCRIPTION 7 (2.117D)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This inscription is written on about half of a large tablet (23.4 x 17.5+ cm) which though it bears the label K 3751, was most probably discovered at Nimrud. The most detailed of Tiglath-pileser's summary inscriptions, it was likely composed in or shortly after his 17th *palû* (regnal year) (i.e., 729 BCE) (Tadmor 1994:154, 238-259). It preserves the only complete building account of Tiglath-pileser from Calah.

(lines R. 1'-6')¹

[...] I set on fire. [Samsi who took fright at my mighty weapons]; [she brought to As]syria to my presence [camels, she-camels, together with their young]. I installed an official administrator (*qēpu*)² ov[er] her; and [... 10,000 soldiers ...].

[The people of Mas]sa³, Temā, Saba⁴, Hayappā, Badanu, [Ḥatte, Idiba]ilu, ... who dwell on the border of the countries of the setting sun (western lands)] of whom no one (of my ancestors) knew and whose place is far away, the fame of my lordship [(and of) my heroic deeds they heard, and they made supplication to my lordship]. [They brought] be[fore] me [gold, silver], camels, she-camels, all kinds of spices, their tribute, as one; [and they kissed my feet]. I appointed [Idi]bi⁵ilu⁶ as the prebend of the gatekeeper⁷ facing Egypt. In all the (foreign) lands which [...]

(lines R. 7'-13')⁸

[I received the tribute] of Kuštašpi, the Kummuh-ite, Urik(ki), the Quean, Sibittibi⁹il, the [Byblian, Hiram, the Tyrian, Pisiris, the Carchemishite, Eni]-il, the Hamathite, Panamuwa,⁶ the Sam²al-ite, Tarḫulara, the Gurgumite, Sulu[mal, the Melidite, Dadīlu, the Kaskaean, U]assurme, the

^a 2 Kgs 16:5-8

Tabalite, Ušhitti, the Tunaeen,⁷ Urballā,⁸ the Tuḥanaean, Tuḥam[me, the Ištundaeen, Urimmi, the Hubišnaean, Ma]tanbi⁹il, the Arvadite, Sanipu, Ammonite, Salamanu, Moabite, [...] [Mi]tinti,⁹ the Ashkelonite, Jehoahaz,¹⁰ the Judahite, Qaušmalaka, the Edomite, Muš[... the ...] (and) Hanunu, the Gazaeen: gold, silver, tin, multi-colored garments, linen garments, red-purple wool, [all kinds of] costly articles, produce of the sea (and) dry land, the commodities of their lands, royal treasures, horses (and) mules broken to the yo[ke ...].

(lines R. 14'-15')

Uassurme, the Tabalite, acted as if he was the equal of Assyria and did not appear before me. [I sent to Tabal] my eunuch, the Chief-[Eunuch (*rāb ša-rēši*), ...]. I placed on his throne [Ḥu]lli, the son of a nobody. [I received as his tribute] 10 talents of gold, 1,000 talents of silver, 2,000 horses, [... mules].

(line R. 16')

I sent my eunuch, the Chief-Eunuch (*rāb ša-rēši*)¹¹ to Tyre. [I received] from Metenna, the Tyrian, [his tribute]: 150 talents of gold¹² (and) [2,000 talents of silver].

¹ See Eph^al 1982:34-36.

² See COS 2.117C, note 15.

³ See Eph^al 1982:93.

⁴ See Summary Inscription 4 (COS 2.117C, note 18).

⁵ Noticeably missing from this list are references to Damascus, Samaria, Tyre and Arabia, nations that had paid tribute on earlier occasions. There are also new nations that are listed as tributaries (including Judah). Thus the list includes vassal kings who submitted in 738 BCE as well as those who submitted in 734 BCE. Concerning the composition of the list, see Weippert 1973:53; Eph^al 1982:29, n. 76; Tadmor 1994:258; but note Irvine 1990:43; Kuan 1995:162-163.

⁶ See the Panamuwa inscription, COS 2.37.

⁷ Or Atunaeen. See Iran Stela, COS 2.117B.

⁸ See COS 2.117A, note 27.

⁹ For a recent discussion of this Mitinti and the fragmentary annalistic passages concerning him, see Na²aman 1998c.

¹⁰ **Ja-ū-ḥa-zī* KUR *la-ū-da-a* + a. This is the full name of Ahaz, king of Judah who sent to Assyria to ask for aid against Rezin of Damascus and Pekah of Israel (2 Kgs 16:5-8). See Wiseman 1976-80; Hallo 1999a:36 and nn. 3-5.

¹¹ LÚ.GAL.SAG is the *rāb ša-rēši*, not the *rāb šaqē* (contra Luckenbill ARAB 2:§§ 802-803; Oppenheim ANET 282; Wiseman DOTT 56). See Tadmor 1983; Grayson 1995.

¹² Concerning the amount of gold paid in tribute, see Tadmor's remarks (1994:171, n. 16').

REFERENCES

Text: Smith 1875:256-285; Rost 1892:54-77; Tadmor 1994:154-175. Translations and studies: *ARAB* 1:§§787-804; *ANET* 282; *DOTT* 55-56; Spieckermann 1982:324-327; *TUAT* 1:374-375; Na²aman 1986b:72-73; Irvine 1990:40-41; Kuan 1995:161-164.

SUMMARY INSCRIPTION 8 (2.117E)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This inscription (ND 400, now BM 131982) is found on a well-baked tablet fragment (8.6 x 10.8 cm) discovered at Nimrud in 1950. While it may be possible that the inscription is part of the same tablet as Summary Inscription 7 (K 3751), this is far from certain (it may be an additional copy).

(lines 1'-9')

[...] [...] his [...] on dry land [...] [...] I made (them) pour out [their lives]. That city¹ to[gether with [...] [...] in the midst of the sea I devastated them and anni[hilated them]. [...] and he was afraid. He put on sackcloth² [...] [...] of ivory, ebony, inlaid with precious stones and gold, together with [...] [...] ivory, fine oil, all kinds of spices, horses³ of E[gypt] [...] from Kašpuna, which is on the shore of the [Upper] Sea, [as far as [...] under the control of my eunuch, the governor of Ši[mirra, I placed].

(lines 10'-13')⁴

[...] I filled [the plain] with the bodies of their warriors [like gras], [together with] their belongings, their cattle, their sheep, their asses [...] [...] within his palace [...] [...] I accepted their plea to [forgive] their rebellion (lit. "sin") and s[pared] their land.

(lines 14'-19')

[...] [Han]unu, the Gazaeen⁵ feared my powerful weapons and [escaped to Egypt]. [I conquered Gaza ...]. [x talents] of gold, 800 talents of silver, people together with their possessions, his wife, [his] sons, [his daughters ...] [I seized his property (and) his gods]. [I made] an image of the great gods, my lords, <and> an image of my lordship out of gold.⁶ [I set (it) up in the palace of Gaza; (and) I

α Amos 1:6-8

β 1 Chr 4:41;
2 Chr 20:1;
26:7

counted it among the gods of their land]; I established the[ir ...].

As for him (i.e. Hanunu), like a bird [he flew (back)] from Egypt. [...] I returned him to his position and] I turned [his city(?)] into an Assyrian [emporium]. [I set up] my royal stela in the city of the brook of Egypt,⁶ a river[-bed ...] I removed [...] from ... x talents of gold, x + 100 talents] of silver and [I brought] (it) to Assyria.

(lines 20'-23')

[...] had not submitted [to the kings], my predecessors and who had not sent (them) any message, [heard about] the conquest of the land of [...] [...] the fear of the splendor of Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed him] and fear seized him. [He sent me] his ambassadors⁷ to do obeisance [...] [...] Siruatti, the Me²unite,⁸ whose [territory is] "below" Egypt,⁹ [...] exalted [...], my own extensive conquest he he[ard], and fear overwhelmed him [...]. [...]

(lines 24'-27')

[As for Samsi, the queen of the land of Arabia], I defeated 9,400 (of her people) at Mount Saqurri [...] [...] [I seized] her [gods], arms (and) staffs of her goddess, [and her property]. [And she, in order to save her life, ... to a desert, an arid place], made off [like an on]ager. The res[t of her posses-

¹ Two proposals for the identification of this island city have been made: 1) Arvad (Alt 1953:152-153; Oded 1974:46; Irvine 1990:47-48; Tadmor 1994:282); and 2) Tyre (Eph²al 1982:30; Na²aman 1995b:268-271). It is more likely that Tyre is the entity in view, though this cannot be absolutely certain due to the fragmentary state of the tablet. See also Kuan 1995:166.

² *ṭūg-sa-gu*. While both CAD and AHw distinguish between *sagu*, a type of clothing ("penitential garb" CAD S 289) and *saqu* "sack," Tadmor suggests that it is likely that the distinction is phonological/dialectical rather than lexical, *sagu* being the Assyrian form. Hence not only was sackcloth worn among West Semites as a sign of mourning and penitence, but also in Assyria. Cf. Jonah 3:6-9.

³ Egypt was known for its special breed of "large horses."

⁴ The identification of the enemy of Tiglath-pileser in these lines is uncertain. Scholars have suggested the following: Tyre (Tadmor 1994:282); Israel (Alt 1953:151-157; Na²aman 1986b:72-73; 1995:268-271); or either Damascus, a Phoenician city-state, or Israel (Eph²al 1982:30).

⁵ According to Tadmor (1994:177) there was only one object (not two) that was set up in Gaza — a golden statue of the king with symbols of the deities engraved on it. Concerning the Assyrian imperial cult, see Cogan 1974:48-52 and 1993.

⁶ Concerning the reading, see Tadmor 1994:178. While Na²aman identifies the Nahal Mišraim with Wadi Besor (1979; 1980a), it is still preferable to identify it with Wadi el-Arish (see Rainey 1982).

⁷ *šrāni*. This term becomes an Akk. loanword in Heb. *šir* (cf. Isa 18:2; Jer 49:14; Prov 13:17). See Machinist 1983:730, n. 65.

⁸ This is an extra-biblical attestation of the Menuites. See the discussion of Eph²al 1982:68-71, 219-220. For Siruatti, the Me²unite, see Na²aman 1997b.

⁹ Probably refers to northern Sinai.

sions (and) her tents, her people's watchmen], [within her camp] I set on fire. Samsi took fright at my mighty weapons, [she brought to Assyria to my	presence camels], she-camels, together with [their young], [...]
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REFERENCES

Text: Wiseman 1951; Tadmor 1994:154-157, 176-179. Translations and studies: Spieckermann 1982:324-327; *TUAT* 1:375-376; Na²aman 1986b:72-73; 1995b; Irvine 1990:44-56; Kuan 1995:164-167.

SUMMARY INSCRIPTION 9-10 (2.117F)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

The text is written on a large, very fragmentary clay tablet¹ (18.4 cm wide) which was recovered in excavations at Nimrud in 1955. The reverse of the tablet preserves narrations of Tiglath-pileser's Levantine campaigns, arranged geographically and set off by rulings across the surface of the tablet.

Summary Inscription 10 (K 2649),² following Tadmor's designation (1994:180), is a tiny fragment (2.5 x 5.6 cm) which may be a part of the same tablet as Summary Inscription 9.³ Tadmor uses K 2649 to restore some missing parts of Summary 9. As in his edition, these restorations are italicized in the translation.

(lines R. 1-31)

[The city of Hata]rikka, as far as Mount Sa[ue],
the city of *Kaspuna on the shore of the Upper (text:
Lower) Sea*, [(and) the city of Šimirra and the city
of Arqa] I annexed to Assyria. [I placed over them]
two eunuchs as governors.

The wide [land of Bit]-Haza²ili (Aram-Damascus)
in its entirety,⁴ from Mount [Leb]anon as far as the
city of Gilead,⁵ Abel ...⁶ [on the border of Bit-
Hurmia (Israel) I annexed to Assyria. [I placed] my
eunuch [over them as governor].

[Hi]ram, the Tyrian, who plotted(?)⁷ together with
Rezin [...]. I captured [the city of] Maḥalab,⁸ his
fortified city, together with (other) large cities.
Their plunder [...]. He came before me and kissed
my feet. [I received] 20 talents of [gold ...] multi-
colored [garments], linen garments, eunuchs, male
singers and fem[ale] singers ... [horses] of Egypt
[...].

[I captured the land of Bit-Hurmia (Israel)] to its
fu[ll extent ...] [I carried off to Assyria] ... [togeth-
er with] their possessions. [... [I placed Hoshea]⁹ as
king over them. [...] before me to the city of Sarra-

σ 2Kgs 15:30

bani⁹ [...]

[... from ...] x + 100 talents of silver I carried off
and [brought to Assyria].

[Hanunu, the Gazaeen, feared my powerful weap-
ons and] escaped [to Egypt]. [I conquered] Gaza,
[his royal city]. I made [a statue bearing the image
of the great gods, my lords, and my (own) royal
image out of gold]. [I set it up] in the palace of
Ga[za]. [I counted it among the gods of their land
... As for him (i.e. Hanunu), like] a bird [he flew
(back)] from Egypt. [...] I returned him to his
position and I turned] his [city] into an Assyrian
emporium (*kāru*).

[As for Samsi, the queen of the land of Arabia], I
felled with the sword [...] at Mount Saqurri]. And
all of [her] ca[mp ...] [...] all kinds of spices] with-
out number, [her] gods [I seized]. [And she, in or-
der to save her life, ... to a desert], an arid place,
[made off] like an onager. [The rest of her posses-
sions (and) her tents, her people's watchmen],
within her camp [I set on fire]. [Samsi took fright
at my mighty weapons; camels], she-camels togeth-
er with [their you]ng, [she brought to Assyria to

¹ These ND-fragments (ND 4301 + ND 4305 + ND 5422) were published by Wiseman 1956 and 1964.

² K 2649 was published by Leeper 1918:35.

³ Borger (*TUAT* 1:376-378) gives a translation based on a composite text drawn from the fragments.

⁴ Probably a reference to all of Rezin's territories (including any Israelite holdings), not simply Aram-Damascus proper.

⁵ URU Ga-al-a²a²(?)-[d]. Cf. Hos 6:8. For the reading see Tadmor 1994:186, n. 3. See Summary Inscription 4, *COS* 2.117C, note 4.

⁶ See Summary Inscription 4, *COS* 2.117C, note 5.

⁷ ND 4301 reads: ŠA.KU.NA. Tadmor emends to *š(sic)-ku-na*, and from K 2649 adds: 'pi¹-l¹(1)-l¹š¹.

⁸ The conquest of Maḥalab and the submission of Hiram are only mentioned here.

⁹ This sentence appears to mention Hoshea's (or more likely, his messengers') appearance before Tiglath-pileser with tribute at Sarabani in southern Babylonia (see Parpola *NAT* 306).

my presence]. I installed over her [an official administrator (*qēpu*)] and 10,000 soldiers [...]

[... who] had not submitted to the kings, my predecessors, and [had never sent his message] [...] heard about [the conquest of the land of Ḥaṭ]ti. The fear of the splendor of Aššur, my lord, [overwhelmed him] [and fear seized him. He sent his ambassadors¹⁰] to my presence, to Calah, [to do obeisance].

[... From Metenna the Tyr]jian 50 talents of gold,

2,000 talents of silver [I received as his trib]ute.

[Uassurme, the Tabalite, acted as if he was the equal of Assyria and] did not appear before me. [I sent to Tabal] my eunuch, [the Chief-Eunuch (*rāb ša-rēš*)]. [I placed on his] thr[one Ḥul]i, the son of a nobody. [I received as his tri]bute [10 talents of gold, 1,000 talents of silver, 2,000 horses, ...].

[...] nobody [among] the kings, my ancestors, [...]; [I received] his tribute.

¹⁰ See Summary Inscription 8, *COS* 2.117E, note 7.

REFERENCES

Text: Wiseman 1956; 1964; Tadmor 1994:180-191, esp. 186-191. Translations and studies: Weippert 1973:37; Eph^cal 1982:33-36; Spieckermann 1982:324-327; *TUAT* 377-378; Irvine 1990:56-62; Kuan 1995:182-186.

SUMMARY INSCRIPTION 13 (2.117G)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This inscription is engraved on a poorly preserved colossal bas-relief from Nimrud that depicts a large figure with a mace. The inscription is incised across the large figure. While a number of scholars have treated the text as a part of Tiglath-pileser's Annals,¹ others have noted its non-chronological elements as evidence of its summary type. In Tadmor's recent treatment, he suggests that the inscription is a summary inscription of a special category (1994:198-199).

(lines 1'-2')²

[...] [...] to Calah before me [...]

(lines 3'-16')³

[As for Samsi, the queen of the land of] Arabia, at Mount Saḡurri [...] [...] her [ent]ire camp [...] [...] And she, who] took fright [at my (mighty) weapons], [...] brought to Assy]ria [to my presence]. [I ins]talled [an official administrator (*qēpu*) over her]; and [10,000 sold]iers⁴ [...] I made [...] bow down to my [feet]. The people of [Massa⁵, Temā, Sab]a⁶, Ḥayaḡpā, [Badanu, Ḥa]ṭte, I[ḡ]ba⁷ilu, [...], who dwell on the bor]der of the countries of the setting sun (western lands) [whose place is far

away, the fa]me of my lordship (and [of] my heroic] deeds they heard], [They brought before] me: gold, silver, camels, [she-camels], all kinds of spices, their tribute, as [one]; [and they kis]sed my feet. Their gifts [...] I appointed Iḡbi⁵ilu⁵ as [the prebend of the "Gatekeeper"]⁶ facing [Egyp]t.

(lines 17'-18')

[The land of Bīt-Ḥumria (Israel)], all [of whose] cities I leveled [to the ground] in my former campaigns, [...] I plundered its livestock, and I spared only (isolated) Samaria. [I/They overthrew] Pek]ah, their king.⁷

¹ E.g. Rost 1872:211-228; Luckenbill *ARAB* 1:§§778-779; Oppenheim *ANET* 283; Borger *TUAT* 372.

² An apparent reference to the arrival of tribute from a foreign king (Tadmor suggests the king of Egypt(?), 1994:198) while Tiglath-pileser is staying in Calah. This may be linked to the statement in the Eponym Chronicle for the year 730 BCE that the king stayed "in the land" (Millard 1994:45, 59).

³ This is the shortest version concerned with the defeat of Samsi.

⁴ For the reading with a discussion of past misunderstandings of the text, see Tadmor 1994:200-201.

⁵ See Summary Inscription 4, *COS* 2.117C, note 17.

⁶ See Summary Inscription 4, *COS* 2.117C, note 18.

⁷ See Summary Inscription 4, *COS* 2.117C, note 11.

REFERENCES

Text: Layard 1851:66; Smith 1875:285-286; Rost 1892:36-38; Tadmor 1994:198-203. Translations: *ARAB* 1:§§778-779; *ANET* 283; *TUAT* 372.

SARGON II (2.118)

THE ANNALS (2.118A)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

In very early excavations (1843-44), P. E. Botta uncovered fourteen large rooms of the palace of Sargon II¹ at ancient Dūr-Šarrukīn (modern Khorsabad). The doorways and walls of these rooms were adorned with slabs having sculptured reliefs along with inscriptions. Further excavations were undertaken at the site by T. V. Place in 1852-54. In connection with the early excavations, E. N. Flandin made excellent drawings of the slabs. These together with Botta's copies were published in 1849-50.² Based on the drawings and especially on plaster squeezes that were also made during the early excavations, H. Winckler (1889) and A. G. Lie (1929) attempted to restore the Annals of Sargon from Khorsabad.³ Through further discoveries of texts of Sargon II as well as additional work, a very useful edition of Sargon's Annals has recently been published (Fuchs 1994).

(lines 10-18)⁴

[...] [the Samar]ians,⁵ [who had agreed with a hostile king] [...] [...] who c[ause] my victory. [I fought with them and decisively defeated them]. [...] [...] carried off as spoil. 50 chariots for my royal force [I [...] [the rest of them I settled in the midst of Assyria.⁶] [...] I re]settled and I made it greater than before. People of lands conquer[ed ...] [...] tax I imposed upon them as on Assyrians. [I opened the sealed] har[bor of Egypt]. [The Assyrians and the Egyptians] I mingled [t]ogether and made them trade with each other.

(lines 23b-25)

In my second regnal year, Ilu-bi⁷di,⁸ [the Hamathite],⁹ [...] the wide [land ...] at Qarqar⁸ he gathered. The oath [...] [...] Arpad, Šimīrra] Damascus, and Sa]mari[a he caused to rebel against me] [...]

(lines 53-57)

[...] and Re¹⁰e, his [commander-in-chief (*turtānu*)], came to his assistance, and he marched against me to do war and battle. In the name of Aššur, my lord, I inflicted a defeat on them. Re¹⁰e fled alone like a shepherd⁹ whose flock is robbed, and he disappeared.

[H]a]nunu I seized with the hand; and I brought him as a prisoner to my city Aššur. I razed, destroyed, and burned Raphia. I carried off 9,033 inhabitants

2 Kgs 17:6, 23; 18:11

8 Gen 10:2

together with their great property.

(lines 72-78)

In my fifth regnal year, Pisiri, the Carchemishite,¹⁰ sinned against the treaty of the great gods, and he sent a message to Mita (Midas),¹¹ the king of Muski.¹² I lifted up my hands to Aššur, my lord; and I brought forth him together with his family as prisoners. I plundered gold, silver, along with the property of his palace, and the sinful inhabitants of Carchemish, who (had supported) him, along with their possessions. I brought them to Assyria. I gathered 50 chariots, 200 cavalry, and 3000 infantrymen from them and I added (them) to my royal contingent. I settled inhabitants of the land of Assyria in the city of Carchemish; and I imposed on them the yoke of Aššur, my lord. The people of Papa and Lallakna — dogs who were brought up in my palace, had spoken ...ly to Kakmē — I deported them from their place and [settled them] in Damascus, in the land of Amurru [...]

(lines 120b-123a)

The Tamudi, Ibadidi, Marsima[ni] and Hayappā, who live in distant Arabia, in the desert, who knew¹³ neither overseer nor commander, who never brought tribute to any king — with the help of Aššur, my lord, I defeated them. I deported the rest of them. I settled them in Samaria/Samerina.

¹ The biblical texts that may be related to Sargon II are: 2 Kgs 17:1-24; 18:1-12; Isa 10:27-32; 14:4b-21; 20:1.

² For further discussion of these wall reliefs, see Albenda 1986.

³ For some of the problems and difficulties with these editions, see Tadmor 1958.

⁴ The restoration of this section is very dependent on the Nimrud Prisms (esp. Prism D).

⁵ Becking (1992:39-45) has recently argued that since the Annals are fragmentary at this particular point, they may, in fact, not refer to the conquest of Samaria. However, see Fuchs 1994:82. For the issues surrounding the fall of Samaria, see Younger 1999.

⁶ In Sargon's inscriptions, the name of the king of Hamath is spelled *Ilu-bi⁷di* and *Yau-bi⁷di*. Some scholars interpret the *Yau-* as a Yahwistic theophoric element (Malamat 1963:7; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:166; with variation, Dalley 1990:27, 31; Zevit 1991:363-366). Other scholars are doubtful of a Yahwistic theophoric element in the name (Lipiński 1971:371-373). See also Hawkins 1976-80c; Dion 1997:169, n. 142.

⁷ For Hamath, see Hawkins 1972-75a:67-70; Dion 1997:137-170.

⁸ Same site as Shalmaneser III's battle in 853 BCE (see COS 2.113A, note 22).

⁹ Akk. *re¹⁰u* which is used as a wordplay on the name of the Egyptian commander Re¹⁰e. For older attempts to link his name with "So, king of Egypt" (2 Kgs 17:4), see Borger 1960; Kitchen 1986:374-375; Cogan and Tadmor 1988:196.

¹⁰ For Carchemish, see Hawkins 1997; 1976-80c.

¹¹ I.e., Midas of Phrygia.

¹² Muski or Muski is identified with Meshech (Gen 10:2).

¹³ The Arab tribes are the subject and not the object of *idāma* (see Cogan and Tadmor 1988:337; and Becking 1992:103).

(lines 249-262)¹⁴

Azuri,¹⁵ the king of Ashdod,¹⁶ [plo]t[te]d to with[hold] his tribute], and he sent (messages) to the neighboring kings [hostile to Assyria]. Because he committed crimes again[st] the people of his country], I abo[lished] his ru[le] (and) plac[ed] Ahimiti, his favorite brother, as king [over them]. The Hittites,¹⁷ who (always) speak treachery, [hated] his rule. [Ya]jdna,¹⁸ who had no claim to the throne, who was like them, and had [no respect for rulership], they elevated over them. [In the anger of my heart], with my own chariot and with my cavalry

— who never leave my [side in (hostile or) friendly territory] — I [quickly] marched to Ashdod, [his royal city]. I besieged (and) conquered Ashdod, Gi[mtu]¹⁹ and [Ashdod-Yam].²⁰ I counted as boo[ty] the gods who dw[elt] in them, him[self], [together with the people of his land, gold, silver, (and) the property of his palace]. I reorganized those cities. I settled there the people of the lands, the conquest of my hands. I placed my eunuchs as governors over them; and I counted them with the people of Assyria; and they bore my yoke.

¹⁴ Tadmor (1958:79) states: "The assumption that an Assyrian Commander-in-Chief (*turtanu*) fought against Ashdod in 712 BC agrees with the date in Isa. 20:21ff. 'The year that Tartan came into Ashdod ... and took it.'" He also argues: "There are, however, some indications that Sargon had intervened in the affairs of Ashdod prior to the expedition of 712: e.g., the replacement of Azinu with Ahimtu. However, the narrative of the campaign against Ashdod in the Annals (11th yr. = 711) was shifted by the scribes from the 9th yr. = 712 in the prism in order to extend the brief narrative of events of 712" (1958:92-94).

¹⁵ For this monarch, see PNA 1:240.

¹⁶ For Ashdod, see Dothan 1993. Fragments of an Assyrian victory stela were found in excavations at Ashdod. See Tadmor 1971; Kapera 1976; Cogan and Tadmor 1988: pl. 11b.

¹⁷ Used figuratively of the Westerners, namely, here, the Ashdodites.

¹⁸ Elsewhere Yamani. Yajna may be a scribal error (Berger *TUAT* 1:380, n. 254a; Edzard 1976-80). For the campaign against Ashdod, see Kapera 1972-73; 1987; Mattingly 1981; Reade 1976; Redford 1992; Spalinger 1973; 1978; Tadmor 1958. Cf. Tang-i Var (*COS* 2.118J) below.

¹⁹ Generally identified with Gath.

²⁰ This site (located on the coast) was evidently built by Yamani to serve as a rear base for the main city in times of danger. See Kaplan 1993.

REFERENCES

Text: Fuchs 1994:82-188, 313-342; Lie 1929:2-13, 20-23, 38-41; Winckler 1889:4-7, 12-13, 16-17, 24-25, 40-43. Translations and studies: *ARAB* 2:84; *ANET* 284; *TUAT* 1:378-379; Tadmor 1958:34; Becking 1992:39-45.

THE BOROWSKI STELA (2.118B)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This text is inscribed on a broken stone stela,¹ belonging to a type of stela which was set up locally to commemorate events in the district. Thus it was probably incised after the successful completion of the campaign in Syria and Palestine in 720 BCE. This document reveals what had not been known before its publication, namely that thousands of Assyrians were "guilty" of rebellion according to Sargon. Those mentioned in the stela, however, he pardoned and deported to Hamath.

I gathered from them 200 chariots, 600 cavalry, shield and lance (bearers); and I added them to my royal contingent. I pardoned 6,300 guilty Assyrians;² and showed mercy on them; and I settled them in Hamath. I imposed on them tribute, gifts, and corvée work, as my royal fathers³ had imposed on

Irḫulēni⁴ of Hamath. Future rulers should heed the kindly deeds of the god Aššur, and they should teach later generations to reverence him. The people of of the land Ḫatti and of the land of Arime, who live in Bīt-Agusi and Unqi, to their whole extent ...

¹ It is only 58 cm in height and 35.6 cm in width.

² Most likely these were part of the Assyrian army units who had offended Sargon by supporting a more legitimate successor to Shalmaneser V (Lambert 1981:125).

³ Sargon's rise to power came on the heels of the death of Shalmaneser V, whose death recent research has shown was the result of natural causes (see Younger 1999:468, n. 28). Some scholars conclude that since Shalmaneser V died a natural death, Sargon II was not a usurper (Becking 1992:22, n. 6; Na'aman 1990:218, n. 37; Vera Chamaza 1992:21-33). But just because Shalmaneser V may have died a natural death does not mean that Sargon was the legitimate heir to throne. The ensuing internal difficulties indicated in the sources demonstrate a significant struggle for the throne in Assyria at this time. The cumulative evidence seems to point to an illegitimate power seizure by Sargon. See Tadmor 1981:26-29; Dalley 1985:33.

⁴ A king of Hamath in the days of Shalmaneser III. See *COS* 2.113A, ii.86b-102.

REFERENCES

Text and translation: Lambert 1981.

THE AŠŠUR "CHARTER" (2.118C)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

The text (K. 1349) is inscribed on a fragmentary tablet 6.9 cm x 12.0 cm and describes the restoration of privileges¹ to the city of Aššur. The fragment offers a brief but clear representation of the internal political situation of Assyria during Sargon II's ascent to the throne. It appears that the text was written only a few years² after Sargon came to power since he states in line 16 "in my second regnal year." In the section of the document relating Sargon's activities of 720 BCE (lines 16-28), Samaria's involvement in the coalition against Sargon is clearly linked to the leadership of Ilu-bi³di (Yau-bi³di) of Hamath (see Younger 1999:471-473).

(lines 16-17a)

In my second regnal year,³ when I had sat on the royal throne and had been crow[ned] with the crown of lordship, I smashed the forces of Humbanigaš, king of Elam; I decisively defeated him.⁴

(lines 17b-28)

Il[ubi³di⁵ of] Hamath, not the rightful holder of the throne, not fit(?) for the palace, who in the shepherdship of his people, did [not attend to their] fate, [but] with regard to the god Aššur, his land (and) his people he sought evil, not good, and he

treated contemptuously. He gathered Arpad and Samerina, and he turned (them) to his side [...] h[e] kill[ed] [a]nd he did not leave anyone alive [...] I raised [my hand to Aššur]; and in order to conquer H[a]math [...] [...] of the extensive the land of Amurru. I prayed⁶; and Aššur, the [great] god ... heard [my prayer] and received my supplication [...] I caused [my forces] to take [the way to the land of Amu]rru.⁷ Ha[math] [...] earlier times, who had learned fame [...] I subdued [the inhabitants of the land of Amu]rru. [...] I brought [them t]o my [c]ity, the city of Aššur, a[nd ...]

¹ What made up this "privileged status" (*kidinnu* or *kidinnātu*) was apparently exemption from both *ilku* and *tupšikku* (Vera Chamaza 1992:26-27).

² Tadmor concludes that the Aššur Charter is "superior to all other Annalistic sources of Sargon as to historical reliability and exactness of dating" (1958:32).

³ See Sargon's Annals above, COS 2.118A, lines 23-25.

⁴ The reference is to the Battle of Der; see COS 2.118I, n. 2.

⁵ See Sargon's Annals, COS 2.118A, note 6.

⁶ Here understanding *maḫḫū* meaning "to pray (to a deity)." See CAD M 1:61.

⁷ I.e., Syria-Palestine.

REFERENCES

Text: Saggs 1975; Winckler 1893-94:pl. 1; 1897 1:403-405. Translations and studies: ARAB 2:§§133-135; TUAT 1:387; Tadmor 1958:31-32; Becking 1992:34-36; Vera Chamaza 1992.

NIMRUD PRISMS D & E (2.118D)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

A number of fragmentary clay prisms were discovered in excavations at Nimrud in 1952-53. These fragments form two prisms: D, comprised of ND 2601 + 3401 + 3417, and E, comprised of ND 3400 + 3402 + 3408 + 3409.¹ These two prisms are duplicate and fortunately allow restoration of a more continuous text. Most of the column translated here comes from prism D.

(iv.25-41)

[The inhabitants of Sa]merina, who agreed² [and plotted]³ with a king [hostile to]⁴ me, not to do service and not to bring tribute [to Aššur] and who did battle, I fought against them with the power of

a 2 Kgs 17:7-8

the great gods, my lords. I counted as spoil 27,280 people, together with their chariots, and gods,⁵ in which they trusted. I formed a unit with 200 of [their] chariots for my royal force. I settled the rest of them in the midst of Assyria. I repopulated

¹ There were additional fragments discovered as well. But only the two prisms are relevant here.

² Dalley (1985:36) suggests reading *kaṁālu* instead of *gamālu*. However, *kaṁālu* is doubtful since it is not found in such contexts in the royal inscriptions. It is most often used with deities as the subject (CAD K 109). Thus *gamālu* seems more probable.

³ The most probable restoration seems to be either [*ikpudu*] — used twice by Sargon in his Letter to the God and used by Assurbanipal in the phrase: *ša ini RN ikpudu lemutu* "who plots evil against Assurbanipal" (CAD K 173), or *ibbalkitu* — seems less likely though it is used in Sargon's inscriptions (CAD N 1:13-14).

⁴ For the restorations of lines 25-28, see Younger 1999:469-471.

Samerina more than before.⁵ I brought into it people from countries conquered by my hands. I appointed my eunuch as governor over them. And I counted them as Assyrians.

(lines 42-49)

I caused the awe-inspiring splendor of Aššur, my

lord, to overwhelm the people of the land of Egypt and the Arabians; and at the mention of my name their hearts palpitated, (and) their arms collapsed. I opened the sealed [borders(?)]⁶ of Egypt, and I mingled together the people of Assyria and Egypt. I made them trade [with each other].

⁵ Dalley (1985:36) reads this as a hendiadys, *utir ... ušešib* "I made the population greater." Tadmor (1958:34) reads "the city of Samaria I resettled and made it greater than before," reading *ū-še-me* (from *ewū, emū*) instead of *ū-še-šib* (from *ašābu*).

⁶ Borger (*TUAT* 1:382) proposes [*ki-sūr-re*]; Tadmor (1958) suggests [*ka]r-ri*.

REFERENCES

Text: Gadd 1954:179-180, pls. xlv, xlvj; Tadmor 1958:34; Spieckermann 1982:349-350. Translations and studies: Cogan and Tadmor 1988:200, 336; *TUAT* 1:382; Dalley 1985:36; Naʿaman 1990:209-210; Becking 1992:28-31.

THE GREAT "SUMMARY" INSCRIPTION (2.118E)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Discovered at Khorsabad (see introduction to Sargon's Annals above, *COS* 2.118A), this summary inscription stood on the wall slabs of rooms 4, 7, 8 and 10 in Sargon's palace.

(lines 23-27)

From my accession year to my fifteenth regnal year, I decisively defeated Humbanigaš, the Elamite, in the district of Der.

I besieged and conquered Samarina. I took as booty 27,290¹ people who lived there. I gathered 50 chariots from them. I taught the rest (of the deportees) their skills.² I set my eunuch over them, and I imposed upon them the (same) tribute as the previous king (i.e. Shalmaneser V).

Hanunu, the king of Gaza, along with Reʿe, the commander-in-chief (*turtānu*) of Egypt, marched against me to do war and battle at Raphia. I inflicted a decisive defeat on them. Reʿe became afraid at the noise of my weapons, and he fled, and his place was not found. I captured with my own hand Hanunu, the king of Gaza. I received the tribute of Pharaoh,³ the king of Egypt, Samsi,⁴ the queen of Arabia, Ithamar, the Sabeans: gold, herbs of the mountain, horses and camels.

(lines 33-36a)

Yau-biʿdi, the Hamathite, a *ḥupšu-man*,⁵ with no claim to the throne, an evil Hittite, was plotting in his heart to become king of Hamath. He caused Arpad, Šimarra, Damascus and Samaria to rebel

against me, had unified them (lit. made them one mouth) and prepared for battle. I mustered the masses of Aššur's troops and at Qarqar, his favorite city, I besieged and captured him, together with his warriors. I burned Qarqar. Him I flayed. I killed the rebels in the midst of those cities. I established harmony. I gathered 200 chariots, 600 cavalry from among the people of Hamath, and I added (them) to my royal contingent.

(lines 90-112a)

Azuri, the king of Ashdod, plotted in his heart to withhold tribute, and he sent (messages) to the neighboring kings, hostile to Assyria. Because he committed crimes against the people of his country, I abolished his rule. I placed Aḥimiti, his favorite [brother],⁷ as king over them. The Hittites, who (always) speak treachery, hated his rule.

Yamani,⁸ who had no claim to the throne, who was like them, and had no respect for rulership, they elevated over them. In the ebullience of my heart, I did not gather the masses of my troops, nor did I organize my camp. With my warriors — who never leave my side in (hostile or) friendly territory — I marched to Ashdod. Now when this Yamani heard from afar the approach of my cam-

¹ Nimrud Prism has 27,280 deportees, *COS* 2.118D. For the Battle of Der, see *COS* 2.118C, n. 4.

² For the interpretation of this sentence, see Younger 1999:469.

³ For *Piʿu šār Mušuri* (ca. 713 BCE), see Naʿaman 1974:32 and n. 29. For Reʿe, see *COS* 118A, n. 9.

⁴ See Tiglath-pileser III *COS* 2.117C, note 12.

⁵ Kitchen 1994; 1997. Cf. the name of Aaron's youngest son, Exod 6:23, etc.

⁶ Following Borger *TUAT* 1:383, n. 33b. Cf. Heb. *ḥopšl* denoting a lower class; Ug. *ḥpī, ḥbt*; see Heltzer 1981:54, n. 56.

⁷ *AHW* 1310 "bevorzugter Bruder."

⁸ For Yamani and this campaign of Sargon, see *COS* 2.118A, note 18 above.

paig, he fled to the border area of Egypt which is on the border with Meluhha,⁹ and his place was not found. I besieged (and) conquered Ashdod, Gintu (Gath) and Ashdod-Yam. I counted as booty his gods, his wife, his sons, his daughters, the property, the possessions (and) treasures of his palace, together with the inhabitants of his land. I reorganized those cities. I settled there the peoples of the lands, the conquest of my hands, from [the area] of the east. [I placed my eunuchs as governors over them]. I counted them with the people of Assyria and they bore my yoke.

The king of Meluh[ha]⁹—who in ... land of U[r]iz-zu, an inaccessible place, a way [... whose] ancestors [from the] distant [past] until now had nev[er] se[nt] their messengers to the kings, my ancestors, in order to inquire about their well-being — heard from a[ar] of the might of the gods [Aššur, [Nabû], (and) Marduk. The [fear]ful splendor of my majesty overwhelmed him and panic overcame him. He put him (Yamani) in handcuffs and manacles, [fe]tters of iron, and they brou[ght] (him) the long journey to Assyria (and) into my presence.

⁹ In the Neo-Assyrian texts, Meluhha refers to Nubia. Heimpel 1987 and 1993-97 overlooks these references. For this king see COS 2.118J, lines 19-21.

REFERENCES

Text: Fuchs 1994:189-248, esp. 197, 343-355; Winckler, Sargon, 100-103; 114-117. Translations and studies: *ARAB* 2:§§55, 62; *ANET* 284-285; *TUAT* 1:383-384; Dalley 1985:34-35; Tiram 1989-90:73; Becking 1992:25-26.

THE SMALL "SUMMARY" INSCRIPTION (2.118F)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

The text was discovered in room 14 of Sargon's Khorsabad palace.

(lines 11b-18a)

Yamani,¹ the Ashdodite, became afraid of my weapons, and he abandoned his wives, his sons, (and) his daughters, and he fled to the border area of Egypt which is on the border with Meluhha,² and lived like a thief (there). I placed my eunuchs as governors over all of his extensive land and his flourishing³ people. I extended the territory of Aššur, king of the gods.

[...] The fearful splendor of Aššur, my lord, [ov]erwhelmed [the king of the land of M]eluhha² and they put iron fetters on his (Yamani's) hands and feet. He (the king of Meluhha) had him (Ya-

mani) brought to Assyria into my presence. [...] I plundered Šinuhtu, Samerina⁴ and the entire land of Bit-Humria (Israel). The Ionians, who live in the midst of the western sea, I caught like fish. I deported the land of Kasku, the land of Tabal (and) the land of Hīlakku. I drove away Mita (Midas), king of Muski. I decisively defeated Egypt at Raphia, and I counted Hanunu, the king of Gaza, as booty.

I subdued the seven kings of the land of Ia,⁵ a district of the land of Iadnana,⁶ whose homes lie a seven days' journey in the middle of the western sea.

¹ See COS 2.118A, note 18 above.

² See COS 2.118E, note 9.

³ See *AHW* 1156 s.v. *šamtu* and Fuchs 1994:308, n. 308.

⁴ Becking comments: "it is a remarkable fact that 'Samerina and the whole land of Omri' are mentioned in one line with URU Ši-nu-uh-ni in Cilicia which Sargon conquered during a campaign in his fourth *palū* = 718 BCE" (1992:27-28). For Šinuhtu, see COS 2.118I, n. 5.

⁵ For the subjugation of these Cypriot kings, see Na'aman 1998b.

⁶ Lipiński (1991) argues that the term Iadnana, the most common name for Cyprus in the Assyrian royal inscriptions, may be interpreted as "the island of the Danunians."

REFERENCES

Text: Fuchs 1994:75-81, esp. 76, 307-312; Weissbach 1918:175-185; Winckler 1889:82-83; Translations: *ARAB* 2:§79-80; *ANET* 285; *TUAT* 1:385; Becking 1992:27-28.

PAVEMENT INSCRIPTION 4 (2.118G)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

The text was inscribed on a pavement slab for the gates at Dūr-Šarrukīn (Khorsabad).

(lines 31-41) (Sargon II) ... who conquered Samaria and the entire land of Bīt-Ḫumria (Israel); ¹ who plundered Ashdod (and) Šinuḫtu, ² who caught the Ionians ³ like fish in the middle of the sea; who deported	the Kasku, all of Tabal, and Ḫitakku; who drove away Mita (Midas), the king of Muski; who decisively defeated Egypt at Raphia, and counted Hanunu, king of Gaza, as spoil.
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¹ Var.: *ka-a-šid* ^{ms} *sa-mir-i-na gi-[nu]-ir É Ḫum-ri-a*.
² See Nimrud Inscription (COS 2.118I, note 5).
³ KUR *la-am-na-a-a*. Perhaps these are Ionian pirates on the Cilician coast. See Röllig 1976-80b.

REFERENCES

Text: Fuchs 1994:259-271, esp. 261, 359-362; Borger *BAL*², 59-63, 131-132, 322-326; Winckler 1889 1:146-157, 2:pls. 38-40. Translations: *ARAB* 2:§§99-100; *ANET* 284; *TUAT* 1:386; Becking 1992:27.

THE CYLINDER INSCRIPTION (2.118H)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Discovered at Khorsabad, the text is inscribed on four barrel cylinders (two in the Louvre at Paris and two in the British Museum in London). The inscription commemorates the founding of Sargon's new capital at Dūr-Šarrukīn.

(lines 19-20) ¹ (Sargon) who subjugated the extensive land of Bīt-Ḫumria (Israel), who inflicted a decisive defeat on Egypt at Raphia, and who brought Hanunu, king of	Gaza, to Aššur as a prisoner, who conquered the Tamudi, the Ibadidi, the Marsimani and the Hayap-pā, of whom the remainder I removed and settled in the land of Bīt-Ḫumria (Israel).
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¹ Interestingly, events of 720 BCE (subjugation of Israel, the defeat of Hanunu of Gaza, Egyptians at Raphia) are joined with events of 717 BCE (the conquest of the Arab tribes and their deportations to Samaria).

REFERENCES

Text: Fuchs 1994:34 (lines 19-20); Lyon 1883 4:19-20. Translations: *ARAB* 2:§§116-118; *TUAT* 1:386.

THE NIMRUD INSCRIPTION (2.118I)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Inscribed on two slabs from Calah (Nimrud), this text is a summary inscription recording Sargon's restoration of Aššur-našir-pal II's palace. One slab is in Assyrian characters, the other in Babylonian. While the inscription is not dated, it appears to date to late 717 or early 716 BCE (Na²aman 1994:19-20).

(line 7-12) Pious prince, who met with Ḫumbanigaš, ¹ king of Elam, in the district of Der ² and defeated him; the	^a lsa 10:27. 32 subduer of Judah ^a which lies far away; ³ deporter of the land of Hamath, whose hands captured Yaubi ² di, their king; repulser the land of Kakmé,
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¹ The battle against Ḫumbanigaš at Der, the subjugation of Hamath, and the subduing Judah took place in 720 BCE. See COS 2.118C, n. 4.
² Concerning the site of Der, see de Meyer 1997. Concerning the battle, see Brinkman 1984:40-50, esp. p. 48. Sargon's texts claim that he was the winner of the battle of Der. See *Annals* (lines 21-22); Nimrud inscription (line 7); Tang-i Var Inscription (line 16). The other sources declare the Elamites as winners (see the Babylonian Chronicle I i.33-37); or the Elamites/Babylonians (Marduk-apla-iddina Nimrud stela, lines 17-18; Gadd 1953:123). See Hallo 1960:53.
³ For possible connections of this phrase to a campaign of Sargon II against Judah in the 720 BCE context, see Sweeney 1994; Younger 1996;

the wicked enemy; who set in order the disordered land of the Manneans; who gladdened the heart of his land; who extended the border of Assyria.

Diligent ruler, snare of the unsubmissive, whose hand captured Pisiri, king of Ḫatti, and set his official over Carchemish,⁴ his city; deporter of the

city of Šinuḫtu,⁵ who brought Kiakki,⁶ king of Tabal, to Aššur, his city, and placed his yoke on the land of Muski; conqueror the land of the Manneans, the land of Karallu and the land of Pattiru; avenger of his land; who defeated the distant Medes as far as the rising sun.

Na³aman 1994; Hallo 1999a:36f. Cf. the interesting parallel in the Nimrud Prism: *mu-šak-niš KUR Ma-da-a-a ru-qu-ú-ii* "the subduer of the distant Medes" (Gadd 1954:200; Tadmor 1958:38-39). For the Isaianic passage, see Christensen 1976.

⁴ The conquest of Carchemish dates to 717 BCE.

⁵ Šinuḫtu is to be located at Aksaray (Hawkins 1995b:99). For the episode recording this deportation, see Annals lines 68b-71.

⁶ In 718 BCE, Sargon removed Kiakki of Šinuḫtu for disloyalty and intrigue with Mita of Muski (Midas of Phrygia). He gave Šinuḫtu to Kuri of Atuna, a successor of Tiglath-pileser III's contemporary Ušḫiti (see the Iran Stela of Tiglath-pileser, *COS* 2.117B). A stela from Aksaray names a ruler Kiyakiya, who seems likely to be the same as Kiakki of Šinuḫtu. See Hawkins 1995b:99; Hawkins and Postgate 1988:37.

REFERENCES

Text: Winckler 1889 1:168-173. Translations: *ARAB* 2:§§136-138; *ANET* 287; *TUAT* 1:387; Na³aman 1994:17-18.

THE TANG-I VAR INSCRIPTION (2.118J)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Discovered in Iranian Kurdistan in 1968, this cuneiform inscription is found on a Neo-Assyrian relief that is carved into a niche in a rock face on the flanks of the Kūh-i Zīnāneh in the Tang-i Var mountain pass. The niche is approximately 170 cm in height and 150 cm in width and some 40 m above ground level. The relief depicts an Assyrian king in a standard pose, standing and facing right with his right hand raised and his left hand holding an object (perhaps a scepter). Apparently, the relief and inscription were engraved in this niche to commemorate the Assyrian campaign of 706 BCE carried out against the land of Karalla¹ by Sargon's officials and very likely carved in that year (Frame 1999:51). This is the only Assyrian rock relief known to have been made in the time of Sargon II. Unfortunately, the inscription is badly worn. Nevertheless, through photographs taken in the early 1970s,² G. Frame has recently published a very informative preliminary edition (Frame 1999).

(lines 11-12)

Sargon, great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria, governor of Babylon, king of the land of [Sumer and Ak]kad, favorite of the great gods, perfect hero, [...] man, pious [prince], marvellous man, [...] shepherd, [...].

(lines 13-15)³

Aššur, Nabû(?), (and) Marduk, the gods [my] helpers, granted [me] a kingship [without] equal and [have ex]tolled my good [fa]me reach to the utmost. I un[der]took⁴ the [re]stor[at]ion of Sippar, Ni[ppur], (and) Babylon (and) I recom[pen]sed the citizens of [kidinnu-status],⁵ as man[y] as there were, for all the wrongful damage (suffered by)

[them]. I re[in]stated the exemption from taxation of Bal[til]⁶ which had been interrupted. Regarding the city of Ḫarran [...] gate of [the peo]ple [...] I set up a *kidinnu*-symbol⁷ (indicating their privileged status).

(lines 16-18)⁸

I smashed the army of Ḫumbanigaš, the Elamite. I destroyed the land of K[aral]la,⁹ the land of Šurda, the city of Ki[šes]im, the city of Ḫarḫar, [the land] of the Medes, (and) the land of Ellifpi [...]. I laid waste to the land of Urartu, plundered the city of [Mušašir] (and) the land of the Manneans; I mauled the land[s] of Andia (and) Zikirtu, (and) allowed [...] all their settlements to live [...]. I conquered

¹ The passage (lines 37-44) that narrates this campaign in the inscription is badly preserved and only partially legible.

² François Vallat took these photographs while dangling from a rope! (see Frame's description, 1999:34).

³ See Display Inscription from Room 14 (lines 2-3 and 5).

⁴ *ša PN, PN, PN zānināssun eteppuša (e-tep-pu-ša)*. *CAD* E 225 s.v. *epēšu + zāninātu* "to act as provider and caretaker." Cf. *ša Sippar Nippur Bābīlī u Barsip zānināssun e-tep-pu-ša* "I undertook the restoration of Sippar, Nippur, Babylon and Borsippa." Winckler 1889 no. 56:3, and passim in Sargon.

⁵ I.e. "privileged status."

⁶ I.e. Aššur.

⁷ *CAD* K 343 s.v. *kidinnu*.

⁸ See Display Inscription from Room 14 lines 7-10 and note such texts as Pavement Inscription no. 4 lines 14-27.

⁹ See Röhlig 1976-80a; and esp. Frame 1999:48-52.

the rulers of the land of Hamath, the city of Car-che[mish, the city of Kummul]hi, (and) the land of Kammanu; I set governors over their lands [...].

(lines 19-21)

I plundered the city of Ashdod. Yamani, its king, feared [my weapons] and [...]. He fled to the region of the land of Meluhha and lived like a thief¹⁰ (there). Šapataku¹¹ (Shebitku¹²),¹³ king of the land of Meluhha, heard about the mig[ht] of Aššur, Nabû, (and) Marduk which I had [demonstrated] over all lands [...]. He put (Yamani) in manacles and handcuffs [...] he had him brought before my presence like a captive.

(line 22)

[I depopulated] all the lands of Tabālu, Kasku (and) Hīlakku; I [took away] settlements belonging to Mita (Midas), king of the land of [Mu]sku, and reduced his land.

a Gen 10:7;
Isa 18:1-3;
20: 30:1-7

b 2Kgs 20:12;
Isa 39:1

(line 23)

At the city of Raphia (Rapihu) [I defeated] the vanguard of the army [of Egypt]; and I counted as bo[ot]y the king of the city of Gaza who had not submitted to my [yo]ke.

(line 24)

I subdued seven kings of the land of Iā¹⁴, a region of the l[and of] Iadnāna (Cyprus)¹³ — whose home is situated at a distance¹⁴ of [...] [in the mid]dle of the Western Sea.

(line 25-26a)

Moreover, my hands defeated Marduk-apla-iddina (Merodach-baladan),¹⁵ king of the land of Chaldea, who dwelled on the shore of the sea (and) who ex[erc]ised kingship over Babylon against the wi[th] of the gods. Moreover, all the land of Bīt-Yakin [...]

¹⁰ I.e. "in hiding."

¹¹ From the photographs published by Frame. I read the signs of the name: [m] [šá] -pa- [ra] -ku- [u] -[u].

¹² The Tang-i Var inscription indicates, by naming Shebitku as the king who extradited Yamani from Egypt, that Shebitku was already ruler by 706, at least four years earlier than has generally been thought. See the discussion of Frame 1999:52-54 and Redford 1999. Cf. COS 2.118A, note 18. For the possible biblical allusions, see Astour 1965.

¹³ See Lipiński 1991:64. He argues that the word Iā¹⁴ renders the Phoen. ʿy "island," and Iadnāna should probably be interpreted in the sense of "Island of the Danunians."

¹⁴ For this line, see Frame 1999:45.

REFERENCES

Text: Frame 1999; Sarfarāz 1968-69. Translation: Frame 1999. Studies: Frame 1999; Redford 1999.

SENNACHERIB (2.119)

SENNACHERIB'S FIRST CAMPAIGN: AGAINST MERODACH-BALADAN (2.119A)

Mordechai Cogan

The date of this earliest of Sennacherib's campaigns is disputed; it was directed against Merodach-baladan, who had seized the opportunity of Sargon's death (705 BCE) to proclaim himself king of Babylon, in opposition to the upstart rebel Marduk-zakir-shumi. Levine (1982) favors a date from winter 704 through early 702, while Brinkman (1984) opts for 703-702, considerably shortening the time span of the abundant military activities detailed in the inscription. Unlike his predecessors, Sennacherib did not reign as king of Babylon upon routing Merodach-baladan; rather he appointed the pro-Assyrian Bel-ibni to the throne.

The Babylonian mission sent by Merodach-baladan to Jerusalem¹⁶ is frequently associated with the period of rebellion prior to the campaign described, suggesting that Babylonians and Judeans coordinated their insurgencies against Assyria (Brinkman 1964:31-33; Hallo 1999a:37). Another option dates the Jerusalem visit to the reign of Sargon, ca. 713 BCE, during Merodach-baladan's earlier rule in Babylon (Cogan and Tadmor 1988:260-263).

The text bears no colophon date, but certainly predates the "Bellino cylinder" inscription that relates both the first and second campaigns and is dated to mid-702 BCE.

(lines 5-15) At the beginning of my reign, when I had majestically ascended the throne and ruled the people of Assyria with obedience and peace, Merodach-baladan, king of Karduniaš (i.e., Babylonia),

a 2Kgs 20:12-19; Isa 39:1-8; 2Chr 32:31

an evil rebel, of treacherous mind, doer of evil, for whom truth is sinful, turned to Shutur-Nahhunte, the Elamite, for help, sent him gold and silver and precious stones, requesting his help. He (i.e., the

Elamite) sent him General¹ b Imbappa, with his troops, Tannanu, the "third man,"^c 10 commanders, together with Nergal-nasir, the Sutean, fearless in battle, 80,000 bowmen, [chariots, wagons, mules and horses, to his aid in Sumer and Akkad. He, [Merodach-baladan, Larsa], Ur, Eridu, Kullab, Kissik, Nimid-Laguda, Bit-Yakin, Bit-Amukkani, Bit-Salli, Bit-Dakkuri, all the Chaldeans, as many as there were, who (dwell) by the banks [of the Tigris, the Tu²umuna, the Ri³hila, the Ubudu], the Yadaqu, the Kipre, the Mali⁴u, [who (dwell) by the banks of the Euphrates, the Gurumu, the Ubulu, the Damu⁵nu, the Gambulu, the Hindau, the Ru⁶ua, the Buqudu, [who (dwell) by the banks of the Uqu, the Hamranu, the Hagru], the Nabatu, the Li⁷tau — unsubmissive Arameans who do not know field crops,² Nippur [...], Borsippa, Kutha, all of Babylonia, he gathered together as one and prepared for battle.

(lines 16-19) They reported these evil deeds to me, Sennacherib, who is pious in heart. I raged like a lion and gave the order to march into Babylonia against him. He, the image of an evil demon, heard of the march of my campaign. Horses and bowmen of the Elamites, Arameans, and Chaldeans, together with Nabu-nasir and the 10 commanders of Elam who do not know field crops — a force without number with them — he strengthened their ranks and brought them into Kutha. He set watch at the outposts against the advance of my campaign. I readied my chariot teams, (and) on the twentieth day of Shebat,^d I set out from Assur at the head of my army, like a mighty wild ox. I did not wait for my forces, nor did I hold back for the rear guard.

(lines 20-30) I ordered the Rabshakeh^e and my governors to Kish ahead of me: "Take the road against Merodach-baladan (and) keep him under strong watch." He (i.e., Merodach-baladan) saw my governors and sallied forth with all his troops through the gate of Zamana and did battle with my officers in the plain of Kish. The enemy's onslaught was great against my officers and they could not withstand it. They sent messengers for help to me (while I was) in the plain of Kutha. In my wrath, I made a fierce assault upon Kutha; I slaughtered their warriors round about its wall like sheep and took the city. I took out and counted as spoil the horses and bowmen of the Elamites, the Arameans, and the Chaldeans, the commanders of the king of Elam, Nabu-nasir, as well as the rebel inhabitants of the city. I raged like a lion; I stormed like the flood. I set my face, together with my merciless

b 2 Kgs 18:17;
Isa 20:1

c 1 Kgs 9:22;
2 Kgs 7:2;
9:25; 15:25,
etc.

d Zech 1:7

e 2 Kgs 18:17,
etc.

warriors, against Merodach-baladan. And he, doer of evil, saw the advance of my campaign from afar. Fear fell upon him and he abandoned all of his forces and fled to Guzummani. Tannanu, together with the armies of the Elamites, the Chaldeans and the Arameans, who stood at his side and had come to his aid — I defeated them and shattered his forces. Adinu, son of the wife³ of Merodach-baladan, together with Bazqanu, brother of Iatie, queen of the Arabs, together with their armies, with my own hands I took alive as captives. I myself seized the chariots, wagons, horses, mules, asses, dromedaries (and) Bactrian camels which had been abandoned during the battle. In the joy of my heart and with shining countenance, I hurried to Babylon and entered the palace of Merodach-baladan to oversee the property and goods (stored) there.

(lines 31-38) I opened his treasuries. Gold, silver, vessels of gold and silver, precious stones, beds, armchairs, a processional carriage — a royal appurtenance — inlaid with gold and silver, property and goods of all kinds, without number, an enormous treasure, his wife, the women of his palace, his housekeepers, male and female musicians, eunuchs, courtiers, attendants, palace slaves who keep his royalty in good spirits, all the craftsmen as many as there were, I brought (them) out and counted as spoil.

I hurried after him. I sent my warriors to Guzummani into the swamps and the marshes. They searched for him for five days, but his (hiding) place was not found. The rest of the horses of his troops, which had no place to rest and had fled from him (as swiftly) as deer, and had not gone with him, I gathered together from the steppe and the hills.

(lines 39-50) In the course of my campaign, ... (the names of 26 towns are listed),⁴ in all 33 fortified towns, walled towns of Bit-Dakkuri, with 250 villages within their borders; ... (the names of 8 towns are listed), in all 8 fortified towns, walled towns of Bit-Sa²alli, with 120 villages within their borders; ... (the names of 39 towns are listed), in all 39 fortified towns, walled towns of Bit-Amukkani, with 350 villages within their borders; ... (the names of 8 towns), in 8 fortified towns, walled towns of Bit-Yakin, with 100 villages within their borders; a total of 88 fortified towns, walled towns of Chaldea (i.e., Babylonia), with 820 villages within their borders, I besieged, I conquered, I plundered.

¹ Lit. "the tartan."

² An expression referring to the nomadic life style of the Arameans. In a similar manner, the Amorite tribes who entered Mesopotamia in the late 3rd millennium BCE were styled "who know no grain" and "who dig up mushrooms at the foot of the mountain." See Klein 1996. For Nergal-nasir, the Sutean, see Heltzer 1981:96.

³ Perhaps to be read "sister" (Brinkman 1964:25, n. 140).

⁴ An error of transcription may account for the missing seven names; cf. Eph'al 1982:40, n. 106.

(lines 51-62) I provisioned my troops with barley and the dates of their groves, (and) their produce from outlying regions. I destroyed, devastated and burned (their towns) and turned them into forgotten tells. I took out the Aramean and Chaldean elite forces who were in Uruk, Nippur, Kish and Hursagkalamma, together with their rebel inhabitants and counted (them) as spoil. I provisioned my troops with barley and dates of their groves, from the field which they had worked, (and) the produce from outlying regions, for their sustenance.

I installed Bet-ibni, son of a building inspector, a native-born Babylonian, who was raised in my palace like a young puppy.

On my return, I captured the Tu²muna, Ri³hilu, Yadaqu, Ubudu, Kip⁴re, Mali⁵hu, Gurumu, U⁶jbulu, Damunu, Gambulum, H⁷indaru, Ru⁸ua, Baqudu, Hamranu, H⁹agranu, Nabatu, Li¹⁰ta¹¹fu, all of them unsubmitive Arameans], and despoiled

them.

In the course of my campaign, I received the heavy tribute of Nabu-bel-shumati, the administrator of Hararati: gold, silver, large *musukkanu*-timber, asses, dromedaries, cattle and sheep. I slew the warriors of Hirimmu, a dangerous enemy, who had not submitted to any of the kings, my predecessors. Not a soul escaped. I reorganized that district: one ox, 10 lambs, 10 homers of wine, 20 homers of the best quality dates, I imposed as dues for (the temples of) the gods of Assyria, my lords. I returned to Assyria with the great spoil of 208,000 men, 7,200 horses and mules, 11,073 asses, 5,230 camels, 800,100 ewes, excluding the men, asses, camels, and sheep, the shares which my troops had carried off and appropriated for themselves; and the enemy warriors, strong power, who had not submitted to my yoke, I cut down with the sword and hung on stakes.

REFERENCES

Text: BM 113203; Smith 1921; Luckenbill 1924:48-55; Frahm 1997:42-45; Studies: Brinkman 1964:6-53; 1984:54-59; Eph¹al 1982; Frahm 1997:42-45; Klein 1996; Levine 1982:29-40; Smith 1921.

SENNACHERIB'S SIEGE OF JERUSALEM (2.119B)

Mordechai Cogan

This is probably the most discussed Neo-Assyrian inscription, due to its providing a complimentary report, from the Assyrian point of view, of the military operations in Judah, in particular the investment of Jerusalem, portrayed so extensively in the Bible (2 Kgs 18:13-19:37; Isa 36-37; 2 Chr 32:1-22). The cuneiform text summarizes the campaign of Sennacherib in 701 BCE, undertaken to quell the revolt of vassal states in the West which had broken out upon the death of Sargon four years earlier. Because of the literary nature of compositions in which events are grouped topically rather than chronologically, i.e., they are grouped under the rubrics of "the submissive" or "the defeated" (Tadmor 1985a), a strict itinerary of the campaign cannot be re-created. Sennacherib's scribes portray Hezekiah as being roundly defeated, submitting to his overlord and sending a substantial tribute payment to Nineveh at the conclusion of the campaign. The contradictory conclusion in the biblical record, which describes the miraculous defeat of the Assyrian army (2 Kgs 19:35), has given rise to a number of alternative reconstructions (Gonçalves 1986), no one of which has gained general scholarly assent.

There is no record of a further western campaign during Sennacherib's reign, and the oft-times posited second encounter between Hezekiah and Sennacherib some fifteen years later is untenable, considering the development of events in the West during the first quarter of the seventh century.

The earliest copy of the cuneiform text (= the Rassam cylinder) bears the date Iyar 700 BCE, a half year or so after the end of hostilities.

In my third campaign, I marched against Hatti.¹ The awesome splendor of my lordship overwhelmed Lulli, king of Sidon, and he fled overseas far-off.² The terrifying nature of the weapon of (the god) Ashur my lord overwhelmed his strong cities,

Greater Sidon, Lower Sidon, Bit-zitti, Sarpitu, Mahaliba, Ushu, Akzib, Akko, walled cities (provided) with food and water for his garrisons, and they bowed in submission at my feet. I installed Tuba³lu on the royal throne³ over them and im-

¹ I.e., "Upper Syria."
² Added in prism dated 697: "and disappeared forever" (i.e., died).
³ Var.: "his royal throne,"

posed upon him tribute and dues for my lordship (payable) annually without interruption.

The kings of Amurru,⁴ all of them — Minuḫimmu of Samsimuruna,⁵ Tuba³lu of Sidon, Abdili³ti of Arvad, Urumilki of Byblos, Mitinti of Ashdod, Puduilu of Beth-Ammon, Chemosh-nadbi of Moab, Ayarammu of Edom — brought me sumptuous presents as their abundant audience-gift, fourfold, and kissed my feet.

As for Šidqa, king of Ashkelon, who had not submitted to my yoke — his family gods, he himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brothers, and (all the rest of) his descendants, I deported and brought him to Assyria. I set Šarruludari, son of Rukubti, their former king, over the people of Ashkelon and imposed upon him payment of tribute (and) presents to my lordship; he (now) bears my yoke. In the course of my campaign, I surrounded and conquered Beth-Dagon, Joppa, Bene-berak, Azor, cities belonging to Šidqa, who did not submit quickly, and I carried off their spoil.

The officials, the nobles, and the people of Ekron who had thrown Padi,⁶ their king, (who was) under oath and obligation to Assyria, into iron fetters and handed him over in a hostile manner to Hezekiah, the Judean, took fright because of the offense they had committed. The kings of Egypt, (and) the bowmen, chariot corps and cavalry of the kings of Ethiopia assembled a countless force and came to their (i.e. the Ekronites') aid. In the plain of Eltekeh, they drew up their ranks against me and sharpened their weapons. Trusting in the god Ashur, my lord, I fought with them and inflicted a defeat upon them. The Egyptian charioteers and princes, together with the charioteers of the Ethiopians, I personally took alive in the midst of the battle. I besieged and conquered Eltekeh and Timnah and carried off their spoil. I advanced to Ekron and slew its officials and nobles who had stirred up rebellion and hung their bodies on watchtowers all about the city. The citizens who

a 2Kgs 18:13-19:37; Isa 36-37; 2 Chr 32:1-22

b 2Kgs 18:14

committed sinful acts I counted as spoil, and I ordered the release of the rest of them, who had not sinned. I freed Padi, their king, from Jerusalem and set him on the throne as king over them and imposed tribute for my lordship over him.

As for Hezekiah, the Judean,⁷ I besieged forty-six of his fortified walled cities and surrounding smaller towns, which were without number. Using packed-down ramps and applying battering rams, infantry attacks by mines, breeches, and siege machines,⁸ I conquered (them). I took out 200,150 people, young and old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, cattle, and sheep, without number, and counted them as spoil. He himself, I locked up within Jerusalem, his royal city, like a bird in a cage.⁹ I surrounded him with earthworks, and made it unthinkable¹⁰ for him to exit by the city gate. His cities which I had despoiled I cut off from his land and gave them to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, Padi, king of Ekron and Šilli-bel, king of Gaza,¹¹ and thus diminished his land. I imposed dues and gifts for my lordship upon him, in addition to the former tribute, their yearly payment.

He, Hezekiah, was overwhelmed by the awesome splendor of my lordship, and he sent me after my departure to Nineveh, my royal city, his elite troops (and) his best soldiers, which he had brought in as reinforcements to strengthen Jerusalem, with 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver,⁸ choice antimony, large blocks of carnelian, beds (inlaid) with ivory, armchairs (inlaid) with ivory, elephant hides, ivory, ebony-wood, boxwood,¹² multicolored garments, garments of linen, wool (dyed) red-purple and blue-purple, vessels of copper, iron, bronze and tin, chariots, siege shields, lances, armor, daggers for the belt, bows and arrows, countless trappings and implements of war, together with his daughters, his palace women, his male and female singers.¹² He (also) dispatched his messenger to deliver the tribute and to do obeisance.

⁴ I.e., the West.

⁵ To be distinguished from Menachem of Israel; see Weippert 1993-97.

⁶ For this royal name at Ekron, see above, COS 2.42.

⁷ Added in "Chicago" Prism dated 691: "who had not submitted to my yoke."

⁸ Perhaps "storm ladders."

⁹ For this cliché, see COS 2.117A, n. 31.

¹⁰ Lit.: "taboo."

¹¹ Var. in Bull Inscription (Frahm, No. 4): "I gave it (i.e. his land) to the kings of Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron and Gaza."

¹²⁻¹² Omitted in "Chicago" Prism; replaced there by: "abundant treasure of all kind."

REFERENCES

Text: Frahm 1997:53-55, lines 32-58; Luckenbill 1924:29-34, col. ii:37-iii:49; p. 60, lines 56-58. Translations: ARAB 2.239-240, 284; ANET 287-288; DOT 66-67; Borger in K. Galling, TGI² 67-69; TUAT 1/4 388-390. Studies: Tadmor 1985a; Hallo 1999a (with previous literature).

SENNACHERIB — LACHISH RELIEF INSCRIPTION (2.119C)

Mordechai Cogan

A four-line epigraph, inscribed in a rectangular block to the left of the seated figure of the king reviewing captives filing out of Lachish. The detailed relief,¹ which depicts the assault and capture of the Judean city, enjoyed a most prominent position in a suite of rooms in the palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh, so that “a visitor [to the palace] might justifiably conclude that the surrender of Lachish was the high point of the western campaign” (Russell 1991:252). Though commemorated in outstanding fashion in this wall relief, the battle of Lachish did not come in for specific mention in the “official” annal account of the campaign of 701 BCE (cf. COS 2.119B); the choice of Lachish as the representative of the battles in Judah may have been influenced by the presence of the king on the scene.

Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, seated upon a sedan chair,	a 2 Kgs 19:8; 2 Chr 32:9	the spoils of Lachish ^a passed before him.
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¹ For photograph of reliefs and their reconstructions in the archaeological context, see Ussishkin 1982; for artistic and architectural analysis, see Russell 1991:202-209; 252-257. Cf. also Yadin 1963:428-439; Hallo 1960:59 and figs. 2-3.

REFERENCES

Luckenbill 1924:156, i.37; ANET, 288; TUAT 1:391.

SENNACHERIB: THE “AZEKAH” INSCRIPTION (2.119D)

Mordechai Cogan

The remains of twenty-one lines of a tablet, one fragment of which (K 6205) was formerly ascribed to Tiglath-pileser III (ANET 282b), the other (82-3-23, 131) to Sargon. The reference to the Judean city of Azekah, as well as the name of Hezekiah (partially restored) definitively set the location of the battles in Judah, but there is still some question as to their date. Naʾaman (1974), who joined the two fragments, opined that the description fits the western campaign of Sennacherib in 701 BCE; others (e.g., Frahm 1997) argue for a date during Sargon’s reign (712 or even earlier 720). In either case, the elevated, poetic style of the surviving lines resembles that of Sargon’s “Letter to the god Ashur,” written at the end of the campaign to Urartu, reporting in magnificent detail the king’s triumph.

1-2 (scattered signs)	a Jer 34:7	spoil. I tore down, I destroyed []
3 [Ashur, my lord, support]ed me and to the land of Ju[dah I marched. In] the course of my campaign, the tribute of the ki[ngs of ... I re- ceived].	b Mic 1:10- 16	11 [the city X] a royal [city] of the Philistines, ^b which He[zek]iah had taken and fortified for himself []
4 [by the mig]ht (?) of Ashur, my lord, the district [of Hezek]iah of Judah, like []		12 [] (scattered signs) [] like a tree []
5 [] the city of Azekah, ^a his stronghold, which is between my [] and the land of Judah []		13 [] surrounded by great t[o]wers, most diffi- cult []
6 [] located on a mountain peak, like countless pointed ir[on] daggers, reaching to high heaven		14 [] a palace, like a mountain, was barred in from of them, high []
7 [] were strong and rivaled the highest moun- tains; at its sight, as if from the sky []		15 [] it was dark, and the sun never shone on it, its waters were located in dar[kn]ess, its out- flow []
8 [by packed-down ra]mps, and applying mighty (?) battering rams, infantry attacks by mi- n[es]		16 [] its mo[uth (?) was cut with axes and a moat was dug around it []
9 [the approach of my cav]alry they saw, and heard the sound of Ashur’s mighty troops and they were afraid []		17 [soldiers] skilled in battle, he stationed in it, he girded his weapons, in order to []
10 [I besieged (?) I conquered, I carried off its		18 [] I had the people of Amurru, ¹ all of them, carry earth []
		19 [against them. For a third time, [] great, like a pot [I smashed]

¹ I.e., the West.

20 [cattle and sh]eep, from its midst I t[ook out, and as] spo[il I counted.]	21 (illegible signs)
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REFERENCES

Na²aman 1974:25-39; Galil 1992:113-119; Frahm 1997:229-232; Hallo 1999a:40.

SENNACHERIB: THE CAPTURE AND DESTRUCTION OF BABYLON (2.119E)

Mordechai Cogan

The Bavian Rock Inscription of Sennacherib was chiseled on the walls of the gorge of the Gomei River, whose waters were fed into the Jerwan aqueduct, a major link in the king's project to irrigate the plains surrounding Nineveh. The historical section of the inscription concentrates on the "second campaign" against Babylon that varies from the prism text (where it is numbered the "eighth" and last campaign of the king) in tone; its dispassionate description reflects a sense that Sennacherib's "Babylonian problem" was behind him (Brinkman 1973; Weissert 1997). The date of the events in Babylonia, as determined by the prism inscriptions, is 689 BCE.

The standard introduction praising the gods and king is followed, in an unusual editorial displacement, by a description of the building project commemorated in this inscription. Detailed are the canals and water courses constructed to bring water to the thirsty fields of Nineveh, their dedication and the rewarding of the builders. The king's military undertakings follow.

(lines 34-43) In the same year as the flowing of that canal which I dug, I arrayed the forces in the plain of Halule against Ummannenu king of Elam and the king of Babylon, with the many kings of the mountains and sea who (had come) to their aid. By the word of the god Ashur, the great lord, my lord, I advanced into their midst like a fierce arrow and defeated their armies. I scattered their concentrations (and) I shattered their troops. I took alive in that battle the princes of the king of Elam, together with Nabu-shum-ishkun, son of Merodach-baladan king of Babylon.^a (As for) the king of Elam and the king of Babylon, the fear of my mighty battle overcame them and they defecated in their chariots and they fled back to their lands in order to save their lives. And they did not return, (thinking): Perhaps Sennacherib king of Assyria will become angry and will set out for Elam once again. Fear and terror were poured out over all of Elam and they left their land to save their lives. Like an eagle, they settled on steep mountains; like a pursued bird, their hearts were beating and they did not come down as long as they lived (lit. "until the day of their fate" [i.e., their death]), (nor) did they make war.

(lines 43-54) In my second campaign, I marched quickly against Babylon which I was set upon conquering. Like the onset of a storm I swept, (and) like a fog I enveloped it. I laid siege to that

^a 2Kgs 20:12;
Isa 39:1

^b Gen 6:17-
8:22;
Ps 29:10

city; with mines and siege machines, I personally took it — the spoil of his mighty men, small and great. I left no one. I filled the city squares with their corpses. Shuzubu,¹ king of Babylon, together with his family and his [], I brought alive to my land. I handed out the wealth of that city — silver, gold, precious stones, property and goods — to my people and they made it their own. My men took the (images of the) gods who dwell there and smashed them. They took their property and their wealth. Adad and Shala, the gods of Ekallate, which Marduk-nadin-ahhe, king of Babylon had taken and carried off to Babylon during the reign of Tiglath-pileser (I), king of Assyria, I brought out of Babylon and returned them to their place in Ekallate.

I destroyed and tore down and burned with fire the city (and) its houses, from its foundations to its parapets. I tore out the inner and outer walls, temples, the ziggurat² of brick and earth, as many as there were, and threw them into the Arahtu river. I dug canals through the city and flooded its place with water, destroying the structure of its foundation. I made its devastation greater than that of "the Flood."^b So that in future days, the site of that city, its temples and its gods, would not be identifiable, I completely destroyed it with water and annihilated it like inundated territory.

¹ I.e., Mushezib-Marduk of Bit-Dakkuri; he had seized the throne towards the end of 693 BCE.

² I.e., "temple-tower."

REFERENCES

Luckenbill 1924:78-85; Levine 1982:48-51; Brinkman 1984:63-65, 67-68; Frahm 1996:151-154; Weissert 1997.

ESARHADDON (2.120)

William W. Hallo

Sennacherib's destruction of Babylon (see COS 2.119E) was condemned by the city's later Chaldaean rulers. Nabopolassar, the founder of the Chaldaean Dynasty, declared war on the Assyrians and saw their destruction as just retribution (Gerardi 1986); Nabonidus, the last king of the Dynasty, also considered Sennacherib's assassination as evidence of divine retribution (ANET 309; Beaulieu 1989:105, 115). In much the same spirit, Sennacherib's assassination was juxtaposed with his (failed) siege of Jerusalem in 701 BCE by the biblical author (2 Kgs 19:36f. = Isa 37:37f.) as if to say *post hoc ergo propter hoc* (Hallo 1999a). Under these circumstances, it was understandable that his son and successor, Esarhaddon (681-669 BCE), marshalled all the physical and spiritual resources of the Assyrian empire to reverse the effects of his father's depredations (Porter 1993). He rebuilt Babylon and, in his inscriptions from and about the city, he went out of his way to express his solicitude for it, and for Marduk, its patron deity. Recension B of his major Babylon inscription includes the following passage ("episode 10" in Borger's edition):

Until the days were elapsed that the heart of the great lord Marduk should be appeased and he would find peace with the country against which he	had raged, 70 years were to elapse, but he wrote [11] years (instead) and took pity and said: Amen!
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This is explained more fully in Recensions A and D as follows:

He (Marduk) had written 70 years as the quantity of its (the city's) exile (lit.: lying fallow) but merciful Marduk — soon his heart was appeased	and he turned the upper into the lower (figure) so that he decreed its resettlement for 11 years.
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The meaning is that the numeral 70, written in cuneiform as 60 + 10, was turned into 11 by the simple device of writing 10 + 60, or rather 10 + 1 (60 and 1 are alike written with a single vertical wedge), i.e. turning the left (= upper in the older direction of cuneiform writing) into the right (= lower) wedge (Shaffer 1981). For other examples of "metathesis of numerals" see Beaulieu 1995. An exile of 70 years is also predicted by Jeremiah (25:12, 29:10), and alluded to in 2 Chr 36:22 = Ezra 1:1, though in fact it proved to be closer to 50 years (Tadmor 1999).

REFERENCES

Borger 1956:15.

5. NEO-BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTIONS

Paul-Alain Beaulieu

After the fall of the Assyrian Empire at the end of the 7th century BCE, power shifted back to Babylon, whose rulers inherited most of the territories formerly ruled by the kings of Assyria. During this relatively short but brilliant period (626-539 BCE) the kings of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty embellished their capital with numerous architectural wonders. They also extensively rebuilt the temples of Babylonia,¹ which had been left in a state of disrepair for centuries because of economic stagnation, civil disorders, and repeated foreign interference. Almost all the inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian empire are building inscriptions which contain little historical information. In fact two of the inscriptions translated here (COS 2.121, 123A) are among the few such texts which allude to historical events. On the other hand, these inscriptions are of great importance for understanding the culture and religious ideology of that period. They are written in the Standard Babylonian idiom of Akkadian, but display a number of peculiarities derived from their imitation of much older styles of royal inscriptions, in particular the inscriptions of the First Dynasty of Babylon (ca. 1894-1595 BCE). Many of them are written in an archaizing script which imitates the lapidary script of the Old Babylonian period. For many inscriptions two editions are known, one in archaizing, the other in Neo-Babylonian script. In spite of these antiquarian tendencies, Neo-Babylonian building inscriptions display several important innovations, notably the concluding prayer to the deity to whom the inscription is dedicated.²

¹ The essential information on each temple is collected in George 1993. For Babylon itself, see COS 2.120.

² Similar prayers occasionally occur in the inscriptions of the Sargonid kings of Assyria, but they became a regular feature of building inscriptions only during Neo-Babylonian empire.

NABOPOLASSAR (2.121)

NABOPOLASSAR'S RESTORATION OF IMGUR-ENLIL,
THE INNER DEFENSIVE WALL OF BABYLON (2.121)

Paul-Alain Beaulieu

Nabopolassar (626-605 BCE) was the founder of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty. He revolted against the Assyrians, ousted them from Akkad (i.e. Babylonia), and eventually helped the Medes to destroy the Assyrian empire. The following inscription discovered during the Iraqi restoration work on the site of Babylon and first published in 1985 commemorates Nabopolassar's rebuilding of the inner defensive wall of Babylon, the wall Imgur-Enlil "the god Enlil has been favorable."¹ The king also states his humble origins and his defeat of the Assyrians.² This composition is remarkable for its elaborate poetic praise of the wall Imgur-Enlil, for the royal oath recorded in the third section, and finally for its concluding part where the traditional curse against eventual violators has been transformed into a wisdom address to future generations, a theme borrowed from Akkadian pseudo-historical and sapiential literature. It is written in archaizing script.

Royal Titulary (i.1-6)

Nabopolassar, the king of justice, the shepherd called by Marduk, the creature of Nimmenna³ - the supreme lady, the queen of queens - the one to whom Nabû and Tashmêtu⁴ stretch their hand, the prince beloved by Ninshiku.⁵

Royal Autobiography (i.7-ii.5)

When I was young, although I was the son of a nobody, I constantly sought the sanctuaries of Nabû and Marduk my lords. My mind was preoccupied with the establishment of their prescriptions and the complete performance of their rituals. My attention was directed at justice and equity. Shazu,⁶ the lord who fathoms the hearts of the gods of heaven and the netherworld,⁷ who constantly observes the conduct⁸ of mankind, perceived my inner thoughts and elevated me, me the servant who was anonymous among the people, to a high status in the country in which I was born. He called me to the lordship over the country and the people. He caused a benevolent protective spirit to walk at my side. He let (me) succeed in everything I undertook. He caused Nergal, the strongest among the gods, to march at my side; he slew my foes, felled my enemies. The Assyrian, who had ruled Akkad because of divine anger and had, with his heavy yoke, oppressed the inhabitants of the country, I,

the weak one, the powerless one, who constantly seeks the lord of lords, with the mighty strength of Nabû and Marduk my lords I removed them⁹ from Akkad and caused (the Babylonians) to throw off their yoke.

Rebuilding of Imgur-Enlil (ii.6-41)

At that time Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, the one who pleases Nabû and Marduk, I, (for) Imgur-Enlil - the great fortification wall of Babylon, the original boundary-post which has been made manifest since olden days, the solid border as ancient as time immemorial, the lofty mountain peak¹⁰ which rivals heavens, the mighty shield which locks the entrance to the hostile lands, the wide enclosure of the Igigi, the spacious courtyard of the Anunnaki, the staircase to heaven, the ladder to the netherworld, the station of Lugalirra and Meslamtae, the outdoor shrine¹¹ of Ishtar the great lady, the place of the throwing stick¹² of Dagan the hero, the camp enclosure of warrior Ninurta, the temple of the divine protection of Anu and Enlil, the shrine artfully designed by Ea the lord of Eridu, the fortification ground of the great gods, whose foundations the Igigi and the Anunnaki had (originally) established in the jubilation of their hearts, (whose work) they had artfully carried out (and which) they had raised to its top, (which) because of old

¹ For a history of the walls of Babylon, Imgur-Enlil and Nemetti-Enlil, see George 1992:343-351.

² The chronology of Nabopolassar's war against the Assyrians in Babylonia is discussed in Beaulieu 1997:367-394.

³ Lit., "the lady of the tiara," a mother goddess at home in southern Babylonia, mostly Ur and Uruk. This might point to Nabopolassar's southern origin.

⁴ The consort of the god Nabû.

⁵ A name of the god Ea/Enki, the god of wisdom, magic, and of the Apsu (the subterranean waters). Ea/Enki was at home in Eridu, located in the southernmost area of Iraq. This might also indicate Nabopolassar's southern origin.

⁶ A name of the god Marduk which means "he who knows the heart."

⁷ This is an explanation of the name Shazu, which also occurs in the Babylonian Epic of Creation, Tablet VII, line 35.

⁸ The word is *takkaltu*, perhaps to be emended to *tallaktu* "way, conduct." See al-Rawi 1985:6-7, note to col. i.16.

⁹ Namely, the Assyrians, referred to in the singular in the preceding verses.

¹⁰ For a different interpretation see al-Rawi 1985:7, note to col. ii.11. I follow CAD G s.v. *ginû B*.

¹¹ The word *ibratu* refers to outdoor shrines, probably niches located on the street or in private courtyards. Topographical descriptions of Babylon mention 180 such shrines of Ishtar in the capital (George 1992:68-69, line 86).

¹² Since the word *ilpanu*, translated here as "throwing stick," can also denote the bow in late royal inscriptions (AHw s.v.), it is possible that this passage refers to the battlements on the wall from which the soldiers threw spears and javelins at the besieging enemy.

age had weakened and caved in, whose walls had been taken away¹³ because of rain and heavy downpours (and) whose foundations had heaped up and accumulated into a mound of ruins — I levied the troops of Enlil, Shamash and Marduk, had (them) wield the hoe, imposed (on them) the corvée basket. From the bank of the Arahtu canal, (on) the upper side near the gate of Ishtar, down to the (other) bank of the Arahtu canal, (on) the lower side near the gate of Urash, I removed its accumulated debris, surveyed and examined its old foundations, and laid its brickwork in the original location. On the edge of the netherworld I established its base. I surrounded the east bank with a mighty mountainous belt.¹⁴

Burying the Foundation Deposit (iii.1-21)

Nabopolassar, the humble one, the submissive one, the worshiper of Nabû and Marduk, the shepherd who pleases Papnunanki,¹⁵ the one who inspects the old foundations of Babylon, the one who discovers (inscribed) brick(s) from the past,¹⁶ the one who carries out the work on the original, eternal foundations, the one who wields the hoe of the Igigi, the one who carries the corvée basket of the Anunnaki, the builder of Imgur-Enlil for Marduk my lord, I, in order that no future king whosoever

remove my well chosen words (and) in order that no words are made to supersede my speech, I swore the oath of Marduk, my lord, and of Shamash, my god: "(Woe on me) if my utterances are not true, but false!"¹⁷ At that time I found the royal statue of one of my predecessors who had rebuilt that wall and, in a secure place, in the great foundations, together with my own statue, I placed (it) for eternity.

Wisdom Address to Future Generations (iii.22-36)

Any king, at any time, whether a son or a grandson who will succeed me, (and) whose name Marduk will call to rulership of the country, do not be concerned¹⁸ with feats of might and power. Seek the sanctuaries of Nabû and Marduk and let them slay your enemies. The lord Marduk examines utterances and scrutinizes the heart. He who is loyal to Bēl,¹⁹ his foundations will endure. He who is loyal to the son of Bēl²⁰ will last for eternity. When that wall becomes dilapidated and you relieve its disrepair, in the same manner as I found the inscription of a king who preceded me and did not alter its location, find my own inscription and place it with your inscription. By the command of Marduk the great lord, whose command is not revoked, may your fame be established forever.

¹³ The verb *ut-ta-as-sá-ú* must be a Dt stem of *nesá*, previously unattested for this root.

¹⁴ Al-Rawi emended this passage from *e-bi-iš dan-num* to *e-pé-šum! dan-num*, but this seems unnecessary. Different interpretations of *e-bi-iš* have since been offered: George 1991 ("cincture, belt") and Farber 1991 ("mount Ebih, mountain"). I follow Vanstiphout 1991, who posits a deliberate ambiguity. This ambiguity is already expressed in the Sum. composition *Isanna and Ebih*. It should be noted that the interpretation of *ebih* as a proper noun (mount Ebih) solely because it lacks an ending is not mandatory in consideration of the occurrence of several endless nouns in the same text (e.g. col. i.17: *ib-rat šá INNIN šar-rat ra-bi-tim*).

¹⁵ A name of Zarpanitu, the wife of Marduk, who was also known under the designation Bēliya "my lady."

¹⁶ The phrase *mušā libiti ša waḫrātū* means lit. "who discovers the brick(s) of the future," but in this context (*w)ahṛātu* must mean "past." Akk. expressions of remote time usually apply to both past and future, but this is the first occurrence of (*w)ahṛātu* referring to the past. Al-Rawi emends to *ma!-aḫ-ra-tim*, but this does not seem necessary.

¹⁷ This oath formula recalls very similar oaths found in the inscriptions of Rīmush and Manishtūshu, the two sons and successors of Sargon of Akkad, nearly two millennia earlier. Is it possible that Nabopolassar is here emulating an inscription of one of these rulers found during the restoration of Imgur-Enlil, and that it is the same ruler of whom he claims to have discovered a statue? Building activities in Babylon are mentioned as early as the reign of Shar-kali-šarri, who claims to have built the temples of Anuñtu and Ilaba in KÁ.DINGIR.KI.

¹⁸ The shift from third to second person, and vice versa (COS 2.123A, n. 21), is customary in this type of address.

¹⁹ Bēl, literally "lord," is a name of Marduk.

²⁰ The son of Bēl is presumably Nabû, the son and vizier of Marduk and patron god of Borsippa.

REFERENCES

Text: Al-Rawi 1985; Farber 1991; George 1991a; 1991b; Vanstiphout 1991; Beaulieu 1997.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR II (2.122)

NEBUCHADNEZZAR II'S RESTORATION OF THE EBABBAR TEMPLE IN LARSA (2.122A)

Paul-Alain Beaulieu

This inscription is recorded on several clay cylinders and baked bricks found at Larsa, all written in Neo-Babylonian script. It commemorates the rebuilding of Ebabbar, the temple of the sun god Shamash at Larsa, by Nebuchadnezzar II (605-562 BCE), the son and successor of Nabopolassar and the real architect of Neo-Babylonian hegemony.

Nabonidus restored Ebabbar again in his 10th regnal year (546-45 BCE). He claims that Nebuchadnezzar did not find the original foundation deposit before rebuilding the temple, this being apparently the reason why it quickly fell into disrepair. Nebuchadnezzar's inscription is indeed ominously silent concerning the finding of a foundation deposit, but insists that the god Marduk directly ordered him to restore the temple. The Sippar cylinder of Nabonidus, translated below (COS 2.123A), makes the same observation for the other temple of Shamash, the Ebabbar of Sippar. The inscription follows the standard Neo-Babylonian pattern, with the royal titulary in first position (royal name — epithets — *anaku* "I"), then the description of the building work with its surrounding circumstances (clauses *inu* "when" and *ina ūmišu* "at that time"), and the concluding prayer.

Royal titulary (i.1-6)

Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, the humble one, the submissive one, the pious one, the worshiper of the lord of lords, the caretaker of Esagil and Ezida, the legitimate heir of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, I,

Rebuilding of Ebabbar (i.7-ii.11)

when Marduk, the great lord, the wisest among the gods, the proud one, gave me the shepherdship of the country and the people, at that time Ebabbar, the temple of Shamash in Larsa, which since distant days had turned into a mound of ruins, in whose midst sand had accumulated and (whose) ground plan could no longer be identified, during my reign the great lord Marduk became reconciled to that temple. He aroused the four winds and removed the sand inside it so that the ground plan could be discovered. He specifically ordered me,

Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, the servant who worships him, to restore that temple. I surveyed and inspected its old foundations, spread consecrated soil above its old foundations and set up its brickwork. Ebabbar, the legitimate temple (and) residence of Shamash, my lord, for Shamash, who dwells in Ebabbar in the midst of Larsa, the great lord, my lord, did I rebuild.

Concluding prayer to Shamash (ii.12-26)

O Shamash, great lord, when you enter Ebabbar, your lordly seat, in joy and gladness, look joyfully upon the work of my gracious hands, and may a life of distant days, the stability of the throne, the long duration of my reign (and) [the defeat of my enemies]¹ be set (for me) on your lips. May the thresholds, the locks, the bolts (and) the doors of Ebabbar, without ceasing, speak of me favorably in your presence.

¹ The passage between brackets appears only in the Yale exemplar published as YOS 9:140.

REFERENCES

Text: I R, plate 51, no.2 (copy); Stephens 1937:35-36; Langdon 1912:96-97; Berger 1973:249-251. Translations: Seux 1976:510; Foster 1993 2:746.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR II'S RESTORATION OF E-URIMIN-ANKIA,
THE ZIGGURAT OF BORSIPPA (2.122B)

Paul-Alain Beaulieu

This inscription is recorded on clay cylinders found in the ruins of the ziggurat of Borsippa. Duplicates are known in both Neo-Babylonian and archaizing scripts. Like the preceding, this inscription follows the standard Neo-Babylonian pattern, but the *inu* clause has been expanded to include a review of the previous building works of Nebuchadnezzar dedicated to the gods Marduk and Nabû, the patron deities of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty.

Royal titulary (i.1-9)

Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, the loyal shepherd, the one permanently selected by Marduk, the exalted ruler, the one beloved by Nabû, the wise expert who is attentive to the ways of the gods, the tireless governor, the caretaker of Esagil and Ezida, the foremost heir of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, I,

Previous work on the shrines of Marduk and Nabû
(i.10-26)

when Marduk, my great lord, duly created me and ordered me to take care of him, Nabû, the administrator of the totality of heaven and the netherworld, put in my hands the just scepter. (In) Esagil, the temple of heaven and the netherworld, the residence of the Enlil¹ of the gods, Marduk, (and) E-

¹ Enlil was the head of the pantheon before Marduk usurped that position at the end of the second millennium BCE, after which the title "Enlil of the gods" was commonly applied to the latter to celebrate his role as king of the gods.

umusha, his lordly cella, I applied shining gold (glaze) instead of plaster. Ezida² I built anew and with silver, gold, choice gems, copper, *musukkan-nu*-wood (and) cedar-wood, I completed its work. E-temen-anki, the ziggurat of Babylon, I rebuilt (and) completed and with glazed bricks of pure blue color I raised it to its summit.

Rebuilding of E-urimin-ankia (i.27-ii.15)

At that time E-urimin-ankia, the ziggurat of Borsippa, which a former king had built and elevated to forty-two cubits but had not raised to its summit, (which) since remote days had fallen into ruins and whose drainage openings had not been kept in order, whose brickwork rain and downpours had taken away, whose covering of glazed bricks had become dismantled and the brickwork of whose cella had accumulated into a mound of debris, Marduk, my great lord, prompted me to rebuild it. I did not change its location and did not alter its foundations. In a propitious month, on an auspicious day, I (began to) repair the destroyed brickwork of its cella and its destroyed glazed bricks

aExo432:32-33; Isa 4:3

covering (and to) set back up its ruined portions, and I placed my own inscription in its repaired parts. (Then) I began to rebuild it and to raise it to its summit. [I built it anew as in olden times, I raised it to its summit as in days of yore].³

Concluding prayer to Nabû (ii.16-31)

O Nabû, legitimate heir, exalted vizier, pre-eminent one, beloved by Marduk, look joyfully (and) favorably upon my deeds and grant me as a gift a long life, satiety with extreme old age, stability of throne, long duration of reign, defeat of adversaries, (and) conquest of the land of the enemies. On your reliable writing board which establishes the border of heaven and the netherworld, decree the lengthening of my days, inscribe for me extreme old age.⁴ Cause my deeds to find acceptance before Marduk, the king of heaven and the netherworld, the father your begetter. Speak favorably on my behalf, (and) let (these words) be set on your lips: "Nebuchadnezzar is indeed the king (who is) a caretaker!"⁵

² The temple of the god Nabû in the city of Borsippa.
³ The passage between brackets, though apparently essential to complete this section, appears in only one of the duplicates. It is possible that this expanded version was written after the actual rebuilding of the temple, while the others may have been composed before and served primarily as foundation deposits, which were of course put in the foundations before the rebuilding began.
⁴ Nabû is hailed here as the god of the scribal art, who holds the "tablets of destinies" on which are inscribed the fates of all individuals. Cf. Paul 1973.
⁵ Seux (1976:512, n. 1) argues for translating this as a precativ: "May Nebuchadnezzar be a king (who is) a caretaker." Foster (1993 2:744) prefers an asseverative meaning "Nebuchadnezzar is surely a provident king," and this indeed fits the context better.

REFERENCES

Text: I R, plate 51, no.1 (copy); Berger 1973:270-272; Translations: Langdon 1912:98-101; Seux 1976:511-512; Foster 1993 2:744.

NABONIDUS 2.123

THE SIPPAR CYLINDER OF NABONIDUS (2.123A)

Paul-Alain Beaulieu

This long and complex inscription occurs in several exemplars and fragmentary duplicates, all clay cylinders inscribed in Neo-Babylonian script and found in the remains of the Ebabbar temple in Sippar. One exemplar was found in Babylon, in the so-called "palace museum," along with many older inscriptions removed from their original contexts; it is now preserved in Berlin. The inscription commemorates the rebuilding of three temples by Nabonidus (556-539 BCE), the last king of Babylon, and it dates after Nabonidus' return from northern Arabia in his thirteenth regnal year. The first section, devoted to the rebuilding of Ehulhul, is remarkable for its direct historical allusions to the war between the Persians and the Medes. This war resulted in the victory of Cyrus, who was very probably Nabonidus' ally before he turned against him and conquered the Neo-Babylonian empire in the fall of 539 BCE. The second section is devoted to the Ebabbar temple of Sippar, which was restored in the third year of Nabonidus. It is a new, shorter edition of the building inscription originally composed for that occasion. Finally the third section is devoted to the rebuilding of Eulmash, the temple of the goddess Anunîtu, a form of Ishtar, in Sippar-Anunîtu. The entire inscription was probably composed on the occasion of the rebuilding of Eulmash.

Royal titulary (i.1-7)

I, Nabonidus, the great king, the strong king, the king of the universe, the king of Babylon, the king

a Jer 1:4-5

of the four corners, the caretaker of Esagil and Ezida, for whom Sin and Ningal in his mother's womb decreed a royal fate as his destiny,⁶ the son

of Nabû-balâssu-iqbi, the wise prince, the worshiper of the great gods,¹ I,²

Rebuilding of Ehulhul in Harran (i.8-ii.25)

Ehulhul, the temple of Sin in Harran, where since days of yore Sin, the great lord, had established his favorite residence - (then) his heart became angry against that city and temple and he aroused the Mede, destroyed that temple and turned it into ruins³ - in my legitimate reign Bêl (and) the great lord, for the love of my kingship, became reconciled with that city and temple and showed compassion.⁴ In the beginning of my everlasting reign they sent me a dream, Marduk, the great lord, and Sin, the luminary of heaven and the netherworld, stood together.⁵ Marduk spoke with me: "Nabonidus, king of Babylon, carry bricks on your riding horse, rebuild Ehulhul and cause Sin, the great lord, to establish his residence in its midst." Reverently I spoke to the Enlil of the gods, Marduk: "That temple which you ordered (me) to build, the Mede surrounds it and his might is excessive."⁶ But Marduk spoke with me: "The Mede whom you mentioned, he, his country and the kings who march at his side will be no more." At the beginning of the third year they aroused him, Cyrus, the king of Anshan, his second in rank.⁷ He scattered the vast Median hordes with his small army. He captured Astyages, the king of the Medes, and took him to his country as captive. (Such was) the word of the great lord Marduk and of Sin, the luminary of heaven and the netherworld, whose command is

5 Isa 42:1;
45:1

not revoked. I feared their august command, I became troubled, I was worried and my face showed signs of anxiety. I was not neglectful, nor remiss, nor careless. For rebuilding Ehulhul, the temple of Sin, my lord, who marches at my side, which is in Harran, which Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, a prince who preceded me, had rebuilt, I mustered my numerous troops, from the country of Gaza on the border of Egypt, (near) the Upper Sea⁸ on the other side of the Euphrates, to the Lower Sea,⁹ the kings, princes, governors and my numerous troops which Sin, Shamash and Ishtar my lords had entrusted to me, (and) in a propitious month, on an auspicious day, which Shamash and Adad revealed to me by means of divination, by the wisdom of Ea and Asalluhi, with the craft of the exorcist, according to the art of Kulla, the lord of foundations and brickwork, upon (beads of) silver (and) gold, choice gems, logs of resinous woods, aromatic herbs (and cuts of) cedar (wood), in joy and gladness, on the foundation deposit of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, who had found the foundation deposit of Shalmaneser,¹⁰ the son of Assurnasirpal, I cleared its foundations and laid its brickwork. I mixed its mortar with beer, wine, oil and honey and anointed its excavation ramps with it. More than the kings my fathers (had done), I strengthened its building and perfected its work. That temple from its foundations to its parapet I built anew and completed its work. Beams of lofty cedar

¹ These two epithets refer to the father of Nabonidus, Nabû-balâssu-iqbi, who does not appear in ancient sources outside his son's inscriptions.

² The prologue with the royal titulary adheres to the pattern *andku* - royal titulary - *andku*, also found in some inscriptions of Assurbanipal. The restoration of Ehulhul is also recorded in the inscriptions of that king, and not surprisingly many coincidences of wording between them and the present inscription can be detected. Nabonidus in fact mentions that he discovered the old foundation deposits of Assurbanipal during the excavations of Ehulhul.

³ The Medes, who allied themselves with Nabopolassar, the founder of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty, to overthrow the Assyrian empire in the last quarter of the 7th century, are presented here as the agents of divine wrath. Another inscription of Nabonidus informs us that in 610 BCE they sacked the city of Harran, which had become the last stronghold of Assyrian resistance after the fall of Nineveh two years earlier.

⁴ Here the British Museum exemplar has "EN EN GAL-û "Bêl, the great lord," which is the common name of Marduk, while the Berlin exemplar has "EN.ZU EN GAL-û "Sin, the great lord." This variant was very probably intentional, providing one more example of Nabonidus trying to assimilate Marduk to Sin. In addition, the verbs *is-li-mu* and *ir-šu-û ta-a-a-ri* in that same sentence are plural: "they became reconciled and showed mercy." Therefore the sequence "EN/EN.ZU EN GAL-û" must be interpreted as "Bêl/Sin (and) the great lord," the "great lord" being Sin in one exemplar, and Marduk in the other. In the following passage Sin and Marduk indeed act as one deity.

⁵ This passage probably refers to an astronomical conjunction of the moon (the god Sin) and the planet Jupiter, identified in Babylonia with the god Marduk. An actual astronomical observation need not be involved, however, since conjunctions of celestial bodies seen in dreams possessed equal significance. Cf. Oppenheim 1956:202f.

⁶ The region of Harran was evidently still under Median control at the time of Nabonidus' accession to the throne.

⁷ The interpretation of Cyrus' epithet is uncertain. The Akkadian reads *IR-su qa-ah-ri* (*arassu qahri*), lit. "his young servant." CAD (§ 182, s.v. *sihru*) proposes the following translation: "Cyrus, king of Anshan, his (Astyages') subject, the second (of his name)." Seux (1969:228-229) follows CAD and translates the passage as follows: "ils (= Marduk et Sin) dressèrent contre lui Cyrus II, roi d'Anzan, son vassal, et avec son armée réduite il mit en pièces l'immense (armée des) Mèdes." However, the evidence that *qahri* means "the second" is tenuous, and the more common meaning "servant, subordinate," seems more appropriate. The old theory that Cyrus is presented here as the servant of Marduk (and Sin), providing a possible parallel to Isaiah 42:1, seems difficult to uphold, mainly because the two gods act together and are grammatically the subjects of plural verbs, while the possessive pronoun suffixed to *ardu* "servant" (*arassu*) is singular. This, however, should not be viewed as impossible considering the other ambiguities deliberately embedded in this narrative. Another difficulty arises on the biblical side, since it is by no means assured that God's "servant" in Isaiah 42:1 is Cyrus. The expression refers, more likely, to Israel as God's servant. However, Cyrus is directly mentioned in Isaiah 45:1 as the instrument of God's will, in the same manner as he is the agent of the gods Marduk and Sin in the Sippar cylinder.

⁸ This is the Mesopotamian designation for the Mediterranean Sea.

⁹ This is the designation for the Persian Gulf.

¹⁰ Shalmaneser III, son of Assurnasirpal II, reigned as king of Assyria from 858 to 824 BCE. For his inscriptions, see COS 2.113A-H.

trees, a product of Lebanon,¹¹ I set up above it.¹² Doors of cedar wood, whose scent is pleasing, I affixed at its gates. With gold and silver (glaze) I coated its walls and made it shine like the sun. I set up in its chapel a 'wild bull' of shining silver alloy, fiercely attacking my foes. At the Gate of Sunrise I set up two 'long-haired heroes'¹³ coated with silver,¹⁴ destroyers of my enemies,¹⁴ one to the left, one to the right. I led Sin, Ningal, Nusku and Sadarnunna my lords in procession from Babylon my royal city and, in joy and gladness, I caused them to dwell in its midst, a dwelling of enjoyment. I performed in their presence a pure sacrifice of glorification, presented my gifts and filled Ehulhul with the finest products, and I made the city of Harran, in its totality, as brilliant as moonlight.

Prayer to Sin (ii.26-43a)

O Sin, king of the gods of heaven and the netherworld, without whom no city or country can be founded, (nor) be restored, when you enter Ehulhul, the dwelling of your plenitude, may good recommendations for that city and that temple be set on your lips. May the gods who dwell in heaven and the netherworld constantly praise the temple of Sin, the father their creator. As for me, Nabonidus, king of Babylon, who completed that temple, may Sin, the king of the gods of heaven and the netherworld, joyfully cast his favorable look upon me and every month, in rising and setting,¹⁵ make my ominous signs favorable. May he lengthen my days, extend my years, make my reign firm, conquer my enemies, annihilate those hostile to me, destroy my foes. May Ningal, the mother of the great gods, speak favorably before Sin, her beloved, on my behalf. May Shamash and Ishtar, his shining offspring,¹⁶ recommend me favorably to Sin, the father their creator. May Nusku, the august vizier, hear my prayer and intercede (for me).

Burying the foundation deposit (ii.43b-46)

The inscription written in the name of Assurbani-pal, king of Assyria, I found and did not alter. I

c. Judg 9:15;
Isa 2:13;
14:8; Ps
29:5; 104:16

anointed (it) with oil, performed a sacrifice, placed it with my own inscription and returned it to its (original) place.

Rebuilding of Ebabbar in Sippar (ii.47-iii.7)

For Shamash, the judge of heaven and the netherworld, (concerning) Ebabbar, his temple which is in Sippar, which Nebuchadnezzar, a former king, had rebuilt and whose old foundation deposit he had looked for but not found - (yet) he rebuilt that temple and after forty-five years the walls of that temple had sagged¹⁷ - I became troubled, I became fearful, I was worried and my face showed signs of anxiety. While I led Shamash out of its midst (and) caused (him) to dwell in another sanctuary, I removed (the debris) of that temple, looked for its old foundation deposit, dug to a depth of eighteen cubits into the ground and (then) Shamash, the great lord, revealed to me (the original foundations of) Ebabbar, the temple (which is) his favorite dwelling, (by disclosing) the foundation deposit of Narām-Sin, son of Sargon, which no king among my predecessors had found in three thousand and two hundred years.¹⁸ In the month Tashritu, in a propitious month, on an auspicious day, which Shamash and Adad revealed to me by means of divination, upon (beads of) silver (and) gold, choice gems, logs of resinous woods, aromatic herbs (and cuts of) cedar (wood), in joy and gladness, on the foundation deposit of Narām-Sin, son of Sargon, not a finger's breadth too wide or too narrow, I laid its brickwork. Five thousand massive (beams of) cedar wood I set up for its roofing. Lofty doors of cedar wood, thresholds and pivots I affixed at its gates. Ebabbar, together with E-kun-ankuga its ziggurat, I built anew and completed its work. I led Shamash, my lord, in procession and, in joy and gladness, I caused him to dwell in the midst of his favorite dwelling.

Burying the foundation deposit (iii.8-10)

The inscription in the name of Narām-Sin,¹⁹ son of Sargon, I found and did not alter. I anointed (it) with oil, made offerings, placed (it) with my own inscription and returned it to its (original) place.

¹¹ That is to say, for the roofing.

¹² On the identification of this mythological being as a "long-haired hero" see Green *RIA* 8:248-249; also Black and Green 1992:115.

¹³ The meaning of the word *ēšmarū* is uncertain. It refers either to a type of silver or to a silver alloy. See *CAD* E, s.v.

¹⁴ It is uncertain whether the phrases "fiercely attacking my foes" and "destroyers of my enemies" are just epithets or describe the posture in which these mythological beings were depicted. They could also be names given to the statues.

¹⁵ A similar statement concerning Sin of Harran occurs in the Neo-Assyrian letter SAA 10:13. It is uncertain whether the daily rising and setting of the moon is meant. The expression *ina niphī u rībi* could refer in this case to the beginning and end of the month, which were of particular ominous significance in Mesopotamia.

¹⁶ Lit. "the offspring of his luminous womb."

¹⁷ Nabonidus is stressing the fact that failure to find the original foundation deposit before laying the new foundations of the temple led to its premature fall into disrepair.

¹⁸ Narām-Sin reigned, according to the commonly accepted chronology, between ca. 2254 and 2218 BCE. The figure given by Nabonidus is therefore erroneous by some fifteen hundred years. He was the grandson (not son) of Sargon of Akkad. Cf. above, *COS* 2.90-91.

¹⁹ In ii.57 the name Narām-Sin: "the one beloved by Sin," is written *'na-ra-am-š30*; in ii.64: *'na-ra-am-š30*; and here, in ii.8: *'na-ra-am-DINGIR*. The appellation DINGIR, Akk. *ilu* "god" for the moon-god is occasionally attested in Mesopotamian religious texts, but it became especially popular with Nabonidus, who made it a component of his theological reform.

Prayer to Shamash (iii.11-21)

O Shamash, great lord of heaven and the netherworld, light of the gods your fathers, offspring of Sin and Ningal, when you enter Ebabbar your beloved temple, when you take up residence in your eternal dais, look joyfully upon me, Nabonidus, king of Babylon, the prince your caretaker, the one who pleases you (and) built your august chapel, (and) upon my good deeds, and every day at sunrise and sunset, in the heavens and on the earth, make my omens favorable, accept my supplications and receive my prayers. (With) the scepter and the legitimate staff which you placed in my hands may I rule forever.

Rebuilding of Eulmash in Sippar-Anunītu (iii.22-38a)

For Anunītu — the lady of warfare, who carries the bow and the quiver, who fulfills the command of Enlil her father, who annihilates the enemy, who destroys the evil one, who precedes the gods, who, at sunrise and sunset, causes my (ominous) signs to be favorable — I excavated, surveyed and inspected the old foundations of Eulmash, her temple which is in Sippar-Anunītu, which for eight hundred years, since the time of Shagarakti-Shuriash,²⁰ king of Babylon, son of Kudur-Enlil, no king had rebuilt, and on the foundation deposit of Shagarakti-Shuriash, son of Kudur-Enlil, I cleared its foundations and laid its brickwork. I built that temple

anew and completed its work. Anunītu, the lady of warfare, who fulfills the command of Enlil her father, who annihilates the enemy, who destroys the evil one, who precedes the gods, I caused her to establish her residence. The regular offerings and the (other) offerings I increased over what they were and I established for her.

Prayer to Anunītu (iii.38b-42)

As for you, O Anunītu, great lady, when you joyfully enter that temple, look joyfully upon my good deeds and every month, at sunrise and sunset, petition Sin, the father your begetter, for favors on my behalf.

Burying the foundation deposit and address to future generations (iii.43-51)

Whoever you are whom Sin and Shamash will call to kingship and in whose reign that temple will fall into disrepair and who will build it anew, may he²¹ find the inscription written in my name and not alter (it). May he anoint (it) with oil, perform a sacrifice, place it with the inscription written in his own name and return it to its (original) place. May Shamash and Anunītu hear his supplication, receive his utterance, march at his side, annihilate his enemy (and) daily speak good recommendations on his behalf to Sin, the father their creator.

²⁰ Shagarakti-Shuriash, son of Kudur-Enlil, belonged to the Kassite dynasty. He reigned between ca. 1245 and 1233 BCE. The time distance given by Nabonidus is erroneous by one century.

²¹ The change of person is here from second to third, while in the inscription of Nabopolassar translated above (COS 2.121, n. 18) the change was from third to second.

REFERENCES

Text BM exemplar: V R, plate 64 (master copy); Berlin Museum exemplar: VS 1, no. 53 (copy); Langdon 1912:218-229; Berger 1973:371-375. Translations: Seux 1976:518; Beaulieu 1989:34, 107-108, 210-211, 214; Foster 1993 2:755.

NABONIDUS' REBUILDING OF E-LUGAL-GALGA-SISA,
THE ZIGGURAT OF UR (2.123B)

Paul-Alain Beaulieu

This inscription, recorded on several clay cylinders found at Ur in the remains of the ziggurat, is probably the last building inscription of Nabonidus. It attests to the intensity of the king's personal devotion to the moon god Sin, and to his attempt to impose him as supreme deity of the Neo-Babylonian empire. Sin is praised as "king/lord of the gods of heaven and the netherworld," a position normally reserved for Marduk, and as "'gods' of the gods," an innovative title which reveals the king's fervor and theological boldness. Sin is also consistently referred to as 'gods,' a plural formation which recalls the designation *elohim* for the god of Israel. The inscription refers to the original builders of the ziggurat, Ur-Nammu and his son Shulgi, the first two rulers of the third dynasty of Ur (reigned ca. 2112-2095 and ca. 2094-2047 BCE; cf. COS 2.138-139). Nabonidus indirectly quotes their foundation deposits which he allegedly discovered during the excavation of the ziggurat. Although the inscriptions and year names of Ur-Nammu refer to his building works in Ur, no surviving inscription of his or of his son Shulgi specifically refers to the building of E-lugal-galga-sisa. The prayer to Sin which concludes the inscription mentions Belshazzar (Bēl-šar-ušur), Nabonidus' son and heir to the throne, who appears in many business and administrative transactions from his reign. All known copies of this inscription are written in Neo-Babylonian script.

Royal titulary (i.1-4)

Nabonidus, king of Babylon, caretaker of Esagil and Ezida, worshiper of the great gods, I,

Rebuilding of the ziggurat (i.5-ii.2)

E-lugal-galga-sisa, the ziggurat of Egishnugal,¹ which is in Ur, which Ur-Nammu, one of the kings who preceded me, had built but not completed (and) whose work his son Shulgi had completed, (for) in the inscriptions of Ur-Nammu and Shulgi his son I read that Ur-Nammu had built that ziggurat but not completed it (and that) Shulgi his son had completed its work, now that ziggurat had become old and on the ancient foundations which Ur-Nammu and Shulgi his son had built, that ziggurat, as in former times, with bitumen and baked bricks I repaired its damaged parts and for Sin, the lord of the gods of heaven and the netherworld, the king of the gods, the 'gods' of the gods, who dwells in the great heavens, the lord of Egish-

a Dan 5

nugal, which is in Ur, my lord, I built anew.

Prayer to Sin (ii.3-31)

O Sin, my lord 'gods',² king of the gods of heaven and the netherworld, 'gods' of the gods, who dwells in the great heavens, when you joyfully enter that temple, may good recommendations for Esagil, Ezida, Egishnugal, the temples of your great godhead,³ be set on your lips, and instill reverence for your great godhead (in) the hearts of its⁴ people so that they do not sin against your great godhead. May their foundations be as firm as heaven. As for me, Nabonidus, king of Babylon, save me from sinning against your great godhead and grant me as a present a life of long days, and as for Belshazzar,⁵ "the eldest son my offspring, instill reverence for your great godhead (in) his heart and may he not commit any cultic mistake, may he be satiated with a life of plenitude.

¹ The temple complex of the moon god in Ur.

² ii.3 reads as follows: *30 *be-Il* DINGIR.MEŠ. Although this has so far always been translated as "O Sin, lord of the gods," the text clearly says "O Sin, my lord 'gods'." The compound "lord of the gods" should be written *be-el* DINGIR.MEŠ or EN DINGIR.MEŠ, as is the case earlier in the inscription. The plural designation DINGIR.MEŠ, Akk. *ilā, ilī* or *ilāni*, is occasionally attested for the moon god Sin in Mesopotamian texts. Nabonidus favored it for its obvious monotheizing connotations. It should be noted that in the duplicate discovered at Ur during the 1960-61 season the same line reads *30 EN DINGIR.MEŠ (ii.5), providing one more case of Nabonidus deliberately creating ambiguities to illustrate a theological point, since the logogram EN can be read *bēl* "my lord" as well as *bēl* "lord of (the gods)" in the construct state. The ambiguity is also increased by the fact that in the somewhat artificial idiom of Neo-Babylonian building inscriptions the spelling *be-li* could also be understood as a frozen form borrowed from OB building inscriptions, but without its original grammatical function.

³ By attributing Esagil and Ezida, the temples of Marduk and Nabū, to the god Sin, Nabonidus is proposing a syncretism between the three deities and an outright usurpation of Marduk's prerogatives by the moon god.

⁴ UN.MEŠ-šū, where the pronoun refers either to the temple(s) mentioned before, or to Nabonidus, or to the "godhead" of Sin (with *šū* for *šā*). Another possibility is to understand šū as a logogram for *kīššan*, in which case UN.MEŠ šū would mean "the people of the universe."

⁵ Belshazzar appears in Dan 5 as the son of Nebuchadnezzar, though he was in reality the son of Nabonidus.

REFERENCES

Text: I R, plate 68, no.1 (master copy); Langdon 1912:250-253; As-Siwani 1964; Berger 1973:355-359; Translations: Seux 1976:521; Beaulieu 1989:35-37, 61-62; Foster 1993 2:756.

6. ACHAEMENID INSCRIPTIONS

CYRUS

CYRUS CYLINDER (2.124)

Mordechai Cogan

The Cyrus cylinder (BM 90920 + BIN II, n. 32), discovered at Babylon in 1879, has been of continuing interest for the light it sheds on Persian imperial policy towards subject peoples as reflected in its description of the restoration of the cult of Marduk in Babylon. The biblical report of the permission granted by Cyrus to rebuild the temple of YHWH in Jerusalem (Ezra 1:1-6; 6:1-5; 2 Chr 36:22-23) is considered another example of this practice (cf. Kuhrt 1983). In the cuneiform text, Cyrus reviews the history of his rise to kingship in Babylon at the summons of Marduk, who, in response to evil deeds of Nabonidus, acted to save his city. Cyrus renewed the fortunes of the enslaved Babylonians and restored the neglected cult centers of the land. The dedicatory nature of the inscription, which follows traditional Mesopotamian patterns of composition, was only recently clarified with the joining of a fragment to the end of the text which describes the restoration of the fortifications of Babylon (Berger 1975). The Cyrus cylinder is evidence for the continuity of the Babylonian scribal tradition under the Persians, whose rule was welcomed and supported by the native elite.

(lines 3-8) An incompetent person was installed to exercise lordship over his country. [...] he imposed upon them.¹ An imitation of Esagila² he ma[de ?], for Ur and the rest of the sacred centers, improper rituals [] daily he recited. Irreverently, he put an end to the regular offerings; he [], he established in the sacred centers. By his own plan, he did away with³ the worship of Marduk, the king of the gods; he continually did evil against his (Marduk's) city. Daily, [without interruption ...], he [imposed] the corvée upon its inhabitants unrelentingly, ruining them all.

(lines 9-19) Upon (hearing) their cries, the lord of the gods became furiously angry [and he left] their borders; and the gods who lived among them forsook their dwellings, angry that he had brought (them) into Babylon. Marduk [] turned (?) towards all the habitations that were abandoned and all the people of Sumer and Akkad who had become corpses; [he was reconciled and had mercy (upon them)]. He surveyed and looked throughout all the lands, searching for a righteous king whom he would support. He called out his name:⁴ Cyrus, king of Anshan;⁵ he pronounced his name to be king over all (the world). He (Marduk) made the land of Gutium and all the Umman-manda⁶ bow in submission at his feet. And he (Cyrus) shepherded with justice and righteousness all the black-headed people, over whom he (Marduk) had given him victory. Marduk, the great lord, guardian (?) of his people, looked with gladness upon his good deeds and upright heart. He ordered him to march to his city Babylon. He set him on the road to Babylon and like a companion and friend, he went at his side. His vast army, whose number, like the water of the river, cannot be known, marched at his side fully armed. He made him enter his city Babylon without fighting or battle;⁶ he saved Babylon from hardship. He delivered Nabonidus, the king who did not revere him, into his hands. All the people of Babylon, all the land of Sumer and Akkad, princes and governors, bowed to him and kissed his feet. They rejoiced at his kingship and their faces shone. Ruler by whose aid the dead were revived and who had all been redeemed from hardship and difficulty,⁷ they greeted him with gladness and praised his name.

a Isa 44:28;
45:1-4

(lines 20-22a) I am Cyrus, king of the world, great king, mighty king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters, son of Cambyses, great king, king of Anshan, grandson of Cyrus, great king, king of Anshan, descendant of Teispes, great king, king of Anshan, (of an) eternal line of kingship, whose rule Bel (i.e., Marduk) and Nabu love, whose kingship they desire for their hearts' pleasure.

(lines 22b-28) When I entered Babylon in a peaceful manner, I took up my lordly reign in the royal palace amidst rejoicing and happiness. Marduk, the great lord, caused the magnanimous people of Babylon [to ...] me, (and) I daily attended to his worship. My vast army moved about Babylon in peace; I did not permit anyone to frighten (the people of) [Sumer] and Akkad. I sought the welfare of the city of Babylon and all its sacred centers. As for the citizens of Babylon, upon whom he imposed corvée which was not the god's will and not befitting them, I relieved their weariness and freed them from their service (?). Marduk, the great lord, rejoiced over my [good] deeds. He sent gracious blessings upon me, Cyrus, the king who worships him, and upon Cambyses, the son who is [my] offspring, [and upon] all my army, and in peace, before him,⁸ we move [about].

(lines 28-36) By his exalted [word],⁸ all the kings who sit upon thrones throughout the world, from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea,⁹ who live in the dis[tricts far-off], the kings of the West,¹⁰ who dwell in tents, all of them brought their heavy tribute before me and in Babylon they kissed my feet. From [Ninev]eh (?), Ashur and Susa, Agade, Eshnunna, Zamban, Meturnu, Der, as far as the region of Gutium, I returned the (images of) the gods to the sacred centers [on the other side of] the Tigris whose sanctuaries had been abandoned for a long time, and I let them dwell in eternal abodes. I gathered all their inhabitants and returned (to them) their dwellings. In addition, at the command of Marduk, the great lord, I settled in their habitations, in pleasing abodes, the gods of Sumer and Akkad, whom Nabonidus, to the anger of the lord of the gods, had brought into Babylon. May all the gods whom I settled in their sacred centers ask

¹ The subject is Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon (555-539 BCE).

² The cultic misdeeds of Nabonidus, his neglect of the temple of Marduk in Babylon in favor of the temple of Sin in Harran, are the subject of a satirical composition by the king's opponents (*ANET* 312-315).

³ Tentative translation; with Borger: *iglmur karussu*.

⁴ Site in southern Iran, mentioned in titulary of Elamite kings in 2nd millennium BCE, and used by Cyrus to point to his legitimate dynastic line.

⁵ The reference is to the Medes, using terms from Sum. times for barbarian highlanders who often raided the riverine valleys of Mesopotamia.

⁶ The Babylonian Chronicle No. 7 (*COF* 1.137) confirms the peaceful entry into Babylon.

⁷ Berger (1970; 1973:196f., 213) understands this as a reference to the (statues of) deities saved from death and destruction.

⁸ Or: "we lavishly praised [his] exalted [divinity]."

⁹ I.e., from the Mediterranean Sea to the Persian Gulf.

¹⁰ Lit. "Amurnu."

daily of Bel and Nabu that my days be long and may they intercede for my welfare. May they say to Marduk, my lord: "As for Cyrus, the king who reveres you, and Cambyeses, his son, [] a reign." I settled all the lands in peaceful abodes.

(lines 37-44) [] I increased the offerings [to x] geese, two ducks and ten turtledoves above the former (offerings) of geese, ducks, and turtledoves []. I sought to strengthen the [construction(?)] of Dur-Ingur-Enlil, the great wall of Babylo[n]. []

The bricks at the bank of the ditch, which a former king had built, [but had not completed its construction []], on the outside, which no former king had made, a levy of workmen of Babylonians, [with bitumen] and bricks, I built anew. [] overlaid in copper. The thresholds and the pivots [] their [doors]. [An inscription with] the name of Ashurbanipal, a king who had proceeded me [I sa]w.¹¹ [(two lines missing) ... for e]ternity.

¹¹ An inscription bearing the name of the Assyrian king was discovered during the reconstruction work on the wall. For a text of Ashurbanipal commemorating his work on Ingur-Enlil, see VAB 7, 234-239.

REFERENCES

Text: Berger 1975; Kuhrt 1983. Translations: *ANET*, 315-316; *DOTT*, 92-94; Borger in Galling, *TGF*, 82-84.

B. VOTIVE SEAL INSCRIPTIONS

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VOTIVE SEAL INSCRIPTIONS (2.125)

William W. Hallo

Votive objects were designed to carry inscriptions praying for the long life of the donor (who could be the king) and/or designated beneficiaries, normally members of his family (or the king). They could be pure works of art such as statues, steles, or beads, or they could be artistic replicas of objects used in the daily life of the donor, such as bowls or axes, ships for a merchant or weapons for a soldier. Seals can be recognized as votives when they were inscribed in a positive sense so that their text was to be read off from the seal itself, not from its impression on a clay tablet or vessel. For a particularly significant example, see Lee 1993.

1. Rimut-ilani (2.125A)

This seal was found in controlled excavations at Beer-Sheba in the Negev (Israel). There is no indication as to how it got there, but the seal owner's father is either identical with or at least a namesake of Hadad-idri, king of Damascus in the ninth century,¹ and the script of the inscription would be compatible with that time. Note, however, that the direction of the script (from top to bottom, not from left to right), might suggest either an earlier date or deliberate archaizing.²

To the divine Apil-Adad,³ the great lord, his lord, Rimut-ilani, son of (H)adad-idri, made and donated (this cylinder seal).

2. Nabu-apla-iddina (2.125B)

This four-sided bead is described as a seal in its inscription. It provides a parallel of sorts to the seal from Beer-sheba, since it mentions the same unusual divine name. The donor is a namesake of a king of Babylon who ruled in the first half of the ninth century, but had a different patronymic.

A seal of lapis lazuli — Nabu-apla-iddina, son of Shamash-eresh, for the well-being of his life, the length of his days (and) the furthering of his cause, to the divine Gabra the spouse of the divine Apil-Adad his lord he donated.

3. Marduk-zakir-shumi (2.125C)

At 19 cm high, this is one of the largest seals known, a worthy votive offering from a king of Babylon (second half of the ninth century BCE) to the city's principal deity.

For the divine Marduk, the great lord, heroic, lofty, exalted, lord of all, lord of lords, high judge, rendering decisions for the inhabited world, lord of foreign lands, lord of Babylon, dwelling in the temple Esagil, his lord — Marduk-zakir-shumi, king of the world, the prince who worships him — for the well-being of his life, the safety of his offspring, the length of his days, the stability of his reign, the overthrowing of his enemies, and the ever going peacefully before him — (this) seal of shining lapis lazuli which is artfully set in ruddy gold as the ornament of his (Marduk's) neck he caused it to be made and donated it.

¹ See COS 2.40.

² For dating the change, see Hallo 1982:114-115.

³ For this deity, see above, COS 2.115B, note 5 (Apla-Adad).

REFERENCES

Texts: Rainey 1973; Frame 1995:104f. Studies: Watanabe 1994.

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C. WEIGHT INSCRIPTIONS

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WEIGHT INSCRIPTIONS (2.126)

Marvin A. Powell

Most weights from ancient Mesopotamia bear no mark at all, partly because the vast majority are small with little room for inscription; however, many weights that could have been marked for unit of mass have no markings either. Weights with masses of one-half mina (ca. 250 grams) and higher are usually marked for mass, and more elaborate inscriptions are largely limited to these larger weights. Dating is often problematic, because a large proportion of weights in western collections derive from the antiquities market or from uncertain archaeological context, and this problem is complicated by the fact that some weights were reused, carried off as booty, and/or preserved as heirlooms. The brevity of most weight inscriptions and the tendency to use logographic-ideographic script occasionally makes identification of language a matter of an educated guess.

This selection is organized in (approximate) chronological order, oldest first. Published mass and "implied mina norms" are given to assist the reader in interpretation, but it must be borne in mind that these are approximations whose precision depends upon the accuracy of the modern weighing, the state of conservation of the object, and the accuracy of the ancient standard. There are large numbers of still unpublished and unstudied weights in Iraq and in Turkey and quite a few in Syria.

126A. Elongated barrel, from Tell Sweyhat, Syria; probably Naram-Sin or later.

1 mina.¹

126B. Duck, excavated at Susa, probably Akkad period.

(1) mina.²

126C. Ellipsoid, excavated at Susa, probably Akkad period.

1 little mina.³

126D. Duck, provenance unknown, Old Akkadian.

10 minas,⁴ in cloth/wool(?),⁵ true, of *Uši-ina-pušqim*.⁶

126E. Fragment, probably from a duck weight, of unknown provenance, with Old Babylonian script similar to the Laws of Hammurabi.⁷

Stone(weight), 1 talent, palace of Sin-iribam.⁸

¹ 472.2+ grams; dated by palaeography and associated pottery paralleling Mallowan's "Late Sargonic" from Brak and Jidle Level 5; Holland 1975:75-76. This weight seems to be normed on a standard distinct from the Babylonian and is perhaps related to the later "mina of Carchemish"; see Powell 1990:516.

² 538 grams; Powell 1971:255.

³ 2.90 grams; Powell 1971:271. A "little mina" is one-third of a shekel. The shekel contained three "little minas" or 180 barleycorns. The number on this weight is written with a horizontal wedge resembling those which normally precede talents but not minas and shekels. Thus, the "1" may symbolize "60 (barleycorns)." The implied mina norm is 522 grams, but the margin of error is much higher for small weights; the intended norm could easily lie anywhere within 500 to 540 grams.

⁴ 5371+ grams; Powell 1971:205, 251; Borger *HKL* 1:506 (correct reading of PN and identification as Old Akkadian). The stone has suffered slight damage, implying a mina norm a bit above 537 grams.

⁵ Unclear; probable reading: *ša tūg*.

⁶ Unidentified person.

⁷ Clay 1915:28, no. 30.

⁸ Tenth king of Larsa, 1842-1841 BCE.

126F. Elongated barrel, provenance unknown, probably late Old Babylonian.

Stone(weight), 2/3 shekel,⁹ true, of Šamaš.¹⁰

126G. Elongated barrel, provenance unknown (brought to the French excavations at Susa, where it was hastily copied and weighed), late Kassite or early Neo-Babylonian.

3 minas,¹¹ true, of Kilamdi-Marduk, temple-head of Kiš.¹²

126H. Duck, excavated at Babylon, probably early first millennium.

1 talent,¹³ true, of Mušallim-Marduk,¹⁴ "son" of the temple-head of Kiš,¹⁵ whoever takes it away, let Šamaš take him away!¹⁶

126I. Duck, excavated at Susa, late Kassite or early Neo-Babylonian.

2 1/2 minas,¹⁷ true, of Naširi, son of Kidin-Gula, descendant of Arad-Ea.

126J. Duck, found at Nippur, Second Dynasty of Isin.

Stone(weight), 10 minas,¹⁸ Napsamenni,¹⁹ head seer,²⁰ chief priest²¹ of Enlil, servant of Marduk-šapikzeri,²² king of Babylon.

126K. Duck, found by A. H. Layard at Nimrud (perhaps carried there as booty), Second Dynasty of Isin.

30 minas,²³ true, Nabu-šumu-libur,²⁴ king of the world.²⁵

⁹ Powell 1971:207, 268. Mass published as 5.3 grams; reweighed by R. B. Y. Scott: 5.344 grams; reweighed by M. A. Powell: 5.3545 grams. It has lost a small chip: the implied mina norm is in the 500 gram range.

¹⁰ A one-third shekel weight of Shamash in Brussels was published by Speleers 1925:22 no. 215 (text, description, mass, which is given as "3" grams). Abb 13 (1994) no. 112 gives a good idea of how such temple standards functioned in the business world beyond the temple: one party has sent a second party silver on behalf of a third party and instructs the second party to pay the third party back using the "stone(weight) of Shamash."

¹¹ 1425 grams, implied mina: 475 grams; Powell 1971:207, 253.

¹² Also represented by an ellipsoid in the British Museum weighing 79.35 grams published by Thureau-Dangin 1927:71 with the inscription "[one-sixth?] mina, true, Kilamdi-Marduk(!), the temple-head of Kiš"; cf. Powell 1971:207, 261. The British Museum stone is pierced, which is not normal for ellipsoids and may reflect subsequent use as an amulet.

¹³ 29680 grams plus a small percentage due to surface loss; the implied mina is about 495 grams. Powell 1971:206, 249.

¹⁴ This Mušallim-Marduk seems otherwise unattested. He can hardly have been the Amukani chief who submitted to Shalmaneser III (discussed by Brinkman 1968:198); see Powell 1993:97.

¹⁵ "Son" means "descendant"; for a parallel to the expression, see Brinkman 1968:230 n. 1454.

¹⁶ Šā TUM (= *uabbalu*) "UTU *ūt-bal-šu*"; for parallels, see Hunger 1968:177-178 + nos. 240-241, 256 (Shamash).

¹⁷ 4915.3+ grams; Powell 1971:206, 251. The original mass was close to 5000 grams, implying a mina norm around 2000 grams. This belongs to a small group of weights whose masses represent "quadruple" norms. The metrological motives for these norms remain unclear; however, these "2 1/2 minas" correspond to 10 normal Babylonian minas and to 60 Persian/Elamite *karša*. Thus, one of these "quadruple minas" would contain 24 *karša*, suggesting an underlying duodecimal system that has been adjusted to mesh with Babylonian norms. See below (number 13) for a possible example of Babylonian norms adjusted to mesh with western standards.

¹⁸ Mass not published; Biggs 1969:16 no. 56; Brinkman 1968:335.

¹⁹ Also attested according to Biggs 1969:16 on a Nippur text dated to the 2nd year of the preceding king, Marduk-nadin-aḥḫi, where he is called "seer, chief priest."

²⁰ UGULA AZU = *akil bari*.

²¹ NU-ĒŠ = *nešakku*.

²² Seventh king of the Second Dynasty of Isin, 1081-1069 BCE (Brinkman).

²³ 14589.551+ grams; Powell 1971:206, 250. The stone has lost around 200 grams, which would make the mina standard around 493 grams.

²⁴ Eleventh and last king, 1033-1026 BCE (Brinkman), of the Second Dynasty of Isin.

²⁵ LUGAL *šār* = *šar kiššati*; what precisely is to be understood under this term in each era and context is far from clear, as is illustrated by use of this title for a Babylonian king who ruled but eight years and whose reign marked the end of a dynasty during what appears to have been an era of increasing chaos.

126L. Elongated barrel, provenance unknown, perhaps early 8th century.

20 shekels,²⁶ true, palace of Nabu-šumu-lišir,²⁷ descendant of Dakkuru, the Isinite(?), overseer of the temple(?) of Marduk.²⁸

126M. Duck, found east of the ziqqurat at Assur, Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727 BCE).

3 (minas),²⁹ palace of Tukulti-apil-ešarra, king of the world, king of the land of [Aššur].

126N. Bronze lion, from Northwest palace at Nimrud, Shalmaneser V (727-722 BCE).

Palace of Šulman-ašarid, king of Aššur, 5 minas of the king.³⁰

126O. Truncated pyramid with rounded top, provenance uncertain, Nebuchadnezzar II (605-562 BCE).

[2] minas³¹ true, property of Marduk king of gods, copy of a weight which Nabu-kudurri-ušur king of Babylon, son of Nabu-apla-ušur king of Babylon, made true³² as a copy of a weight of Šulgi, a former king.

²⁶ Written 1/3 (i.e., of a mina) GIN; 164.3 grams. Powell 1971:206, 259; Brinkman 1968:215 and n. 1338 (collation on squeeze), 363-364.

²⁷ Nabu-šumu-lišir cannot be dated precisely.

²⁸ Translation of the difficult last line, LÚ.PA.TE.PA.SI(?) "AMAR.UTU," is based on a provisional reading LÚ.PA.ŠE! UGULA É "AMAR.UTU. For LÚ.PA.ŠE, see Borger 1970:5-8.

²⁹ 2775+ grams; Nassouhi 1927:14-15 no. VI (text), 17 (photo). Marked with three strokes. This duck weight on the "double standard" originally weighed around 3 kilograms. For discussion of the "double standard," see Powell 1990:515-516. Powell 1992:906 has suggested that the motivation for this "double mina" was to approximate 100 western shekels. Thirty such "double minas" would be 3000 western shekels and would approximate both the Babylonian and western talent. This still seems a likely solution.

³⁰ Also inscribed in Aramaic: "five minas of the land, five minas of the king" plus 5 strokes. Published mass: 5042.805+ grams; Powell 1971:251; Mallowan 1966:109. This is again the "double" standard, for which see above (number 13, Tiglath-Pileser III).

³¹ 978,309 grams; Powell 1971:254.

³² *ú-kin-ni*. This use of *kānu* can hardly mean "to place" (so CAD K 163a) but must rather belong under the broad category of "establishing as true," already attested in Ur III inscriptions (see, e.g., COS 2.149, 5, Šulgi below).

REFERENCES

Text: 126A: Holland 1975. 126B: MDP 12:6. 126C: MDP 12:11. 126D: Stephens 1937:#63. 126E: Frayne 1990:188. 126F: BIN 2:20. 126G: Pézard RA 9 (1912) 107-109; ZDMG 70 (1916) 52. 126H: MDOG 38 (1908) 16. 126I: MDP 12:8. 126J: Biggs 1969:16 and 42 #56. 126K: Brinkman 1968:147, n. 887. 126L: Brinkman 1968:215, n. 1338. 126M: Tadmor 1994:214. 126N: Mallowan 1966:109 and nn. 9-10. 126O: MDP 12:29.

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D. "FUNCTIONAL" INSCRIPTIONS

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1. TREATIES

ABBAEL'S GIFT OF ALALAKH (AT 1) (2.127)

Richard S. Hess

This Old Babylonian text from Alalakh Level VII records the background behind the gift of the city of Alalakh as a reward for military efforts. Gifts of lands and towns are also reported in Joshua 13 where, as in AT 1, they serve as a recollection of past events. See also Joshua 20 and 21 and the towns of asylum and of the Levites, both of which are presented as gifts of towns from the tribes to these groups. A similar gift of towns appears in AT 456. Both in the Bible and at Alalakh these gifts either are closely attached to or actually form part of treaty documents or divine covenants (see Josh 8:30-35; 24:1-28).

Historical Background (lines 1-10)^{1 a}

When his brothers rebelled against Abbael their lord, then Abbael, aided by Hebat, Addu and the spear [of Ishtar] went to Irride.^{2 b} He [conquered?] Irride and captured his [ene]my.

At that time Abbael, according to his gracious heart, gave Alalakh in exchange for Irride, which his father gave.^{3 c}

At the same time, Yarimlim,⁴ so[n of Hammu]rapi and servant of Abbael brought up [...] Ishtar.

Stipulations (lines 11-13a)

...Ab]bael (which) ... Yarimlim ... he shall give

a Gen 4; Judg 9; 2 Sam 13-14; 1 Kgs 1-2

b 1 Sam 21:1-9

c 1 Kgs 9:11-13, 16; 2 Chr 8:2

d Deut 5:32; 17:20; 28:19; Josh 1:7; 23:6; 2 Chr 34:2; Prov 4:27; Isa 30:21

e Lev 26:36-39

him city for city.

Curses (lines 13b-20)

whoever changes the word^{5 d} that Abbael has made for Yarimlim and does evil to his descendants, may Addu dash him in pieces with the weapon in his hand, may Hebat Ishtar break his spear, may Ishtar give him up to the hand of his conquerors,^{6 e} may Ishtar impress femaleness into his maleness.

¹ The rebellion of brothers is a common theme (e.g., Gen 4) and one that is known in the Bible among royalty (Judg 9; 2 Sam 13-14; 1 Kgs 1-2).

² Cf. the special dedication of the spear of Goliath in a sanctuary, 1 Sam 21:1-9.

³ For gifts and payments of towns, see 1 Kgs 9:11-13, 16; 2 Chr 8:2.

⁴ Na²aman (1980b) inserts ALAM-šu a-na É here and translates that Yarimlim "brought up [his statue to the temple] of Ishtar." This translation is based upon a reconstruction.

⁵ The expression "changes the word" (a-wa-at ... á-na-ak-ka-ru) recalls similar expressions of betrayal to covenants often expressed as warnings to turn neither to the right nor to the left, e.g., Deut 5:32; 17:20; 28:19; Josh 1:7; 23:6; 2 Chr 34:2; Prov 4:27; Isa 30:21.

⁶ That an enemy is given control over the treaty breaker forms part of biblical curses, e.g., Lev 26:36-39.

REFERENCES

Text and Translation: AT 25 and pl. i. Studies: Na²aman 1980b.

THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN IR-ADDU AND NIQMEPA (AT 2) (2.128)

Richard S. Hess

This is a treaty text from the Middle Babylonian period of Alalakh (Level IV). The stipulations are largely concerned with citizens of Niqmepa's lands who, for various reasons, find themselves in the land of Ir-Addu. The clauses provide for extradition of these people back to the lands of Niqmepa. Fugitives were a common cause for concern as witnessed in the second millennium law codes: Ur-Nammu §17; Lipit-Ishtar 12-13; Eshnunna 50; Hammurabi 16-20 (COS 2.153; 2.154; 2.130; 2.131, respectively). See Roth 1995/1997.

I. Introduction (lines 1-4)

- 1 The seal of Ir-Addu the king of Tunip
- 2 The text of the divine oath of Niqmepa king of Mukiš
- 3 and of Ir-Addu king of Tunip. In this manner Niqmepa and Ir-Addu
- 4 [...] have now made an agreement¹ between them:

II. Stipulations (lines 5-76)

- 5 [If ...] whether merchants or Sutean troops²
- 6 [...] you ... all your enemies
- 7 [...] you shall not go to war. If it is barley, emmer, or oils,
- 8 [...]
- 9 [...] [...] you] shall give.

- 10 [If ... th]ere is
- 11 [...] you] protest
- 12 [...] of] copper
- 13 [...] you shall search for them
- 14 [...] if] they should say
- 15 [...] fr]om Mukiš, we [are citizens]
- 16 you shall kill those troops.

- 17 If anyone from my country approaches your land to live there,
- 18 If you hear of it, you must report it.
- 19 If he lives in your country, you must seize him and give him up.

- 20 If there are captives from my country whom they sell in your country
- 21 you must seize them along with the one who sold them, and give them to me.

- 22 If a fugitive slave, whether male or female, flees from my country to yours,
- 23 you must seize him and return him. If anyone else seizes him
- 24 and gives him to you, you [shall keep him] in your prison.
- 25 When his owner arrives, you shall hand him over.
- 26 If the slave is not there, you shall provide an escort so that in the city where he is
- 27 the owner can seize the fugitive. (In the city where the fugitive is not residing, the mayor³ and five of his witnesses
- 28 shall declare the following oath: "If my slave stays with you, you must notify me (= the owner)."
- 29 If they do not agree to the oath, then you must return his slave to him.
- 30 If they do swear and afterwards they produce his slave,

a Deut 21:1-9

- 31 then they are thieves. Their hands shall be cut off.
- 32 6,000 copper shekels will be paid to the palace for the slave.

- 33 If a man, woman, ox, donkey, or horse in any-one's house [is found and the owner]
- 34 identifies it, but he (= the person in whose house it is found) says, "I got it by purchase,"
- 35 if he produces the merchant, then he is clear. But if he does
- 36 not produce the merchant who can identify that he took it...
- 37 he will declare with an oath. If...
- 38 But if he does not agree to the oath, then...

- 39 If you hold a man in custody, and you... with another man
- 40 he will go (free?). If (they break?) his fetters,
- 41 they shave off his slave mark...
- 42 and someone captures him, then he is a thief. If he declares...
- 43 then he will state with an oath, "If..."
- 44 If he does not agree to an oath, then he is a thief and (shall be treated) like a thief.
- 45 If the criminal, whether man, woman or child, goes from his house (and)
- 46 he (= the owner) seizes him, he is a thief and so his owner shall swear it:
- 47 "Surely I did not seize him on a journey of his own doing."

- 48 If a thief from your land steals from my land...
- 49 he breaks into a house or town and they seize him, (they shall put him) into a prison.
- 50 Whenever his owner comes, the owner of the house will take the following oath:
- 51 "You took it from the burgled house."
- 52 He shall produce his witnesses. They shall set his guilt on his head
- 53 and destroy(?) him. Then he will be a slave.
- 54 If they do not swear against him (as witnesses), then he shall go free.

- 55 [If people of my land] enter your land to preserve themselves from starvation,
- 56 you must protect them and you must feed them like (citizens of) your land.

- 57 Whenever they want to come to my land,
- 58 you must gather and return them t[o my land.]
- 59 You shall not detain a single family in your land.

- 60 If a man of my land [enters] your land to

¹ The expression, "an agreement between them," translates, *fi-nja bi-ri-šu-nu*. Is this related to the Heb. "covenant" (*b'rith*)?

² Cf. Heltzer 1981:80.

³ The use of the local officials of the town to swear judicial oaths clearing the town of guilt also occurs for the laws of the unknown murderer

preserve himself from starvation, 61 and he says, "Surely there is..." 62 he is a criminal [...] 63 They shall bring him [...] 64 you [...] 65-67 [] 68 then the cri[minal] 69 If there is a city, or if ... [] 70 They live with the guards of my city ... [] 71 a city ... [] you will seize them 72 If their city ... [] you will seize them. 73 As for the king of the Hurrian lord's army, if there is en[mity with the army of the Hurrian, my lord], then I 74 will not break the oath of my lord, the king of the Hurrian army, 75 (unless) he shall indeed release (me from) the words from the oath.	8 Deut 28:49-68 76 Seal of Niqmepa, the king of Alalakh. III. Curses (lines 77-79) (left side) 77 Whoever transgresses these matters, Addu the l[ord of divination, Shapash the lord of judg- ment, 78 Sin, and the great gods will destroy him. [Let] his name and seed⁴ [per]ish from the lands. 79 Let them make him forsake his throne and his scepter ... (Seal) 1. The great king Abban 2. son of Sharran 3. servant of Addu 4. favored of Addu 5. possession⁵ 6. of Hebat.
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in Deut 21:1-9, although the exact number of elders is not specified in the Bible.

⁴ Cf. the covenant curses involving loss of land and seed in Deut 28:49-68.

⁵ The term translated here as "possession" is *sikiltu*. It is cognate to that used by Israel's God to describe a special relationship with Israel in Exod 19:5 (*s'gullā*). As a divine epithet of a special relationship with a person, this term is almost exclusive to Alalakh. In two additional occurrences (not epithets) it is used in Middle Babylonian (CAD S 245; Hess 1994a:204).

REFERENCES

Text: Photo: Smith 1939 pl. xviii, 3 and 5. Copy: AT pls. i-iii. Transliteration: AT 26-28; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:214-222. Translations: AT 28-30; Speiser 1954:23; Tsevat 1958:111-112; Reiner 1969:531-532; Dietrich and Mayer 1996:177-179; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:215-223.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN PILLIA AND IDRIMI (AT 3) (2.129)

Richard S. Hess

Like AT 2, this text stipulates only the extradition of fugitives.

I. Introduction (lines 1-5)	9 Lev 27:2-8	10 to Pillia
1 A tablet of agreement (was made)		11 he shall return.
2 when Pillia		12 Idrimi's fugitive
3 swore a divine oath,		13 whom Pillia seizes
4 and made this agreement		14 to Idrimi
5 [be]tween them.		15 he shall return. Whoever
		16 seizes a fugitive
II. Stipulations regarding fugitives (lines 6-43)		17 shall return him to his owner.
6 Fugitives who are among them		18 If he is a man, ¹ 500 (shekels) of copper
7 they shall always return.		19 (the owner) will give as his reward. ²
8 Pillia's fugitive		20 If she is a woman, ¹
9 whom Idrimi seizes		21 he will give 1,000 (shekels) of copper

¹ The value of a female fugitive here is twice that of a male. This contrasts with the biblical values of men and women set for the votive offerings in Lev 27:2-8. See Wenham 1978.

² The meaning of "equivalent price" for *mištanuu*, was suggested by Wiseman who derived it from Akk. *šina* "two." A different meaning, "reward, pay," was suggested on the basis of an Indo-Iranian etymology proposed by Mayrhofer 1965. This has been followed by the Akk. dictionaries CAD and Afhw. The question of the derivation raises issues for the translation of *mišneh* in biblical texts such as Deut 15:18. See Tsevat 1994. Tsevat provides bibliography of the earlier discussion and summarizes the issues while advocating "duplicate, equivalent" for the evaluation of the slave's service in comparison to that of a hired laborer.

22 as his reward.		36 In whatever city
23 If a fugitive		37 they declare a fugitive (to be),
24 of Pillia		38 the mayor and 5 notables
25 enters the land of Idrimi,		39 shall swear an oath. ³
26 and no one there seizes him		40 From whatever day Baratarna
27 but his owner seizes him,		41 swears the oath with Idrimi
28 then no reward		42 from that day
29 shall be given. If		43 it is decreed that a fugitive is to be returned.
30 a fugitive of Idrimi		
31 enters the land of Pillia,		III. <i>Curse</i> (lines 44-47)
32 and no one there		44 Whoever transgresses the words of
33 seizes him but his owner		45 this tablet,
34 seizes him, then no reward		46 may Adad, Shapash, Išhara, and all the gods
35 shall be given.		47 destroy him.

³ See comment for AT 2 (COS 2.128, note 2). For a Talmudic parallel see Tsevat 1958:126.

REFERENCES

Text: Copy: AT pl. iv. Transliteration: AT 31-32. Translation: AT 31; Reiner 1969:532.

2. LAWS

THE LAWS OF ESHNUNNA (2.130)

Martha Roth

After the fall of the Ur III Dynasty, the north Mesopotamian city of Eshnunna, east of Babylon, fell under the sway of the Amorite settlers in the region. Under King Naram-Sin of Eshnunna, Eshnunna became one of the great military powers at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries BCE, alternately warring and allying with the other great powers of the time, Assur (or the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia), Mari, Elam, and Babylon. A successor to Naram-Sin, King Dadusha, may be referred to in the fragmentary superscription of the text here, although little else is known about this king. The kingdom of Eshnunna came to an end under his successor Ibal-pi-el II, when King Hammurabi captured the city during his thirty-first regnal year, 1766 BCE.

The composition is known from three school exercise texts; there is no literary prologue or epilogue preserved. This is the earliest extant of the Akkadian-language collections of laws. There are great similarities in content with the other known law collections, especially with the Laws of Hammurabi, and despite the lack of a framing structure, this composition stands within the scribal-legal tradition of the Laws of Ur-Namma, Lipit-Ishtar, and Hammurabi (COS 2.153, 154, 131).¹

<i>Superscription</i>		
<i>Appointment to the throne</i> (lines i.1-7)		
[...] day 21 [...] of the gods Entil and Ninazu, [when Dadusha ascended to] the kingship of the city of Eshnunna [and entered] into the house of his father, [when] he conquered with mighty weapons within one year the cities Šupur-Shamash [and ... on] the far bank of the Tigris River [...].		kel of silver. 40 SILA of bitumen — for 1 shekel of silver. 360 shekels of wool — for 1 shekel of silver. 600 SILA of salt — for 1 shekel of silver. 300 SILA of potash — for 1 shekel of silver. 180 shekels of copper — for 1 shekel of silver. 120 shekels of wrought copper — for 1 shekel of silver.
<i>The Laws</i>		
§1	300 SILA of barley (can be purchased) for 1 shekel of silver. 3 SILA of fine oil — for 1 shekel of silver. 12 SILA of oil — for 1 shekel of silver. 15 SILA of lard — for 1 she-	§2 1 sila of oil, extract(?) — 30 SILA is its grain equivalent. 1 sila of lard, extract(?) — 25 SILA is its grain equivalent. 1 sila of bitumen, extract(?) — 8 SILA is its grain equivalent.
		§3 A wagon together with its oxen and its driver — 100 SILA of grain is its hire; if (paid in) silver, ⅓ shekel (i.e., 60 barley corns) is its

¹ The most recent edition is in Roth 1995/1997, on which this translation is based, and to which the reader is referred for details of sources and earlier editions.

	hire; he shall drive it for the entire day.	a Exod 22:1-2; Isa 38:1	to his or her fate, he will not take out all that he had brought, but only its excess shall he take. ²
§4	The hire of a boat is, per 300-sila capacity, 2 SILA; furthermore, [x] SILA is the hire of the boatman; he shall drive it for the entire day.	b Deut 24:6	§18A Per 1 shekel (of silver) interest accrues at the rate of 36 barleycorns (= 20%); per 300 SILA (of grain) interest accrues at the rate of 100 SILA (= 33⅓%).
§5	If the boatman is negligent and causes the boat to sink, he shall restore as much as he caused to sink.		§19 A man who lends against its corresponding commodity(?) shall collect at the threshing floor.
§6	If a man, under fraudulent circumstances, should seize a boat which does not belong to him, he shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver.	c Judg 15:1-2	§20 If a man loans ... grain ... and then converts the grain into silver, at the harvest he shall take the grain and the interest on it at (the established rate of 33⅓%, i.e.,) 100 SILA per 300 SILA.
§7	20 SILA of grain is the hire of a harvester; if (paid in) silver, 12 barleycorns is his hire.	d Deut 22:23-27	§21 If a man gives silver for/to his/its ..., he shall take the silver and the interest on it at (the established rate of 20%, i.e.,) 36 barleycorns per 1 shekel.
§8	10 SILA of grain is the hire of a winnower.		§22 If a man has no claim against another man but he nonetheless takes the man's slave woman as a distress, the owner of the slave woman shall swear an oath by the god: "You have no claim against me"; he (the distrainer) shall weigh and deliver silver as much as is the value(?) of the slave woman. ³
§9	Should a man give 1 shekel of silver to a hireling for harvesting — if he (the hireling) does not keep himself available to work and does not harvest for him, he shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver.		§23 If a man has no claim against another man but he nonetheless takes the man's slave woman as a distress, detains the distress in his house, and causes her death, he shall replace her with two slave women for the owner of the slave woman.
§9A	15 SILA is the hire of a sickle, and the broken blade(?) shall revert to its owner.		§24 If he has no claim against him ³ but he nonetheless takes the wife of a commoner or the child of a commoner as a distress, detains the distress in his house, and causes her or his death, it is a capital offense — the distrainer who distrained shall die.
§10	10 SILA of grain is the hire of a donkey, and 10 SILA of grain is the hire of its driver; he shall drive it for the entire day.		§25 If a man comes to claim (his bride) at the house of his father-in-law, but his father-in-law wrongs(?) him and then gives his daughter to [another], the father of the daughter shall return two-fold the bridewealth which he received. ⁴
§11	The hire of a hireling is 1 shekel of silver, 60 SILA of grain is his provender; he shall serve for one month.		§26 If a man brings the bridewealth for the daughter of a man, but another, without the consent of her father and mother, abducts her and then deflowers her, it is indeed a capital offense — he shall die. ⁴
§12	A man who is seized in the field of a commoner among the sheaves at midday shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver; he who is seized at night among the sheaves shall die, he will not live. ⁵		§27 If a man marries the daughter of another man without the consent of her father and mother, and moreover does not conclude the nuptial feast and the contract for(?) her father and mother, should she reside in his house for even one full year, she is not a wife.
§13	A man who is seized in the house of a commoner, within the house, at midday, shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver; he who is seized at night within the house shall die, he will not live.		
§14	The hire of a fuller, per one garment valued at 5 shekels of silver — 1 shekel is his hire; (per one garment) valued at 10 shekels of silver — 2 shekels is his hire.		
§15	A merchant or a tapster will not accept silver, grain, wool, oil, or anything else from a male or female slave.		
§16	The son of a man who has not yet received his inheritance share or a slave will not be advanced credit.		
§17	Should a member of the <i>awilu</i> -class bring the bridewealth to the house of his father-in-law — if either (the groom or bride then) should go to his or her fate, the silver shall revert to its original owner (i.e., the widower or his heir).		
§18	If he marries her and she enters his house and then either the groom or the bride goes		

² Subjects in the final clause are uncertain, and the resolutions outlined are not clear. For discussion of possibilities, see Yaron 1988:179-190.

³ i.e., the "commoner" mentioned later in the provision.

§28	If he concludes the contract and the nuptial feast for(?) her father and mother and he marries her, she is indeed a wife; the day she is seized in the lap of another man, she shall die, she will not live. ⁴	e Lev 20:10; Deut 22:22; Isa 38:1		mitted a fraud or misdeed"; thus shall he swear an oath to satisfy him and he will have no claim against him.
§29	If a man should be captured or abducted during a raiding expedition or while on patrol(?), even should he reside in a foreign land for a long time, should someone else marry his wife and even should she bear a child, whenever he returns he shall take back his wife.	f Exod 22:7-8		§38 If, in a partnership, one intends to sell his share and his partner wishes to buy, he shall match any outside offer. ⁶
§30	If a man repudiates his city and his master and then flees, and someone else then marries his wife, whenever he returns he will have no claim to his wife.	g Lev 25:29-30		§39 If a man becomes impoverished and then sells his house, whenever the buyer offers it for sale, the owner of the house shall have the right to redeem it. ⁵
§31	If a man should deflower the slave woman of another man, he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver, but the slave woman remains the property of her master.	h Exod 22:1-2		§40 If a man buys a slave, a slave woman, an ox, or any other purchase, but cannot establish the identity of the seller, it is he who is a thief. ⁴
§32	If a man gives his child for suckling and for rearing but does not give the food, oil, and clothing rations (to the caregiver) for 3 years, he shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver for the cost of the rearing of his child, and he shall take away his child.	i Exod 21:24; Lev 24:20; Deut 19:21		§41 If a foreigner, a <i>naptaru</i> , or a <i>mudû</i> wishes to sell his beer, the tapster shall sell the beer for him at the current rate.
§33	If a slave woman acts to defraud and gives her child to a woman of the <i>awtlu</i> -class, when he grows up — should his master locate him, he shall seize him and take him away.	j Exod 22:3, 6		§42 If a man bites the nose of another man and thus cuts it off, he shall weigh and deliver 60 shekels of silver; an eye — 60 shekels; a tooth — 30 shekels; an ear — 30 shekels; a slap to the cheek ⁷ he shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver. ¹
§34	If a slave woman of the palace should give her son or her daughter to a commoner for rearing, the palace shall remove the son or daughter whom she gave.			§43 If a man should cut off the finger of another man, he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver. ¹
§35	However, an adopter who takes in adoption the child of a slave woman of the palace shall restore (another slave of) equal value for the palace.			§44 If a man knocks down another man in the street(?) and thereby breaks his hand, he shall weigh and deliver 30 shekels of silver.
§36	If a man gives his goods to a <i>naptaru</i> for safekeeping, and he (the <i>naptaru</i>) then allows the goods which he gave to him for safekeeping to become lost — without evidence that the house has been broken into, the doorjamb scraped, the window forced — he shall replace his goods for him. ¹			§45 If he should break his foot, he shall weigh and deliver 30 shekels of silver.
§37	If the man's house ⁵ has been burglarized, and the owner of the house incurs a loss along with the goods which the depositor gave to him, the owner of the house shall swear an oath to satisfy him at the gate of (the temple of) the god Tishpak: "My goods have been lost along with your goods; I have not com-			§46 ⁸ If a man strikes another man and thus breaks his collarbone, he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver.
				§47 If a man should inflict(?) any other injuries(?) on another man in the course of a fray, he shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver.
				§47A If a man, in the course of a brawl, should cause the death of another member of the <i>awtlu</i> -class, he shall weigh and deliver 40 shekels of silver.
				§48 And for a case involving a penalty of silver in amounts ranging from 20 shekels to 60 shekels, the judges shall determine the case against him; however, a capital case is only for the king.
				§49 If a man should be seized with a stolen slave or a stolen slave woman, a slave shall lead a slave, a slave woman shall lead a slave woman. ¹
				§50 If a military governor, a governor of the canal system, or any person in a position of

⁴ Yaron (1988:284-85) maintains his earlier position that it is the lover and not the woman who is the subject of *imât ul iballut* "s/he shall die, s/he shall not live," and that her punishment is left to her husband; but see Roth 1988. For the idiom and its parallels see Hallo 1999:41 and nn. 65-67.

⁵ I.e., the house of the depository, the *naptaru* "resident alien" of §36.

⁶ For other interpretations, see Yaron 1988:227-235.

⁷ "Slap to the cheek" is a reference to a physical or social assault to a person's honor; see Roth 1995:27-36; and COS 2.131 §§202-205.

⁸ On §§46, 47, 47A, see Roth 1990.

	* Exod 21:28-36	he shall weigh and deliver 15 shekels of silver.
		§56 If a dog is vicious and the ward authorities so notify its owner, but he fails to control his dog and it bites a man and thus causes his death, the owner of the dog shall weigh and deliver 40 shekels of silver.
§51 A slave or slave woman belonging to (a resident of) Eshnunna who bears fetters, shackles, or a slave hairlock will not exit through the main city-gate of Eshnunna without his owner.		§57 If it bites a slave and thus causes his death, he shall weigh and deliver 15 shekels of silver.
§52 A slave or slave woman who has entered the main city-gate of Eshnunna in the safekeeping of a foreign envoy shall be made to bear fetters, shackles, or a slave hairlock and thereby is kept safe for his owner.		§58 If a wall is buckling and the ward authorities so notify the owner of the wall, but he does not reinforce his wall and the wall collapses and thus causes the death of a member of the <i>awilu</i> -class — it is a capital case, it is decided by a royal edict.
§53 If an ox gores another ox and thus causes its death, the two ox-owners shall divide the value of the living ox and the carcass of the dead ox. ⁹		§59 If a man sired children but divorces his wife and then marries another, he shall be expelled from the house and any possessions there may be and he shall depart after the one who ..., [...] the house ... ⁹
§54 If an ox is a gorer and the ward authorities so notify its owner, but he fails to keep his ox in check and it gores a man and thus causes his death, the owner of the ox shall weigh and deliver 40 shekels of silver.		§60 ¹⁰ [If] a guard is negligent in guarding [a house], and a burglar [breaks into the house], they shall kill the guard of the house that was broken into [...], and he shall be buried [at] the breach without a grave.
§55 If it gores a slave and thus causes his death,		

⁹ The interpretation of the provision is disputed, revolving around the identity (or identities) of the subjects in the subclauses of the apodosis; see the summaries of the discussion in Yaron 1988:214ff. and in Westbrook 1988: 72ff.

¹⁰ The provision is damaged, and the restorations and interpretation are uncertain; here, I follow the treatment put forward by Landsberger 1968:102.

REFERENCES

Text: Goetze 1948a; Yaron 1969/1988; Roth 1995/1997:57-70. Translations and Studies: *ANET* 161-163; *TUAT* 32-38; Goetze 1956; Eichler 1987; Finkelstein, 1970; Landsberger 1968; al-Rawi 1982; Roth 1988; 1990; 1995; 1995/1997:57-70; Saporetti 1984:41-48; Yaron 1969/1988; Westbrook 1988; 1994.

THE LAWS OF HAMMURABI (2.131)

Martha Roth

By the beginning of the second millennium, Amorite and other nomadic population groups integrated into Mesopotamian urban political and social life. The Amorite Sumu-abum (ca. 1894-1881 BCE) settled in Babylon, in the wasp-waist center of Mesopotamia, at the time that the rival cities of Isin and Larsa were struggling for dominance in the south. He and his successors for one hundred years stayed focused largely on their immediate geographical area, engaging in local political and military consolidation, fortification and temple building projects, canal maintenance, and some military actions. By the time the sixth ruler of this dynasty, Hammurabi (ca. 1792-1750 BCE), came to the throne, he found himself circumscribed by the rising powers of Larsa to the south, the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia to the north, Mari to the west, and Eshnunna and Elam to the east. In his first years, Hammurabi, like his predecessors, remained involved in building projects in Babylon itself, but then turned outward and began military forays into other territories; by his thirty-second regnal year, he had decisively defeated all the rivals mentioned. As "King of Sumer and Akkad," Hammurabi now had the luxury of turning his attention again to domestic programs, largely neglected during the years of military efforts. It is at this point that the law collection inscribed on the monumental stela was compiled and publicized in multiple copies placed in major cities of his realm, fulfilling Hammurabi's repeated claims of a just and righteous rule. In all this, Hammurabi and his law collection stand firmly in the stream of tradition of his royal predecessors in other dynasties and other cities of Mesopotamia, beginning at least with Ur-Namma and Lipit-Ishtar, although the product of Hammurabi's efforts is by far the longest, most

polished, and most comprehensive.

Hammurabi's son and successor Samsu-iluna also enjoyed a long reign (ca. 1749-1712 BCE), but the empire Hammurabi consolidated began to splinter soon after his death. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the much reduced city of Babylon fell to invading Hatti forces. Hammurabi himself, however, achieved and retained enormous personal appeal as a charismatic leader both during his lifetime and after. The enduring power of Hammurabi's name and deeds is dramatically demonstrated by the seven and a half foot tall stela with the most complete edition of the Laws, which was taken from Sippar as booty to Susa by conquering Elamites five hundred years later.

In addition to the famous monument, some fifty manuscripts are known to record all or part of the laws, prologue, and epilogue of the composition. The manuscripts range from those contemporary with the time of Hammurabi through to the middle of the first millennium, and come from a variety of sites. The scribes in schools studied and copied the Laws, and engaged in exercises resulting in commentaries to and extracts of the composition, and even one Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual.¹

Prologue (lines i 1-v 25)

Elevation of Marduk to head of the pantheon (lines i 1-26)

When the august god Anu, king of the Anunnaku deities, and the god Enlil, lord of heaven and earth, who determines the destinies of the land, allotted supreme power over all peoples to the god Marduk, the firstborn son of the god Ea, exalted him among the Igigu deities, named the city of Babylon with its august name and made it supreme within the regions of the world, and established for him within it eternal kingship whose foundations are as fixed as heaven and earth,

Appointment of Hammurabi to the throne (lines i.27-49)

at that time, the gods Anu and Enlil, for the enhancement of the well-being of the people, named me by my name: Hammurabi, the pious prince, who venerates the gods, to make justice prevail in the land, to abolish the wicked and the evil, to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak, to rise like the sun-god Shamash over all humankind, to illuminate the land.

Attributes and benefactions of Hammurabi to the temples and cities in his realm (lines i.50-v.13)

I am Hammurabi, the shepherd, selected by the god Enlil, he who heaps high abundance and plenty, who perfects every possible thing for the city Nippur, (the city known as) band-of-heaven-and-earth, the pious provider of the Ekur temple;

the capable king, the restorer of the city Eridu, the purifier of the rites of the Eabzu temple;

the onslaught of the four regions of the world, who magnifies the reputation of the city Babylon, who gladdens the heart of his divine lord Marduk, whose days are devoted to the Esagil temple;

seed of royalty, he whom the god Sin created, enricher of the city of Ur, humble and talented, who provides abundance for the Egishnugal temple;

discerning king, obedient to the god Shamash, the

mighty one, who establishes the foundations of the city of Sippar, who drapes the sacred building of the goddess Aja with greenery, who made famous the temple of Ebabbar which is akin to the abode of heaven;

the warrior, who shows mercy to the city of Larsa, who renews the Ebabbar temple for the god Shamash his ally;

the lord who revitalizes the city of Uruk, who provides abundant waters for its people, who raises high the summit of the Eanna temple, who heaps up bountiful produce for the gods Anu and Ishtar;

the protecting canopy of the land, who gathers together the scattered peoples of the city of Isin, who supplies abundance for the temple of Egalmaḥ;

dragon among kings, beloved brother of the god Zababa, founder of the settlement of Kish, who surrounds the Emetsursag temple with splendor, who arranges the great rites for the goddess Ishtar, who takes charge of the temple of Ḫursagkalamma;

the enemy-ensnaring throw-net, whose companion, the god Erra, has allowed him to obtain his heart's desire, who enlarges the city of Kuṭl, who augments everything for the Emeslam temple;

the fierce wild bull who gores the enemy, beloved of the god Tutu, the one who makes the city of Borsippa exult, the pious one who does not fail in his duties to the Ezida temple, <the dwelling of> the god of kings;

the one who is steeped in wisdom, who enlarges the cultivated area of the city of Dilbat, who heaps up the storage bins for the mighty god Urash;

the lord, worthy recipient of the scepter and crown bestowed upon him by the wise goddess Mama, who devised the plans of the city of Kesh, who provides the pure food offerings for the goddess Nintu;

the judicious one, the noble one, who allots pasture and watering place for the cities of Lagash and

¹ The most recent edition is in Roth 1995/1997, on which this translation is based, and to which the reader is referred for details of sources and earlier editions.

Girsu, who provides plentiful food-offerings for the Eninnu temple;

who seizes the enemies, beloved of (the goddess Ishtar) the able one, who perfects the oracles of the city of Zabala, who gladdens the heart of the goddess Ishtar;

the pure prince, whose prayers the god Adad acknowledges, appeaser of the heart of the god Adad, the hero in the city of Karkara, who installs the proper appointments throughout the Eudgalgal temple;

the king who gives life to the city of Adab, who organizes the Enah temple;

lord of kings, peerless warrior, who granted life to the city of Mashkan-shapir, who gives waters of abundance to the Emeslam temple;

wise one, the organizer, he who has mastered all wisdom, who shelters the people of the city of Malgium in the face of annihilation, who founds their settlements in abundance, who decreed eternal pure food offerings for the gods Enki and Damkina who magnify his kingship;

leader of kings, who subdues the settlements along the Euphrates River by the oracular command of the god Dagan, his creator, who showed mercy to the people of the cities of Mari and Tuttul;

the pious prince, who brightens the countenance of the god Tishpak, who provides pure feasts for the goddess Ninazu, who sustains his people in crisis, who secures their foundations in peace in the midst of the city of Babylon;

shepherd of the people, whose deeds are pleasing to the goddess Ishtar, who establishes Ishtar in the Eulmash temple in the midst of Akkad-the-City;

who proclaims truth, who guides the population properly, who restores its benevolent protective spirit to the city of Assur;

who quells the rebellious, the king who proclaimed the rites for the goddess Ishtar in the city of Nineveh in the Emesmes temple;

the pious one, who prays ceaselessly for the great gods, scion of Sumu-la-el, mighty heir of Sinmuballit, eternal seed of royalty, mighty king, solar disk of the city of Babylon, who spreads light over the lands of Sumer and Akkad, king who makes the four regions obedient, favored of the goddess Ishtar, am I.

Establishment of justice in the land (lines v. 14-25)

When the god Marduk commanded me to provide just ways for the people of the land (in order to attain) appropriate behavior, I established truth and justice as the declaration of the land, I enhanced the well-being of the people.

a Exod 20:16;
23:1-3; Deut
5:20; 19:16-
21

b Exod 21:37;
22:1-2

c Exod 20:15;
Lev 19:11,
13; Deut
5:19

At that time:

The Laws

- §1 If a man accuses another man and charges him with homicide but cannot bring proof against him, his accuser shall be killed.^a
- §2 If a man charges another man with practicing witchcraft but cannot bring proof against him, he who is charged with witchcraft shall go to the divine River Ordeal, he shall indeed submit to the divine River Ordeal; if the divine River Ordeal should overwhelm him, his accuser shall take full legal possession of his estate; if the divine River Ordeal should clear that man and should he survive, he who made the charge of witchcraft against him shall be killed; he who submitted to the divine River Ordeal shall take full legal possession of his accuser's estate.
- §3 If a man comes forward to give false testimony in a case but cannot bring evidence for his accusation, if that case involves a capital offense, that man shall be killed.
- §4 If he comes forward to give (false) testimony for (a case whose penalty is) grain or silver, he shall be assessed the penalty for that case.
- §5 If a judge renders a judgment, gives a verdict, or deposits a sealed opinion, after which he reverses his judgment, they shall charge and convict that judge of having reversed the judgment which he rendered and he shall give twelvefold the claim of that judgment; moreover, they shall unseat him from his judgeship in the assembly, and he shall never again sit in judgment with the judges.
- §6 If a man steals valuables belonging to the god or to the palace, that man shall be killed, and also he who received the stolen goods from him shall be killed.^b
- §7 If a man should purchase silver, gold, a slave, a slave woman, an ox, a sheep, a donkey, or anything else whatsoever, from a son of a man or from a slave of a man without witnesses or a contract — or if he accepts the goods for safekeeping — that man is a thief, he shall be killed.
- §8 If a man steals an ox, a sheep, a donkey, a pig, or a boat — if it belongs either to the god or to the palace, he shall give thirtyfold; if it belongs to a commoner, he shall replace it tenfold; if the thief does not have anything to give, he shall be killed.^c
- §9 If a man who claims to have lost property then discovers his lost property in another man's possession, but the man in whose possession the lost property was discovered declares, "A seller sold it to me, I purchased

	it in the presence of witnesses," and the owner of the lost property declares, "I can bring witnesses who can identify my lost property," (and then if) the buyer produces the seller who sold it to him and the witnesses in whose presence he purchased it, and also the owner of the lost property produces the witnesses who can identify his lost property — the judges shall examine their cases, and the witnesses in whose presence the purchase was made and the witnesses who can identify the lost property shall state the facts known to them before the god, then it is the seller who is the thief, he shall be killed; the owner of the lost property shall take his lost property, and the buyer shall take from the seller's estate the amount of silver that he weighed and delivered. ^d	^d Exod 21:37; 22:3	
§10	If the buyer could not produce the seller who sold (the lost property) to him or the witnesses before whom he made the purchase, but the owner of the lost property could produce witnesses who can identify his lost property, then it is the buyer who is the thief, he shall be killed; the owner of the lost property shall take his lost property.	^e Exod 21:16; Deut 24:7	§20
§11	If the owner of the lost property could not produce witnesses who can identify his lost property, he is a liar, he has indeed spread malicious charges, he shall be killed.	^f Exod 22:2-3	§21
§12	If the seller should go to his fate, the buyer shall take fivefold the claim for that case from the estate of the seller.	^g Lev 5:21-26; 19:11, 13	§22
§13	If that man's witnesses are not available, the judges shall grant him an extension until the sixth month, but if he does not bring his witnesses by the sixth month, it is that man who is a liar, he shall be assessed the penalty for that case.	^h Deut 21:1-11	§23
§14	If a man should kidnap the young child of another man, he shall be killed. ^e		§24
§15	If a man should enable a palace slave, a palace slave woman, a commoner's slave, or a commoner's slave woman to leave through the main city-gate, he shall be killed.		§25
§16	If a man should harbor a fugitive slave or slave woman of either the palace or of a commoner in his house and not bring him out at the herald's public proclamation, that householder shall be killed.		§26
§17	If a man seizes a fugitive slave or slave woman in the open country and leads him back to his owner, the slave owner shall give him 2 shekels of silver.		§27
§18	If that slave should refuse to identify his owner, he shall lead him off to the palace, his circumstances shall be investigated, and they shall return him to his owner.		§28
§19	If he should detain that slave in his own		§29
	house and afterward the slave is discovered in his possession, that man shall be killed.		§30
	If the slave should escape the custody of the one who seized him, that man shall swear an oath by the god to the owner of the slave, and he shall be released.		
	If a man breaks into a house, they shall kill him and hang him in front of that very breach. ^f		
	If a man commits a robbery and is then seized, that man shall be killed. ^g		
	If the robber should not be seized, the man who has been robbed shall establish the extent of his lost property before the god; and the city and the governor in whose territory and district the robbery was committed shall replace his lost property to him.		
	If a life (is lost during the robbery), the city and the governor shall weigh and deliver to his kinsmen 60 shekels of silver. ^h		
	If a fire breaks out in a man's house, and a man who came to help put it out covets the household furnishings belonging to the householder, and takes household furnishings belonging to the householder, that man shall be cast into that very fire.		
	If either a soldier or a fisherman who is ordered to go on a royal campaign does not go, or hires and sends a hireling as his substitute, that soldier or fisherman shall be killed; the one who informs against him shall take full legal possession of his estate.		
	If there is either a soldier or a fisherman who is taken captive while serving in a royal fortress, and they give his field and his orchard to another to succeed to his holdings, and he then performs his service obligation — if he (the soldier or fisherman) should return and get back to his city, they shall return to him his field and orchard and he himself shall perform his service obligation.		
	If there is either a soldier or a fisherman who is taken captive while serving in a royal fortress, and his son is able to perform the service obligation, the field and orchard shall be given to him and he shall perform his father's service obligation.		
	If his son is too young and is unable to perform his father's service obligation, one third of the field and orchard shall be given to his mother, and his mother shall raise him.		
	If either a soldier or a fisherman abandons his field, orchard, or house because of the service obligation and then absents himself, another person takes possession of his field, orchard, or house to succeed to his holdings and performs the service obligation for three years — if he then returns and claims his field, orchard, or house, it will not be given		

- to him; he who has taken possession of it and has performed his service obligation shall be the one to continue to perform the obligation.
- §31 If he should absent himself for only one year and then return, his field, orchard, and house shall be given to him, and he himself shall perform his service obligation.
- §32 If there is either a soldier or a fisherman who is taken captive while on a royal campaign, a merchant redeems him and helps him to get back to his city — if there are sufficient means in his own estate for the redeeming, he himself shall redeem himself; if there are not sufficient means in his estate to redeem him, he shall be redeemed by his city's temple; if there are not sufficient means in his city's temple to redeem him, the palace shall redeem him; but his field, orchard, or house will not be given for his redemption.
- §33 If either a captain or a sergeant should recruit(?) deserters or accepts and leads off a hireling as a substitute on a royal campaign, that captain or sergeant shall be killed.
- §34 If either a captain or a sergeant should take a soldier's household furnishings, oppress a soldier, hire out a soldier, deliver a soldier into the power of an influential person in a law case, or take a gift that the king gave to a soldier, that captain or sergeant shall be killed.
- §35 If a man should purchase from a soldier either the cattle or the sheep and goats which the king gave to the soldier, he shall forfeit his silver.
- §36 (Furthermore), the field, orchard, or house of a soldier, fisherman, or a state tenant will not be sold.
- §37 If a man should purchase a field, orchard, or house of a soldier, fisherman, or a state tenant, his deed shall be invalidated and he shall forfeit his silver; the field, orchard, or house shall revert to its owner.
- §38 (Furthermore), a soldier, fisherman, or a state tenant will not assign in writing to his wife or daughter any part of a field, orchard, or house attached to his service obligation, nor will he give it to meet any outstanding obligation.
- §39 He shall assign in writing to his wife or daughter or give to meet an outstanding obligation only a field, orchard, or house which he himself acquires by purchase.
- §40 (However), a *naditu*, a merchant, or any holder of a field with a special service obligation may sell her or his field, orchard, or house; the buyer shall perform the service obligation on the field, orchard, or house which he purchases.
- §41 If a man accepts a field, orchard, or house of a soldier, fisherman, or state tenant in an exchange and gives him a compensatory payment (for the difference in value), the soldier, fisherman, or state tenant shall reclaim his field, orchard, or house and shall also keep full legal possession of the compensatory payment which was given to him.
- §42 If a man rents a field in tenancy but does not plant any grain, they shall charge and convict him of not performing the required work in the field, and he shall give to the owner of the field grain in accordance with his neighbor's yield.
- §43 If he does not cultivate the field at all but leaves it fallow, he shall give to the owner of the field grain in accordance with his neighbor's yield, and he shall plow and harrow the field which he left fallow and return it to the owner of the field.
- §44 If a man rents a previously uncultivated field for a three-year term with the intention of opening it for cultivation but he is negligent and does not open the field, in the fourth year he shall plow, hoe, and harrow the field and return it to the owner of the field; and in addition he shall measure and deliver 3,000 SILA of grain per 18 *iku* (of field).
- §45 If a man leases his field to a cultivator and receives the rent for his field, and afterwards the storm-god Adad devastates the field or a flood sweeps away the crops, the loss is the cultivator's alone.
- §46 If he (the owner) should not receive the rent for his field (before the catastrophe destroys the field) or he leases out the field on terms of a half share or a third share (of the yield), the cultivator and the owner of the field shall divide whatever grain there is remaining in the agreed proportions.
- §47 If the cultivator should declare his intention to cultivate the field (in the next year) because in the previous year he did not recover his expenses, the owner of the field will not object; his same cultivator shall cultivate his field and he shall take (his share of) the grain at the harvest in accordance with his contract.
- §48 If a man has a debt lodged against him, and the storm-god Adad devastates his field or a flood sweeps away the crops, or there is no grain grown in the field due to insufficient water — in that year he will not repay grain to his creditor; he shall suspend performance of his contract and he will not give interest payments for that year.
- §49 If a man borrows silver from a merchant and gives the merchant a field prepared for plant-

	ing with either grain or sesame ² (as a pledge for the loan) and declares to him, "You cultivate the field and collect and take away as much grain or sesame as will be grown" — if the cultivator should produce either grain or sesame in the field, at the harvest it is only the owner of the field who shall take the grain or sesame that is grown in the field, and he shall give to the merchant the grain equivalent to his silver which he borrowed from the merchant and the interest on it and also the expenses of the cultivation.	i Lev 19:23-25	his field and the shepherd who grazed sheep and goats on the field without the permission of the owner of the field shall give in addition 6,000 SILA of grain per 18 <i>iku</i> (of field) to the owner of the field.
§50	If he gives (to the merchant as a pledge for the loan) a field already plowed and sown with either <grain> or sesame, (at the harvest) it is only the owner of the field who shall take the grain or sesame that is grown in the field and he shall repay the silver and the interest on it to the merchant.	§58	If, after the sheep and goats come up from the common irrigated area when the penants announcing the termination of pasturing are wound around the main city-gate, the shepherd releases the sheep and goats into a field and allows the sheep and goats to graze in the field — the shepherd shall guard the field in which he allowed them to graze and at the harvest he shall measure and deliver to the owner of the field 18,000 SILA of grain per 18 <i>iku</i> (of field).
§51	If he does not have silver to repay, he shall give to the merchant, in accordance with the royal edict, <either grain or> sesame according to their market value for his silver borrowed from the merchant and the interest on it.	§59	If a man cuts down a tree in another man's date orchard without the permission of the owner of the orchard, he shall weigh and deliver 30 shekels of silver.
§52	If the cultivator should not produce grain or sesame in the field, he will not alter his agreement.	§60	If a man gives a field to a gardener to plant as a date orchard and the gardener plants the orchard, he shall cultivate the orchard for four years; in the fifth year, the owner of the orchard and the gardener shall divide the yield in equal shares; the owner of the orchard shall select and take his share first. ¹
§53	If a man neglects to reinforce the embankment of (the irrigation canal of) his field and does not reinforce its embankment, and then a breach opens in its embankment and allows the water to carry away the common irrigated area, the man in whose embankment the breach opened shall replace the grain whose loss he caused.	§61	If the gardener does not complete the planting of (the date orchard in) the field, but leaves an uncultivated area, they shall include the uncultivated area in his share.
§54	If he cannot replace the grain, they shall sell him and his property, and the residents of the common irrigated area whose grain crops the water carried away shall divide (the proceeds).	§62	If he does not plant as a date orchard the field which was given to him — if it is arable land, the gardener shall measure and deliver to the owner of the field the estimated yield of the field for the years it is left fallow in accordance with his neighbor's yield; furthermore he shall perform the required work on the field and return it to the owner of the field.
§55	If a man opens his branch of the canal for irrigation and negligently allows the water to carry away his neighbor's field, he shall measure and deliver grain in accordance with his neighbor's yield.	§63	If it is uncultivated land, he shall perform the required work on the field and return it to the owner of the field, and in addition he shall measure and deliver 3,000 SILA of grain per 18 <i>iku</i> (of field) per year.
§56	If a man opens (an irrigation gate and releases) waters and thereby he allows the water to carry away whatever work has been done in his neighbor's field, he shall measure and deliver 3,000 SILA of grain per 18 <i>iku</i> (of field).	§64	If a man gives his orchard to a gardener to pollinate (the date palms), as long as the gardener is in possession of the orchard, he shall give to the owner of the orchard two thirds of the yield of the orchard, and he himself shall take one third.
§57	If a shepherd does not make an agreement with the owner of the field to graze sheep and goats, and without the permission of the owner of the field grazes sheep and goats on the field, the owner of the field shall harvest	§65	If the gardener does not pollinate the (date palms in the) orchard and thus diminishes the yield, the gardener [shall measure and deliver] a yield for the orchard to <the owner of the orchard in accordance with> his neighbor's yield.

² Or "linseed"; see the discussion and literature cited in CAD Š 3:306f. s.v. *šamaššammu*.

- gap §a If a man borrows silver from a merchant and his merchant presses him for payment but he has nothing to give in repayment, and therefore he gives his orchard after pollination to the merchant and declares to him, "Take away as many dates as will be grown in the orchard as payment for your silver" — the merchant will not agree; the owner of the orchard himself shall take the dates that are grown in the orchard, he shall satisfy the merchant with silver and the interest on it in accordance with the terms of his contract, and only the owner of the orchard shall take the dates that are grown in the orchard in excess (of the debt).
- gap §b If a man intends to build a house and his neighbor [...]
- gap §c [If ...] he will not give to him [...] for a price; if he intends to give grain, silver, or any other commodity for a house encumbered by a service obligation and belonging to the estate of his neighbor which he wishes to buy, he shall forfeit whatever he gave; it shall return to its owner. If that house is not encumbered by a service obligation, he may buy it; he may give grain, silver, or any other commodity for that house.
- gap §d If a man should work his neighbor's uncultivated plot without his neighbor's permission, in the house [...] his neighbor [...]
- gap §e [If ... a man] declares [to the owner of a rundown house], "Reinforce your scalable wall; they could scale over the wall to here from your house," or to the owner of an uncultivated plot, "Work your uncultivated plot; they could break into my house from your uncultivated plot," and he secures witnesses — if a thief [breaks in] by scaling the wall, the owner [of the rundown house shall replace anything which is lost by] the scaling; if [a thief breaks in by access through the uncultivated plot], the owner [of the uncultivated plot] shall replace anything [which was lost ...]; if [...]
- gap §f [if ...] house [...]
- gap §g If [a man rents a house ... and] the tenant gives the full amount of the silver for his annual rent to the owner of the house, but the owner of the house then orders the tenant to leave before the expiration of the full term of his lease, the owner of the house, because he evicted the tenant before the expiration of the full term of his lease, shall forfeit the silver that the tenant gave him.
- gap §h [If] a tenant intends to purchase [the house of a commoner, ...] the rent obligation which he shall perform, in order to purchase the house of a commoner, [...] which he shall place [...] he shall place it [...]; if he is abroad(?) [...] of the commoner; if he does not purchase (the house) [he shall forfeit the silver that] he took and [the house of the commoner shall revert to] its owner.³
- gap §§i, j, k [...]
- gap §l [If a man borrows silver ...] he shall weigh and deliver his silver and the interest on it at the harvest; if he has nothing to give, [he shall give to him] any of his property, any commodity or grain; if he has ... to give, [...]
- gap §m If a merchant who for [...] ... for 5 shekels of silver [...] he did not write for him a sealed document [...] ... the son of a man ... that one ... they shall kill him.
- gap §n If a man's slave [...] he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver, and that slave [...] complete ... he shall be killed.
- gap §o [If] a man [...] another man [...] silver [...]
- gap §§p, q [...]
- gap §r [If...] to [...] wages [...] silver [...]; if that man who [...] does not [...] he shall forfeit the silver that he gave.
- gap §s If either a male slave or [a female slave ..., they shall return him] to [his] master; if [...] he beats(?) him, they will not return him [to] his [master].
- gap §t If a merchant gives grain or silver as an interest-bearing loan, he shall take 100 SILA of grain per GUR as interest (= 33⅓%); if he gives silver as an interest-bearing loan, he shall take 36 barleycorns per shekel of silver as interest (= 20%).
- gap §u If a man who has an interest-bearing loan does not have silver with which to repay it, he (the merchant) shall take grain and silver in accordance with the royal edict and the interest on it at the annual rate of 60 SILA per 1 GUR (= 20%); if the merchant should attempt to increase and collect the interest on the (silver) loan [up to the grain interest rate of 100 SILA of grain] per 1 GUR (= 33⅓%), [or in any other way beyond] 36 barleycorns [per shekel (= 20%) of silver], he shall forfeit whatever he had given.
- gap §v If a merchant gives grain or silver at interest and he then takes [...] grain or silver as in-

³ Taken by Donbaz and Sauren (1991:8-13) as a variant of the preceding provision presented here separately as gap §g.

terest according to the amount of his capital sum, [...] the grain and silver, his capital and interest [...], the tablet recording [his debt obligation shall be broken].	J Lev 19:35-36; Deut 25:13-16; Hos 12:8; Amos 8:5; Prov 11:1; 20:10; 20:23	silver to the merchant in the amount of the capital sum.
gap §w If a merchant [...] should take [...] interest and [...], then does not deduct the payments of either grain [or silver] as much as [he received, or] does not write a new tablet, or adds the interest payments to the capital sum, that merchant shall return twofold as much grain as he received.		§103 If enemy forces should make him abandon whatever goods he is transporting while on his business trip, the trading agent shall swear an oath by the god and shall be released.
gap §x If a merchant gives grain or silver as an interest-bearing loan and when he gives it as an interest-bearing loan he gives the silver according to the small weight or the grain according to the small <i>sātu</i>-measure but when he receives payment he receives the silver according to the large weight or the grain according to the large <i>sātu</i>-measure, [that merchant] shall forfeit [anything that he gave].⁴		§104 If a merchant gives a trading agent grain, wool, oil, or any other commodity for local transactions, the trading agent shall return to the merchant the silver for each transaction; the trading agent shall collect a sealed receipt for (each payment in) silver that he gives to the merchant.
gap §y If [a merchant] gives [...] as an interest-bearing loan, [...] he shall forfeit anything that he gave.		§105 If the trading agent should be negligent and not take a sealed receipt for (each payment in) silver that he gives to the merchant, any silver that is not documented in a sealed receipt will not be included in the final accounting.
gap §z If a man borrows grain or silver from a merchant and does not have grain or silver with which to repay but does have other goods, he shall give to his merchant in the presence of witnesses whatever he has at hand, in amounts according to the exchange value; the merchant will not object; he shall accept it.		§106 If the trading agent takes silver from the merchant but then denies the claim of his merchant, that merchant shall bring charges and proof before the god and witnesses against the trading agent concerning the silver taken, and the trading agent shall give to the merchant threefold the amount of silver that he took.
gap §aa [If a man ...] like [...]		§107 If a merchant entrusts silver to a trading agent and the trading agent then returns to his merchant everything that the merchant had given him but the merchant denies (having received) everything that the trading agent had given him, that trading agent shall bring charges and proof before the god and witnesses against the merchant, and because he denied the account of his trading agent, the merchant shall give to the trading agent sixfold the amount that he took.
gap §bb [If...] he shall be killed.		§108 If a tapster should refuse to accept grain for the price of beer but accepts (only) silver measured by the large weight, thereby reducing the value of beer in relation to the value of grain, they shall charge and convict that tapster and they shall cast her into the water.
gap §cc If a man gives silver to another man for investment in a partnership venture, before the god they shall equally divide the profit or loss.		§109 If there should be a tapster in whose house criminals congregate, and she does not seize those criminals and lead them off to the palace authorities, that tapster shall be killed.
§100 If a merchant gives silver to a trading agent for conducting business transactions and sends him off on a business trip, the trading agent [shall ...] while on the business trip; if he should realize [a profit] where he went, he shall calculate the total interest, per transaction and time elapsed, on as much silver as he took, and he shall satisfy his merchant.		§110 If a <i>naditu</i> or⁴ an <i>ugbaltu</i> who does not reside within the cloister should open a tavern or enter a tavern for some beer, they shall burn that woman.^{4a}
§101 If he should realize no profit where he went, the trading agent shall give to the merchant twofold the silver he took.		
§102 If a merchant should give silver to a trading agent for an investment venture, and he incurs a loss on his journeys, he shall return		

⁴ Or: "If a *naditu* who is an *ugbaltu* ..."

^{4a} See Roth 1998.

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| <p>§111 If a tapster gives one vat of beer as a loan(?), she shall take 50 SILA of grain at the harvest.</p> <p>§112 If a man is engaged in a trading expedition and gives silver, gold, precious stones, or any other goods to another under consignment for transportation, and the latter man does not deliver that which was consigned to him where it was to be consigned but appropriates it, the owner of the consigned property shall charge and convict that man of whatever consignment he failed to deliver, and that man shall give to the owner of the consigned property fivefold the property that had been given to him.</p> <p>§113 If a man has a claim of grain or silver against another man and takes grain from the granary or from the threshing floor without obtaining permission from the owner of the grain, they shall charge and convict that man of taking grain from the granary or from the threshing floor without the permission of the owner of the grain, and he shall return as much grain as he took; moreover, he shall forfeit whatever he originally gave as the loan.</p> <p>§114 If a man does not have a claim of grain or silver against another man but distrains a member of his household, he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver for each distrainee.</p> <p>§115 If a man has a claim of grain or silver against another man, distrains a member of his household, and the distrainee dies a natural death while in the house of her or his⁵ distrainer, that case has no basis for a claim.</p> <p>§116 If the distrainee should die from the effects of a beating or other physical abuse while in the house of her or his distrainer, the owner of the distrainee shall charge and convict his merchant, and if (the distrainee is) the man's son,⁶ they shall kill his (the distrainer's) son; if the man's slave, he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver; moreover, he shall forfeit whatever he originally gave as the loan.</p> <p>§117 If an obligation is outstanding against a man and he sells or gives into debt service his wife, his son, or his daughter, they shall perform service in the house of their buyer or of the one who holds them in debt service for three years; their release shall be secured in the fourth year.⁶</p> <p>§118 If he should give a male or female slave into debt service, the merchant may extend the</p> | <p>& Exod 21:2-11; Lev 25:48-50; Deut 15:12-18</p> <p>Exod 22:6-9</p> | <p>term (beyond three years), he may sell him; there are no grounds for a claim.</p> <p>§119 If an obligation is outstanding against a man and he therefore sells his slave woman who has borne him children, the owner of the slave woman shall weigh and deliver the silver which the merchant weighed and delivered (as the loan) and he shall thereby redeem his slave woman.</p> <p>§120 If a man stores his grain in another man's house, and a loss occurs in the storage bin or the householder opens the granary and takes the grain or he completely denies receiving the grain that was stored in his house -- the owner of the grain shall establish his grain before the god, and the householder shall give to the owner of the grain twofold the grain that he took (in storage).¹</p> <p>§121 If a man stores grain in another man's house, he shall give 5 SILA of grain per GUR (i.e., per 300 SILA) of grain as annual rent of the granary.</p> <p>§122 If a man intends to give silver, gold, or anything else to another man for safekeeping, he shall exhibit before witnesses anything which he intends to give, he shall establish a contract, and (in this manner) he shall give goods for safekeeping.</p> <p>§123 If he gives goods for safekeeping without witnesses or a contract, and they deny that he gave anything, that case has no basis for a claim.</p> <p>§124 If a man gives silver, gold, or anything else before witnesses to another man for safekeeping and he denies it, they shall charge and convict that man, and he shall give twofold that which he denied.</p> <p>§125 If a man gives his property for safekeeping and his property together with the householder's property is lost either by (theft achieved through) a breach or by scaling over a wall, the householder who was careless shall make restitution and shall restore to the owner of the property that which was given to him for safekeeping and which he allowed to be lost; the householder shall continue to search for his own lost property, and he shall take it from the one who stole it from him.</p> <p>§126 If a man whose property is not lost should declare, "My property is lost," and accuse his city quarter, his city quarter shall establish against him before the god that no property of his is lost, and he shall give to his city quarter twofold whatever he claimed.</p> |
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⁵ The Akk. *nipātu* is fem., hence the fem. pronoun, but the person or animal given in distress could be male or female.

⁶ Or: "(if the distress is) a member of the *awīlu*-class."

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| <p>§127 If a man causes a finger to be pointed in accusation against an <i>ugbabtu</i> or against a man's wife but cannot bring proof, they shall flog that man before the judges and they shall shave off half of his hair.</p> <p>§128 If a man marries a wife but does not establish a contract for her, that woman is not a wife.</p> <p>§129 If a man's wife should be seized lying with another male, they shall bind them and cast them into the water; if the wife's master allows his wife to live, then the king shall allow his subject (i.e., the other male) to live."</p> <p>§130 If a man pins down another man's virgin wife who is still residing in her father's house, and they seize him lying with her, that man shall be killed; that woman shall be released."</p> <p>§131 If her husband accuses his own wife (of adultery), although she has not been seized lying with another male, she shall swear (to her innocence by) an oath by the god, and return to her house.</p> <p>§132 If a man's wife should have a finger pointed against her in accusation involving another male, although she has not been seized lying with another male, she shall submit to the divine River Ordeal for her husband."</p> <p>§133a If a man should be captured and there are sufficient provisions in his house, his wife [... she will not] enter [another's house].</p> <p>§133b If that woman does not keep herself chaste but enters another's house, they shall charge and convict that woman and cast her into the water.</p> <p>§134 If a man should be captured and there are not sufficient provisions in his house, his wife may enter another's house; that woman will not be subject to any penalty.</p> <p>§135 If a man should be captured and there are not sufficient provisions in his house, before his return his wife enters another's house and bears children, and afterwards her husband returns and gets back to his city, that woman shall return to her first husband; the children shall inherit from their father.</p> <p>§136 If a man deserts his city and flees, and after his departure his wife enters another's house — if that man then should return and seize his wife, because he repudiated his city and fled, the wife of the deserter will not return to her husband.</p> <p>§137 If a man should decide to divorce a <i>šugtu</i> who bore him children, or a <i>naditu</i> who provided him with children, they shall return to that woman her dowry and they shall give</p> | <p>m Deut 22:22</p>
<p>n Deut 22:23-27</p>
<p>o Num 5:11-31</p>
<p>p Deut 22:13-19, 28-29</p> | <p>her one half of (her husband's) field, orchard, and property, and she shall raise her children; after she has raised her children, they shall give her a share comparable in value to that of one heir from whatever properties are given to her sons, and a husband of her choice may marry her.</p> <p>§138 If a man intends to divorce his first-ranking wife who did not bear him children, he shall give her silver as much as was her bridewealth and restore to her the dowry that she brought from her father's house, and he shall divorce her.</p> <p>§139 If there is no bridewealth, he shall give her 60 shekels of silver as a divorce settlement.</p> <p>§140 If he is a commoner, he shall give her 20 shekels of silver.</p> <p>§141 If the wife of a man who is residing in the man's house should decide to leave, and she appropriates goods, squanders her household possessions, or disparages her husband, they shall charge and convict her; and if her husband should declare his intention to divorce her, then he shall divorce her; neither her travel expenses, nor her divorce settlement, nor anything else shall be given to her. If her husband should declare his intention to not divorce her, then her husband may marry another woman and that (first) woman shall reside in her husband's house as a slave woman."</p> <p>§142 If a woman repudiates her husband, and declares, "You will not have marital relations with me" — her circumstances shall be investigated by the authorities of her city quarter, and if she is circumspect and without fault, but her husband is wayward and disparages her greatly, that woman will not be subject to any penalty; she shall take her dowry and she shall depart for her father's house.</p> <p>§143 If she is not circumspect but is wayward, squanders her household possessions, and disparages her husband, they shall cast that woman into the water.</p> <p>§144 If a man marries a <i>naditu</i>, and that <i>naditu</i> gives a slave woman to her husband, and thus she provides children, but that man then decides to marry a <i>šugtu</i>, they will not permit that man to do so, he will not marry the <i>šugtu</i>.</p> <p>§145 If a man marries a <i>naditu</i>, and she does not provide him with children, and that man then decides to marry a <i>šugtu</i>, that man may marry the <i>šugtu</i> and bring her into his house; that <i>šugtu</i> should not aspire to equal status with the <i>naditu</i>.</p> |
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- §146 If a man marries a *nadnu*, and she gives a slave woman to her husband, and she (the slave) then bears children, after which that slave woman aspires to equal status with her mistress — because she bore children, her mistress will not sell her; (but) she may place upon her the slave-hairlock and reckon her with the slave women.
- §147 If she does not bear children, her mistress may sell her.
- §148 If a man marries a woman, and later *la²bum*-disease⁷ seizes her and he decides to marry another woman, he may marry; he will not divorce his wife whom *la²bum*-disease seized; she shall reside in quarters he constructs and he shall continue to support her as long as she lives.
- §149 If that woman should not agree to reside in her husband's house, he shall restore to her her dowry that she brought from her father's house, and she shall depart.
- §150 If a man awards to his wife a field, orchard, house, or movable property, and makes out a sealed document for her, after her husband's death her children will not bring a claim against her; the mother shall give her estate to whichever of her children she loves, but she will not give it to an outsider.
- §151 If a woman who is residing in a man's house should have her husband agree by contract that no creditor of her husband shall seize her (for his debts) — if that man has a debt incurred before marrying that woman, his creditors will not seize his wife; and if that woman has a debt incurred before entering the man's house, her creditors will not seize her husband.
- §152 If a debt should be incurred by them after that woman enters the man's house, both of them shall satisfy the merchant.
- §153 If a man's wife has her husband killed on account of (her relationship with) another male, they shall impale that woman.
- §154 If a man should carnally know his daughter, they shall banish that man from the city.⁸
- §155 If a man selects a bride for his son and his son carnally knows her, after which he himself then lies with her and they seize him in the act, they shall bind that man and cast him into the water.
- §156 If a man selects a bride for his son and his son does not yet carnally know her, and he himself then lies with her, he shall weigh and deliver to her 30 shekels of silver; moreover, he shall restore to her whatever she brought from her father's house, and a husband of her choice shall marry her.
- §157 If a man, after his father's death, should lie with his mother, they shall burn them both.⁹
- §158 If a man, after his father's death, should be discovered in the lap of his (the father's) principal wife who had borne children, that man shall be disinherited from the paternal estate.⁹
- §159 If a man who has the ceremonial marriage prestation brought to the house of his father-in-law, and who gives the bridewealth, should have his attention diverted to another woman and declare to his father-in-law, "I will not marry your daughter," the father of the daughter shall take full legal possession of whatever had been brought to him.
- §160 If a man has the ceremonial marriage prestation brought to the house of his father-in-law and gives the bridewealth, and the father of the daughter then declares, "I will not give my daughter to you," he shall return twofold everything that had been brought to him.
- §161 If a man has the ceremonial marriage prestation brought to the house of his father-in-law and gives the bridewealth, and then his comrade slanders him (with the result that) his father-in-law declares to the one entitled to the wife, "You will not marry my daughter," he shall return twofold everything that had been brought to him; moreover, his comrade will not marry his (intended) wife.
- §162 If a man marries a wife, she bears him children, and that woman then goes to her fate, her father shall have no claim to her dowry; her dowry belongs only to her children.
- §163 If a man marries a wife but she does not provide him with children, and that woman goes to her fate — if his father-in-law then returns to him the bridewealth that that man brought to his father-in-law's house, her husband will have no claim to that woman's dowry; her dowry belongs only to her father's house.
- §164 If his father-in-law should not return to him the bridewealth, he shall deduct the value of her bridewealth from her dowry and restore (the balance of) her dowry to her father's house.
- §165 If a man awards by sealed contract a field, orchard, or house to his favorite heir, when the brothers divide the estate after the father goes to his fate, he (the favorite son) shall take the gift which the father gave to him and apart from that gift they shall equally divide the property of the paternal estate.

⁷ The disease or illness *la²bu* may refer to a contagious skin disease; see Stol 1993:143 with literature.

- §166 If a man provides wives for his eligible sons but does not provide a wife for his youngest son, when the brothers divide the estate after the father goes to his fate, they shall establish the silver value of the bridewealth for their young unmarried brother from the property of the paternal estate, in addition to his inheritance share, and thereby enable him to obtain a wife.
- §167 If a man marries a wife and she bears him children, and later that woman goes to her fate, and after her death he marries another woman and she bears children, after which the father then goes to his fate, the children will not divide the estate according to the mothers; they shall take the dowries of their respective mothers and then equally divide the property of the paternal estate.
- §168 If a man should decide to disinherit his son and declares to the judges, "I will disinherit my son," the judges shall investigate his case and if the son is not guilty of a grave offense deserving the penalty of disinheritance, the father may not disinherit his son.
- §169 If he should be guilty of a grave offense deserving the penalty of disinheritance by his father, they shall pardon him for his first one; if he should commit a grave offense a second time, the father may disinherit his son.
- §170 If a man's first-ranking wife bears him children and his slave woman bears him children, and the father during his lifetime then declares to (or: concerning) the children whom the slave woman bore to him, "My children," and he reckons them with the children of the first-ranking wife — after the father goes to his fate, the children of the first-ranking wife and the children of the slave woman shall equally divide the property of the paternal estate; the preferred heir is a son of the first-ranking wife, he shall select and take a share first.
- §171 But if the father during his lifetime should not declare to (or: concerning) the children whom the slave woman bore to him, "My children," after the father goes to his fate, the children of the slave woman will not divide the property of the paternal estate with the children of the first-ranking wife. The release of the slave woman and of her children shall be secured; the children of the first-ranking wife will not make claims of slavery against the children of the slave woman. The first-ranking wife shall take her dowry and the marriage settlement which her husband awarded to her in writing, and

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- she shall continue to reside in her husband's dwelling; as long as she is alive she shall enjoy the use of it, but she may not sell it; her own estate shall belong (as inheritance) only to her own children.
- §172 If her husband does not make a marriage settlement in her favor, they shall restore to her in full her dowry, and she shall take a share of the property of her husband's estate comparable in value to that of one heir. If her children pressure her in order to coerce her to depart from the house, the judges shall investigate her case and shall impose a penalty on the children; that woman will not depart from her husband's house. If that woman should decide on her own to depart, she shall leave for her children the marriage settlement which her husband gave to her; she shall take the dowry brought from her father's house and a husband of her choice shall marry her.
- §173 If that woman should bear children to her latter husband into whose house she entered, after that woman dies, her former and latter children shall equally divide her dowry.
- §174 If she does not bear children to her latter husband, only the children of her first husband shall take her dowry.
- §175 If a slave of the palace or a slave of a commoner marries a woman of the *awilu*-class and she then bears children, the owner of the slave will have no claims of slavery against the children of the woman of the *awilu*-class.
- §176a And if either a slave of the palace or a slave of a commoner marries a woman of the *awilu*-class, and when he marries her she enters the house of the slave of the palace or of the slave of the commoner together with the dowry brought from her father's house, and subsequent to the time that they move in together they establish a household and accumulate possessions, after which either the slave of the palace or the slave of the commoner should go to his fate — the woman of the *awilu*-class shall take her dowry; furthermore, they shall divide into two parts everything that her husband and she accumulated subsequent to the time that they moved in together, and the slave's owner shall take half and the woman of the *awilu*-class shall take half for her children.
- §176b If the woman of the *awilu*-class does not have a dowry, they shall divide into two parts everything that her husband and she accumulated subsequent to the time that they moved in together, and the slave's owner

- shall take half and the woman of the *awflu*-class shall take half for her children.
- §177 If a widow whose children are still young should decide to enter another's house, she will not enter without (the prior approval of) the judges. When she enters another's house, the judges shall investigate the estate of her former husband, and they shall entrust the estate of her former husband to her latter husband and to that woman, and they shall have them record a tablet (inventorying the estate). They shall safeguard the estate and they shall raise the young children; they will not sell the household goods. Any buyer who buys the household goods of the children of a widow shall forfeit his silver; the property shall revert to its owner.
- §178 If there is an *ugbabbu*, a *naditu*, or a *sekretu* whose father awards to her a dowry and records it in a tablet for her, but in the tablet that he records for her he does not grant her written authority to give her estate to whomever she pleases and does not give her full discretion — after the father goes to his fate, her brothers shall take her field and her orchard and they shall give to her food, oil, and clothing allowances in accordance with the value of her inheritance share, and they shall thereby satisfy her. If her brothers should not give to her food, oil, and clothing allowances in accordance with the value of her inheritance share and thus do not satisfy her, she shall give her field and her orchard to any agricultural tenant she pleases, and her agricultural tenant shall support her. As long as she lives, she shall enjoy the use of the field, orchard, and anything else which her father gave to her, but she will not sell it and she will not satisfy another person's obligations with it; her inheritance belongs only to her brothers.
- §179 If there is an *ugbabbu*, a *naditu*, or a *sekretu* whose father awards to her a dowry and records it for her in a sealed document, and in the tablet that he records for her he grants her written authority to give her estate to whomever she pleases and gives her full discretion — after the father goes to his fate, she shall give her estate to whomever she pleases; her brothers will not raise a claim against her.
- §180 If a father does not award a dowry to his daughter who is a cloistered *naditu* or a *sekretu*, after the father goes to his fate, she shall have a share of the property of the paternal estate comparable in value to that of one heir; as long as she lives she shall enjoy its use; her estate belongs only to her brothers.
- §181 If a father dedicates (his daughter) to the deity as a *naditu*, a *qadištu*, or a *kulmaštu* but does not award to her a dowry, after the father goes to his fate she shall take her one-third share⁸ from the property of the paternal estate as her inheritance, and as long as she lives she shall enjoy its use; her estate belongs only to her brothers.
- §182 If a father does not award a dowry to his daughter who is a *naditu* dedicated to the god Marduk of the city of Babylon or does not record it for her in a sealed document, after the father goes to his fate, she shall take with her brothers her one-third share⁹ from the property of the paternal estate as her inheritance, but she will not perform any service obligations; a *naditu* dedicated to the god Marduk shall give her estate as she pleases.
- §183 If a father awards a dowry to his daughter who is a *šugtu*, gives her to a husband, and records it for her in a sealed document, after the father goes to his fate, she will not have a share of the property of the paternal estate.
- §184 If a man does not award a dowry to his daughter who is a *šugtu*, and does not give her to a husband, after the father goes to his fate, her brothers shall award to her a dowry proportionate to the value of the paternal estate, and they shall give her to a husband.
- §185 If a man takes in adoption a young child at birth and then rears him, that rearing will not be reclaimed.
- §186 If a man takes in adoption a young child, and when he takes him, he (the child?) is seeking his father and mother, that rearing shall return to his father's house.
- §187 A child of (i.e., reared by) a courtier who is a palace attendant or a child of (i.e., reared by) a *sekretu* will not be reclaimed.
- §188 If a craftsman takes a young child to rear and then teaches him his craft, he will not be reclaimed.
- §189 If he should not teach him his craft, that rearing shall return to his father's house.
- §190 If a man should not reckon the young child whom he took and raised in adoption as equal with his children, that rearing shall return to his father's house.

⁸ That is, not the preferential (double) inheritance share of a primary heir, but the single share of any other heir; the terminology derives from the paradigmatic case of two heirs in which the estate is divided into three parts.

⁹ See note at §181.

§191	If a man establishes his household (by reckoning as equal with any future children) the young child whom he took and raised in adoption, but afterwards he has children (of his own) and then decides to disinherit the rearing, that young child will not depart empty-handed; the father who raised him shall give him a one-third share ¹⁰ of his property as his inheritance and he shall depart; he will not give him any property from field, orchard, or house.	u Exod 21:15	the cheek of another member of the <i>awilu</i> -class who is his equal, he shall weigh and deliver 60 shekels of silver.
§192	If the child of (i.e., reared by) a courtier or the child of (i.e., reared by) a <i>sekretu</i> should say to the father who raised him or to the mother who raised him, "You are not my father," or "You are not my mother," they shall cut out his tongue.	v Exod 21:23-25; Lev 24:18-20; Deut 19:21	§204 If a commoner should strike the cheek of another commoner, he shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver.
§193	If the child of (i.e., reared by) a courtier or the child of (i.e., reared by) a <i>sekretu</i> identifies with his father's house and repudiates the father who raised him or the mother who raised him and departs for his father's house, they shall pluck out his eye.	w Exod 21:20-21, 26-27	§205 If an <i>awilu</i> 's slave should strike the cheek of a member of the <i>awilu</i> -class, they shall cut off his ear.
§194	If a man gives his son to a wet nurse and that child then dies while in the care of the wet nurse, and the wet nurse then contracts for another child without the consent of his father and mother, they shall charge and convict her, and, because she contracted for another child without the consent of his father and mother, they shall cut off her breast.	x Exod 21:18-20; Num 35:9-15	§206 If an <i>awilu</i> should strike another <i>awilu</i> during a brawl and inflict upon him a wound, that <i>awilu</i> shall swear, "I did not strike intentionally," and he shall satisfy the physician (i.e., pay his fees). ⁵
§195	If a child should strike his father, they shall cut off his hand."	y Exod 21:12-14; Num 35:9-34; Deut 19:1-13	§207 If he should die from his beating, he shall also swear ("I did not strike him intentionally"); if he (the victim) is a member of the <i>awilu</i> -class, he shall weigh and deliver 30 shekels of silver. ⁷
§196	If an <i>awilu</i> should blind the eye of another <i>awilu</i> , they shall blind his eye."	z Exod 21:22-25	§208 If he (the victim) is a member of the commoner-class, he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver.
§197	If he should break the bone of another <i>awilu</i> , they shall break his bone.		§209 If an <i>awilu</i> strikes a woman of the <i>awilu</i> -class and thereby causes her to miscarry her fetus, he shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver for her fetus. ⁸
§198	If he should blind the eye of a commoner or break the bone of a commoner, he shall weigh and deliver 60 shekels of silver.		§210 If that woman should die, they shall kill his daughter.
§199	If he should blind the eye of an <i>awilu</i> 's slave or break the bone of an <i>awilu</i> 's slave, he shall weigh and deliver one-half of his value (in silver)."		§211 If he should cause a woman of the commoner-class to miscarry her fetus by the beating, he shall weigh and deliver 5 shekels of silver.
§200	If an <i>awilu</i> should knock out the tooth of another <i>awilu</i> of his own rank, they shall knock out his tooth.		§212 If that woman should die, he shall weigh and deliver 30 shekels of silver.
§201	If he should knock out the tooth of a commoner, he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver.		§213 If he strikes an <i>awilu</i> 's slave woman and thereby causes her to miscarry her fetus, he shall weigh and deliver 2 shekels of silver.
§202	If an <i>awilu</i> should strike the cheek of an <i>awilu</i> who is of status higher than his own, he shall be flogged in the public assembly with 60 stripes of an ox whip.		§214 If that slave woman should die, he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver.
§203	If a member of the <i>awilu</i> -class should strike		§215 If a physician performs major surgery with a bronze lancet upon an <i>awilu</i> and thus heals the <i>awilu</i> , or opens an <i>awilu</i> 's temple with a bronze lancet and thus heals the <i>awilu</i> 's eye, he shall take 10 shekels of silver (as his fee).
			§216 If he (the patient) is a member of the commoner-class, he shall take 5 shekels of silver (as his fee).
			§217 If he (the patient) is an <i>awilu</i> 's slave, the slave's master shall give to the physician 2 shekels of silver.
			§218 If a physician performs major surgery with a bronze lancet upon an <i>awilu</i> and thus causes the <i>awilu</i> 's death, or opens an <i>awilu</i> 's temple with a bronze lancet and thus blinds the <i>awilu</i> 's eye, they shall cut off his hand.

¹⁰ See note at §181.

§219	If a physician performs major surgery with a bronze lancet upon a slave of a commoner and thus causes the slave's death, he shall replace the slave with a slave of comparable value.	an Exod 22:12-15	shall construct (anew) the house which collapsed at his own expense.
§220	If he opens his (the commoner's slave's) temple with a bronze lancet and thus blinds his eye, he shall weigh and deliver silver equal to half his value.		§233 If a builder constructs a house for a man but does not make it conform to specifications so that a wall then buckles, that builder shall make that wall sound using his own silver.
§221	If a physician should set an <i>awilu</i> 's broken bone or heal an injured muscle, the patient shall give the physician 5 shekels of silver.		§234 If a boatman caulks a boat of 60-GUR capacity for a man, he shall give him 2 shekels of silver as his compensation.
§222	If he (the patient) is a member of the commoner-class, he shall give 3 shekels of silver.		§235 If a boatman caulks a boat for a man but does not satisfactorily complete his work and within that very year the boat founders or reveals a structural defect, the boatman shall dismantle that boat and make it sound at his own expense, and he shall give the sound boat to the owner of the boat.
§223	If he (the patient) is an <i>awilu</i> 's slave, the slave's master shall give the physician 2 shekels of silver.		§236 If a man gives his boat to a boatman for hire, and the boatman is negligent and causes the boat to sink or to become lost, the boatman shall replace the boat for the owner of the boat.
§224	If a veterinarian performs major surgery upon an ox or a donkey and thus heals it, the owner of the ox or of the donkey shall give the physician as his fee one sixth (of a shekel, i.e., 30 barleycorns) of silver.		§237 If a man hires a boatman and a boat and loads it with grain, wool, oil, dates, or any other lading, and that boatman is negligent and thereby causes the boat to sink or its cargo to become lost, the boatman shall replace the boat which he sank and any of its cargo which he lost.
§225	If he performs major surgery upon an ox or a donkey and thus causes its death, he shall give one quarter(?) ¹ of its value to the owner of the ox or donkey.		§238 If a boatman should cause a man's boat to sink and he raises it, he shall give silver equal to half of its value.
§226	If a barber shaves off the slave-hairlock of a slave not belonging to him without the consent of the slave's owner, they shall cut off that barber's hand.		§239 If a man hires a boatman, he shall give him 1,800 SILA of grain per year.
§227	If a man misinforms a barber so that he then shaves off the slave-hairlock of a slave not belonging to him, they shall kill that man and hang him in his own doorway; the barber shall swear, "I did not knowingly shave it off," and he shall be released.		§240 If a boat under the command of the master of an upstream-boat collides with a boat under the command of the master of a downstream-boat and thus sinks it, the owner of the sunken boat shall establish before the god the property that is lost from his boat, and the master of the upstream-boat who sinks the boat of the master of the downstream-boat shall replace to him his boat and his lost property.
§228	If a builder constructs a house for a man to his satisfaction, he shall give him 2 shekels of silver for each SAR of house as his compensation.		§241 If a man should distrain an ox, he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver.
§229	If a builder constructs a house for a man but does not make his work sound, and the house that he constructs collapses and causes the death of the householder, that builder shall be killed.		§242/ If a man rents it for one year, he shall give to its owner 1200 SILA of grain as the hire of an ox for the rear (of the team), and 900 SILA of grain as the hire of an ox for the middle (of the team).
§230	If it should cause the death of a son of the householder, they shall kill a son of that builder.	243	§244 If a man rents an ox or a donkey and a lion kills it in the open country, it is the owner's loss. ^{an}
§231	If it should cause the death of a slave of the householder, he shall give to the householder a slave of comparable value for the slave.		§245 If a man rents an ox and causes its death either by negligence or by physical abuse, he shall replace the ox with an ox of compara-
§232	If it should cause the loss of property, he shall replace anything that is lost; moreover, because he did not make sound the house which he constructed and it collapsed, he		

¹ Or IGI 5. GÁL "one fifth."

	ble value for the owner of the ox.		
§246	If a man rents an ox and breaks its leg or cuts its neck tendon, he shall replace the ox with an ox of comparable value for the owner of the ox.	Exod 22:9-10	§261 If a man hires a herdsman to herd the cattle or the sheep and goats, he shall give him 2400 SILA of grain per year.
§247	If a man rents an ox and blinds its eye, he shall give silver equal to half of its value to the owner of the ox.	Exod 21:28-36	§262 If a man [gives] an ox or a sheep to a [herdsman ...]
§248	If a man rents an ox and breaks its horn, cuts off its tail, or injures its hoof tendon, he shall give silver equal to one quarter of its value.	Exod 22:9-14	§263 If he should cause the loss of the ox or sheep which were given to him, he shall replace the ox with an ox of comparable value or the sheep with a sheep of comparable value for its owner.
§249	If a man rents an ox, and a god strikes it down dead, the man who rented the ox shall swear an oath by the god and he shall be released. ¹²	Deut 25:4	§264 If a shepherd, to whom cattle or sheep and goats were given for shepherding, is in receipt of his complete hire to his satisfaction, then allows the number of cattle to decrease, or the number of sheep and goats to decrease, or the number of offspring to diminish, he shall give for the (loss of) offspring and byproducts in accordance with the terms of his contract.
§250	If an ox gores to death a man while it is passing through the streets, that case has no basis for a claim. ¹³		§265 If a shepherd, to whom cattle or sheep and goats were given for shepherding, acts criminally and alters the brand and sells them, they shall charge and convict him and he shall replace for their owner cattle or sheep and goats tenfold that which he stole.
§251	If a man's ox is a known gorer, and the authorities of his city quarter notify him that it is a known gorer, but he does not blunt(?) its horns or control his ox, and that ox gores to death a member of the <i>awilu</i> -class, he (the owner) shall give 30 shekels of silver.		§266 If, in the enclosure, an epidemic ¹³ should break out or a lion make a kill, the shepherd shall clear himself before the god, and the owner of the enclosure shall accept responsibility for him for the loss sustained in the enclosure. ¹⁴
§252	If it is a man's slave (who is fatally gored), he shall give 20 shekels of silver.		§267 If the shepherd is negligent and allows mange(?) to appear in the enclosure, the shepherd shall make restitution — in cattle or in sheep and goats — for the damage caused by the mange(?) which he allowed to appear in the enclosure, and give it to their owner.
§253	If a man hires another man to care for his field, that is, he entrusts to him the stored grain, hands over to him care of the cattle, and contracts with him for the cultivation of the field — if that man steals the seed or fodder and it is then discovered in his possession, they shall cut off his hand.		§268 If a man rents an ox for threshing, 20 SILA of grain is its hire. ¹⁵
§254	If he takes the stored grain and thus weakens the cattle, he shall replace twofold the grain which he received.		§269 If he rents a donkey for threshing, 10 SILA of grain is its hire.
§255	If he should hire out the man's cattle, or he steals seed and thus does not produce crops in the field, they shall charge and convict that man, and at the harvest he shall measure and deliver 18,000 SILA of grain for every 18 <i>iku</i> of land.		§270 If he rents a goat for threshing, 1 sila of grain is its hire.
§256	If he is not able to satisfy his obligation, they shall have him dragged around ¹² through that field by the cattle.		§271 If a man rents cattle, a wagon, and its driver, he shall give 180 SILA of grain per day.
§257	If a man hires an agricultural laborer, he shall give him 2,400 SILA of grain per year.		§272 If a man rents only the wagon, he shall give 40 SILA of grain per day.
§258	If a man hires an ox driver, he shall give him 1,800 SILA of grain per year.		§273 If a man hires a hireling, he shall give 6 barleycorns of silver per day from the beginning of the year until (the end of) the fifth month, and 5 barleycorns of silver per day from the sixth month until the end of the year.
§259	If a man steals a plow from the common irrigated area, he shall give 5 shekels of silver to the owner of the plow.		§274 If a man intends to hire a craftsman, he shall
§260	If he should steal a clod-breaking plow or a harrow, he shall give 3 shekels of silver.		

¹² Akk. expresses this in the active voice ("they shall drag him around ...").

¹³ Lit. "a plague (or touch) of the god."

give, per [day]: as the hire of a ..., 5 barleycorns of silver; as the hire of a woven-textile worker, 5 barleycorns of silver; as the hire of a linen-worker(?), [x barleycorns] of silver; as the hire of a stone-cutter, [x barleycorns] of silver; as the hire of a bow-maker, [x barleycorns of] silver; as the hire of a smith, [x barleycorns of] silver; as the hire of a carpenter, 4(?) barleycorns of silver; as the hire of a leatherworker, [x] barleycorns of silver; as the hire of a reed-worker, [x] barleycorns of silver; as the hire of a builder, [x barleycorns of] silver.

§275 If a man rents a [...-boat], 3 barleycorns of silver per day is its hire.

§276 If a man rents a boat for traveling upstream, he shall give 20 barleycorns of silver as its hire per day.

§277 If a man rents a boat of 60-GUR capacity, he shall give one sixth (of a shekel, i.e., 30 barleycorns) of silver per day as its hire.

§278¹⁴ If a man purchases a slave or slave woman and within his one-month period epilepsy then befalls him, he shall return him to his seller and the buyer shall take back the silver that he weighed and delivered.

§279 If a man purchases a slave or slave woman and then claims arise, his seller shall satisfy the claims.

§280 If a man should purchase another man's slave or slave woman in a foreign country, and while he is travelling about within the (i.e., his own) country the owner of the slave or slave woman identifies his slave or slave woman — if they, the slave and slave woman, are natives of the country, their release shall be secured without any payment.

§281 If they are natives of another country, the buyer shall declare before the god the amount of silver that he weighed, and the owner of the slave or slave woman shall give to the merchant the amount of silver that he weighed, and thus he shall redeem his slave or slavewoman.

§282 If a slave should declare to his master, "You are not my master," he (the master) shall bring charge and proof against him that he is indeed his slave, and his master shall cut off his ear.

Epilogue

Summation (lines xlvi.1-8)

These are the just decisions which Hammurabi, the able king, has established and thereby has directed the land along the course of truth and the correct way of life.

Hammurabi fulfills the gods' charge (lines xlvi.9-58)

I am Hammurabi, noble king. I have not been careless or negligent toward humankind, granted to my care by the god Enlil, and with whose shepherding the god Marduk charged me. I have sought for them peaceful places, I removed serious difficulties, I spread light over them. With the mighty weapon which the gods Zababa and Ishtar bestowed upon me, with the wisdom which the god Ea allotted to me, with the ability which the god Marduk gave me, I annihilated enemies everywhere, I put an end to wars, I enhanced the well-being of the land, I made the people of all settlements lie in safe pastures, I did not tolerate anyone intimidating them. The great gods having chosen me, I am indeed the shepherd who brings peace, whose scepter is just. My benevolent shade is spread over my city, I held the people of the lands of Sumer and Akkad safely on my lap. They prospered under my protective spirit, I maintained them in peace, with my skillful wisdom I sheltered them.

Erection of the monument (lines xlvi.59-78)

In order that the mighty not wrong the weak, to provide just ways for the wail and the widow, I have inscribed my precious pronouncements upon my stela and set it up before the statue of me, the king of justice, in the city of Babylon, the city which the gods Anu and Enlil have elevated, within the Esagil, the temple whose foundations are fixed as are heaven and earth, in order to render the judgments of the land, to give the verdicts of the land, and to provide just ways for the wronged.

Blessings (lines xlvi.79-xlix.17)

I am the king preeminent among kings. My pronouncements are choice, my ability is unrivaled. By the command of the god Shamash, the great judge of heaven and earth, may my justice prevail in the land. By the order of the god Marduk, my lord, may my engraved image not be confronted by someone who would remove it. May my name always be remembered favorably in the Esagil temple which I love.

May any wronged man who has a case come before the statue of me, the king of justice, and may he have my inscribed stela read aloud to him, thus may he hear my precious pronouncements and may my stela reveal the case for him; may he examine his case, may he calm his (troubled) heart, (and may he praise me), saying:

"Hammurabi, the lord, who is like a father and begetter to his people, submitted himself to the command of the god Marduk, his lord, and achieved victory for the god Marduk everywhere. He gladdened the heart of the god Marduk, his

¹⁴ See Stol 1993, esp. pp. 133-135.

lord, and he secured the eternal well-being of the people and provided just ways for the land."

May he say thus, and may he pray for me with his whole heart before the gods Marduk, my lord, and Zarpanitu, my lady. May the protective spirits, the gods who enter the Esagil temple, and the very brickwork of the Esagil temple, make my daily portents auspicious before the gods Marduk, my lord, and Zarpanitu, my lady.

May any king who will appear in the land in the future, at any time, observe the pronouncements of justice that I inscribed upon my stela. May he not alter the judgments that I rendered and the verdicts that I gave, nor remove my engraved image. If that man has discernment, and is capable of providing just ways for his land, may he heed the pronouncements I have inscribed upon my stela, may that stela reveal for him the traditions, the proper conduct, the judgments of the land that I judged, the decisions of the land that I rendered, and may he, too, provide just ways for all humankind in his care. May he render their judgments, may he give their verdicts, may he eradicate the wicked and the evil from his land, may he enhance the well-being of his people.

I am Hammurabi, king of justice, to whom the god Shamash has granted (insight into) the truth. My pronouncements are choice, and my achievements are praiseworthy. If that man (a future ruler) heeds my pronouncements which I have inscribed upon my stela, and does not reject my judgments, change my pronouncements, or alter my engraved image, then may the god Shamash lengthen his reign just as (he has done) for me, the king of justice, and so may he shepherd his people with justice.

Curses (lines xlix.18-ii.91)

(But) should that man not heed my pronouncements, which I have inscribed upon my stela, and should he slight my curses and not fear the curses of the gods, and thus overturn the judgments that I judged, change my pronouncements, alter my engraved image, erase my inscribed name and inscribe his own name (in its place) — or should he, because of fear of these curses, have someone else do so — that man, whether he is a king, a lord, or a governor, or any person at all,

may the great god Anu, father of the gods, who has proclaimed my reign, deprive him of the sheen of royalty, smash his scepter, and curse his destiny.

May the god Enlil, the lord, who determines destinies, whose utterance cannot be countermanded, who magnifies my kingship, incite against him

even in his own residence disorder that cannot be quelled and a rebellion that will result in his obliteration; may he cast as his fate a reign of groaning, of few days, of years of famine, of darkness without illumination, and of sudden death; may he declare with his venerable speech the obliteration of his city, the dispersion of his people, the supplanting of his dynasty, and the blotting out of his name and his memory from the land.

May the goddess Ninlil, the great mother, whose utterance is honored in the Ekur temple, the mistress who makes my portents auspicious, denounce his case before the god Enlil at the place of litigation and verdict; may she induce the divine king Enlil to pronounce the destruction of his land, the obliteration of his people¹⁵ and the spilling of his life force like water.

May the god Ea, the great prince, whose destinies take precedence, the sage among the gods, all-knowing, who lengthens the days of my life, deprive him of all understanding and wisdom, and may he lead him into confusion; may he dam up his rivers at the source; may he not allow any life-sustaining grain in his land.

May the god Shamash, the great judge of heaven and earth, who provides just ways for all living creatures, the lord, my trust, overturn his kingship; may he not render his judgments, may he confuse his path and undermine the morale of his army; when divination is performed for him, may he provide an inauspicious omen portending the uprooting of the foundations of his kingship and the obliteration of his land; may the malevolent word of the god Shamash swiftly overtake him, may he uproot him from among the living above and make his ghost thirst for water below in the netherworld.

May the god Sin, my creator, whose oracular decision prevails among the gods, deprive him of the crown and throne of kingship, and impose upon him an onerous punishment, a great penalty for him, which will not depart from his body; may he conclude every day, month, and year of his reign with groaning and mourning; may he unveil before him a contender for the kingship; may he decree for him a life that is no better than death.

May the god Adad, lord of abundance, the canal-inspector of heaven and earth, my helper, deprive him of the benefits of rain from heaven and flood from the springs, and may he obliterate his land through destitution and famine; may he roar fiercely over his city, and may he turn his land into the abandoned hills left by the Flood.

¹⁵ Var.: "his city."

May the god Zababa, the great warrior, the first-born son of the Ekur temple, who travels at my right side, smash his weapon upon the field of battle; may he turn day into night for him, and make his enemy triumph over him.

May the goddess Ishtar, mistress of battle and warfare, who bares my weapon, my benevolent protective spirit, who loves my reign, curse his kingship with her angry heart and great fury; may she turn his auspicious omens into calamities; may she smash his weapon on the field of war and battle, plunge him into confusion and rebellion, strike down his warriors, drench the earth with their blood, make a heap of the corpses of his soldiers upon the plain, and may she show his soldiers no mercy; as for him, may she deliver him into the hand of his enemies, and may she lead him bound captive to the land of his enemy.

May the god Nergal, the mighty one among the gods, the irresistible onslaught, who enables me to achieve my triumphs, burn his people with his great overpowering weapon like a raging fire in a reed thicket; may he have him beaten with his mighty weapon, and shatter his limbs like (those

of) a clay figure.

May the goddess Nintu, august mistress of the lands, the mother, my creator, deprive him of an heir and give him no offspring; may she not allow a human child to be born among his people.

May the goddess Ninkarrak, daughter of the god Anu, who promotes my cause in the Ekur temple, cause a grievous malady to break out upon his limbs, an evil demonic disease, a serious carbuncle which cannot be soothed, which a physician cannot diagnose, which he cannot ease with bandages, which, like the bite of death, cannot be expunged; may he bewail his lost virility until his life comes to an end.

May the great gods of heaven and earth, all the Anunnaku deities together, the protective spirit of the temple, the very brickwork of the Ebabbar temple, curse that one, his seed, his land, his troops, his people, and his army with a terrible curse.

May the god Enlil, whose command cannot be countermanded, curse him with these curses, and may they swiftly overtake him.

REFERENCES

Text: Harper 1904; Driver and Miles 1952; 1955; Borger 1979; Donbaz and Sauren 1991; Roth 1995/1997:71-142. Translations and studies: ANET 163-180; Finet 1973; TUAT 1:39-79; Saporetti 1984:49-92; Roth 1995; 1995/1997:71-142; 1999.

THE MIDDLE ASSYRIAN LAWS (2.132) (Tablet A)

Martha Roth

A number of cuneiform tablets preserving thematic collections of laws were excavated in the Assyrian capital of Assur. The tablets are datable to about the eleventh century BCE, but are copies of compositions that probably date to fourteenth-century originals, and the language is the Middle Assyrian dialect. The laws recorded are thus as much as five hundred years later than the well-known Sumerian and Akkadian law collections of Ur-Namma of Ur, Lipit-Ishtar of Isin, Dadusha(?) of Eshnunna, and Hammurabi of Babylon. During this interval, following the end of the Old Babylonian dynasty of Hammurabi, the political landscape of Mesopotamia had shifted, and by the time of King Tiglath-pileser I (ca. 1114-1076 BCE) the dominant forces — the Hittites in Anatolia, the Egyptians in the Mediterranean coastal areas, and the Kassites in southern Mesopotamia — all had fallen before the Assyrian military power.

Each Middle Assyrian Laws tablet records what we might call a "chapter" with an apparently well-defined theme. The best preserved tablet, known as Tablet A, is inscribed with eight columns, each with about one hundred lines, recording rules and regulations detailing circumstances involving mostly women and incidentally other dependents.

There is one known duplicate manuscript which dates to the Neo-Assyrian period, suggesting that the composition retained value at least in the scribal curriculum.¹

The Laws

A §1 If a woman, either a man's wife or a man's daughter, should enter into a temple and steal something from the sanctuary in the temple and either it is discovered in her possession or they prove the charges against her and find her guilty, [they shall perform(?) a divination(?), they shall inquire of the deity; they shall treat her as the deity instructs them.	a Exod 21:37-22:3	stolen goods shall take her and he shall cut off her nose.
A §2 If a woman, either a man's wife or a man's daughter, should speak something disgraceful or utter a blasphemy, that woman alone bears responsibility for her offense; they shall have no claim against her husband, her sons, or her daughters.	b Deut 25:11-12	A §6 If a man's wife should place goods for safe-keeping outside of the family, the receiver of the goods shall bear liability for stolen property.
A §3 If a man is either ill or dead, and his wife should steal something from his house and give it either to a man, or to a woman, or to anyone else, they shall kill the man's wife as well as the receivers (of the stolen goods). And if a man's wife, whose husband is healthy, should steal from her husband's house and give it either to a man, or to a woman, or to anyone else, the man shall prove the charges against his wife and shall impose a punishment; the receiver who received (the stolen goods) from the man's wife shall hand over the stolen goods, and they shall impose a punishment on the receiver identical to that which the man imposed on his wife.	c Deut 22:22-27	A §7 If a woman should lay a hand upon a man and they prove the charges against her, she shall pay 1,800 shekels of lead; they shall strike her 20 blows with rods.
A §4 If either a slave or a slave woman should receive something from a man's wife, they shall cut off the slave's or slave woman's nose and ears; they shall restore the stolen goods; the man shall cut off his own wife's ears. But if he releases his wife and does not cut off her ears, they shall not cut off (the nose and ears) of the slave or slave woman, and they shall not restore the stolen goods.	d Lev 20:10; Deut 22:22	A §8 If a woman should crush a man's testicle during a quarrel, they shall cut off one of her fingers. And even if the physician should bandage it, but the second testicle then becomes infected(?) along with it and becomes ..., ² or if she should crush the second testicle during the quarrel — they shall gouge out both her [...]s. ³ b
A §5 If a man's wife should steal something with a value greater than 300 shekels of lead from the house of another man, the owner of the stolen goods shall take an oath, saying, "I did not incite her, saying, 'Commit a theft in my house.'" If her husband is in agreement, he (her husband) shall hand over the stolen goods and he shall ransom her; he shall cut off her ears. If her husband does not agree to her ransom, the owner of the		A §9 If a man lays a hand upon a woman, attacking her like a rutting bull(?), and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty, they shall cut off one of his fingers. If he should kiss her, they shall draw his lower lip across the blade(?) of an ax and cut it off.
		A §10 [If either] a man or a woman enters [another man's] house and kills [either a man] or a woman, [they shall hand over] the manslaughterers [to the head of the household]; if he so chooses, he shall kill them, or if he chooses to come to an accommodation, he shall take [their property]; and if there is [nothing of value to give from the house] of the manslaughterers, either a son [or a daughter ...]
		A §11 [If ...]
		A §12 If a wife of a man should walk along the main thoroughfare and should a man seize her and say to her, "I want to have sex with you!" — she shall not consent but she shall protect herself; should he seize her by force and fornicate with her — whether they discover him upon the woman or witnesses later prove the charges against him that he fornicate with the woman — they shall kill the man; there is no punishment for the woman. ^c
		A §13 If the wife of a man should go out of her own house, and go to another man where he resides, and should he fornicate with her knowing that she is the wife of a man, they shall kill the man and the wife. ^d

¹ The most recent edition is in Roth 1995/1997, on which this translation is based, and to which the reader is referred for details of sources and earlier editions.

² Restoration [e]-ri-im-ma "became inflamed(?), atrophied(?)," remains uncertain; see CAD E 295 s.v. *erimu* discussion section.

³ Possible restorations include "eyes" and "breasts"; see Paul 1990:337-38 with notes.

- A §14 If a man should fornicate with another man's wife either in an inn or in the main thoroughfare, knowing that she is the wife of a man, they shall treat the fornicator as the man declares he wishes his wife to be treated. If he should fornicate with her without knowing that she is the wife of a man, the fornicator is clear; the man shall prove the charges against his wife and he shall treat her as he wishes.
- A §15 If a man should seize another man upon his wife and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty, they shall kill both of them; there is no liability for him (i.e., the husband). If he should seize him and bring him either before the king or the judges, and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty — if the woman's husband kills his wife, then he shall also kill the man; if he cuts off his wife's nose, he shall turn the man into a eunuch and they shall lacerate his entire face; but if [he wishes to release] his wife, he shall [release] the man.⁴
- A §16 If a man [should fornicate] with the wife of a man [... by] her invitation, there is no punishment for the man; the man (i.e., husband) shall impose whatever punishment he chooses upon his wife. If he should fornicate with her by force and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty, his punishment shall be identical to that of the wife of the man.
- A §17 If a man should say to another man, "Everyone has sex with your wife," but there are no witnesses, they shall draw up a binding agreement, they shall undergo the divine River Ordeal.⁵
- A §18 If a man says to his comrade, either in private or in a public quarrel, "Everyone has sex with your wife," and further, "I can prove the charges," but he is unable to prove the charges and does not prove the charges, they shall strike that man 40 blows with rods; he shall perform the king's service for one full month; they shall cut off his hair;⁶ moreover, he shall pay 3,600 shekels of lead.
- A §19 If a man furtively spreads rumors about his comrade, saying, "Everyone sodomizes him,"⁶ or in a quarrel in public says to him, "Everyone sodomizes you," and further, "I can prove the charges against you," but he is unable to prove the charges and does not
- prove the charges, they shall strike that man 50 blows with rods; he shall perform the king's service for one full month; they shall cut off his hair;⁵ moreover, he shall pay 3,600 shekels of lead.⁶
- A §20 If a man sodomizes his comrade and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty, they shall sodomize him and they shall turn him into a eunuch.
- A §21 If a man strikes a woman of the *awilu*-class thereby causing her to abort her fetus, and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty — he shall pay 9,000 shekels of lead; they shall strike him 50 blows with rods; he shall perform the king's service for one full month.⁶
- A §22 If an unrelated man — neither her father, nor her brother, nor her son — should arrange to have a man's wife travel with him, then he shall swear an oath to the effect that he did not know that she is the wife of a man and he shall pay 7,200 shekels of lead to the woman's husband. If [he knows that she is the wife of a man], he shall pay damages and he shall swear, saying, "I did not fornicate with her." But if the man's wife should declare, "He did fornicate with me," since the man has already paid damages to the man (i.e., husband), he shall undergo the divine River Ordeal; there is no binding agreement. If he should refuse to undergo the divine River Ordeal, they shall treat him as the woman's husband treats his wife.
- A §23 If a man's wife should take another man's wife into her house and give her to a man for purposes of fornication, and the man knows that she is the wife of a man, they shall treat him as one who has fornicated with the wife of another man; and they treat the female procurer just as the woman's husband treats his fornicating wife. And if the woman's husband intends to do nothing to his fornicating wife, they shall do nothing to the fornicator or to the female procurer; they shall release them. But if the man's wife does not know (what was intended), and the woman who takes her into her house brings the man in to her by deceit(?), and he then fornicates with her — if, as soon as she leaves the house, she should declare that she has been the victim of fornication, they shall release the woman, she is clear; they shall kill the fornicator and the female procurer.

⁴ Cf. Frymer-Kensky 1984.⁵ Or "beard."⁶ Lit. "has sex with."

But if the woman should not so declare, the man shall impose whatever punishment on his wife he wishes; they shall kill the fornicator and the female procurer.

f Gen 38;
Deut 25:5-10; Ruth 4

- A §24 If a man's wife should withdraw herself from her husband and enter into the house of an Assyrian, either in that city or in any of the nearby towns, to a house which he assigns to her, residing with the mistress of the household, staying overnight three or four nights, and the householder is not aware that it is the wife of a man who is residing in his house, and later that woman is seized, the householder whose wife withdrew herself from him shall [mutilate] his wife and [not] take her back. As for the man's wife with whom his wife resided, they shall cut off her ears; if he pleases, her husband shall give 12,600 shekels of lead as her value, and, if he pleases, he shall take back his wife. However, if the householder knows that it is a man's wife who is residing in his house with his wife, he shall give "triple."⁷ And if he should deny (that he knew of her status), he shall declare, "I did not know," they shall undergo the divine River Ordeal. And if the man in whose house the wife of a man resided should refuse to undergo the divine River Ordeal, he shall give "triple"; if it is the man whose wife withdrew herself from him who should refuse to undergo the divine River Ordeal, he (in whose house she resided) is clear; he shall bear the expenses of the divine River Ordeal. However, if the man whose wife withdrew herself from him does not mutilate his wife, he shall take back his wife; no sanctions are imposed.
- A §25 If a woman is residing in her own father's house and her husband is dead, her husband's brothers have not yet divided their inheritance, and she has no son — her husband's brothers who have not yet received their inheritance shares shall take whatever valuables her husband bestowed upon her that are not missing. As for the rest (of the property), they shall resort to a verdict by the gods, they shall provide proof, and they shall take the property; they shall not be seized for (the settlement of any dispute by) the divine River Ordeal or the oath.
- A §26 If a woman is residing in her own father's house and her husband is dead, if there are sons of her husband, it is they who shall take whatever valuables her husband bestow-

ed upon her; if there are no sons of her husband, she herself shall take the valuables.

- A §27 If a woman is residing in her own father's house and her husband visits her regularly, he himself shall take back any marriage settlement which he, her husband, gave to her; he shall have no claim to anything belonging to her father's house.
- A §28 If a widow should enter a man's house and she is carrying her dead husband's surviving son with her (in her womb), he grows up in the house of the man who married her but no tablet of his adoption is written, he will not take an inheritance share from the estate of the one who raised him, and he will not be responsible for its debts; he shall take an inheritance share from the estate of his begetter in accordance with his portion.
- A §29 If a woman should enter her husband's house, her dowry and whatever she brings with her from her father's house, and also whatever her father-in-law gave her upon her entering, are clear for her sons; her father-in-law's sons shall have no valid claim. But if her husband intends to take control(?) of her, he shall give it to whichever of his sons he wishes.
- A §30 If a father should bring the ceremonial marriage prestation and present <the bridal gift> to the house of his son's father-in-law, and the woman is not yet given to his son, and another son of his, whose wife is residing in her own father's house, is dead, he shall give the wife of his deceased son into the protection of the household of his second son to whose father-in-law's house he has presented (the ceremonial marriage prestation). If the master of the daughter who is receiving the bridal gift decides not to agree to give his daughter (in these altered circumstances), if the father who presented the bridal gift so pleases, he shall take his daughter-in-law (i.e., the wife of his deceased son) and give her in marriage to his (second) son. And if he so pleases, as much as he presented — lead, silver, gold, and anything not edible — he shall take back in the quantities originally given; he shall have no claim to anything edible.⁸
- A §31 If a man presents the bridal gift to his father-in-law's house, and although his wife is dead there are other daughters of his father-in-law, if he so pleases, he⁸ shall marry a daughter of his father-in-law in lieu of his deceased wife. Or, if he so pleases, he shall

⁷ The amount and nature of the compensation indicated by *šallāte*, "one-third" or "triple," of what commodity it consists, and to whom it is paid, all remain obscure.

⁸ Text: "the father-in-law" (error).

- take back the silver that he gave; they shall not give back to him grain, sheep, or anything edible; he shall receive only the silver.
- A §32 If a woman is residing in her own father's house and her [...] is given, whether or not she has been taken into her father-in-law's house, she shall be responsible for her husband's debts, transgression, or punishment.
- A §33 If a woman is residing in her own father's house, her husband is dead, and she has sons [...], or [if he so pleases], he shall give her into the protection of the household of her father-in-law. If her husband and her father-in-law are both dead, and she has no son, she is indeed a widow; she shall go wherever she pleases.
- A §34 If a man should marry a widow without her formal binding agreement and she resides in his house for two years, she is a wife; she shall not leave.
- A §35 If a widow should enter into a man's house, whatever she brings with her belongs to her (new) husband; and if a man should enter into a woman's (house), whatever he brings with him belongs to the woman.
- A §36 If a woman is residing in her father's house, or her husband settles her in a house elsewhere, and her husband then travels abroad but does not leave her any oil, wool, clothing, or provisions,⁹ or anything else, and sends her no provisions from abroad — that woman shall still remain (the exclusive object of rights) for her husband for five years; she shall not reside with another husband. If she has sons, they shall be hired out and provide for their own sustenance; the woman shall wait for her husband, she shall not reside with another husband. If she has no sons, she shall wait for her husband for five years; at the onset of(?) six years, she shall reside with the husband of her choice; her (first) husband, upon returning, shall have no valid claim to her; she is clear for her second husband. If he is delayed beyond the five years but is not detained of his own intention, whether because a ... seized him and he fled or because he was falsely arrested and therefore he was detained, upon returning he shall so prove, he shall give a woman comparable to his wife (to her second husband) and take his wife. And if the king should send him to another country and he is delayed beyond the five years, his wife shall wait for him (indefinitely); she shall not go to reside with another husband. And furthermore, if she should reside with another husband before the five years are completed and should she bear children (to the second husband), because she did not wait in accordance with the agreement, but was taken in marriage (by another), her (first) husband, upon returning, shall take her and also her offspring.
- A §37 If a man intends to divorce his wife, if it is his wish, he shall give her something; if that is not his wish, he shall not give her anything, and she shall leave empty-handed.
- A §38 If a woman is residing in her own father's house and her husband divorces her, he shall take the valuables which he himself bestowed upon her; he shall have no claim to the bridewealth which he brought (to her father's house), it is clear for the woman.
- A §39 If a man should give one who is not his own daughter in marriage to a husband — if (this situation arose because) previously her father had been in debt and she had been made to reside as a pledge — and a prior creditor should come forward, he (i.e., the prior creditor) shall receive the value of the woman, in full, from the one who gives the woman in marriage; if he has nothing to give, he (i.e., the prior creditor) shall take the one who gives the woman in marriage. However, if she had been saved from a catastrophe, she is clear for the one who saved her. And if the one who marries the woman either causes a tablet to be ... for him or they have a claim in place against him, he shall [...] the value of the woman, and the one who gives (the woman) [...]
- A §40 Wives of a man, or [widows], or [any Assyrian] women who go out into the main thoroughfare [shall not have] their heads [bare]. Daughters of a man [...] with] either a ...-cloth or garments or [...] shall be veiled, [...] their heads [...] (gap of ca. 6 lines) [...] When they go about [...] in the main thoroughfare during the daytime, they shall be veiled. A concubine who goes about in the main thoroughfare with her mistress is to be veiled. A married *qadiltu*-woman is to be veiled (when she goes about) in the main thoroughfare, but an unmarried one is to leave her head bare in the main thoroughfare, she shall not veil herself. A prostitute shall not be veiled, her head shall be bare. Whoever sees a veiled prostitute shall seize her, secure witnesses, and bring her to the palace entrance. They shall not take away her jewelry, but he who has seized her takes her clothing; they shall strike her 50 blows with rods; they shall pour hot pitch over her head. And if a man should see a veiled pro-

⁹ Paul 1969 and 1990 compares Exod 21:10 as well as LB §32 (above, p. 334) and LH §178 (above, p. 347).

stitute and release her, and does not bring her to the palace entrance, they shall strike that man 50 blows with rods; the one who informs against him shall take his clothing; they shall pierce his ears, thread them on a cord, tie it at his back; he shall perform the king's service for one full month. Slave women shall not be veiled, and he who should see a veiled slave woman shall seize her and bring her to the palace entrance; they shall cut off her ears; he who seizes her shall take her clothing. If a man should see a veiled slave woman but release her and not seize her, and does not bring her to the palace entrance, and they then prove the charges against him and find him guilty, they shall strike him 50 blows with rods; they shall pierce his ears, thread them on a cord, tie it at his back; the one who informs against him shall take his garments; he shall perform the king's service for one full month.¹

J Gen 24:65;
Isa 38:14,
19; 47:1-4

* Gen 38:11

A §41 If a man intends to veil his concubine, he shall assemble five or six of his comrades, and he shall veil her in their presence, he shall declare, "She is my *aššutu*-wife"; she is his *aššutu*-wife. A concubine who is not veiled in the presence of people, whose husband did not declare, "She is my *aššutu*-wife," she is not an *aššutu*-wife, she is indeed a concubine. If a man is dead and there are no sons of his veiled wife, the sons of the concubines are indeed sons; they shall (each) take an inheritance share.

A §42 If a man pours oil on the head of a woman of the *a²flu*-class on the occasion of a holiday, or brings dishes on the occasion of a banquet, no return (of gifts) shall be made.

A §43 If a man either pours oil on her head or brings (dishes for) the banquet, (after which) the son to whom he assigned the wife either dies or flees, he shall give her in marriage to whichever of his remaining sons he wishes, from the oldest to the youngest of at least ten years of age. If the father is dead and the son to whom he assigned the wife is also dead, a son of the deceased son who is at least ten years old² shall marry her. If the sons of the (dead) son are less than ten years old, if the father of the daughter wishes, he shall give his daughter (to one of them), but if he wishes he shall make a full and equal return (of gifts given). If there is no son, he shall return as much as he received, precious stones or anything not edible, in its full amount; but he shall not return anything edible.

A §44 If there is an Assyrian man or an Assyrian woman who is residing in a man's house as a pledge for a debt, for as much as his value, and he is taken for the full value (i.e., his value as pledge does not exceed that of the debt), he (the pledge holder) shall whip (the pledge), pluck out (the pledge's) hair, (or) mutilate or pierce (the pledge's) ears.

A §45¹⁰ If a woman is given in marriage and the enemy then takes her husband prisoner, and she has neither father-in-law nor son (to support her), she shall remain (the exclusive object of rights) for her husband for two years. During these two years, if she has no provisions, she shall come forward and so declare. If she is a resident of the community dependent upon the palace, her [father(?)] shall provide for her and she shall do work for him. If she is a wife of a *hupšu*-soldier, [...] shall provide for her [and she shall do work for him]. But [if she is a wife of a man(?) whose] field and [house are not sufficient to support her(?)], she shall come forward and declare before the judges, "[I have nothing] to eat"; the judges shall question the mayor and the noblemen of the city to determine the current market rate(?) of a field in that city; they shall assign and give the field and house for her, for her provisioning for two years; she shall be resident (in that house), and they shall write a tablet for her (permitting her to stay for the two years). She shall allow two full years to pass, and then she may go to reside with the husband of her own choice; they shall write a tablet for her as if for a widow. If later her lost husband should return to the country, he shall take back his wife who married outside the family; he shall have no claim to the sons she bore to her later husband, it is her later husband who shall take them. As for the field and house that she gave for full price outside the family for her provisioning, if it is not entered into the royal holdings(?), he shall give as much as was given, and he shall take it back. But if he should not return but dies in another country, the king shall give his field and house wherever he chooses to give.

A §46 If a woman whose husband is dead does not move out of her house upon the death of her husband, if her husband (while alive) does not deed her anything in writing, she shall reside in the house of (one of) her own sons, wherever she chooses; her husband's sons shall provide for her, they shall draw up an

¹⁰ Problems in restoration and interpretation of A §45 are discussed by Postgate 1971:502-8 and Aynard and Durand 1980:9-13.

agreement to supply her with provisions and drink as for an in-law whom they love. If she is a second wife and has no sons of her own, she shall reside with one (of her husband's sons) and they shall provide for her in common. If she does have sons, and the sons of a prior wife do not agree to provide for her, she shall reside in the house of (one of) her own sons, wherever she chooses; her own sons shall provide for her, and she shall do service for them. And if there is one among her husband's sons who is willing to marry her, [it is he who shall provide for her; her own sons] shall not provide for her.	Exod 22:17; Lev 20:27; Deut 18:10-14	A §49 [...] like a brother [...]. And if the prostitute is dead, because(?) her brothers so declare they shall divide shares [with(?)] the brothers of their mother(?).
A §47 If either a man or a woman should be discovered practicing witchcraft, and should they prove the charges against them and find them guilty, they shall kill the practitioner of witchcraft. A man who heard from an eyewitness to the witchcraft that he witnessed the practice of the witchcraft, who said to him, "I myself saw it," that hearsay-witness shall go and inform the king. If the eyewitness should deny what he (i.e., the hearsay-witness) reports to the king, he (i.e., the hearsay-witness) shall declare before the divine Bull-the-Son-of-the-Sun-God, "He surely told me" — and thus he is clear. As for the eyewitness who spoke (of witnessing the deed to his comrade) and then denied (it to the king), the king shall interrogate him as he sees fit, in order to determine his intentions; an exorcist shall have the man make a declaration when they make a purification, and then he himself (i.e., the exorcist) shall say as follows, "No one shall release any of you from the oath you swore by (or: before) the king and his son; you are bound by oath to the stipulations of the agreement to which you swore by (or: before) the king and by his son."¹	mExod 21:22-25 nExod 22:16-17; Deut 22:28-29	A §50 [If a man] strikes [another man's wife thereby causing her to abort her fetus, ...] a man's wife [...] and they shall treat him as he treated her; he shall make full payment of a life for her fetus. And if that woman dies, they shall kill that man; he shall make full payment of a life for her fetus. And if there is no son of that woman's husband, and his wife whom he struck aborted her fetus, they shall kill the assailant for her fetus. If her fetus was a female, he shall make full payment of a life only."² A §51 If a man strikes another man's wife who does not raise her child, causing her to abort her fetus, it is a punishable offense; he shall give 7,200 shekels of lead. A §52 If a man strikes a prostitute causing her to abort her fetus, they shall assess him blow for blow, he shall make full payment of a life. A §53 If a woman aborts her fetus by her own action and they then prove the charges against her and find her guilty, they shall impale her, they shall not bury her. If she dies as a result of aborting her fetus,¹² they shall impale her, they shall not bury her. If any persons should hide that woman because she aborted her fetus [...]
A §48 If a man <wants to give in marriage> his debtor's daughter who is residing in his house as a pledge, he shall ask permission of her father¹¹ and then he shall give her to a husband. If her father does not agree, he shall not give her. If her father is dead, he shall ask permission of one of her brothers and the latter shall consult with her (other) brothers. If one brother so desires he shall declare, "I will redeem my sister within one month"; if he should not redeem her within one month, the creditor, if he so pleases, shall clear her of encumbrances and shall give her to a husband. [...] according to [...] he shall give her [...]		A §54 [If...] or slave women [...] A §55 If a man forcibly seizes and rapes a maiden who is residing in her father's house, [...] who is not betrothed(?), whose [womb(?)] is not opened, who is not married, and against whose father's house there is no outstanding claim — whether within the city or in the countryside, or at night whether in the main thoroughfare, or in a granary, or during the city festival — the father of the maiden shall take the wife of the fornicator of the maiden and hand her over to be raped; he shall not return her to her husband, but he shall take (and keep?) her; the father shall give his daughter who is the victim of fornication into the protection of the household of her fornicator. If he (the fornicator) has no wife, the fornicator shall give "triple" the silver as the value of the maiden to her father; her fornicator shall marry her; he shall not reject(?) her. If the father does not desire it so, he shall receive "triple" silver for the maiden, and he shall give his daughter in marriage to whomever he chooses."

¹¹ Text: "Her father will ask ..."

¹² Or "If the fetus dies as a result of the (attempted) abortion"(?).

A §56 If a maiden should willingly give herself to a man, the man shall so swear; they shall have no claim to his wife; the fornicator shall pay "triple" the silver as the value of the maiden; the father shall treat his daughter in whatever manner he chooses.	A §58 For all punishable offenses [...] cutting off [...] and... [...]
A §57 Whether it is a beating or [...] for] a man's wife [...] that is (specifically)] written on the tablet [...]	A §59 In addition to the punishments for [a man's wife] that are [written] on the tablet, a man may [whip] his wife, pluck out her hair, mutilate her ears, or strike her, with impunity.
	Subscript Month 2, day 2, eponymate of Sagu.

REFERENCES

Texts: Driver and Miles 1935; Aynard and Durand 1980; Roth 1995/1997:153-194. Translations and studies: ANET 180-188; Cardascia 1969; TUAT 1:80-92; Saporetti 1984; Paul 1990; Roth 1995/1997:153-194.

THE NEO-BABYLONIAN LAWS (2.133)

Martha Roth

For almost a thousand years after the fall of the Old Babylonian dynasty of Hammurabi, the Assyrian empires held dominance throughout most of the Near East before the Neo-Babylonian dynasty (ca. 635-539 BCE), established following the defeat of the Assyrians by the combined Median and Babylonian forces, assumed the central military, political, and cultural position in the area. The first rulers of this dynasty, Nabopolassar (ca. 625-605 BCE) and Nebuchadnezzar II (ca. 604-562 BCE), consciously emulated the postures, rhetoric, and activities of the Hammurabi dynasty in order to establish their dynasty as legitimate linear successor to the great empires of the past.

One tablet dating to the Neo-Babylonian period preserves a copy of a damaged or incomplete original compilation of fifteen laws or cases. At the beginning of the last column of the obverse, in an area that could contain about ten lines, there is centered a short two-line notation that reads, "Its case (or judgment, etc.) is not complete and is not written (here)." This note is to be understood either as an indication that the original from which this tablet was copied was damaged (a situation usually marked by the expression *ḫīpi eššu* "new break," *ḫīpi labīru* "old break," etc.), or, perhaps more likely, that there was a case pending whose results would be summarized in this space at a later time.¹

The Laws

§1 [...] in the presence of the owner of the field [...] in the presence of the owner of the field [...] the owner of the field [...] they wrote [...] year 2 [...] the king [...]	name, but does not make out a contract of proxy for the matter or does not take a copy of the tablet — it is the man in whose name the tablet and sale document are written who shall take the field or house.
§2 [A man who [...] field [...] pastures [...] he pastures [...] the testimony which he will provide ... of the field [...], he shall give [grain] in accordance with the (yields of his) neighbor to the owner of the field; [... as much as] he pastured, he shall give grain in accordance with the (yields of his) neighbor.	§6 A man who sells a slave woman against whom a claim arises so that she is taken away — the seller shall give to the buyer the silver (of the purchase price) in its capital amount according to the sale document. Should she bear children (while in the possession of the buyer), he shall give half a shekel of silver each.
§3 [A man who opens] his well to the irrigation outlet but does not reinforce it, and who thus causes a breach and thereby [floods] his neighbor's field, shall give [grain in accordance with the (yields of his)] neighbor [to the owner of the field].	§7 A woman who performs a magic act or a ritual purification against(?) (i.e., in order to affect?) a man's field, or a boat, or a kiln, or anything whatsoever — (if it is a field, then concerning) the trees (or: wood) among which(?) she performs the ritual, she shall give to the owner of the field threefold its yield. If she performs the purification
§4 [...] an onager [...] he shall give.	
§5 A man who seals a tablet as owner of (i.e., who buys) a field or a house in another's	

¹ The most recent edition is in Roth 1995/1997, on which this translation is based, and to which the reader is referred for details of sources and earlier editions.

	against(?) (i.e., in order to affect?) a boat, or a kiln, or anything else, she shall give threefold the losses caused to the property (text: field). Should she be seized [performing the purification] against(?) (i.e., in order to affect?) the door of a man's [house], she shall be killed. ² ^a	^a Exod 22:17	
§x	Its case ³ is not complete and is not written (here).		
§8	A man who gives his daughter in marriage to a member of the <i>amēlu</i> -class, and the father (of the groom) commits certain properties in his tablet and awards them to his son, and the father-in-law commits the dowry of his daughter, and they write the tablets in mutual agreement — they will not alter the commitments of their respective tablets. The father will not make any reduction to the properties as written in the tablet to his son's benefit which he showed to his in-law. Even should the father, whose wife fate carries away, then marry a second wife and should she then bear him sons, the sons of the second woman shall take one third ⁴ of the balance of his estate.		§12 A wife whose husband takes her dowry, and who has no son or daughter, and whose husband fate carries away — a dowry equivalent to the dowry (which her husband had received) shall be given to her from her husband's estate. If her husband should award to her a marriage gift, she shall take her husband's marriage gift together with her dowry, and thus her claim is satisfied. If she has no dowry, a judge shall assess the value of her husband's estate, and shall give to her some property in accordance with the value of her husband's estate.
§9	A man who makes an oral promise of the dowry for his daughter, or writes it on a tablet for her, and whose estate later decreases — he shall give to his daughter a dowry in accordance with the remaining assets of his estate; the father-in-law (i.e., the bride's father) and the groom will not by mutual agreement alter the commitments.		§13 A man marries a wife, and she bears him sons, and later on fate carries away that man, and that woman then decides to enter another man's house — she shall take (from her first husband's estate) the dowry that she brought from her father's house and anything that her husband awarded to her, and the husband she chooses shall marry her; as long as she lives, they shall have the joint use of the properties. If she should bear sons to her (second) husband, after her death the sons of the second and first (husbands) shall have equal shares in her dowry. [...]
§10	A man who gives a dowry to his daughter, and she has no son or daughter, and fate carries her away — her dowry shall revert to her paternal estate.		§14 [...] her husband [...] she shall take [...] to her father [...]
§11	[A wife who ...] fate [carries her away (...)] to a son [...] — she shall give her dowry to her husband or to whomever she wishes.		§15 A man who marries a wife who bears him sons, and whose wife fate carries away, and who marries a second wife who bears him sons, and later on the father goes to his fate — the sons of the first woman shall take two-thirds of the paternal estate, and the sons of the second shall take one-third. Their sisters, who are still residing in the paternal home [...]
			<i>Subscript</i> [... king of] the city of Babylon.

² See Roth 1995/1997:149 note 7.

³ The Akk. word *dīnu* is translatable as "case," "decision," or "judgment," and refers both to the entire proceedings of a suit or trial and to the decision rendered by the officiating judge. The antecedent of "its" in LNB §7 is not clear; the reference could be to a defective original exemplar from which this tablet was copied, or to a court case that has not yet been decided.

⁴ I.e., not the preferential or double share; see note to LH §181.

REFERENCES

Text: Peiser 1889; Driver and Miles 1955:324-347; Petschow 1959; Szlechter 1971; 1972; 1973; Roth 1995/1997:143-149. Translations and studies: ANET 197-198; TUAT 1:92-95; Saporetto 1984:117-120; Roth 1995/1997:143-149.

3. EDICTS

THE EDICTS OF SAMSU-ILUNA AND HIS SUCCESSORS (2.134)

William W. Hallo

The dynasty of Hammurapi survived his death by over 150 years (1749-1595 BCE).¹ But such was the fame of his laws that his five successors did not openly dare to replace them. Instead they apparently contrived to modify them by issuing relatively briefer collections of laws in the form of edicts. The process began with Hammurapi's immediate successor, his son Samsu-iluna (1749-1712), continued with what may have been an edict of Ammi-ditana (1683-1647)² and concluded with Ammi-saduqa (1646-1626). The translation is based on the last edict, which is the best preserved, with significant variants from the earlier one(s) given in the footnotes.

<i>Preamble</i>	a Lev 25; Deut 15; etc.	§3	Whoever has given barley or silver to an Akkadian or an Amorite ¹⁴ either [as a loan at in]terest or as demand-loan [...] and has had a (legal) document drawn up (about it) — because the king has established equity for the land, his tablet will be voided; he may not collect barley or silver according to the wording of the tablet.
Document of the ... when [the king] (re)-estab[lished] equity for the land. ³			
§1 The arrears of the farmers, ⁴ shepherds, fellmongers ⁵ of the pasture lands, or (any other) tenants ⁶ of the palace ⁷ are remitted for the sake of strengthening them and treating them righteously; ⁸ the collection-agent may not dun the property ⁹ of the tenant.	b 2 Sam 12:4		
§2 The "board of trade" ¹⁰ of Babylon, the boards of trade of the land, (and) the compensator who are assigned to the tax-collector in the end-of-the-year tablet — their arrears which [date] from the year (called) "By king Ammi-ditana the debts of the land which they had repeatedly incurred were remitted" ¹¹ to the month Nisanu ¹² of <the year> (called) "King Ammi-saduqa, whose princship the divine Enlil had magnified, dawned truly like the Sungod over his nation (and) set its numerous people on the right path" ¹³ are remitted because the king established equity for the land; the tax-collector may not dun their property.		§4	But if from the second day of the last month of the year (called) "King Ammi-ditana destroyed the wall of Udim which Dam(i)q-ilishu had built" ¹⁵ he has demanded and collected repayment of a loan outside of the season for collection, he must, because he has demanded and collected repayment outside of the season for collection, return that which he has collected and misappropriated. ¹⁶ * He who does not return it according to the royal edict will die. ¹⁷
		§5	Whoever has given barley or silver as a loan at interest or as a demand-loan to an Akkadian or an Amorite and in his sealed document which he had drawn up has committed fraud ¹⁸ by having it written up as a purchase

¹ All dates given in this section are BCE and conform to the "middle chronology," according to which Hammurapi reigned from 1792-1750.

² So tentatively Kraus 1984:293. His suggestion is followed here, though it is not entirely excluded that his Edict "X" is simply another exemplar of Samsu-iluna's Edict. Lieberman 1989:251 and Jursa 1997:142 favor Abi-eshuh (1711-1684).

³ The Edict of Samsu-iluna devotes the entire preamble to a date, by month, day and year, the last expressed in an unusually complete form (in Sum.) of the name of the eighth year of the king (1742).

⁴ I.e. *iššakku*'s, at this time a class of privileged farmers or landed gentry; see CAD s.v.

⁵ An administrative functionary concerned with the disposal of animal carcasses.

⁶ I.e., <naš> *bilitim*, lit.: "tribute bearers." Cf. COS 2.131 §§36-38, 41 ("state tenant").

⁷ Samsu-iluna is broken here but probably omits "of the palace" and has sing. forms for the four professions mentioned.

⁸ Samsu-iluna has instead as motivating clause: "because the king has established equity."

⁹ Lit.: "shout against the house."

¹⁰ Lit.: "the wharf, quay."

¹¹ I.e. the 21st year of Ammi-saduqa's father and predecessor or 1663. Note that this and the next date formula are both cited in Sum., in their full official form.

¹² I.e. the first month.

¹³ I.e. Ammi-saduqa's first (full) year on the throne, or 1646. The implication is that 17 years had elapsed between these two royal remissions of debts. For the "periodicity" of such acts and their comparison with biblical *yôbel* and *šemitâ* cf. Hallo 1995:90f. and literature cited there (n. 59).

¹⁴ The two principal ethnic elements in Babylonia at the time.

¹⁵ I.e. 1647, the last year of the preceding reign and the year immediately preceding the presumed date of this edict. The Dam(i)q-ilishu in question is probably the third king of the Sealand Dynasty.

¹⁶ *teqû*, "take," is here used in the sense of "take legitimately but in abuse of power"; cf. the next § and §113 of the Laws of Hammurapi as well as the Hebrew cognate *iqh* in 2 Sam 12:4 and in the Mešad Hashavyahu ostrakon for which see Dobbs-Allsopp 1994:50.

¹⁷ This provision is quoted almost verbatim in a letter from the time of Samsu-iluna; see Hallo 1995:82.

¹⁸ So with Finkelstein 1969:52 against Kraus 1979.

- or as a bailment, and has thus misappropriated interest — they shall bring his (the debtor's) witnesses and conf[ict him] (the creditor) of misappropriating interest.¹⁹ Because he has falsified his sealed document, his sealed document will be voided.
- §6 A creditor may not dun the property of an [Akkadian] or an Amorite to whom he extended credit. If he duns, he dies.
- §7 If a man has given barley or silver as a loan and has had a document drawn up, then hangs on to the document and says: "I did *not* give it as a loan or as a demand-loan, I gave it for purchase, as an advance (for a commercial venture), or for some other purpose," the man who received barley or silver from the entrepreneur shall bring his witnesses to the effect that the lender has altered the wording of the document. Before the deity he shall declare (it) and because (the lender) has changed his document and moreover has altered the words, he shall give²⁰ six-fold. If he cannot meet his responsibility, he shall die.
- §8 An Akkadian or an Amorite who has received barley, silver or movable property for purchase, for business travel, for partnership or advance — his document will not be invalidated. He must pay according to the wording of his contracts.
- §9 (A lender) who has given barley, silver or movable property for purchase, for business travel, for partnership, (or) as an advance to an Akkadian or an Amorite and has had a sealed document drawn up (and) in the sealed document which he has had drawn up the entrepreneur has had it written that once its deadline has passed then the silver bears interest, or else has entered into additional contracts — he need not return it as per the wording of the contracts; the barley or silver which he has received ... he must return but the (additional) contracts are remitted to the Akkadian or Amorite.
- §10 [As to the merchandise of the palace — to the mercantile association²¹ of Babylon, of Borsippa, of Isin, of Larsa, of Idamaras, of Malgium, of Mankisum, of Shitullum — [to the extent of] half the purse the purchase will be given to them in the palace, half they will supply; of the merchandise, it will be given to them in the palace exactly according to the price of the city.
- §11 If an entrepreneur who retails the merchandise of the palace has drawn up a sealed document in (regard to) the arrears of a tenant (of the palace) up to (an amount) like the merchandise which he has received in (i.e. from) the palace, and moreover he has received the sealed document of the tenant, the merchandise according to the wording of his sealed document has not been given to him in the palace or else he has not received (it) from the tenant — because the king has remitted the arrears of the tenant(s), that entrepreneur shall clear himself (by oath) before the deity (to the effect that) "I have taken nothing from the tenant of that which is according to the sealed document," and once he has so cleared himself, he shall bring the sealed document of the tenant. They²² shall confront each other, make the (necessary) deductions, and remit²³ to the entrepreneur out of the purchase which is according to the wording of their sealed document which the entrepreneur drew up for the palace as much as he drew up for the entrepreneur according to the sealed document of the tenant.
- §12 A fellmonger of the land²⁴ who takes delivery [of cadavers] before the deity from the hands of a cattle-herder, a herder of sheep, (or) a herder of goats of the palace and who pays the palace one and a half sheqel together with the hide per naturally deceased cow, one-sixth sheqel + 5 grains together with the hide as well as one and two-thirds pounds + 5 sheqel wool per naturally dead ewe, (or) one-[...] silver together with the hide and two-thirds pounds goats hair per goat — because the king established equity for the land one will not collect their arrears. The [...] of the fellmongers of the land will not be supplied.
- §13 The arrears of the porters which were given to a collector for collecting — it is remitted; it will not be collected.
- §14 The arrears of Suhum in barley (subject to a share-cropping deduction of) one-third and the arrears in barley (subject to a share-cropping deduction of) one-half — because the king has established equity for the land, it is remitted; it will not be collected; the property of²⁵ Suhum will not be dunned.

¹⁹ Cf. n. 16 above.

²⁰ Ammi-ditana in error or; its six.

²¹ I.e. kar; cf. above note 10. The word is omitted here, but repeated with each subsequent geographical name.

²² I.e. the creditor and debtor.

²³ I.e. forgive.

²⁴ I.e. of Babylonia.

²⁵ Ammi-ditana inserts: "the people of."

§15²⁶ A tax-collector who collects a tithe²⁷ on the yield of a field, sesame or a minor crop of a tenant, a dignitary, grantees, a subordinate, a soldier, a "fisher," or (the bearer) of any (other) duty of Babylon and its environs — because the king has established equity for the land, it (the tithe) is remitted; it shall not be collected, (but) the barley pertaining to the purchasing (of the palace) and the ancillary income (of the tenant) will be tithed according to the old tax-rate.	c Gen 17:12-13, 23, 27; Lev 22:11	king has established equity for the country, the soldier or "fisher" shall pay either one-third or one-half (of the yield of the field)²⁹ depending on the share (normally due to an owner) of (i.e. in) his city.
§16 An alewife of the environs who pays out silver for the barley of the brewer²⁸ to the palace — because the king has established equity for the land, the collection-agent shall not dun for their arrears.	§20	If a citizen³⁰ of Numhia, of Emutbal, of Idamaras, of Uruk, of Isin, of Kisurra, [or of Malgium] — an obligation requires him to give his [child], his wife, [or himself] for silver, to work off the debt or as a security deposit, because the king has established equity for the land, (the obligation) is remitted; his release is granted.
§17 An alewife who has sold beer or barley on credit shall not collect for whatever she has sold on credit.	§21	If a slave-woman (or) slave — "born in the house" — of a citizen³¹ of Numhia, of Emutbal, of Idamaras, of Uruk, of Isin, of Kisurra, of Malgium, or of the land — for a full price is sold for money, or else is made to work off a debt, or else is deposited as security: his release will not be granted.
§18 An alewife or an entrepreneur who by means of an untrue seal [...] shall die.	§22³²	A "compensator" of the military governor of the land who forces barley, silver or wool on a soldier or a "fisher" for harvesting or for performing (other) labor shall die. The soldier or "fisher" may carry off whatever has been forced on him.
§19 A soldier or "fisher" who rents a field for three years [for the purpose of opening the field to cultivation] shall not perform [his obligatory labor by the side of an ancillary source of income]. In this year, because the		

²⁶ Omitted by Ammi-ditana. The "fisher" (*bāḫru*) is "a military auxiliary" (CAD B 32); cf. COS 2.131 §§26-39 ("fisherman").

²⁷ For this meaning of *makṣu*, see Hallo 1998:209f.

²⁸ Ammi-ditana: barley and silver of the brewer.

²⁹ I.e. the share due to the owner, in this case presumably the palace.

³⁰ Lit. "son"; the word is repeated with each of the following geographical names.

³¹ See note 30 above.

³² Samsu-iluna and Ammi-ditana omit.

REFERENCES

Kraus 1958; 1965; 1979; 1984; Finkelstein 1961; 1969; Bar-Maoz 1980; Sweet 1986; Charpin 1987; Lieberman 1989; Hallo 1995; 1998.

4. BOUNDARY STONES

THE "SUN DISK" TABLET OF NABŪ-APLA-IDDINA (2.135)

Victor Hurowitz

This inscription, beautifully engraved on a black stone tablet measuring 7" x 11 5/8" x 2", was found at Abu-Habbah (= Sippar) in 1881 by H. Rassam and is now in the British Museum.¹ A relief occupying the top third of the obverse shows a large disk sitting on a table, suspended by ropes held by two deities.² To the right of the disk and facing it, the sun-god Šamaš is seated on a throne under a canopy.³ To the left of the disk, facing it and Šamaš, are a priest, a king, and a goddess. The text dates to 20 Nisannu in the thirty-first year of Nabū-apla-iddina (spring of ca 839 BCE; column 6 line 28),³ king of Babylon, but was discovered in a clay box containing impressions of inscrip-

¹ There has been, to date, no comprehensive treatment covering all parts of this inscription. Na'aman (1972:6-7) translates the entire text anew, save the curses, and offers several improvements. Jacobsen (1987:20-23) discusses in detail the first half of the inscription and the light it sheds on cult statues in Mesopotamian.

² For a very late echo of the scene depicted, see Maimonides, *Guide to the Perplexed* Bk. 3, Ch. 29, as pointed out by Reiner 1996. Note also ANEP 653 for a sun disc on a table.

³ For translations of the epigraphs identifying the characters in the relief see King 1912:120-121, notes.

⁴ Nabū-apla-iddina's dates are not known exactly. See Brinkman 1968:182f., n. 1121.

tions of Nabonidus (555-539 BCE). The inscription has the content, language, literary structure and function of the so-called *kudurru*'s and like them is engraved on hard black stone with a relief. It differs only in shape and type of relief.⁴ Like the *kudurru*'s it is a monument commemorating a royal grant of real-estate and income to a priest.⁵ The first half of the inscription (i.1-iv.34) describes how the image of Šamaš was lost and eventually restored, and the deed for which the priest is rewarded, namely, the "discovery" of a model of the lost image which enabled the king to fashion a new one. The rest of the document (iv.35-vi.31) stipulates the privileges granted. Some scholars have suggested that the reported discovery was a pious fraud, while others claim the entire document to be a pious fraud.⁶ The text is a narrative which combines prose and poetic elements.

The disappearance of Šamaš's statue and cult
(i.1-12)

Šamaš, the great lord,
resident of Ebabarra⁷ which is inside Sippar,
whom, during the confusion and disturbances in
(the land of) Akkadē,
the Suteans,⁸ the wicked enemy,
had disturbed and obliterated (his)⁹ form¹⁰ --
his (cultic) ordinances were forgotten,
and his appearance and appurtenances disappeared,
and no-one saw (them) anymore;

Unsuccessful attempts to recover statue (i.13-23)

So Simbar-Šihu, king of Babylon,¹¹
inquired about his appearance,
but he (Šamaš) did not turn to him his face.¹²
His image and his appurtenances he (the king) did
not see,
so a disk of the blazing sun which is before
Šamaš he suspended,¹³
and established his offerings;
and Ekur-šum-ušabši, the high priest¹⁴ of Sippar,
the diviner
he had take responsibility (for them).

^a Exod 25-
Lev 10

^b Joel 1:9

^c Dan 11:31;
12:11

^d Isa 46:1;
Jer 50:2;
51:44

^e Num 35:1-
8; Jos 21;
Ezek 45:1-4

Decline in cult (i.24-ii.17)

In the famine and starvation under king Kaššu-
nādin-abhe¹⁵
that offering was cut off,¹⁶ ^b
and the (fragrant) sacrifice¹⁷ ceased.¹⁸ ^c

In (the days of) Eulmaš-šākin-šumi the king,¹⁹
Ekur-šum-ušabši, the high-priest of Sippar, the
diviner,²⁰
approached the king his lord
and: "the regular offering of Šamaš has ceased" he
said;

so one SILA of food, and one SILA of drink,
the food allowance of the manager of Esagila,²¹
(to be taken) from the regular offering of Bel,²² ^d
he (the king) established for Šamaš,
and (to) Ekur-šum-ušabši, high-priest of Sippar, the
diviner, he granted (it).

A garden in the territory of Newtown²³ which is in
Babylon,
he gave to Šamaš,
and (to) Ekur-šum-ušabši, the high priest of Sippar,
the diviner,
he entrusted (it).^e

⁴ Modern scholars sometimes refer to the inscription as a *kudurru*, but this may be a misnomer. In vi.43 the text refers to itself as a *narā*, a general term for "monument." For the function of such stones see Hurowitz 1997:1-4.

⁵ Weinfeld (1970:185, nn. 5, 10) includes the *kudurru*'s, to which this text is essentially identical, among the ANE grants providing prototypes for biblical covenants of the unconditional type. In its combination of cult legend with stipulation of priestly allowances, King 1912:36 resembles the Priestly sections of Exod 25-Lev 10 which describe the fabrication of the Tabernacle and incorporate in it the laws of sacrifice.

⁶ Brinkman 1968:189f., n. 1159; Powell 1991:30.

⁷ Lit. "Bright House."

⁸ See Helzer 1981:90-93.

⁹ Following Na'aman 1972. The antecedent of the pronominal suffix *-šu*, "its" or "his," is ambiguous. Others take it to refer to the temple. This is doubtful since the text concerns the statue rather than the temple.

¹⁰ *ušurtu* is used in i.8; iii. 2, 19, 30 to designate an object with a form as well as a model of an object. Cf. BH *šārā*, Ezek 43:11.

¹¹ 1026-1009 BCE. This king's name has been read also as Simbar-Šipak or Šinmaš-Šihu. See Brinkman 1968:150-155.

¹² I.e. the god did not pay attention to the king. For *pāni nadānum* see Cohen 1993:234; 25.

¹³ For interpretation of the Akk. term *niphu* see Brinkman 1976. The disk set up is probably the one shown in the relief. Since Šamaš and the sun are one and the same, a sun-shaped disk was considered a proper representation of the god and could substitute temporarily for the missing anthropomorphic image. This form of the sun is visible to everyone, so it need not be divinely revealed to the king. Cf. Reiner 1996.

¹⁴ The title *šangū*, translated here "high priest," designates the chief temple administrator.

¹⁵ Brinkman 1968:156-157.

¹⁶ To Akk. *satukku ipparis*, "the offering was cut off" cf. Heb. *hokrat minhah wānesek mibbēt YHWH*, "offerings and libations were cut off from the House of the Lord" (Joel 1:9, and cf. 13).

¹⁷ The *surqinnu* offering is often described as fragrant (see CAD S s.v.). Cf. Heb. *rēyah niḥōah*.

¹⁸ To Akk. *baṭil surqinnu* (i.28) and *ginē Šamaš baṭil* (ii.1-2), both meaning "the sacrifice ceased," cf. *hūsar hatrāmīd* (Dan 11:31; 12:11), and esp. Mishnaic Heb. *bāṭal hatrāmīd* (Ta'anit 4:6).

¹⁹ Brinkman 1968:160-162.

²⁰ Šamaš was the patron deity of divination, so it is entirely appropriate that the high priest in his temple serve in this capacity.

²¹ Marduk's temple in Babylon. Lit., "House with the raised head."

²² Marduk, lit., "Lord."

²³ *Ālu eššu* was a quarter in the north-east of Babylon. See George 1992 passim, esp. 375-376.

Commission of Nabû-apla-iddina by Marduk and Šamaš (ii.18-iii.18)

Afterwards,

Nabû-apla-iddina²⁴

king of Babylon,

called by Marduk,^f

beloved of Anum and Ea,

pleaser of the heart of Šarpanitu,²⁵

the heroic male, who is suited for kingship,

bearer of a fierce bow,

overthrower of the wicked enemy, the Sutean,

whose sin was very great,

who²⁶

to avenge Akkadê,

(to) settle cult centers,

(to) found divine daises,

(to) form forms,

(to) perfectly perform (cultic) ordinances and laws,

(to) establish offerings,

(and to) make bread offerings lavish,

the great lord Marduk,

a just scepter,

(and) performing shepherdship of humanity,

had placed in his hand —

Šamaš, the great lord,

who, for many days,

had been angry with the land of Akkadê

and had wrathfully shown his neck,²⁷

in the term of Nabû-apla-iddina, king of Babylon,

became placated,

and turned towards (him) his face.²⁸

Revelation of a model of the lost statue (iii.19-iv.11)

A form of his image, a baked piece of clay,

(showing) his appearance and appurtenances,

across the Euphrates,

f Isa 42:6

g Jer 18:17

a Exod 25:9,
40; 27:8;
Num 8:4;
2 Kgs 16:10;
Ezek 43:11;
1 Chr 28:11-
19

f Exod 30:26-
29; 40:9-11;
Lev 8:10

on the west bank (of the city)²⁹ was seen,^a
and Nabû-nādin-šumi, the high priest of Sippar, the
diviner,

from the seed of Ekur-šum-ušabši, the high priest
of Sippar, the diviner,

that form of the image,

to Nabû-apla-iddina, the king, his lord, revealed;³⁰

and Nabû-apla-iddina, king of Babylon,

to whom making that image was commanded,

and who was so selected,

saw that image,

and his face smiled,

joyous was his inside.³¹

Manufacture and induction of the new statue (iv.12-34)

To fashioning that image³²

he set his mind,

and by the skill of Ea,³³

by the craft of Nin-ildu, Kusig-banda, Ninkurra,

Ninzadim,

with red gold

and bright lapis-lazuli,

the image of Šamaš the great lord

he correctly tended to.³⁴

By the purification rites of Ea and Asalluhi,³⁵

in the presence of Šamaš,

in E-kar-zagina³⁶

which is on the bank of the Euphrates,

he washed its (the image's) mouth,³⁷

and it (the image) sat in its abode.³⁸

Sacrifices, as the heart's desire,

of huge oxen,

plump, lovely, and fat sheep,

he sacrificed;

and with honey, wine, and flour,

he made the locks overflow.³⁹

²⁴ The royal name is followed by a string of seven titles. See Brinkman 1968:182-192 for Nabû-apla-iddina's reign and 189 for translation of ii.18-iii.10.

²⁵ Marduk's spouse.

²⁶ The commission consists of eight infinitive phrases which are indirect objects of the main verb. The subject "the great lord Marduk" provides a break between the seventh and eighth, following a well known pattern by which a linguistic form is repeated seven times, building up to a climax in the eighth repetition.

²⁷ Akk. *irri Akkadê ikmelu išbusu kišassu* followed by *šaltma iršima usahhira pānīšu* is comparable to "ōrep welō' pānim 'er' em beyōm 'ēdām in Jer 18:17.

²⁸ See Cohen 1993:235.

²⁹ For *batri šalām Šamši*, see George 1992:377-378.

³⁰ For revelation of forms of temples and various cultic objects see Hurowitz 1992a:168-170; Lee 1993.

³¹ Cf. Cohen 1993:231-232.

³² For iv.12-28, see George 1992:302.

³³ Ea is god of wisdom, including artistic skill. The four gods listed after him are patron deities of several individual crafts and technologies. They appear together, with certain variations, in other texts dealing with the production of cult statues, e.g., Erra (COS 1.113) tablet i.155-160; Borger *Asarh.* 89:23.

³⁴ By using the word *kunnū*, "to tend to with care," the text avoids stating explicitly that the king made the statue, and solves thereby the theological problem of a human creating a god. See Jacobsen 1987:23-29 for the expression of this idea in the mouth-washing ceremony.

³⁵ Asalluhi is Marduk when functioning in the realm of magic. For the origin of Asalluhi and the history of his being subsumed under the figure of Marduk see Sommerfeld 1982 passim and esp. 13-18.

³⁶ This temple is regularly associated with the mouth-washing and mouth-opening rituals. See George 1992 passim, esp. 302-303.

³⁷ The mouth-washing ritual (*mīs pī*) was the ritual *par excellence* for purifying the newly fashioned divine statue and turning it into a living god. See Jacobsen 1987 and now Walker and Dick 1999.

³⁸ The new statue is installed in Ebabbara. See Hurowitz 1992:260-284.

³⁹ For use of oil in dedication ceremonies see Hurowitz 1992:278-279.

The grant to the priest (iv.35-vi.16)⁴⁰ j

At that time —

of Nabû-apla-iddinna,

king of Babylon,

his heart rejoiced,

and shining was his countenance.⁴¹

Towards Nabû-nâdin-šumi, high priest of Sippar, the diviner

he lifted his face.⁴²

With his bright face,

(and) his ruddy countenance,⁴³(and) his beautiful (generous) eyes,⁴⁴ khappily he looked at him.⁴⁵1 And one *šila* of food, one *šila* of drink,

the old regular offering of Šamaš

along with the orchard

which Eulmaš-šākin-šumi the king

(to) Ekur-šum-ušabši,

the high-priest of Sippar, the diviner,

had granted (Nabû-apla-iddina reaffirmed);

2 FROM the food, drink, confection, beef, mutton, fish, and vegetables,⁴⁶

which as an innovation Nabû-apla-iddina, king of Babylon, to Šamaš, Aja, and Bunene had established:

THE first half of the king's share

is (to be) the food allowance of the high priest;

3 FROM the sheep of the king's sacrifices of the entire year: (THE high priest will receive) the loins, the skin, the hind-quarters, the muscles, half the stomach, half the intestines, two knuckle-bones, and a vessel of meat-broth;⁴⁷4 FROM the sacrifices of cattle and sheep of the worshipper⁴⁸:(THE high priest's portion is to be) as above;⁴⁹ t5 FROM the five prebends of the *erib-būi*⁵⁰ office:

j Exod 29:27-28; Lev 6-7; Num 18:8-32; Deut 18:3-5; 1 Sam 2:13-17; Ezek 44:30

k Deut 15:9; 28:54, 56; Prov 23:6 etc.

l Lev 4:10, 20, 21, 31, 35

m 1 Sam 9:23

n Judg 8:27; Isa 30:22

o Jer 10:9

p 1 Sam 2:19

(THE high priest is to receive) two portions of food, drink, confection, beef, mutton, fish, and vegetables;

6 (FROM the) butchers⁵¹ m prebend and (from) the internal organs:(THE high priest is to receive a portion) equivalent to that of two *erib-būi* priests;7 FROM the small and enlarged regular offerings from the customary dues of the city — (from) the flour offering of the worshipper, and (from) whatever is brought into Ebabarra: THE first half of the king's share is the food allowance of the high priest, as well as two portions like those of two *erib-būi*-priests;

Beautiful garments of all sorts belonging to

Šamaš, Aja and Bunene:⁵² na linen⁵³ garment;a *pulḫu* garment;a *qarbitu* garment;a *šer'itu* garment;

a wrap;

a sash;

a red wool garment;

a purple wool garment; °

a large *qarbitu* garment;and a *tēlītu*⁵⁴ p of the *karibu*-priest;For the seventh day of Nisannu, a *šer'itu* garment;for the tenth day of Ajjaru a *šer'itu* garment;for the third day of Ululu a *qarbitu* garment;for the seventh day of Tašritu a *qarbitu* garment;for the fifteenth day of Arahsamna, a *šer'itu* garment;for the fifteenth day or Addaru, a *qarbitu* garment;⁴⁰ This section is similar in function to the neo-Assyrian grants to priests such as Postgate 1969: no. 42-48, 51 and 52-53, and the Punic tariffs from Marseilles (*KAI* 69 = *COS* 1.98) and Carthage (*KAI* 74 = *ANET* 503).⁴¹ See Muffs 1969:130-131, 202; 1992:124-125, 134:24. Descriptions of happiness associated with giving are metaphors expressing volition.⁴² See Fishbane 1983:117.⁴³ A physiologically correct description of a smiling, happy face. Not "healthy appearance" as *CAD* Z 120b s.v. *zḫmu*.⁴⁴ *damqat inūšu*, "beauty of his eyes" (iv.45) is usually taken to mean "bright eyed" and an expression of volition or kindness, but it probably has an added nuance of "generously." It is the equivalent of BH *ṭōb 'ayin* ("One good of eye [*ṭōb 'ayin*] will be blessed for he gives his food to the poor" Prov 22:9) and the common Rabbinic term *'ayin yāpāh* (eg. T. Betza 29b "a woman measures out flour on the holiday and puts it into her dough in order that she will remove the required sacrificial portion generously — *be'ayin yāpāh*.) The opposite term *'ayin rā'āh*, "bad eye," means "stingy" (see Deut 15:9; 28:54, 56; Prov 23:6 etc.).⁴⁵ The text lists seven prebends granted the priest. Each of passages 2-7 stipulates first the source of the prebend, and then the quantity granted.⁴⁶ Seven types of foodstuffs are mentioned.⁴⁷ See McEwan 1983:194, n. 27.⁴⁸ The word *kāribu*, translated here "worshipper" may designate a type of priest.⁴⁹ King, not appreciative of the structure of the list, translated "in accordance with the following list." It is clear, however, that the reference is to what is mentioned previously and not further on. For internal reference in a list of sacrificial dues see Lev 4:10, 20, 21, 31 and 35 where the Heb. *kašer* parallels the Akk. *kāna annim*.⁵⁰ A type of priest. Lit., "one who enters the temple."⁵¹ *AHW* s.v. *ṭābīḫūtu*. See 1 Sam 9:23 and Deller 1985.⁵² Ten types of garments are listed. See Matsushima 1993; 1994; Waetzold 1980.⁵³ *AHW* s.v. *pulḫu* reads *kitē! šubāt pulḫu* (of the deity).⁵⁴ *AHW* 1345a translates "Ertrag(sabgabe)." Perhaps the text refers to divine clothing contributed by worshippers.

a total of six beautiful garments for the entire year, a gift of the king, belonging to Šamaš, Aja and Bunene;	g Lev 7:35-36	the thirty-first year of Nabû-apla-iddina king of Babylon. Copy (of a document marked) "The royal seal for assigning prebends." ⁵⁷
(All of the above) Nabû-apla-iddina king of Babylon, (to) Nabû-nādin-šumi, high priest of Sippar, the diviner, his servant granted; ⁵⁵ and in order that it (the prebend) not be vindicated, he sealed it, and displayed it (this document) for ever. ⁹	r Deut 7:24 s 1 Kgs 13:24; Jer 9:21	<i>Maledictions to protect the grant</i> (vi.32-55) ⁵⁸ Whoever in the future who in the palace authoritatively will stand, and the grant of king Nabû-apla-iddina will vindicate, and to someone else will grant it; (or) will from the food make a diminution, (or) to the governor will assign it, or to himself will take it; or by some evil action that monument he will destroy — that person, by the word of Šamaš, Aja ⁵⁹ and Bunene ⁶⁰ masters of the decisions of the great gods, may his name perish, ⁶ may his seed be gathered up; in hunger and starvation may his life come to an end; may his corpse fall down ⁶¹ ^s and someone to bury it may it not have! ⁶² ^t
<i>Witnesses</i> (vi.17-31) At the sealing of that document Marduk-šum-ukīn son of Habban, the dirge singer; Ittabši-ilu son of Ea-rimanni, the minister; Marduk-šāpik-zēri son of Tuballaṭ-Īštar, the cup-bearer; and Marduk-balassu-iqbi son of Arad-Ea, ⁵⁶ the governor were present. At Babylon, Nisannu the twentieth,	t 2 Kgs 9:10, 35-37; Jer 8:2; 14:16; 16:4, 6; 25:33; Ps 79:3	

⁵⁵ This passages recapitulates in summary form iv.35-46 and completes the sentence. The two passages together constitute an inclusio enveloping the list of seven prebends. For similar structures in some *kudurrū*'s see Hurowitz 1992b:40-41, n. 7.

⁵⁶ Arad-Ea is not the biological father of Marduk-balassu-iqbi, but the *pater familias* of a long line of high officials mentioned in numerous documents over a period of several hundred years.

⁵⁷ Kienast 1987:172-173.

⁵⁸ This section first lists potential violations of the grant and against the document itself, followed by the maledictions proper.

⁵⁹ Šamaš's spouse.

⁶⁰ Šamaš's vizier.

⁶¹ To Akk. *limqu šalmassu*, "may his corpse fall" cf. *wenāpēlāh niblā ha'ādām kedōmen* "the corpse of the man will fall like dung" (Jer 9:21). A more frequent expression combines *nebelāh* with *hošlak* (1 Kgs 13:24), equivalent to Akk. *šalamtam nadū*, "to cast the corpse away."

⁶² For not being buried see 2 Kgs 9:10, 35-37; Jer 8:2; 14:16; 16:4, 6; 25:33; Ps 79:3.

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Text: King 1912:#36. Picture: ANEP 529; Dick 1999:59. Studies: Brinkman 1968:182-192; 1976; Cohen 1993; Fishbane 1983; George 1992; Heltzer 1981; Hurowitz 1992a; 1992b; 1997; Jacobsen 1987; Kienast 1987; Lee 1993; McEwan 1983; Matsushima 1993; 1994; Muffs 1969; 1992; Na'aman 1972; Oppenheim 1949; Postgate 1969; Powell 1991; Reiner 1996; Sommerfeld 1982; Waetzold 1980; Weinfeld 1970.

5. ROYAL GRANTS

WILL OF AMMITAKU LEADER OF ALALAKH (2.136)

(AT 6*)

Richard S. Hess

This Middle Bronze Age (Level VII) text may be compared to the account of David's arrangement for the public proclamation of Solomon as king and his successor in 1 Kings 1. Both examples reflect the concern for royal succession which provides for the stability of the government.

1	Ammitaku	a 2 Sam 10:6, 8	23	He is the servant of Yarimlim the king
2	the governor of Alalakh, ¹ a		24	my lord.
3	during his lifetime,			
4	in the presence of Yarimlim the king,			<i>Witnesses:</i>
5	his lord,		25	Wirišilazuhi a šangu-priest,
6	he willed his house:		26	Nawari a canal worker, ²
7	his city house, city areas, fields,		27	Zu[k]raši overseer of the army,
8	and whatever is his,		28	Warimuza a šatammu administrator,
9	just as his father and his mother		29	Subaḥali a šangu priest,
10	had appointed him to be king		30	Ammia a governor,
14	he has appointed		31	Arammara a judge,
11	Hammurabi his son,		32	Ikunbali a steward,
12-13	whom Nawarari bore to him, to be governor		33	Ari-Teššub a scribe,
	of the city. ¹ a		34	Bani-Dagan overseer of the citizens.
15	Thus he said:		35	In the month of Ḫiyari, the seventeenth day,
16	... Hammurabi my son		36	the year when king Yarimlim
17-18	[...]		37	slew
19-20	There is no other heir.			the leader of Qa<t>na(?).
21	Hammurabi is the lord of my city			
22	and my house.			

¹ The use of the Akk. word for "man" *amtu* in construct with the name of the town ruled may have parallels in the biblical text. See 2 Samuel 10:6, 8; Hess 1990.

² Read here *sēkiru*, "canal worker" for LÜ A.DU₆.IGI! (= A.IGI.DU₆?).

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Text: AT 33-34 and pl. v. Translation: AT 33.

LAND GRANT AT 456* (2.137)

Richard S. Hess

This Middle Bronze Age (Level VII) document from Alalakh begins with a record of eight towns that Abbael gave to Yarimlim. Yarimlim in turn gave to Abbael Uwiya (lines 1-9). Adrate (see also AT 79 where Adrate is exchanged between Yarimlim and Ammitaku) is given in exchange for some areas (lines 11-12). Six towns are then noted as in the possession of Yarimlim (lines 13-18).

As a land grant this is an important document for comparison with the land grant texts of Joshua 13-21. In both AT 456 and Joshua the past gifts or exchanges of towns and lands are reviewed (lines 1-18; see Joshua 13) as a background for the present gift or exchange of land (lines 19ff.; see Joshua 14-21). Also in both texts the transfer of towns is set in the context of a greater agreement, a treaty or a covenant (see Joshua 8:30-35; 24). See also Hess 1994b; 1996a; 1996b:59-60.

<i>Review of past exchanges of towns</i> (lines 1-18)		a Josh 21; 24	10	The town Adrate
1	The city of Emar together with its pasture		11	in exchange for the land which
	land(?), ¹ a		12	is in[].
2	Zar[]at,		13	Amame,
3	[]na,		14	Aušun,
4	Naštarpī,		15	Ḫalliwa,
5	Zabunap,		16	Zikir,
6	Kazkuwa,		17	Murar,
7	Ammakki,		18	Irridi — Yarimlim [ruled them(?)].
8	Parrie,			<i>Yarimlim's history of loyalty</i> (lines 19-30)
9	in exchange for the town Uwiya.		19	Zitraddu, the governor of [Irridi],

¹ For references to towns with their surrounding pasture lands or districts, see Joshua 24 and the list of Levitical towns. There the term is used repeatedly with the towns mentioned (Hess 1996b:281).

20	revolted against Yarimlim and	b 1 Kgs 9:11-	45	[if] he gives away Abbael's secrets
21	[then he led (?)] robber bands(?)	13, 16; 2 Chr	46	to another king,
22	and brought them to Irridi, his city.	8:2	47	or if he lets go of the hem of Abbael's
23-24	He incited the whole land to rebel against		48	garment
	Abbael [] .		49	and grasps the hem of another king's gar-
25	The mighty weapon []	c Gen 15:18-	50	ment. ^{4 d}
26	with silver, gold, lapis lazuli, crystal(?), and	21; Jer 34:18-	51	his towns and lands
	the great [wea]pon	20	52	he shall [forfeit]. If a descendant of
27	of the weather god. (As for Abbael,) he		53	Yarimlim sins against Abbael,
	seized Irridi and		54	(or a descendant of Abbael),
28	captured the enemy bands(?).	d 1 Sam 15:27-	55	if he rel[ease]s the h[em] of Abbael's
29	To Aleppo	28; 24:1-22;	56	garment, (or that of a descendant of
30	he returned in peace.	1 Kgs 11:29-	57	Abbael),
		32	58	and if he seizes the hem of another king's
			59	garment,
			60	his towns and lands
			61	he shall forfeit. If a descendant of
			62	[Y]arimlim [tries to] sell his town
			63	their older brother
			64	shall bu[y it]
			65	and give it to a descendant of Abbael.
			66	He shall not give it to another person.
			67	If a descendant of Yarimlim
			68	[] not [] descendant of Abbael []
			69	If [] his tow[ns]
			70	[] exists
			71	town[s] not []
			72	Aḫi-Ṣad[uq] son [of]
			73	Irpa[dda]
			74	Niqma[ddu] nu[]
			75	[]
				N[a]
				[]
				Yari[ml]im
				caused to swear
				oaths.

Abbael's gift of Alalakh (lines 31-39)

<He said:>

31 "Irridi is destroyed.
 32 Will I give it to my brother?
 33 In exchange for Irridi
 34 [which] rebelled [against] him
 35 [and which I captur]ed and d[estroyed,]
 36 [Alal]akh
 37 [I will give to Ya]rimlim.^{2 b}
 38 The town of Murar, in addition to [his
 39 shar]e,
 39 I will add to it." Abbael

Abbael's oath of the perpetuity of the gift (lines 40-42)^{3 c}

40 swore the oath to Yarimlim
 41 and cut the neck of a lamb, <saying:>
 42 "If I take back what I have given you <may
 I be cursed.>"

Acts of disloyalty that cause the gift to be forfeited (lines 43-76)

43 If ever in the future
 44 Yarimlim sins against Abbael, or

² For gifts of towns from one leader to another, see AT 1; AT 52; 1 Kgs 9:11-13, 16; 2 Chr 8:2.

³ See Gen 15:18-21 where Abraham slaughters animals and separates the carcasses. This occurs before the presence of God and the subsequent covenantal blessing. Just as the giver of the town in AT 456 swears by his life, as symbolized by the sacrifice of the lives of the animals, so God swears by his divine life in Gen 15. See also Neo-Assyrian treaties with this oath as well as Mari texts, Sefire I and Jer 34:18-20. These are discussed in Hess 1994c and Malamat 1995.

⁴ The act of grasping the hem here implies some sense of loyalty to the sovereign. See Saul's tearing of Samuel's hem (1 Sam 15:27-28) where the prophet represents God and the divine blessing of rulership which has been taken away from Saul. David's act of cutting the hem of Saul's garment (1 Sam 24:1-22) also symbolizes the sense in which David held Saul's life in his hands and could have "cut it off" as well. See also 1 Kgs 11:29-32 and the Panammuwa inscription (COS 2.37, note 24).

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SUMERIAN MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS

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A. BUILDING AND DISPLAY INSCRIPTIONS

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1. NEO-SUMERIAN INSCRIPTIONS

UR III DYNASTY

UR-NAMMU (2.138A)

Douglas Frayne

An eight-line brick inscription from the temenos wall at Ur records the construction by Ur-Nammu (the first king of Ur III dynasty, who reigned ca. 2112-2095 BCE) of the "wall of Ur." Ancient Ur, the dynastic capital, was located at modern Tell al-Muqayyar. The site was excavated in 1850 by Loftus, 1855 by Taylor, 1918 by Thompson, 1919 by Hall, and from 1922-34 by a joint expedition of the British Museum and the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania under the direction of Sir Leonard Woolley.

(1-2) For the god Nanna, his lord,
(3-4) Ur-Nammu, king of Ur,^a

^a Gen 11:28,
31; 15:7;
Neh 9:7

(5-8) built his temple (and) built the wall of Ur.

REFERENCES

Kärki 1986:5; Steible 1991:102-104; Frayne 1997:25-26.

UR-NAMMU (2.138B)

Douglas Frayne

A ten-line inscription found on two door sockets records Ur-Nammu's construction of Enlil's Ekur temple in Nippur. Nippur (modern Nuffar) was the religious capital of the Sumerians; its city god Enlil was the effective head of the Sumerian pantheon. The city was excavated by a joint expedition of the University of Pennsylvania and the Babylonian Exploration Fund from 1889-1900, by a joint expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania from 1948-52, by a joint expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and the American Schools of Oriental Research until 1962, and by an expedition of the Oriental Institute alone until 1990.

(1-3) For the god Enlil, lord of the foreign lands,
his lord,
(4-7) Ur-Nammu, mighty man, king of Ur, king of

the lands of Sumer and Akkad,
(8-10) built for him the Ekur, his beloved temple.

REFERENCES

Kärki 1986:9; Steible 1991:110; Frayne 1997:75-76.

UR-NAMMU (2.138C)

Douglas Frayne

A ten-line inscription found on bronze canephores, stone foundation tablets, and a door socket records Ur-Nammu's construction of the goddess Inanna's Eanna temple in Uruk (modern Warkā²). Uruk was excavated by a team of archaeologists from the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, Berlin from 1912-13 and 1925-1939, and by a team from the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin, and the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, Berlin, from 1954 on.

Inanna, one of the highest ranked Sumerian goddesses, was equated by the ancients with Akkadian Ishtar; the latter name is cognate with Canaanite Ashtarath and Hebrew Ashtaroth (*IDB* 1:255).

(1-3) For the goddess Inanna, lady of Eanna, his lady,		the lands of Sumer and Akkad,
(4-7) Ur-Nammu, mighty man, king of Ur, king of		(8-10) built and restored her temple for her.

REFERENCES

Kärki 1986:7-8; Steible 1991:107-108; Frayne 1997:71-72.

UR-NAMMU (2.138D)

Douglas Frayne

A tablet copy of a royal inscription of Ur-Nammu deals with a campaign against the Elamite King Kutik-Inshushinak (Puzur-Inshushinak). The copy was found at Isin, excavated by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft under B. Hrouda since 1973. Elam was the ancient name for the land east of Sumer and Akkad, corresponding in part to modern-day Iran. Of interest in this text is the mention of the land of Akkad in connection with cities situated in the Diyala River region. This fact may give us as clue as the location of the as yet undiscovered capital city of Akkad.

Lacuna	a Gen 10:22; 14:1, 9; Isa 11:11; 21: 2; 22:6; Jer 25: 25; 49:34-39; Ezek 32: 24; Dan 8:2; 1 Chr 1:17	Awal, Kismar, Mashkan-sharrum, the [la]nd of Eshnunna, the [la]nd of Tutub, the [lan]d of Simudar, the [lan]d of Akkad, the peop[le ...]
(v'.1'-6') [...] (I, Ur-Nammu, mighty man, king of Ur, king of the lands of Sumer and Akkad, dedicated (this object) for my (Text: his) life.		Lacuna
(v'.7'-10') At that time the god Enlil gave ... to the Elamites.		I took as booty (and) brought to the god Enlil, my lord, in Nippur, (and) marked it for him. The remainder I presented as a gift to my troops.
(v'.11'-13') In the territory of highland Elam,* they drew up against one another for battle.		
(v'.14'-23') Their(?) king, Kutik-Inshushinak —		

REFERENCES

Wilcke 1987:109-11; Frayne 1997:65-66.

SHULGI (2.139A)

Douglas Frayne

A steatite foundation tablet of unknown provenance — it probably came from Uruk — deals with the construction by Shulgi (the second king of the Ur III dynasty, who reigned ca. 2094-2047 BCE) of a temple to the goddess Ninsi²ana.

Ninsi²ana, a form of the goddess Inanna, appears in two aspects in Sumerian texts, one female (likely the planet Venus as the "Evening Star" as in this text), and one male (likely the planet Venus as the "Morning Star" as in the Rim-Sin inscription, *COS* 2.102C above). The female Ninsi²ana is equivalent to Inanna (see above, *COS* 2.138C).

(1-2) For the goddess Ninsi'ana, his lady, (3-6) Shulgi, mighty man, king of Ur, king of the	lands of Sumer and Akkad (7-8) built her temple for her.
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REFERENCES

Steible 1991:210; Frayne 1997:117.

SHULGI (2.139B)

Douglas Frayne

An eight-line brick inscription records Shulgi's construction of Inanna's temple E-dur-anki in Nippur. The temple was excavated during 1955-58 and 1960-61 by a team of archaeologists from the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

(1-2) For the goddess Inanna, his lady, (3-6) Shulgi, mighty man, king of Ur, king of the lands of Sumer and Akkad,	(7-8) built her E-dur-anki ("House, Bond of Heaven and Earth, i.e., Underworld") for her.
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REFERENCES

Steible 1991:216-217; Frayne 1997:128-130.

SHULGI (2.139C)

Douglas Frayne

A Neo-Babylonian tablet copy of a Shulgi inscription records the king's construction of the E-meslam temple, shrine of the underworld god Nergal in Cuthah (modern Tell Ibrahim). Sargon II of Assyria, after his conquest of Samaria, repopulated the former capital city with inhabitants of Cuthah (*IDB* 1: 752).

(1-4) Šulgi, mighty man, king of Ur, king of the lands of Sumer and Akkad,	^{a 2Kgs 17:24, 30}	god Meslamta-e ^a in Cuthah. ^a
(5-8) who built the E-meslam temple, temple of the	A colophon follows.	

REFERENCES

Kärki 1986:30; Steible 1991:157-158; Frayne:1997:132-133.

SHULGI (2.139D)

Douglas Frayne

An eight-line Sumerian brick inscription from Susa (modern Shush in western Iran) records Shulgi's construction of the temple of the god Inshushinak, tutelary deity of Susa (for Susa, cf. Neh 1:1; Esth 1-4, 8-9, passim; Dan 8:2). The site of Susa has been excavated since 1897 by successive teams of French archaeologists.

(1-4) Shulgi, mighty man, king of Ur, king of the lands of Sumer and Akkad,	(5-7) built for the god Inshushinak his temple. (8) He restored it for him.
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REFERENCES

Kärki 1986:31; Steible 1991:160-61; Frayne:1997:138-139.

AMAR-SUENA (2.140A)

Douglas Frayne

A nine-line inscription known from two foundation tablets and a bronze canephore¹ from Uruk records the construction by Amar-Suena (third king of the Ur III dynasty, who reigned ca. 2046-2038 BCE) of a temple for the goddess Inanna under her surname Ninsi²ana.

(1-3) For the goddess Inanna/Ninsi ² ana, his lady, (4-7) Amar-Suena, mighty man, king of Ur, king	of the four quarters, (8-9) built her temple for her.
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¹ I.e., a figurine showing the king carrying a basket on his head — presumably with the symbolic first load of earth or bricks; see Hallo 1962:11.

REFERENCES

Kärki 1986:77-78; Steible 1991:231; Frayne: 1997:259-260.

AMAR-SUENA (2.140B)

Douglas Frayne

A thirteen-line brick inscription from Eridu (modern Abu Shahrain) records Amar-Suena's construction of Enki's *abzu* temple. Sumerian *abzu* "sweet underground source" may conceivably be connected with the "abyss" of Gen 7:11, but the connection is far from certain. Abu Shahrain was excavated by Loftus in 1849, Taylor in 1855, Thompson in 1918, Hall in 1919, and by a team of Iraqi archaeologists under the direction of F. Safar from 1946-49.

(1-3) Amar-Suena, the one called by name by the god Enlil in Nippur, (5-9) supporter of the temple of the god Enlil,	^a 1 Kgs 7:23- 26; 2 Chr 4:2-5	mighty king, king of Ur, king of the four quarters, (10-11) for the god Enki, his beloved lord, (12-13) built his beloved Abzu ¹ " for him.
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¹ For a possible comparison with the "molten" or "bronze sea" of Solomon's temple, see ABD 5:1061f.

REFERENCES

Kärki 1986:75-76; Steible 1991:226-228; Frayne 1997:260-262.

IBBI-SIN (2.141A)

Douglas Frayne

A twenty-two line inscription known from clay cones, a stone foundation tablet and an Old Babylonian(?) tablet copy deals with the construction of the "great wall" (likely a temenos wall) of Ur by Ibbi-Sin (the fifth and last king of the Ur III Dynasty, who reigned ca. 2028-2004 BCE).

(1-5) Ibbi-Sin, god of his land, mighty king, king of Ur, king of the four quarters, (6-7) on account of the great love of the god Suen, (8-10) reached the decision to expand Ur. (11-13) Therefore, in order to make the land secure and to make the highlands and lowlands bow down (before him),	(14-17) he surrounded his city with a great wall, whose <i>loop-holes</i> cannot be reached, and which was like a yellow (or green) mountain. (18-19) He found places in its (the wall's) footings for foundation deposits. (20-22) The name of that wall (is) "Ibbi-Sin is the noble canal-inspector."
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REFERENCES

Kärki 1986:136-137; Steible 1991:279-281; Frayne: 1997: 368-369.

IBBI-SIN (2.141B)

Douglas Frayne

An inscription known from an Old Babylonian tablet copy deals with Ibbi-Sin's fashioning of a golden *šikkatu* vessel (Sumerian BUR-ŠAGAN, Akkadian *pūr šikkatu*) "a large container used for the storage of oil" from gold that had been taken as booty from Susa.

An idea of the kind of motifs that may have decorated this vessel may be gained by studying the iconographic elements adorning Early Dynastic period steatite vessels of Iranian manufacture (see Lamberg-Karlovsky 1988:46-37). "Bison" and snake motifs figure commonly on these vessels.

(1-5) For the god Nanna, whose radiance spreads over his people, the lord who alone is a luminous god, his lord, (6-10) Ibbi-Sin, god of his land, mighty king, king of Ur, king of the four quarters, (11-16) when he roared like a storm against Susa, Adamshah, (and) the land of Awan, made them submit in a single day, and took their lord(s) as bound captive(s), (17-22) a golden <i>šikkatu</i> vessel, a masterpiece whose	decorations — (depicting) a <i>kusarikku</i> ("bison"), ¹ snakes, and radiant dark rain (clouds) — are of unceasing wonder, (23-26) which (during) the "Exalted Festival," the <i>highpoint</i> of the year, (being) the lustration of the god Nanna, performs without end the "mouth-opening" ritual at the place of the (secret) treasure-chest — (27) he fa[shioned] for him (the god Nanna) (28-29) (and) dedicated for his (own) life.
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¹ See Wiggerman and Green 1993-97:242 (3); 245 (3); 249f.

REFERENCES

Kärki 1986:146-147; Steible 1991:285-291; Frayne 1997: 370-371.

2. OLD BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTIONS

ISIN I DYNASTY

See above, COS 2.92-94, 96-97

LARSA DYNASTY

See above, COS 2.98-102

URUK DYNASTY

See above, COS 2.104-105

BABYLON I DYNASTY

See above, COS 2.107A, C, D, 108-109

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B. VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS

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VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS

William W. Hallo

Like the Biblical vow (*neder*),^a the Mesopotamian votive offering was of two kinds: before the fact or after. In the former, it was made in the hope of a favor to be granted by the deity in the future, as expressed in the Latin motto *do ut das*, "I give that you might give." The most general and common "votive motive" in this case was "for (long) life" of the donor and/or designated beneficiaries in both Sumerian and Akkadian examples (for the latter see above, COS 2.125). In the latter case, a votive offering would represent the fulfillment of the vow to "pay" (cf. Hebrew *shallem*) for the sought-for beneficence once it had been granted. It is best illustrated by archival records of such donations (called *a-ru-a* in Sumerian) by the "seafaring merchants of Ur" and their wives under the Dynasty of Larsa (Oppenheim 1954). The first example chosen illustrates the former kind.

IBBI-SIN (2.142)

Old Babylonian copy on a clay tablet of a royal inscription of neo-Sumerian date originally carved on the sculpture of an exotic animal, perhaps a leopard.

For Nanna, the impetuous bullock of Heaven, the lord who is first-born son of Enlil, his master, Ibbi-Sin, the god of his nation, the mighty king, the king of Ur, the king of the four heavenly quarters — (of) a "dappled dog" of Meluhha (= India ?) that had been brought to him as tribute (or: as a	^a Lev 27:2; Num 30:3; Deut 23:22 etc.	diplomatic gift) from Marhashi (in Iran) he fashioned its image and made a votive offering of it to him (Nanna) for the sake of his (Ibbi-Sin's) (long) life. Of the "dappled dog" — "Let him catch (the enemy)!" is its name.
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REFERENCES

Text: Frayne 1997:373f. Studies: Steinkeller 1982:253f.

LUGAL-MURUBE SON OF ZUZU (2.143)

Dogs were sacred to Nintinuga, the goddess of healing, perhaps because they were thought to aid recovery by licking wounds. Numerous skeletons of dogs have been found in Isin, her sacred city, where she was worshipped as Nin-Isina, "our lady of Isin," or as Gula, "the great (goddess)." The following literary text records the fashioning and dedication of the sculpture of a dog to the goddess as a votive offering. The donor, whose name may have to be read as Lugal-nisage, is well known as author of a literary letter, as a *neshakku*-priest of Enlil at Nippur, and as the son of the head of the great scribal academy at Nippur, variously known as Enlil-alsha or (here) as Zuzu, a nickname meaning approximately "Mr. Know-it-all" (Hallo 1977:57).

Lugal-murube, son of Zuzu the headmaster of (the scribal school of) Nippur, fashioned for Nintinuga Tuni-lusha ("her spell cures a man"), her messenger dog. On that account, a dog will always wag (his) tail for his mistress (and) nibble (at wounds?) for her. Queen of heaven and earth, food provider, steward ¹ of Enlil, sweet breast which satisfies all	^a Gen 41:43	the lands and provides abundance, the one who examines the very heart of the paralysis-disease demon, who inspects its bones, who counts(?) the tendons of life and the tendons of death, and cures their joints, who knows the symptoms of those afflicted by stroke or depression, healing physician, exorcist who from the moment of entering sees into
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¹ Sum. AGRIG, Akk. *abarakku* can be compared to Heb. *abrek*.

the heart of men, my lady - that which I have fashioned I have named Tuni-lusha, I have named you Ubanshaga ("She who has cured"). When the sick man (?) draws breath (again) the paralysis-demon will be appeased. My name will be invoked together	with your name. At your entrance one will seek your place. I have named (him) Tuni-lusha. May she (Nintinuga) see me as long as I live. When I die may she let me drink clear water in the nether-world.
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REFERENCES

Text and studies: Ali 1966; Civil 1969.

C. SEAL INSCRIPTIONS

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SEAL INSCRIPTIONS

William W. Hallo

Sumerian seal inscriptions are known by the thousands, both from recovered seals and from the impressions of lost seals preserved on tablets, envelopes, bullae, doorknobs and vessels. Out of this abundance, two will be chosen here for their inherent interest and their relevance to biblical history and archaeology respectively.

BABATI (2.144)

The queen-mother wielded great influence in Sumer as she did in Judah and Israel, where she was known as *gevira* and *shegal* respectively (de Vaux 1961:117-119). The latter term presumably derives from Akkadian *ša ekalli*, lit. "she of the palace," and this in turn from Sumerian É.GAL, "palace" (cf. Hebrew *hēkāl*). In the case of Abi-simti, Babati used his sister's influence to attain multiple posts for himself — military, civilian and clerical — within the Ur III empire.

Shu-Sin, mighty king, ¹ king of Ur, king of the four heavenly quarters, presented (this seal) to Babati the archivist, the royal comptroller, the military governor of Awal, the temple-administrator of ...,	the canal-inspector of the sweet waters, the temple-administrator of the twin goddesses Belat-Shuhnir and Belat-Terraban, the brother of Abi-simti his (Shu-Sin's) beloved mother, his servant.
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¹ Frayne restores "mighty (man)," based perhaps on the seal inscription of Babati the scribe (ENES 637), but such usage under Shu-Sin "may be considered errors of ... commission on the part of the scribes or seal cutters" there and in the parallels cited in EMRT 70 n. 5 according to EMRT 93; they are unlikely to have been committed on the seal of the king's uncle!

REFERENCES

Text: Frayne 1997:340f. Studies: Whiting 1976; Walker 1983.

SERVANTS OF KINGS (2.145)

In Old Babylonian times, it became customary for royal officials to indicate their status and that of their sovereign implicitly — rather than explicitly — by resorting to a formula, A son of B servant of C, in which C was understood to be a ruler and A his appointee.¹ Much the same usage was followed in Judah and Israel, as shown by numerous archaeological finds there (above, COS 2.70R). In the following Old Babylonian examples, personal names are mostly Akkadian (or Amorite); realm is added in parentheses.

Ur-Shubula, son of Sha-...-a, servant of Ishbi-Irra (of Isin).	Marduk-mushallim the scribe, son of Siatum, servant of Hammurapi (of Babylon).
Warad-Shamash, son of Ziyatum, servant of Bur-Sin (of Isin).	Ili-iddinam, son of Manum, servant of Anam (of Uruk).
Iku(n)-mishar, servant of Zabaia (of Larsa).	Akshak-shemi, son of Warassa, servant of Ipiq-Adad (of Eshnunna).
Sin-iddinam, son of Illatia, servant of Gungunum (of Larsa).	Ana-Sin-taklaku, son of Darish-libur, servant of Zimri-Lim (of Mari).
Dagania, servant of Sumu-abum (of Babylon).	

¹ It is not certain whether the formula was read in Sum. or Akk.

REFERENCES

Texts: Frayne 1990:7, 73, 112f., 119f., 324, 364, 552, 635. Studies: Weidner 1952; Nagel 1958; Kupper 1959; Hallo 1962:19f.

D. WEIGHT INSCRIPTIONS

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WEIGHT INSCRIPTIONS

Marvin A. Powell

This selection is organized in (approximate) chronological order, oldest first (see the Akkadian Weight Inscriptions above, *COS* 2.126A-O for further introductory comments). Published mass and "implied mina norms" are given to assist the reader in interpretation, but it must be borne in mind that these are approximations whose precision depends upon the accuracy of the modern weighing, the state of conservation of the object, and the accuracy of the ancient standard.

2.146A. Rare, archaic shape (like a scrotum), pierced at top, perhaps from Girsu/Telloh, Presargonic.

Mina of wool rations,¹ Dudu,² temple-head.³

2.146B. Spindle-shaped, a form rare in Babylonia, probably from Girsu/Telloh, late Presargonic.

15 shekels,⁴ (of) Ningirsu, Iri-KA-gina,⁵ "king" of Girsu.⁶

2.147. Ellipsoid, from Lagash area, probably Akkad or Ur III period.

1 mina,⁷ Dudu,⁸ temple-head of URUxÜB}2tenû?.KI.⁹

2.148. Duck, probably from Girsu/Telloh, Ur III period.

2 talent stone(weight),¹⁰ Ur-Ningirsu, ensi of Lagāš.

¹ 680.485 grams; Powell 1971:205, 255; Cooper 1986:68. The mass is about a third heavier than later mina-standards from around the time of Naram-Sin of Akkad onward. Distinct norms for wool or cloth are characteristic of the earlier era. A similar stone weight (A 252) in the Oriental Institute, Chicago, said to be from Adab, is inscribed "2 (minas) of wool rations" and weighs 1108.69 grams + about 30-50 grams in weight loss.

² Probably Dudu, the temple-head of Ningirsu mentioned in inscriptions of Entemena (Enmetena) and who in a dedicatory plaque refers to himself as the "temple-head superior" (SANGA MAH) of Ningirsu (Cooper 1986:66-68). He was perhaps the father of Enentarzi and is probably identical with the (deceased) "Dudu the temple-head" who receives offerings in DP 41 and RTC 59 (the place names in these texts are locatives rather than genitives).

³ "Temple-head" renders SANGA, Akk. *šangû*. Often rendered "priest," the duties of this official seem to have been primarily administrative. He is one of the few officials besides kings who appear as the authority for weight standards.

⁴ 119.30 grams; Powell 1971:207, 260; Cooper 1986:82. The mass, if correctly published, implies a mina of 477.2 grams, low by comparison with norms from the time of Naram-Sin and later, but very few inscribed weights datable to Presargonic times or earlier are known. Fifteen-shekel weights (a quarter of a mina) are extremely rare, this mass usually being weighed by ten and five shekel combinations.

⁵ As Edzard (1991) has pointed out, the name of this individual, usually read Urukagina or Uru'iningina (see *COS* 2.152, n. 1) was probably pronounced Irikagina or Iri'iningina. In the first element, URU and IRI ("city") are probably only dialectical variants.

⁶ The title "king (LUGAL) of Girsu" probably means that the inscription dates from after the seventh year of Irikagina. The translation "king" is makeshift. We know almost nothing about what this term implied in the Presargonic era.

⁷ 497.5 grams; Powell 1971:206, 255 (place name incorrectly read there).

⁸ Not the same as Dudu the temple-head in number 1 above; with Cooper 1986:68. Character of inscription, shape of stone, and mass all point to a date later than Presargonic.

⁹ Reading of the toponym not entirely certain. URUxÜBrenû (damaged in this inscription) is the sign that actually occurs on Presargonic tablets, and careful copyists have reproduced this sign (e.g., in VS 14 170 5.3; DP 212 2.2-3).

¹⁰ 60555 grams; Powell 1971:206, 249. The largest inscribed and intact weight yet discovered. Implied mina norm: 504.625 grams; this is very close to that of the five mina weight of Šu-Sin (number 6 below) and to the later standard of the Daric.

- 2.149. Four-sided pyramid with rounded top (a rare shape revived in the first millennium by Nebuchadrezzar II and Darius the Great), provenance unknown, Ur III period.

For Nanna his lord, Šulgi, mighty man, king of Ur, king of the four regions, has made true¹² 1/2 mina.¹³

- 2.150. Ellipsoid, from Girsu/Telloh, Ur III.

5 minas,¹⁴ true, Šu-Su'en, mighty king, king of Ur, king of the four regions.

- 2.151. Duck, unknown provenance, Ur III.

(1/3 mina),¹⁵ Ur-E-sua the stone shaper,¹⁶ son of Ur-Ninzu, stone shaper¹⁶ of the king.

¹² [M]U-NA-GI-J[N]; the Sum. verb written GI-IN, GI-NA, etc., used in a legal sense of establishing something as true and with weights, is probably an early loan from Akk. *kānu*. See above, COS 2.126O (Nebuchadrezzar). For Ur III parallels, see Hallo 1962:17, 34, 42.

¹³ 248 grams; Powell 1971:206, 256-257. Implied mina: 496 grams.

¹⁴ 2510.975 grams; Powell 1971:206, 252. Implied mina: 502.195 grams.

¹⁵ 168.50 grams; Powell 1971:259. The first line of the four-line inscription, where one expects "1/3 mina true," is blank, perhaps because engraving of the mass would have made the weight below standard. [Or perhaps the inscription was copied from a seal. Note the peculiar writing of the sign DÍM.]

¹⁶ "Stone shaper" is written with the word-sign ZADIM in the first case and, in the second case, is spelled ZA-DÍM. For another example, probably also Ur III, of a (ten shekel) weight marked only with the name of a stone shaper, see Powell 1971:260-261 (81.87).

REFERENCES

Texts: 2.146A: Sollberger 1956:44 (Ent. 78); 2.146B: Sollberger 1956:61 (Ukg. 58); 2.147: Sollberger 1956:44 (Ent. 77); 2.148: CT 33:50; 2.149: Frayne 1997:153f. #50; 2.150: Frayne 1997:332f. #22; 2.151: Scheil 1925:152.

E. "FUNCTIONAL" INSCRIPTIONS

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1. SUMERIAN LAWS

REFORMS OF URU-INIMGINA (2.152)

William W. Hallo

The last ruler of the "First Dynasty of Lagash" (ca. 2570-2342 BCE) is known in the literature variously as Uru-inimgina or Uru-kagina (ca. 2351-2342 BCE).¹ He promulgated the first known systematic legal reforms which, though not yet cast in the casuistic (conditional) form of later precedent law, nevertheless stand at the head of the long tradition of "social justice in ancient Israel and in the ancient Near East" (Weinfeld 1995).

In the conclusion to one version of the Reforms, he summed up his ideal succinctly as a compact made with the patron deity of Lagash-Girsu not to allow widows and orphans to be handed over to the powerful men of the state (as distraintees for default). In more general terms ("that the powerful not oppress the weak" or the like), that sentiment was to be echoed later in the laws and hymns of Ur-Nammu and Shulgi of Ur, Ishme-Dagan and Lipit-Ishtar of Isin, and Hammurapi of Babylon, and much later still in the inscriptions of Sargon II and Assurbanipal of Assyria and Darius I of Achaemenid Persia.² It is also reflected in a petition addressed, most likely, to Samsu-iluna of Babylon.³ In Israel, the weak classes were expanded to include not only widow and orphan but also "the stranger, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt" (e.g. Exod 22:20f.).

The Reforms of Uru-inimgina are preserved in six inscriptions representing three different versions. Five of these inscriptions are found on clay nails, the sixth on an oval clay plaque.⁴ Each version deals separately with abuses and reforms.⁵ The following excerpt includes the prologue, some of the abuses, the corresponding reforms, and the conclusion, including a final building inscription.⁶

For the divine Nin-Girsu, the warrior of the divine Enlil, Uru-inimgina, the king of Lagash, built for him the Tirash-palace, built for him the Antasurra, built for him the temple of the divine Ba'u, built for him the Bursag, his house of daily offerings,⁷ built for him his sheep-shearing shed of Uruku;⁸ for the divine Nanshe he constructed the canal "Going-to-Nina," her beloved canal whose mouth (lit. "tail") carries for her to the heart of the sea;⁹ he built for him (her?) the walls of Girsu.

From days of old, since the seed (first) came forth, at that time the ship-captain seized the ship, the herdsman seized the donkey, the herdsman seized the sheep, the fisherman seized the fisheries; the

Exod 21:28-32, 35f.

Deut 22:10; Isa 1:3

anointed priests measured out the deposited barley in Ambar;¹⁰ the shepherds of the wool-bearing sheep deposited money (lit. "silver") instead of a white sheep; the surveyor, the chief lamentation-priest, the steward, the brewer (and) the overseers deposited money instead of an offering-lamb;¹¹ the oxen of the gods plowed the onion-patch of the ruler, the onion-patches and cucumber-patches of the ruler were located in the best fields of the gods; the *sanga*-priests hitched goring oxen¹² to the donkey-teams;¹² the ruler's troops divided up the barley of the *sanga*-priests ...

(But) the standards from of old (still) existed. When the divine Nin-Girsu, the warrior of the

¹ For proposed readings of the name, see Edzard 1991; Lambert 1992; Selz 1992; and above, COS 2.146B, n. 5.

² Full references in Hallo 1990:205f.

³ Hallo BP 149f.

⁴ The plaque was last edited by Donbaz and Hallo 1976.

⁵ For their correlation see Diakonoff 1958.

⁶ For a complete translation see Cooper 1986:70-74.

⁷ For the BUR-SAG as storage-house or brewery see COS 1.162 n. 11. Cooper 1986:70 and n. 3 takes it as belonging to Ba'u, hence "her ... offerings."

⁸ Lit., "the holy city," the sacred precinct of Lagash. For the "sheep-shearing shed" in month names and in archival texts, see Lambert 1957:140f.; Cohen 1993:61, 202.

⁹ For this canal see in detail Carroué 1986.

¹⁰ Lit. "the swamp" — a region of Girsu-Lagash (characterized by a forest).

¹¹ For this provision, see Lambert 1957.

¹² Or simply: the meandering oxen. For the two discrete meanings of DU-DU, see Heimpel 1968:300-307. On either reading the practice violates the biblical injunction against yoking ox and ass together (Deut 22:10). Cf. the Sum. proverb "The stubborn ox is made to follow (the leader), the balky donkey is forced onto the straight path." For this and other references to ox and ass in law and literature see Hallo 1990:213f.

divine Enlil, had bestowed upon Uru-inimgina the kingship of Lagash, having taken him by his hand out of the midst of 36,000 men,¹³ he (re)established the norms of old: the commands which his king the divine Nin-Girsu had commanded him were seized upon.

The ship-captain he removed from the ship, he removed their herdsman from the donkeys and from the sheep, he removed the fisherman from the fisheries, he removed the granary supervisor from the deposited barley of the anointed priests, he removed their tax-collector from the money which had been deposited instead of a white sheep, instead of an offering-lamb; he removed the tax-collector from the corvée-duty which the *sanga*-priests had borne for the palace; he put the house of the ruler (and) the fields of the ruler in (the hands of) the divine Nin-Girsu his king; he put the house of the "woman's house" (and) the fields of the "woman's house" (into the hands of) the divine

c Deut 14:29;
etc.

Ba'u his queen; he put the house of the crown-prince (and) the fields of the crown-prince into (the hands of) the divine Shul-shagana his king. From the border of the divine Nin-Girsu to the sea there was no tax-collector ...

A citizen of Lagash living in debt, (or) who had been condemned to its prison for impost, hunger, robbery, (or) murder -- their freedom he established. Uru-inimgina made a compact with the divine Nin-Girsu that the powerful man would not oppress the orphan (or) widow.⁶

In the course of that year, the "small canal which Girsu possesses"¹⁴ he constructed for the divine Nin-Girsu, its name which it had from of old he placed on it, Uru-inimgina called its name "The divine Nin-Girsu is reliant by (virtue of) Nippur." The canal "Going-to-Nina" he brought there for her (Nanshe), the canal which is holy, whose interior is resplendent, may it (ever) bring flowing waters for the divine Nanshe!

¹³ A cliché of the royal inscriptions of Lagash, based on the sexagesimal system of counting (60 x 60 x 10). Enmetena, an earlier ruler, was chosen out of 3600 (60 x 60) men, Gudea, a later ruler, claims to have been selected out of 216,000 (60 x 60 x 60).

¹⁴ Name or epithet?

REFERENCES

Text: Sollberger 1956:48-55. Translations: M. Lambert 1956; Cooper 1986:70-74. Studies: M. Lambert 1956; 1957; Diakonoff 1958; Krispijn 1983; Carroué 1986; Steinkeller 1991.

THE LAWS OF UR-NAMMA (UR-NAMMU) (2.153)

Martha Roth

At the end of the third millennium BCE, the Sumerian city-states had been subject to the occupations of the Akkad Dynasty of Sargon the Great and then of the barbarian Gutian invaders from the east. These foreign invaders finally were expelled by King Utu-hegal of Uruk (biblical Erech). After Utu-hegal's death, his brother Ur-Namma, governor in Ur, assumed leadership throughout the region, conquered the city of Lagash (which had been the seat of Gudea's Second Dynasty of Lagash), assumed the royal epithet "King of Sumer and Akkad" (i.e., of all Lower Mesopotamia) and claimed divine parentage; Ur-Namma thus founded the Third Dynasty of Ur (or Ur III Dynasty). Ur-Namma's peacetime attention turned to temple and civic building campaigns, restoration and maintenance of the vital canal system, and royal patronage of the arts and literature. He died an untimely death in battle with the Gutians, and his widow Watartum, the mother of his son and successor Shulgi, commissioned a long and moving funeral lament.

It is now generally agreed that the royal sponsor of these laws is King Ur-Namma (r. 2112-2095 BCE), although some still maintain that it was his son Shulgi (2094-2047 BCE) who had the composition drafted. The difficulty in attribution involves the literary style of the prologue. While some Sumerian royal hymns refer to the king in a combination of second and third person voices and others exclusively express self-praise in the first person, the prologue combines a third-person introductory section laudatory of the named Ur-Namma with a series of first-person boasts of the (possibly unnamed) king's accomplishments. The details of these accomplishments neither contradict nor decisively confirm the known details of the reigns of either Ur-Namma or his son Shulgi.

Sumerian, which enjoyed a literary revival under the kings of the Ur III Dynasty, died out as a living language by the Old Babylonian period, the time during which our surviving copies of this composition were made. The composition is known to us now from three manuscripts from Nippur and Ur. Only a prologue of about 170 lines

and thirty-seven laws are preserved. The paragraph numbering used here (and in Roth 1995a) accounts for some newly discovered fragments, and thus differs from earlier editions.¹

Prologue

Appointment of Ur-Namma to the throne (lines 1-86)

... Ur-Namma, the mighty warrior, king of the city of Ur, king of the lands of Sumer and Akkad ... he established 21,600 SILA of barley, 30 sheep, 30 SILA of butter, per month, as regular offerings ... in the land. When the gods An and Enlil turned over the kingship of the city of Ur to the god Nanna,

at that time, for Ur-Namma, son born of the goddess Ninsun, for her beloved house-born slave, according to his (the god Nanna's) justice and truth ... gave to him ... I promoted Namhani to be the governor of the city of Lagash. By the might of the god Nanna, my lord, I returned Nanna's Magan-boat to the quay(?), and made it shine in the city of Ur.

Existing abuses and corruptions (lines 87-103)

At that time, the *nisku*-people had control of the fields, the sea captains had control of the foreign maritime trade those who appropriate(?) [the oxen] ... those who appropriate(?) [the sheep ...]

Establishment of justice in the land (lines 104-113)

[At that time, (I)], Ur-Namma, [mighty warrior, lord of the city of Ur, king of the lands of Sumer and] Akkad, [by the might] of the god Nanna, my lord, [by the true command of the god Utu(?)], I established [justice in the land].

Political and economic reforms (lines 114-170)

Trade reforms (lines 114-124)

[...] I returned. I established freedom for the Akkadians and foreigners(?) in the lands of Sumer and Akkad, for those conducting foreign maritime trade (free from) the sea-captains, for the herdsmen (free from) those who appropriate(?) oxen, sheep, and donkeys.

Liberation of oppressed populations (lines 125-134)

At that time, by the might of Nanna, my lord, I liberated Akshak, Marad, Girkal, Kazallu, and their settlements, and for Uşanum, whatever (territories) were under the subjugation of Anshan.

Standardization of weights and measures (lines 135-149)

I made the copper BA.RI.GA-measure and standardized it at 60 SILA. I made the copper seah-measure, and standardized it at 10 SILA. I made the normal king's copper seah-measure, and standardized it at 5 SILA. I standardized (all) the stone weights (from?) the pure(?) 1-shekel (weight) to the 1-mina

a Exod 21:12-14; Num 35:9-34; Deut 19:11-12

b Deut 22:23-29

(weight). I made the bronze 1-sila measure and standardized it at 1 mina.

Transportation routes made secure (lines 150-161)

At that time, [I regulated] the riverboat traffic on the banks of the Tigris River, on the banks of the Euphrates River, on the banks of all rivers. [I secured safe roads for] the couriers(?); I [built] the (roadside) house. [I planted] the orchard, the king placed a gardener in charge of them.

Establishment of equitable justice (lines 162-170+)

I did not deliver the orphan to the rich. I did not deliver the widow to the mighty. I did not deliver the man with but one shekel to the man with one mina (i.e., 60 shekels). I did not deliver the man with but one sheep to the man with one ox.

I settled (in independent settlements?) my generals, my mothers, my brothers, and their families; I did not accept their instructions(?), I did not impose orders. I eliminated enmity, violence, and cries for justice. I established justice in the land.

At that time:

The Laws

- §1 If a man commits a homicide, they shall kill that man.^a
- §2 If a man acts lawlessly(?), they shall kill him.
- §3 If a man detains(?) (another), that man shall be imprisoned and he shall weigh and deliver 15 shekels of silver.
- §4 If a male slave marries a female slave, his beloved, and that male slave (later) is given his freedom, she/he will not leave (or: be evicted from?) the house.
- §5 If a male slave marries a native woman, she/he shall place one male child in the service of his master; the child who is placed in the service of his master, his paternal estate, ... the wall, the house, [...]; a child of a native woman will not be owned by the master, he will not be pressed into slavery.
- §6 If a man violates the rights of another and deflowers the virgin wife of a young man, they shall kill that male.^b
- §7 If the wife of a young man, on her own initiative, approaches a man and initiates sexual relations with him, they shall kill that woman;² that male shall be released.
- §8 If a man acts in violation of the rights of another and deflowers the virgin slave woman of a man, he shall weigh and deliver 5 shekels

¹ The most recent edition is in Roth 1995/1997, on which this translation is based, and to which the reader is referred for details of sources and earlier editions.

² Var.: "the man (i.e., the husband) shall kill that woman."

of silver.	c Deut 22:13-19	..., he shall weigh and deliver 40 shekels of silver.
§9 If a man divorces his first-ranking wife, he shall weigh and deliver 60 shekels of silver.		§21 If [a man] cuts off [the ... of another man] with [...], he shall weigh and deliver [x shekels of silver].
§10 If he divorces a widow, he shall weigh and deliver 30 shekels of silver.	d Judg 14-15	§22 If [a man knocks out another man's] tooth with [...], he shall weigh and deliver 2 shekels of silver.
§11 If a man has sexual relations with the widow without a formal written contract, he will not weigh and deliver any silver (as a divorce settlement).	e Exod 21:24; Lev 24:20; Deut 19:21	§23 If [...]
§12 If [...]		§24 [If ...], he shall bring [a slave woman]; if he has no slave woman, he shall instead weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver; if he has no silver, he shall give him whatever of value he has. ³
§13 If a man accuses another man of... and he has him brought to the divine River Ordeal but the divine River Ordeal clears him, the one who had him brought (i.e., the accuser) shall weigh and deliver 3 shekels of silver.	f Exod 20:16; Deut 5:20	§25 If a slave woman curses someone acting with the authority of her mistress, they shall scour her mouth with one SILA of salt. ⁴
§14 If a man accuses the wife of a young man of promiscuity but the River Ordeal clears her, the man who accused her shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver. ⁵		§26 If a slave woman strikes someone acting with the authority of her mistress, [...].
§15 If a son-in-law [enters] the household of his father-in-law but subsequently the father-in-law [gives his wife to his (the son-in-law's) comrade], he (the father-in-law) shall [weigh and deliver to him (the jilted son-in-law)] two-fold (the value of) the prestations [which he (the son-in-law) brought (when he entered the house)]. ⁶		§27 [If ...]
§16 If [...], he shall weigh and deliver to him 2 shekels of silver.		§28 If a man presents himself as a witness but is demonstrated to be a perjurer, he shall weigh and deliver 15 shekels of silver. ⁷
§17 If [a slave or(?)] a slave woman [...] ventures beyond the borders of (his or) her city and a man returns (him or) her, the slave's master shall weigh and deliver [x] shekels of silver to the man who returned (the slave).		§29 If a man presents himself as a witness but refuses to take the oath, he shall make compensation of whatever was the object of the case.
§18 If [a man] cuts off the foot of [another man with ...], he shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver. ⁸		§30 If a man violates the rights of another and cultivates the field of another man, and he sues (to secure the right to harvest the crop, claiming that) he (the owner) neglected (the field) — that man shall forfeit his expenses.
§19 If a man shatters the ...-bone of another man with a club, he shall weigh and deliver 60 shekels of silver.		§31 If a man floods(?) another man's field, he shall measure and deliver 900 SILA of grain per 100 SAR of field.
§20 If a man cuts off the nose of another man with		§32 If a man gives a field to another man to cultivate but he does not cultivate it and allows it to become wasteland, he shall measure out 720 SILA of grain per 100 SAR.
		§33 If a man ... another man ...
		§37 [...] he shall weigh and deliver to him.

³ Text (in error): "he will not give him anything."

⁴ Different interpretations of this provision are given by Finkelstein 1969:70; Römer 1982:22; Sauren 1990:41-42.

REFERENCES

Text: Kramer and Falkenstein 1954; Szlechter 1955; Finkelstein 1969; Yildiz 1981; Roth 1995/1997:13-22. Translations and studies: ANET 523-525; TUAT 1:17-23; Kramer 1983; Saporetti 1984:21-25; Roth 1995/1997:13-22.

THE LAWS OF LIPIT-ISHTAR (2.154)

Martha Roth

The last ruler of the Ur III Dynasty, Ibbi-Sin (the son or brother of King Shu-Sin), held the throne for twenty-four years in the face of the increasing pressures from the Elamite invaders from the east and the Amorite incursions from the west. With the collapse of Ur III hegemony, one of Ibbi-Sin's governors, Ishbi-Era of Mari, founded his own dynasty at Isin (modern Ishan Bahriyat), south of Nippur, and ruled from 2017-1985 BCE. Isin became the cult center for the goddess Gula, patron deity of the healing arts, and the city continued to be identified with physicians and

healing throughout Mesopotamian history.

The next two hundred years (called the Isin-Larsa Period) saw the political pendulum swing between the cities of Isin and Larsa, each of which claimed to be the heir to the Ur III legacy, until the unification of the region under the Old Babylonian king Hammurabi. The literary legacy, too, was maintained at the great scribal centers in Nippur, where hymns in praise of the dominant ruler were composed. The fall and destruction of the great city of Isin at the hands of her rival Larsa was commemorated in a mournful lament in the established Sumerian tradition.

Lipit-Ishtar, the fifth king of the First Dynasty of Isin, ruled from 1934-1924 BCE. Toward the end of his reign, his contemporary and rival at Larsa, King Gungunum, decisively captured the important city of Ur, gaining a significant moral and strategic advantage over Isin. Before this shift in influence, the Isin scribes had conscientiously followed the literary and cultural traditions of the Ur III rulers, and the Isin kings, like their Ur III predecessors, assumed the royal epithet "King of Sumer and Akkad." The traditions of royal self-praise and of commitment to the establishment and administration of justice in the land are evident too in the collection of Lipit-Ishtar's laws. More than fifteen manuscripts, almost all from Nippur, preserve parts of the Sumerian composition, and fragments of one or more stone stelae can be identified, suggesting monumental display and publication of the work. Almost all of the prologue and epilogue are preserved, and almost fifty law provisions, although many are still fragmentary and gaps remain.¹

Prologue

Appointment of Lipit-Ishtar to the throne (lines i.1-37)
[When] great [god An, father of the gods], and the god Enlil, [king of the lands, the lord who determines] destinies, gave a favorable reign and the kingship of the lands of Sumer and Akkad to the goddess Ninisina, child of An, pious lady, for whose reign [...] rejoicing, for whose brilliant glance ..., in the city of Isin, her treasure house(?), established by the god An,

at that time, the gods An and Enlil called Lipit-Ishtar to the principship of the land — Lipit-Ishtar, the wise shepherd, whose name has been pronounced by the god Nunamir — in order to establish justice in the land, to eliminate cries for justice, to eradicate enmity and armed violence, to bring well-being to the lands of Sumer and Akkad.

Establishment of justice in the land (lines i.38-55)

At that time, I, Lipit-Ishtar, the pious shepherd of the city of Nippur, the faithful husbandman of the city of Ur, he who does not forsake the city of Eridu, the befitting lord of the city of Uruk, the king of the city of Isin, king of the lands of Sumer and Akkad, the heart's desire of the goddess Inanna, by the command of the god Enlil, I established justice in the lands of Sumer and Akkad.

Political and economic reforms (lines ii.1-40)

Liberation of oppressed populations (lines ii.1-15)

At that time, I liberated the sons and daughters of the city of Nippur, the sons and daughters of the city of Ur, the sons and daughters of the city of Isin, the sons and daughters of the lands of Sumer and Akkad, who were subjugated [by the yoke(?)], and I restored order.

Enforcement of familial and state obligations (lines ii.16-40)

With a ... decree(?) I made the father support his children, I made the child support his father. I

^a Num 27:1-11; 36:1-12

^b Exod 21:22-25

made the father stand by his children, I made the child stand by his father.

I imposed service (equally) on the household of a living father and on the undivided household [of brothers]. I, Lipit-Ishtar, son of the god Enlil, obligated those in a household of a living father and in an undivided household of brothers to service for seventy (days per year), I obligated those in a household of dependent workers to service for ten days per month ... the wife of a man ... the son of a man ... [(more than two columns lost)]

[...] the troops (col. vi) ... the property of the paternal estate... (col. vii) ... the son of the governor, the son of the palace official, ...

[At that time:]

The Laws

§a If a man rents an ox for the rear of the team, he shall measure and deliver 2400 SILA of grain for two years as its hire; for an ox for the front or middle, he shall measure and deliver 1800 SILA of grain (for two years) as its hire.

§b If a man dies without male offspring, an unmarried daughter shall be his heir.^c

§c If [a man dies] and his daughter [is married(?)], the property of the paternal estate [...], a younger sister, after [...] the house [...]

§d If [a ...] strikes the daughter of a man and causes her to lose her fetus, he shall weigh and deliver 30 shekels of silver.^b

§e If she dies, that male shall be killed.

§f If a ... strikes the slave woman of a man and causes her to lose her fetus, he shall weigh and deliver 5 shekels of silver.

§g If [...]

§4 [If ... the] boat [is lost], he shall [replace] the boat.

¹ The most recent edition is in Roth 1995/1997, on which this translation is based, and to which the reader is referred for details of sources

§5 If a man rents a boat and an agreed route is established for him, but he violates its route and the captain(?) ... in that place — he has acted lawlessly; the man who rented the boat shall replace the boat and [he shall measure and deliver (in grain) its hire].	e Deut 19:16-21	bear the penalty of the matter for which he made the accusation. ²
§6 [...] he shall give as his gift.		§18 If the master or mistress of an estate defaults on the taxes due from the estate and an outsider assumes the taxes, he (the master) will not be evicted for three years; (but after three years of defaulting on the taxes) the man who has assumed the tax burden shall take possession of the estate and the master of the estate will not make any claims.
§7 If he leases his orchard to a gardener in an orchard-lease, the gardener shall plant [...] for the owner of the orchard and he shall have the use of the dates from one-tenth of the palm trees.		§19 If the master of the estate [...]
§7a If a man [...]		§20 If a man rescues a child from a well, he shall [take his] feet [and seal a tablet with the size of his feet (for identification) ³].
§8 If a man gives another man fallow land for the purpose of planting an orchard but he does not complete the planting of the orchard, they shall give the fallow land which he neglected to one who is willing to plant the orchard as his share.		§20a ... when ... fosterage.
§9 If a man enters the orchard of another man and is seized there for thievery, he shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver.		§20b If a man does not raise the son whom he contracted to raise in an apprenticeship, and it is confirmed before the judges, he (the child) shall be returned to his birth mother.
§10 If a man cuts down a tree in another man's orchard, he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver.		§20c If a man [does not raise] the daughter whom he contracted to raise [...]
§11 If a man — adjacent to whose house another man has neglected his fallow land — (if this) householder declares to the owner of the fallow land: "Your fallow land has been neglected; someone could break into my house. Fortify your property!" and it is confirmed that this formal warning was given, the owner of the fallow land shall restore to the owner of the house any of his property that is lost.		§21a [If ...] marries, the (marriage) gift which is given by(?) her/his paternal estate shall be taken for her/his heir. [...]
§12 If a man's female slave or male slave flees within the city, and it is confirmed that (the slave) dwelt in a man's house for one month, he (the one who harbored the fugitive slave) shall give slave for slave.		§21b ³ [If ...] is given to a wife, her/his brothers will not include for division (among their inheritance shares) the (marriage) gift which had been given by(?) her/his paternal estate, but [...]
§13 If he has no slave, he shall weigh and deliver 15 shekels of silver.		§22 If, during a father's lifetime, his daughter becomes an <i>ugbabbu</i> , a <i>naditu</i> , or a <i>qadištu</i> , they (her brothers) shall divide the estate considering her as an equal heir.
§14 If a man's slave contests his slave status against his master, and it is proven that his master has been compensated for his slavery two-fold, that slave shall be freed.		§23 If a daughter is not given in marriage while her father is alive, her brothers shall give her in marriage.
§15 If a <i>miqtu</i> -person is a gift of the king, he will not be appropriated.		§23a If he takes a slave [...] he dies [...] an outsider [...] marries(?) [...]
§16 If a <i>miqtu</i> -person goes into service to a man of his own free will, that man will not restrict(?) him, but he (the <i>miqtu</i>) shall go wherever he wishes.		§23b If a man [...]
§17 If a man, without grounds(?), accuses another man of a matter of which he has no knowledge, and that man cannot prove it, he shall		§24 If the second wife whom he marries bears him a child, the dowry which she brought from her paternal home shall belong only to her children; the children of the first-ranking wife and the children of the second wife shall divide the property of their father equally.
		§25 If a man marries a wife and she bears him a child and the child lives, and a slave woman also bears a child to her master, the father shall free the slave woman and her children; the children of the slave woman will not divide the estate with the children of the master.
		§26 If his first-ranking wife dies and after his wife's death he marries the slave woman (who had borne him children), the child of

and earlier editions.

² The restoration is based on *ana itišu III jii 39ff.*; see Leichty 1989.

³ Possibly a continuation of the provision, rather than a new one.

- his first-ranking wife shall be his (primary) heir; the child whom the slave woman bore to her master is considered equal to a native free-born son and they shall make good his (share of the) estate.
- §27 If a man's wife does not bear him a child but a prostitute from the street does bear him a child, he shall provide grain, oil, and clothing rations for the prostitute, and the child whom the prostitute bore him shall be his heir; as long as his wife is alive, the prostitute will not reside in the house with his first-ranking wife.
- §28 If a man's first-ranking wife loses her attractiveness or becomes a paralytic, she will not be evicted from the house; however, her husband may marry a healthy wife,⁴ and the second wife shall support the first-ranking wife.⁵
- §29 If a son-in-law enters the household of his father-in-law and performs the bridewealth presentation, but later they evict him and give his wife to his comrade, they shall restore to him two-fold the bridewealth which he brought, and his comrade will not marry his wife.
- §30 If a young married man has sexual relations with a prostitute from the street, and the judges order him not to go back to the prostitute, (and if) afterwards he divorces his first-ranking wife and gives the silver of her divorce settlement to her, (still) he will not marry the prostitute.
- §31 If a father, during his lifetime, gives his favored son a gift for which he writes a sealed document, after the father has died the heirs shall divide the (remaining) paternal estate; they will not contest the share which was allotted, they will not repudiate their father's word.
- §32 If a father, during his lifetime, designates the bridewealth for his eldest son, and he (the son) marries while the father is still alive, after the father has died the heirs [shall ...] the estate [...] from the paternal estate [...] the bridewealth they shall [...] the bride-wealth [...]
- §32a [...]
- §33 If a man claims that another man's virgin daughter has had sexual relations but it is proven that she has not had sexual relations, he shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver.
- §34 If a man rents an ox and cuts the hoof tendon, he shall weigh and deliver one-third of its value (in silver).

- §35 If a man rents an ox and destroys its eye, he shall weigh and deliver one-half of its value (in silver).
- §36 If a man rents an ox and breaks its horn, he shall weigh and deliver one-quarter of its value (in silver).
- §37 If a man rents an ox and breaks its tail, he shall weigh and deliver one-quarter of its value (in silver).
- §38 [If a man ...], he. shall weigh and deliver (in silver).

Epilogue

Accomplishment of fair judicial procedure (lines xxi.5-17)

In accordance with the true word of the god Utu, I made the lands of Sumer and Akkad hold fair judicial procedure. In accordance with the utterance of the god Enlil, I, Lipit-Ishtar, son of Enlil, eradicated enmity and violence. I made weeping, lamentation, shouts for justice, and suits taboo. I made right and truth shine forth, and I brought well-being to the lands of Sumer and Akkad. [...]

Erection of monument, blessings (lines xxi.36-48)

[...] all humankind. When I established justice in the lands of Sumer and Akkad, I erected this stela. He who will not do anything evil to it, who will not damage my work, who will <not> efface my inscription and write his own name on it — may he be granted life and breath of long days; may he raise his neck to heaven in the Ekur temple; may the god Enlil's brilliant countenance be turned upon him from above.

Curses (lines xxi.49-xxii.52)

(But) he who does anything evil to it, who damages my work, who enters the treasure room, who alters its pedestal, who effaces this inscription and writes his own name (in place of mine), or, because of this curse, induces an outsider to remove it — that man, whether he is a king, an *enu*-lord, or an ENSI-ruler [... may he be completely obliterated ...]

May [...] the god [...], primary son of the god Enlil, not approach; may the seed not enter; ... the mighty one, the seed ... May he who escapes from the weapon, after he enters (the safety of) his house, may he not have [any heirs]. May [the gods ...], Ashnan, and Sumukan, lords of abundance, [withhold(?) the bounty of heaven and] earth. [...]

May [...] the god Enlil [...] revoke the gift of the lofty Ekur temple. May the god Utu, judge of heaven and earth, remove the august word. [...] its foundation bring into his house(?) ... May he make his cities into heaps of ruins. May the foundations of his land not be stable, may it have no king. May

⁴ Var.: "a second wife."

⁵ Var.: "he shall support the second wife and the first-ranking wife."

the god Ninurta, mighty warrior, the god | | Enlil, [...]

REFERENCES

Text: Szlechter 1957; 1958; Civil 1965; Roth 1995/1997:22-35. Translations and studies: *ANET* 159-161; *TUAT* 1:23-31; Saporetto 1984:27-34; Leichry 1989; Roth 1995/1997:22-35.

F. TEMPLE HYMNS OF GUDEA

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THE CYLINDERS OF GUDEA (2.155)

Richard E. Averbeck

The composition known as the Cylinders of Gudea is inscribed on two large cylinders (i.e., hollow clay barrels), referred to as Cylinders A and B. The rims of the two cylinders are ca. 2.9 and 2.5 cm thick, respectively. Cylinder A is 61 cm long and 32 cm in diameter, and has 30 columns of writing parallel to the long axis. Cylinder B is 56.5 cm long and 33 cm in diameter, and has 24 columns of writing. Most columns have between 20-30 lines of writing (actually separate lined-off "cases" containing multiple lines), depending on how long the individual lines are in the particular column. Since Cylinder B is shorter it tends to have fewer lines per column than Cylinder A (Edzard 1997:69, 88).

The Cylinders were recovered in broken condition during the eleven campaigns of the French excavations at Tello (ancient Girsu, the administrative center of Gudea's Lagash) between 1877 and 1900 under the direction of Ernest de Sarzec (published in de Sarzec 1884-1912). The two Cylinders have been pieced back together and the *editio princeps* of the cuneiform text itself is a very fine hand copy by the renowned F. Thureau-Dangin (Thureau-Dangin 1925). As it stands now, the text is in relatively good condition except for the later part of Cylinder B and a few small broken sections in Cylinders A and B.

There are a number of leftover unplaced fragments, some of which scholars have attempted to use in restoring the broken sections of Cylinder B with limited success and a lack of consensus (Thureau-Dangin 1925:plates liii-liv; Baer 1971; Jacobsen 1987b:441-444; and now esp. Edzard 1997:88-89, 101-106, 232-233). Some scholars insist that there was a lost third Cylinder, which was the first part of a trilogy, and to which a number of the fragments belong. It may have consisted of hymns praising the temple, a recounting of events leading to the building of the temple, and perhaps Gudea's election as ruler of Lagash (Jacobsen 1987b:386). Others argue that, in light of the overall structural coherence and seeming completeness of the composition as we have it on Cylinders A and B, the original existence of a non-extant third Cylinder is unlikely (see the full discussion in Averbeck 1997:40-49).

The Cylinders were apparently written to celebrate or perhaps commemorate Gudea's building and dedication of a new Eninnu temple for the god Ningirsu, the patron deity of Lagash. The sequence of temple building projects recounted in Gudea Statue I (see Edzard 1997:52) suggests that he undertook this project early in his reign. Unfortunately, the dates of Gudea's reign in Lagash are not certain (cf. Steinkeller 1988 with Jacobsen 1987b:386 and Klein 1989b:289 n. 3). He ruled Lagash either just before Ur-Nammu established the Third Dynasty of Ur, or perhaps his reign overlapped with the early part of the Third Dynasty of Ur, which is dated to ca. 2112-2004 BCE (Ur-Nammu reigned ca. 2112-2095 BCE and Shulgi 2094-2047 BCE).

The Gudea Cylinders constitute one of the longest and most impressive, complex, and unique compositions in the Sumerian literary repertoire. Because this text is so unique, it has been difficult to assign it to a particular genre. In general, there is no evidence of it belonging to the scribal canon, since no other copies in any form have been found, and it is certainly not archival (i.e., economic or administrative). The Cylinders are not really "monumental" either, since they are not inscribed on a monument, unless the Cylinders themselves are viewed as monuments. The composition has affinities with the Sumerian Temple Hymn Collection (Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969:6), but as a royal temple building text it also has some features of royal inscriptions (Averbeck 1997:49-59).

The overall structural similarity between the Gudea Cylinders and other ANE building texts, including the various biblical accounts, has been the subject of much research in recent years (see esp. Hurowitz 1992:25-26, 32-67, 129-337). There are basically five stages: (1) the decision to build with an expression of divine sanction (Cyl. A i-xii and 1 Kgs 5:17-19 [Eng. 3-5]), (2) preparations for the building, including materials, workers, and laying foundations (Cyl. A xiii-xx and 1 Kgs 5:20-32 [Eng. 6-18]), (3) description of the construction process, the buildings, and their furnishings (Cyl. A xxi-xxx and 1 Kgs 6-7), (4) dedication prayers and festivities (Cyl. B i-xviii and 1 Kgs 8), and (5) divine promises and blessings for the king (Cyl. B xix-xxiv and 1 Kgs 9:1-9). See Hurowitz 1992:56, 109-110. Regarding comparisons with the tabernacle account (Exod 25-40) and Ezekiel's temple (Ezek 40-48), see Hurowitz 1985:21-26 and Sharon 1996:103-105, respectively.

With regard to the Gudea Cylinders as a Sumerian literary composition, it has been cogently argued that there is a subgenre of Sumerian royal hymns known as "building and dedication hymns," which includes the Gudea Cylinders and three other compositions (Klein 1989a). Based on this form critical investigation, once again a modified five-fold

structural analysis has been proposed for the Gudea Cylinders: (1) commissioning of the building enterprise (Cyl. A i.1-xii.20; cf. 1 Kgs 5:16-19 [Eng. 2-5]), (2) preparations and building of the temple by Gudea (Cyl. A xii.21-xxix.12; cf. 1 Kgs 6-7), (3) praise of the Eninnu (Cyl. A xxix.13-xxx.12), (4) dedication of the Eninnu (Cyl. B i.1-xx.12; cf. 1 Kgs 8), and (5) blessing of the Eninnu and Gudea (Cyl. B xx.13-xxiv.8; cf. 1 Kgs 9:1-9). See Klein 1989a:28 and 1989b:294 n. 34, and the discussion in Averbeck 1997:59-62.

This general shape of the composition as a temple building text and, more specifically, a building and dedication hymn, however, does not settle the question of its internal literary structure. Of course, the most obvious structural break is between Cylinder A (construction of the Eninnu) and Cylinder B (dedication of the Eninnu). Both Cylinders begin with a prologue and end with an epilogue (Cyl. A i.1-11 and xxx.6-14, Cyl. B i.1-11 and xxiv.9-15), followed immediately by a colophon (Cyl. A xxx.15-16 and Cyl. B xxiv.16-17). Within the body of the text a relatively frozen formula occurs five times at major breaks between movements of the composition, resulting in a recognizable seven-fold structure. Another formula guides the reader through the very complicated third section of Cylinder A. Both formulas reflect the ritual nature of the composition as well as the building and dedication processes recounted in it. Moreover, both are used in other Sumerian compositions with similar effects (Averbeck 1997:62-76; and see esp. the notes on Cyl. A vii.9-10 and xiv.5-6 below).

This yields the following comprehensive literary structure for the main body of the Gudea Cylinders: (1) the initial dream and its interpretation (Cyl. A i.12-vii.8), (2) incubation of a second dream (Cyl. A vii.9-xii.19), (3) the construction of the new Eninnu (Cyl. A xii.20-xxv.19), (4) furnishing, decorating, supplying, and praising the temple complex (Cyl. A xxv.20-xxx.5), (5) preparations for the induction of Ningirsu and his consort, Baba, into the new Eninnu (Cyl. B i.12-ii.6), (6) induction of Ningirsu and Baba into the new Eninnu (Cyl. B ii.7-xiii.10), and (7) the housewarming celebration of the induction of Ningirsu and Baba into the new Eninnu (Cyl. B xiii.11-xxiv.8).

CYLINDER A:

Prologue (Cyl. A i.1-11)

On a day when destiny was being decreed in heaven and earth,¹

Lagash lifted (its) head toward heaven in great stature,²

(and) Enlil looked at lord Ningirsu with favor.

In our city the long enduring thing(s)³ did surely appear in splendor.

(i.5) Surely the heart did overflow,
surely the heart of Enlil did overflow,

¹ In myths and epics the decreeing of destiny was conceived of as having taken place in the primeval days (van Dijk 1964-65:16-34). It has been suggested that this event was regularly reenacted on a yearly holiday, most likely New Years Day, and that this is the very occasion on which Gudea experienced his first dream (Cyl. A i.15-21; Krispijn 1982:84-85). Moreover, it has even been proposed that Cyl. A i.1-9 actually refers back to the destiny decreed for Lagash in those primeval days, the most important element of that destiny being the regular flood of the Tigris that brought agricultural fertility and abundance to the Lagash region (Heimpel 1987b:316-317).

Within the Cylinders themselves, however, *nam-tar* "to decree destiny" sometimes seems to be used in a way that precludes a reference back to primeval times or even a one-time occasion during the year. E.g., although Cyl. A xix.10-11 is somewhat broken, it is clear enough that Enki "decreed destiny" in the process of molding the first brick. As far as we can tell from the text, this day was special because of that event, not because it was a New Year's day or anything of the kind. Cyl. A xxvi.3-5 refers to the eastern facade of the Eninnu as a place for "decreeing destiny." This was the direction of the sunrise and, corresponding to that, it was the place where Uru's standard was displayed. Cyl. B v.16 refers to the sunrise as the time of "destiny decreeing" (i.e., decision making), when the temple was determined to be acceptable and, therefore, was occupied by the divine couple.

Therefore, although it is possible that Cyl. A i.1 refers back to primeval days or to a regular annual day of decreeing destiny, it is just as possible that it simply refers to a particular day on which Enlil decreed a special destiny of blessed abundance for Lagash and Ningirsu. On that day, therefore, Ningirsu called for the building of a new Eninnu (Cyl. A i.10-11), and the wise and pious ruler, Gudea, was there ready to attend to his wishes (Cyl. A i.12-14). Cyl. B i.3 suggests that Enlil's decree in Cyl. A i.1-9 was actually a decree of good destiny for the temple. For a general introduction to "decreeing destiny" and related expressions in ancient Mesopotamia with comparisons and contrasts to related biblical concepts see Lambert 1972.

² The noun *me*, rendered "stature" in this line, is one of the most difficult and debated words in the Sum. lexicon. For a helpful recent summary of the discussion and secondary literature see Klein 1997:211-212 (cf. also Averbeck 1997:82 n. 98). The noun may derive from the verb *me* "to be," and on that basis its basic meaning would be "essence." It is commonly used as an abstract noun in reference to the basic elements of material culture, various cultural institutions (religious, social, and political), and the rules, principles, attributes, capacities, and functions that make the whole cultural system work properly. With regard to the latter, in one way or another, *me* virtually always relates to how things actually function or the nature of the effect that they have. In that sense, it is not just a matter of abstract essence. Aside from that, *me* sometimes refers to a symbol associated with a particular *me*, or a two-dimensional representation of that symbol engraved or painted on a sign, banner, or standard of some kind. See the notes on Cyl. B ii.8 and vi.23 below for more on the meaning and significance of *me* in the Gudea Cylinders.

In Cyl. A i.2 *me* seems to refer to the exalted position and importance (i.e., "stature"; the lit. expression is *me-gal-la* lit. "in great me") of Lagash on this occasion of determining destiny in heaven and earth (cf. line 1). Edzard, however, translates "Lagash proudly looked up, sure of itself," taking *me* to mean "self" (lit. "in great self," see Sum. variant *ME-te-na* / *ni-te-na*, where *ni* = Akk. *ramdnu* "self"; cf. the references and explanations in Alster 1974 and Klein 1989b:292).

³ The rendering "the long enduring thing(s)" is based on reading *ni-ul* (*UL* = *ul* = Akk. *šātu* "distant time, distant past"; see Sjöberg 1974:116). Others read *ni-du*, (*UL* = *du*, = Akk. [*u*] *asmu* "perfect, fitting, proper, appropriate") and, therefore, translate "the appropriate thing(s)" (e.g., Jacobsen 1987b:388).

surely the heart did overflow,
surely the flood water did shine brightly, rising
awesomely,
surely the heart of Enlil, being the Tigris river, did
bring sweet water.⁴

(i.10) Concerning the temple, its king (Ningirsu)
proclaimed there and then:
"As for the Eninnu, I will make its stature appear
in splendor in heaven and earth."

I. Gudea's Initial Dream and its Interpretation (Cyl.
A i.12-vii.8)⁵

Gudea's attentive piety (Cyl. A i.12-14)

The ruler (Gudea), being a man of wide wisdom,
had been paying close attention,

a 2 Sam 7:1-
2 (= 1 Chr
17:1); 1 Kgs
5:1-8 (= 2
Chr 1:14-
2:10)
b 1 Kgs 3:3-
15; 5:9-14
(= 2 Chr 1:7-
13); 1 Chr
28:6-10;
c Gen 40:1-
23; 41:1-36;
Num 12:6;
Dan 2:1-45;
4:4-27
d Exod 20:24;
25:1-9; 2 Sam
7:1-7, 12-18; 1 Chr 17:1-6, 11-12; 21:28-22:19; 28:2-3 e Exod 25:9, 40; 26:30;
27:8; Num 8:4; Josh 22:28; 2 Kgs 16:10; 1 Chr 28:11-19; Ezek 40-42; 43:10-12

lauding (Ningirsu) with all great things,
properly arranging perfect ox and perfect he-goat
(for sacrifice).⁶

Gudea's first dream (Cyl. A i.15-21)

(i.15) The decreed brick lifted its head toward him,
stretched out its neck toward him to build the holy
temple.

On that day in a night vision⁷ (he saw) his king,^c

Gudea saw the lord Ningirsu,

(and) he commanded him to build his temple.^d

(i.20) The Eninnu, its stature being the greatest,
he displayed to him.⁹

⁴ The building of temples was closely associated with fertility, abundance, and prosperity in the ANE. The Gudea Cylinders open with a statement of general economic prosperity as the background for the call to build the temple. Enlil determined a good destiny for Lagash (Cyl. A i.1-4) leading to or consisting of the overflow of Enlil's heart (Cyl. A i.5-8) in the form of the seasonal flood of the Tigris river that fertilized the agricultural land of the Lagash region (Cyl. A i.9). Later, in Gudea's second dream, Ningirsu promised that on the very day that the ruler engaged in the building of the temple for him he would make sure that abundance flowed for Lagash in support of the people and the project (Cyl. A xi.1-xii.9; see the note on Cyl. A xi.6 below). Finally, as a result of the successful completion of the temple, once again there is the overflow of the heart of the gods, which recalls the seasonal flood of the Tigris river that brought prosperity with it (Cyl. A xxv.20-21; cf. this with Cyl. A i.5-9 above). Regarding the importance of the Tigris river in ancient Lagash and its literary tradition see Heimpel 1987b.

The principle of economic prosperity is also expressed in the Ug. Baal Epic (COS 1.86) where the outcry of Baal for a temple of his own is heard by El (CTA 4 iv.40-57). The permission to build is directly associated with fertility in the land (CTA 4 iv.58-v.81). The Bible depicts the latter days of David and the whole reign of Solomon as a time of rest and prosperity. David was not allowed to build the temple (2 Sam 7), but the prosperity of Solomon is underlined leading directly to his construction of the Jerusalem temple (1 Kgs 5:1-8 [4:20-28], 5:18 [4], and 2 Chr 1:11-2:10). See Anderson 1987:91-126; Averbeck 1987:189-193; Hurowitz 1992:322-323; Meyers and Meyers 1987:65-66; Sharon 1996:99-102.

⁵ For the overall literary structure of the Gudea Cylinders, see the introduction above and the note on Cyl. A vii.10 below.

⁶ Claims of royal wisdom in association with temple building are common in the ANE (see Sweet 1990:99-101). The first mention of Gudea in both Cylinder A and B comes immediately after their respective introductory prologues. In both instances he is introduced as a wise and pious ruler who was paying special cultic attention to the gods (Cyl. A i.12-14 and B i.12-14). Solomon was likewise marked by the sex qualities of character at the beginning of his reign (1 Kgs 3:3-15), and this is reinforced in the immediate context of the temple building narrative (1 Kgs 5:9-14 [Eng. 4:29-34]; 2 Chr 2:11-12). Previously, David himself had exhorted his son to excel in piety for the building of the temple (1 Chr 28:6-10).

⁷ Sum. *maš-gi*, "night vision," a phonetic writing for *maš-gi*, (Cyl. A i.17 and 27), is a close synonym used interchangeably with *ma-mu* "dream," which is, in turn, a phonetic writing of *ma-mu* (Cyl. A i.29, iii.25, iv.13, 14, v.12), all referring to the initial dream (cf. also *ma-mu* in Cyl. A xii.13, but referring to the second dream). Both are lexical equivalents for Akk. *šutu* "dream" (AHw 1292b-1293). In response to the first dream, in which Ningirsu commissioned Gudea to build him a new temple (Cyl. A i.14-21), Gudea went to Nanshe, the "dream interpreter" of the gods, to receive her interpretation of the dream (Cyl. A i.24-ii.3; on dream interpretation see the note on ii.3 below).

Dreams, dream incubations, and dream interpretation are a major concern in the Gudea Cylinders as well as in other ANE temple building texts (Hurowitz 1992:51, 143-151). They were some of the primary means through which Gudea discerned Ningirsu's will for the building of his new Eninnu temple. It is not certain that Gudea's first dream was incubated, but to obtain the second and third dreams he clearly went through ritual procedures (e.g., offerings, extispices, and prayers) and laid down to sleep specifically and intentionally to receive a dream revelation from Ningirsu (see the notes on Cyl. A viii.3 and xx.8 below).

Dreams were an important means of divine revelation in ancient Israel too, according to the Bible. The prophets were known for receiving oracles from God through dreams (Num 12:6). Jacob had a revelatory dream or two at Bethel (Gen 28:10-22; cf. also 35:9-15). Joseph interpreted dreams in Egypt (Gen 40-41), and Daniel in Babylon (Dan 2 and 4). Many more examples could be cited. See Averbeck 1987:506-579.

⁸ The need for a divine call or at least divine permission to build a temple is well established in ANE literature. Sometimes the deity initiated the process as, e.g., in the Harran inscriptions of Nabonidus (ANET 562-563; Hurowitz 1992:144 n.1) and Exod 25:1-9. This also seems to be the case in Gudea Cyl. A, although P. Steinkeller (personal communication) is of the opinion that Cyl. i.1-21 follows a pattern something like this: Lagash requests permission to build a new Eninnu temple (lines 1-2, 4), the chief god, Enlil, who is in charge of the *me*'s, approves the increase of *me*'s for the Eninnu and proclaims it to Ningirsu (lines 3, 5-11), the attentive ruler, Gudea, overhears Enlil's address to Ningirsu, (lines 12-14), and the next night the pious ruler receives a dream in which he is commissioned to rebuild the temple (lines 15-21).

There are other instances in which a ruler initiated the process by asking permission from the deity, but was denied. According to the Curse of Agade, e.g., Naram-Sin requested permission to build a temple for Inanna in Agade, but it was denied to him through repeated divination. The destruction of Agade had been pre-ordained (Cooper 1983a:54-55, 239-240, and 244). This can be compared to the denial of David's temple building ambitions. Several complementary explanations for this are given in the Bible. First, the Lord had not requested a temple (2 Sam 7:5-7; 1 Chr 17:4-6). Second, the Lord was more interested in building a house for David than in David building a house for him (2 Sam 7:12-13 and esp. 1 Chr 17:10b-16). Third, David had defiled himself by shedding much blood in warfare (1 Chr 22:6-8; 28:2-3). Fourth, David had too many wars to fight to dedicate his time and resources to the project (1 Kgs 5:17[3]). See Ishida 1977:85-93; McCarter 1984:225-229; Ota 1974.

In other instances permission was granted. E.g., through divination Shamash and Adad granted the pious king Esarhaddon permission to rebuild a temple (Steele 1951:5 and Borger 1956:3 iii.33-iv.6). Similarly, on the divine level, after several attempts Baal was finally successful at gaining permission to have a temple built for himself (CTA 4). In ancient Israel it was common to build altars where a theophany had occurred (e.g., Gen 12:7; Judg 6:24-26). This was affirmed in the law (Exod 20:24) and, in fact, was the means by which David discerned the proper location of the first temple (1 Chr 21:28-22:5; cf. 2 Sam 24:16-25). See Ellis 1968:6-7; Ishida 1977:85-99; de Vaux 1961:277; Weinfeld 1972:247-250.

⁹ Gudea gained his first glimpse of the new Eninnu in his initial dream (Cyl. A i.20-21). He was troubled by the dream because the precise

Gudea's anxiety over the dream (Cyl. A i.22-ii.3)

Gudea, his heart being stirred up,
tired himself over the command (saying):¹⁰ f
"I must tell it to her! I must tell it to her!"
(i.25) May she stand by me in regard to this com-
mand!

Me being the shepherd, she has entrusted me with
the office of authority.¹¹ s

The thing which the night vision brought to me,
I do not know its meaning.
I must take my dream to my mother!

(ii.1) My dream interpreter who is clever in her
practice,

Nanshe, my sister, the goddess of Sirara,
may she reveal its meaning to me!¹² h

Gudea travels by boat to Nanshe's temple. Along the way
he stops at the Bagara temple to pray to Ningirsu and
Ganmdug. After arriving at Nanshe's town and entering
her temple, he describes his dream to her in detail (Cyl. A
ii.4-v.10).¹³

f Gen 41:8;
Exod 33:18-
23; Judg
13:21-22; Isa
6:5; Dan 2:1-
4, 10-13;
4:5, 19
g 2 Sam 5:2
(= 1 Chr
11:2); 2 Sam
7:7 (= 1 Chr
17:6); Ps
23; 78:70-72;
Jer 3:15;
23:1-4;
Ezek 34:2, 8,
10, 23; Zech
11:4-17;
Mic 5:3[4]
A Gen 40:41;
Dan 2 and 4
I Dan 2:31-
33

Nanshe's interpretation of Gudea's dream (Cyl. A v.11-vi.13)

To the ruler, his mother, Nanshe, gave an answer:
"O my shepherd, I myself will surely interpret
your dream for you.

With regard to the man who was great like heaven
(and) great like earth,ⁱ

as to his head, (being) a god, as to his arms (?
wings?),

(v.15) (being) the Anzu bird, as to his lower parts,
(being) a flood storm,

(and) on the right (and) on his left (two) lions lying
down;

it was surely my brother Ningirsu.¹⁴

He commanded you to build the shrine of his
Eninnu.

The sunlight that came forth from the horizon for
you

(v.20) was your (personal) god, Ningishzida. He
came forth for you from the horizon like sun-

details of the structure and how to actually proceed with the building project were not clear to him (Cyl. A i.22-23, 27-28, iv.20-21). Therefore, he decided to consult Nanshe, the dream interpreter of the gods, for an interpretation of the dream (Cyl. A i.22-iv.4; see Cyl. A ii.1-3 below and the note there).

In the Gudea Cylinders and other ANE temple building texts, the construction of a divinely pleasing sanctuary necessarily involved receiving and following a detailed and divinely revealed plan. The same is true in the Bible, but unlike Gudea, who needed to virtually pry the details of the plan out of the deity through cultic means, this information is readily forthcoming in ancient Israel (Exod 25:1-9; 1 Chr 28:11-19; Ezek 40-42). The revealed *tabnit* "plan" or "pattern" of the biblical tabernacle, the temple, and their furniture (see specifically Exod 25:9, 40; 26:30; 27:8; Josh 22:28; 1 Chr 28:11-12, 19; cf. Ezek 43:10-12) corresponds to both the *giš-hur* ("plan") of the temple and the visionary picture of the completed sanctuary in the Gudea Cylinders. See Hurowitz 1992:168-170; Jacobsen 1976b:80-81; Sarna 1986:200-203, and the notes on Cyl. A vi.5, xvii.17, and xix.20 below.

¹⁰ Sum. *ša-ga-ni sud-rá-àm* (lit. "his heart being distant") in line 22 is rendered "his heart being stirred up" because of the parallel in Cyl. A ix.2 where Ningirsu's heart is said to be "highly disturbed" (Sum. *šā an-gim sud-rá-ni* lit. "his heart distant like heaven"; cf. Cyl. A vii.4-5). In the latter context, Ningirsu's heart is clearly disturbed like the sea with its rolling breakers, a roaring stream, a destructive flood, a wild storm, and fast flowing water that cannot be dammed up (Cyl. A viii.23-ix.1). Others translate in Cyl. A i.22, e.g., "his heart was not to fathom" (referring to Ningirsu's heart, Jacobsen 1987b:389), or "(although) having a far reaching mind" (referring to Gudea's heart of extensive knowledge and deep understanding, Edzard 1997:69).

Gudea was disturbed by the dream because he did not understand it and, therefore, did not know how to proceed from that point (see also the note on Cyl. A viii.22 below). Thus, he "wearied himself" over the command and determined to go to Nanshe for interpretive help and advice (Cyl. A i.24-ii.3; cf. v.11-vii.8). Both the Egyptian Pharaoh of Joseph's day and Nebuchadnezzar had similar responses to their ominous dreams (Gen 41:8; Dan 2:1-4, 10-13). Theophanies, visions, and dreams were by nature awesome and dangerous (Exod 33:18-23), and often struck the fear of death in the hearts of those who experienced them (e.g., Exod 19:16 with 20:19; Judg 6:22-23; 13:21-22; Isa 6:5).

¹¹ As the ruler of his people, Gudea is often referred to, or refers to himself, as the "shepherd" (*šipa*; Cyl. A xvi.25, Cyl. B ii.5) or "faithful shepherd" (*šipa-zī*; Cyl. A vii.9, xi.5, xiv.5, xxiv.9, xxv.22, Cyl. B ii.7, viii.17; note esp. the regular use of this title in the structural formulas that shaped the composition as a whole). These are the earliest references to "faithful shepherd" as a royal motif (Hallo 1983:14-15). Gudea is the shepherd appointed and authorized by Nanshe (Cyl. A i.26, v.12, xiii.19), and "the shepherd called (i.e., chosen) in the heart of Ningirsu" (Stat. B ii.8-9; cf. also Stat. B iii.8-9 and Stat. D i.11-12, Edzard 1997:31-32, 41) to be his "obedient shepherd" (Cyl. B xiii.12).

"Shepherd" is well-known as a royal epithet in the ANE (Seux 1967:441-446). See, e.g., before Gudea in Lugalzagesi i iii.35-36 "the leading shepherd" (Cooper 1986:94-95), and after Gudea in the prologue to the Code of Hammurabi i.50-53 "Hammurabi, the shepherd, called by Enlil, am I" (ANET 164). The Lord called David to "shepherd my people Israel," which means that he was to "be a ruler over Israel" (2 Sam 5:2 = 1 Chr 11:2; cf. Ezek 34:23-24). We know that this was not simply a stock motif emptied of its original meaning because, according to Ps 78:70-72, David was called to shepherd Israel with the care, integrity, and skill that he had learned as a shepherd of sheep.

Israel experienced a plenitude of bad shepherds in its long history (Jer 23:1-4; Ezek 34:1-10), and it seemed that there were always more to come (Zech 11:4-17). However, the Lord also promised that he would eventually raise up a good Davidic shepherd (Ezek 34:23-24; cf. Mic 5:1-3[2-4]). The Lord sought out shepherds after his own heart to shepherd Israel (Jer 3:15-18; cf. 1 Sam 13:14) and, in fact, he himself was the ultimate shepherd of ancient Israel (Ps 23; Ezek 34:11-22). Similarly, Ningirsu could be referred to as the "shepherd" of ancient Lagash (Cyl. B vi.17-18). See Averbeck 1987:234-235 n. 237.

¹² Gudea's first dream was a "symbolic dream" that required interpretation if the ruler was to understand its full "meaning" or "intent" (Sum. *šā* lit. "heart" in ii.3; see the note on Cyl. A viii.22 below). Female dream interpreters are well known in ancient Mesopotamia, and in Cyl. A iv.12 the goddess Nanshe is referred to as "the dream interpreter of the gods." Nanshe did indeed interpret the dream (Cyl. A v.11-vi.13), but then advised Gudea to present a well-fashioned war chariot and present it to Ningirsu in order to incubate a second dream (Cyl. A vi.14-xix.6). On dream interpretation in particular, see Asher-Greve 1987 and the literature cited there (cf. Oppenheim 1956:221-225).

In the Bible both Joseph (Gen 40-41) and Daniel (Dan 2 and 4) became known as interpreters of dreams. Both of them attributed this ability to their God (Gen 40:8; 41:16; Dan 2:22-23, 27-30, 47). See Hurowitz 1992:148 n. 4.

¹³ Virtually all the details of the dream are repeated *mutatis mutandis* in Nanshe's interpretation of the dream. See Cyl. A v.11-vi.13 below.

¹⁴ Ningirsu of Lagash is virtually identifiable with Ninurta of Nippur (Cooper 1978:11; Heimpel 1996:22; and esp. Jacobsen 1976b:127-134).

light.
 The young woman who was going forth in front
 (with) a place of sheaves made (? on her?),
 who was holding a stylus of fine silver,
 who had placed a star tablet on her knees
 (and) was consulting it;
 (v.25) she was most certainly my sister, Nisaba.
 (vi.1) For the building of the temple according to its
 holy star(s)
 she called out to you.
 The second (man), being a warrior, bent (his) arm
 (and) held a slate of lapis lazuli;
 (vi.5) being Nindub, he was copying the plan of the
 temple.¹⁵
 The holy carrying-basket standing before you, the
 holy brick-mold properly prepared,
 (and) the decreed brick placed in the brick-mold;
 it was most certainly the true brick of the Eninnu.
 With regard to the beautiful poplar tree on which
 your eyes were fixed,
 (vi.10) in which the *tigidlu* bird was passing the day
 in song;
 (for zeal) to build the temple, sweet sleep will not
 enter your eyes.¹⁶
 With regard to the donkey stallion pawing the
 ground for you at the right side of your king,
 it is you pawing the ground like a choice donkey
 (eager to get) at the Eninnu."
Nanshe's advice to Gudea (Cyl. A vi.14-vii.8)
 "Let me advise (you)! May you take my advice!
 (vi.15) When you have stepped ashore at Girsu, the
 chief temple of the Lagash region,
 have torn loose the seal of your storehouse, have

J Ps 132:2-5

set out wood from it,
 have fashioned a perfect chariot for your king,
 have harnessed a donkey stallion to it,
 have adorned that chariot with fine silver and lapis
 lazuli,
 (vi.20) have made the arrows protrude from the
 quiver like (rays of) sunlight,
 have carefully prepared the *ankara* weapon, the
 arm of warriorship,
 have fashioned his beloved standard for him,
 have inscribed your name on it;
 (when) with his beloved lyre, the dragon of the
 land,
 (vi.25) the famous harp, his instrument of counsel,
 for the warrior who loves gifts,
 (vii.1) your king, lord Ningirsu,
 (when) you have brought them to the Eninnu for
 the shining Anzu bird;
 (then) what you speak softly he will accept as being
 nobly spoken.
 The heart of the lord, which is highly disturbed,
 (vii.5) (the heart) of Ningirsu, the son of Enlil, will
 become calm for you.
 He will reveal the plan of his temple to you.
 The warrior, his stature being the greatest,
 will laud it magnificently for you."¹⁷

II. Gudea's Second Dream (Cyl. A vii.9-xii.19)

*Narrative transition to Gudea's incubation of a
 second dream* (vii.9-10)

The faithful shepherd Gudea

(vii.10) had come to know what was important, (so)
 he proceeded to do it.¹⁸

and both are sometimes visually or descriptively represented as the lion-headed or man-headed bird of prey known as the Anzu bird, something like the description given here in Cyl. A v.13-17 (cf. iv.14-19). The image retains features of Ningirsu as the god of rainstorm and fertility, but also and most especially the god of warfare, which is important in the Gudea Cylinders (see Porada 1992:69-72 and Jacobsen 1987b:394 n. 26; cf. the similar description of Inanna in Sargon's dream, Cooper 1983:77, 80, lines 19-24). At the end of her interpretation of the dream Nanshe advises Gudea to fashion a fine war chariot for Ningirsu in order to coax him to reveal more about his expectations regarding the temple to be built (Cyl. A vi.14-vii.8; cf. Cyl. B xiii.14-xiv.12 and the note on Cyl. A vii.10).

There are some striking similarities between the image in Gudea's dream and that of Nebuchadnezzar in Dan 2:31-33. The central figure of both was a giant (statue of a) man. Both figures are described beginning at the head and then moving to the chest or arm area, and finally the lower regions of the body (belly, legs, and feet). Moreover, in both dreams there is a sequence of actions surrounding the central figure.

Of course, the images are not the same, and Gudea's is not described as a "statue," but rather as a living figure of the god, Ningirsu, commanding Gudea to build his temple (Cyl. A v.17-18). The actions associated with the figure are also dissimilar (compare Cyl. A iv.22-v.10 and v.19-vi.13 with Dan 2:34-45). Although Ezekiel's theophany (Ezek 1) is textually distant from his temple restoration vision (Ezek 40-48), one could nevertheless also argue for some level of transformed correspondence between it and Gudea's description of Ningirsu (Sharon 1996:106-107).

¹⁵ In her interpretation (Cyl. A v.21-vi.5), Nanshe explained that in the dream, among other things, the goddess Nisaba was consulting the tablet of the heavenly star(s) so that Gudea could construct the temple according to its holy star(s). Moreover, the god Nindub was copying the "plan" (*giš-hur*) of the temple onto a slate of lapis lazuli. Nanshe later advised Gudea to construct a fine war chariot for Ningirsu and present it to him (Cyl. A vi.14-vii.8), so that the god would look favorably upon the ruler and, therefore, reveal the *giš-hur* ("plan") of the temple (vii.6-8). Two subsequent dream incubations (Cyl. A viii.2-ix.5 and xx.6-8) and numerous other ritual preparations and procedures eventually led to the desired result. The details of the plan of the new temple (Cyl. A xix.20-21) and even a clear vision of the completed structure were granted to Gudea (xx.9-11). See the notes on Cyl. A i.21 above, and Cyl. A xvii.17 and xix.20 below.

¹⁶ Regarding the "*tigidlu* bird" in line 10, see Civil 1987. The initial dream included a call for Gudea to work tirelessly, day and night, to accomplish the building of the new temple (Cyl. A vi.11), and this is what he did (Cyl. A xvii.5-9; xix.20-27; cf. also Stat. F ii.2-5 in Edzard 1997:47). Similar expressions of tireless compulsion for building the temple in Jerusalem are used of David (Ps 132:2-5), who, although he was not allowed to build the temple in his day, spared no expense or energy in making preparations for Solomon to do so (1 Chr 22:14-19; 28:2-29:5). See Hurowitz 1992:324-325. For the image of the donkey, see Tsevat 1962.

¹⁷ See the note on Cyl. A vi.5 above.

¹⁸ Cyl. A vii.9-10 is the first occurrence of the major structural formula that occurs five times and divides the composition into seven major sections (see the introduction above, and Averbeck 1997:66-71 for discussion and occurrences of the formula in other compositions as well). The sentence has two verbs. The first is *hamu* (*mu-zu*), referring to the previous section, and the second is *marû* (*i-ga-tum-mu*), leading to what

Following Nanshe's advice (vi.14-vii.8) Gudea builds a chariot for Ningirsu and presents it to him as a gift in preparation for incubating a dream (vii.11-viii.1).	8 Gen 46:1-4; 1 Kgs 3:4-5 (= 2 Chr 1:6-7)	the lands, a fat sheep, a fat-tail sheep, (and) a fattened kid the ruler laid down on the skin of an unmated female kid. ²⁰ (viii.10) Juniper, being the pure plant of the mountain, he stuffed into the fire; cedar resin, being the fragrance of the god, gave off its incense. He rose up before his lord in the assembly (and) prayed to him; he stepped up to him in the Ubshukkinna, put his hand to his nose (in humble salute); ²¹ (viii.15) "O my king Ningirsu, the lord who returns
<i>Gudea incubates the second dream</i> (Cyl. A viii.2-ix.4) Afterwards, he spent days at the temple, * he spent nights. ¹⁹ He quieted the assembly (of people), turned away conflict, (viii.5) eliminated all disruptive speech from the area. At the Shugalam, the awe-inspiring place, the place where judgment is rendered, the place (from which) Ningirsu looks out over all		

follows (the preformative *i-ga-* implies sequence). A literal rendering would be, "The faithful shepherd Gudea had come to know what was great, he proceeded to carry out what was great." See Averbeck 1997:67 n. 73 for further discussion of the grammar (cf. Hurwitz 1992:52-53).

First, in the immediate context here Nanshe had just previously advised Gudea to fashion a war chariot and offer it as a gift to Ningirsu. This was intended to persuade the deity to be more forthcoming with revelations about the temple that Gudea had been commissioned to build for him (Cyl. A vi.14-vii.8). Gudea complied with her advice (vii.11-29) and then moved directly into dream incubation rituals and procedures (vii.30-ix.4). He thereby induced Ningirsu to appear a second time in a less enigmatic dream (ix.5-xii.11; cf. the first dream in i.12-21, Gudea's description of it to Nanshe in iv.14-v.11, and Nanshe's interpretation in v.12-vi.13).

The formula occurs a second time in Cyl. A xii.20, where it makes the transition from Gudea's confirmation of the second dream through extispicy (xii.12-19) to the ritual and pragmatic work of building the new Eninnu (xii.21-xxv.21). Another formula divides this large and complicated section into five (or six) segments (see the note on Cyl. A xiv.5-6). The third occurrence of the major formula is in Cyl. A xxv.22-23, where it makes the transition from the narrative remark announcing the completion of the temple (xxv.20-21) to the outfitting of the completed temple and its associated structures (xxv.24-xxx.5).

The fourth time the formula appears is in the early part of the second Cylinder (Cyl. B ii.7-8). In this instance, it marks the transition from Gudea's initial prayers and rituals in preparation for the consecration, dedication, and divine occupation of the new temple (i.12-ii.6), to the actual induction of Ningirsu and Baba, and their attending deities, into the new Eninnu (ii.9-xiii.10). Finally, the formula occurs in expanded form for the fifth time in Cyl. B xiii.11-13, where it signals the transition from the narrator's summary of divine support for the new Eninnu (xii.26-xiii.10), to the housewarming celebration of the induction of Ningirsu and Baba into their new home (xiii.14-xxiv.8).

¹⁹ Cyl. A viii.2-ix.4 describes the procedures for incubating the second dream (cf. the notes on Cyl. A i.17 above and xx.8 below). After following Nanshe's instructions to fashion a new war chariot and present it to Ningirsu (Cyl. A vii.11-viii.1; cf. the goddess's instructions in vi.14-vii.8), Gudea proceeded to incubate a second dream revelation. His goal was to gain further information about how to proceed with the building project commissioned to him in the first dream (see Cyl. A i.14-21 and the notes there).

Cyl. A viii.2-3 introduces the multiple-day incubation scene in the temple. The incubation procedures included complete silence and lack of conflict in the assembly (viii.4-5), various kinds of sacrifices and purification procedures (viii.6-12), and a prayer to Ningirsu requesting that he be more forthcoming regarding the temple (see the note on Cyl. A viii.19 below for the details). In a third dream, which was also incubated, Gudea saw a vision of the completed temple (Cyl. A xx.5-11; see the note on Cyl. A xx.8).

Dream incubation is known elsewhere in Sum. and other ANE literature. E.g., according to the Sum. Sargon Legend, it was through dream incubation that Sargon the Great foresaw that he would take over the kingdom from Zababa. According to the Gilgamesh epic, Gilgamesh incubated dreams as he and Enkidu approached their battle with Humbaba. The beginning of the Ug. Aqhat epic describes how Daniel spent six days and nights incubating a dream.

As with Gudea's first dream (see the note on Cyl. A i.17 above), in the Bible it is often difficult to determine whether or not a dream was incubated (Gnuse 1984:38). Solomon (1 Kgs 3:4-5; 2 Chr 1:6-7), and perhaps Jacob (Gen 46:1-4 [cf. 26:23-25]), incubated dreams by presenting offerings at altars or sanctuaries and lying down to sleep there. Some scholars propose that the close connection between temple building and dream incubation in the Gudea Cylinders is discernible also in the relationship between Solomon's incubated dream and the building of the Solomonic temple. Note the close proximity of the two in 2 Chr 1-2 (cf. esp. Kapelrud 1963 and Weinfeld 1972:250-254). This explanation of the text is, however, highly questionable (Rummel 1981:277-284; Kenik 1983:181-182 and n. 1; Brekelmans 1982). One interpretation of Ps 17:3 ("you have visited me at night") combined with v. 15b ("when I awake I will be satisfied with your likeness") is that it refers to the incubation of a dream during the night and the joy of the morning thereafter (Kraus 1988:247, 249). For other possible reflections of dream incubation in the Psalms see Kraus 1986:132 and 147, and for further discussion see Ackerman 1991:112-120; Averbeck 1987:506-579; Butler 1998:18-19, 73, 217-239; Gnuse 1984:11-55; McAlpine 1987:155-179; Miller 1985:230-231.

²⁰ This line is particularly difficult. Lit., one could read lines 8-9, "a fat sheep, a fat-tail sheep, a fattened kid; the ruler an unmated female kid made lie down in its skin." Edzard (1997:74) and Jacobsen (1987b:398) take it to mean that the ruler made the animals in line 8 lie down "on the skin" of the unmated female kid in line 9. The reference to the "skin" (Sum. *kuš*) of an animal in the context of dream incubation suggests, however, that this is somehow related to the well-documented sleeping of the incubant on the skin of a sacrificed animal in later incubation rituals. See Ackerman 1991:94-108 for a good summary of the sources from the wider Mediterranean world.

The unmated female kid would seem to reflect the concern for purity. Perhaps when the ruler would lie down to sleep and incubate a dream he would lie down on this skin (cf. Cyl. A ix.5-6). Previously, he would have identified the skin as a place of supplication by offering the other animals to Ningirsu on it. The plural days and nights mentioned in Cyl. A viii.2-3 suggest that he went through this procedure several times. In any case, the syntax of the passage is awkward. Perhaps we could take it to mean that the animals in line 8 would have previously been offered as sacrifices to Ningirsu, and it is the ruler who would lie down each night on the skin of an unmated female kid in line 9.

²¹ The Ubshukkinna was a relatively public (see *un-gá* lit. "among the people" in line 13; *un* = Akk. *nīšā* "mankind, people, inhabitants") meeting place (*ukkin* in Ubshukkinna = Akk. *puhru* "assembly") located somewhere in the courtyard of the temple (Jacobsen 1976b:86).

The Sum. verbal expression *kiri šu gál* means lit. "to place hand to nose" and is used often in the context of obeisance and prayer. For a review of occurrences in Sum. literature, discussion, and references to iconographic evidence see Averbeck 1987:463-468 and the literature cited there.

to the Aḫuṣh,²²
 the true lord, the semen ejaculated by the great
 mountain,
 the glorious hero who has no challenger,
 Ningirsu, I would build your temple for you
 (but) I do not have my signal.²³
 (viii.20) O warrior, you have called for the long
 enduring thing(s),
 (but) O son of Enlil, lord Ningirsu,
 I do not know the heart of it from you.²⁴
 Your heart, rising like the sea,
 crashing down like waves,
 (viii.25) roaring like fast flowing water,
 destroying cities like a flood,
 striking at the rebel land(s) like a storm;
 (ix.1) O my king, your heart is fast flowing water
 that cannot be stopped up,
 O warrior, your heart is distant like heaven,
 O son of Enlil, lord Ningirsu,
 as for me, what do I know from you?"

Ningirsu speaks to Gudea in a dream (Cyl. A ix.5-
 xii.11)

(ix.5) For a second time to the one lying down, to
 the one lying down
 he stepped up to the head, was touching (him)
 briefly(?) (saying):
 "That which you will build for me, that which you
 will build for me,
 O ruler, my temple which you will build for me,
 O Gudea, in order to build my temple I will indeed
 give you its signal,²⁵
 (ix.10) the pure heavenly star(s) of my ritual proce-
 dure(s) I will indeed proclaim to you.
 My temple, the Eninnu founded by An,

[Ezek 47:1-
 12; Hag 1:2-
 11; 2:15-19;
 Zech 9:9-13]

its capacities are the greatest capacities, exceeding
 all capacities;
 the temple whose king looks far into the distance,
 as at the screeching of the Anzu bird
 (ix.15) heaven trembles (at its screeching).
 Its terrifying radiance reaches up to heaven.
 The great fearfulness of my temple is cast over all
 the foreign lands.
 At (the mention of) its name all the foreign lands
 assemble from the horizon,
 Magan and Meluhha descend from their mountains.

Ningirsu continues with a description of his own divine
 position and powers as the occupant of the Eninnu (ix.20-
 x.14) and his other temples (x.15-x.29).

(xi.1) My temple, the foremost temple of all the
 lands,
 the right arm of Lagash,
 the Anzu bird screeching throughout heaven,
 the Eninnu, my royal temple;
 (xi.5) O faithful shepherd Gudea,
 when you bring your faithful hand to bear for me
 I will cry out to heaven for rain.
 From heaven let abundance come to you,
 let the people receive abundance with you,
 (xi.10) with the founding of my temple
 let abundance come!²⁶
 The great fields will lift up (their) hand(s) to you,
 the canal will stretch out its neck to you,
 (up to) the mounds, places to which water does not
 (normally) rise,
 (xi.15) the water will rise for you.
 Sumer will pour out abundant oil because of you,
 will weigh out abundant wool because of you.
 When you fill in my foundation,

²² Edzard and others take Sum. *a-ḫuṣ* to refer to "fierce (*ḫuṣ*) water (a)," and therefore translate, "who turns back fierce waters." We know from elsewhere, however, that it could also refer to a temple shrine known as the Aḫuṣh (Falkenstein 1966:167; Steible 1982:2.106 n. on line 3; pointed out to me by Å. Sjöberg and the late H. Behrens).

²³ In Cyl. A viii.18-19 Gudea proclaims to Ningirsu that he would go ahead and build the temple, but he was in need of a *giskim* "signal" (= Akk. *itū*) before he could proceed. The term *giskim* occurs again at the beginning and end of the incubated dream for which the ruler was praying at this moment (see Cyl. A ix.7-xii.11). At the beginning of the dream Ningirsu announces that he will indeed grant Gudea his *giskim* (ix.9), and at the end he promises further *giskim* when needed (xii.10-11). The first "signal" was the dream itself. In it Ningirsu, who had already appeared with Anzu-bird features in the first dream (see the note on Cyl. A v.17 above), begins with a corresponding description of the temple as having the awe-inspiring characteristics of the Anzu bird (Cyl. A ix.14-15). The Anzu bird nature of the temple is mentioned again at the beginning of the second part of the dream (xi.3), in which Ningirsu called the ruler to actually begin the construction of the Eninnu and promised him proper support and supply in the process (xi.6-xii.9).

At the very end of the dream Ningirsu promises Gudea that he will know his "signal" in that day (referring forward to the time when he had begun the construction of the Eninnu) when "I (Ningirsu) have touched your arm with fire" (Cyl. A xii.10-11, see the note there). This refers forward to another time when he would receive a "signal" so that he could proceed further with the construction of the temple. It is most likely the third dream, which was also incubated, that Ningirsu is referring to here (see the note on Cyl. A xx.8 below).

²⁴ In addition to not having the proper *giskim* "signal" as a guide during the building process (see the note on Cyl. A viii.19 above), Gudea also did not know Ningirsu's exact "meaning" or "intent" (Sum. *ḫa* lit. "heart"; see the note on Cyl. A ii.3 above) with regard to the original dream "command" (lit. *inim* "word"; see the combination of these two terms in Cyl. A i.23-ii.3, iii.24-28, and finally xix.28-xx.1). Therefore, another part of the prayer request in the dream incubation procedure was that, in a play on words, Ningirsu would make known the "intent" (*ḫa*; Cyl. A viii.20-22) of his command, but this would require that the deity's storming "heart" (*ḫa*) would become calm (viii.23-ix.4; cf. the Nanshe's rationale in vii.4-8). This was accomplished in two stages. Gudea came to know the "intent" of Ningirsu through the first incubated dream (Cyl. A xii.18-19) and more became clear to him later, after the successful fashioning of the first brick (Cyl. A xix.28).

²⁵ See the note on Cyl. A viii.19 above.

²⁶ Gudea Cyl. A xi.6-8 and 18-25 are strikingly similar to Hag 2:18-19, where the day of the founding of the temple is the day when the Lord would begin to bless the people with abundance (cf. Hag 1:2-11; 2:15-17; and also Zech 9:9-13). Ezek 47:1-12 describes the waters flowing from under the threshold of the restored temple eastward to the Arabah and bringing fertility and abundance to the region through which it flows. See the note on Cyl. A i.9 above and Averbeck 1987:189-193; Hurowitz 1992:322-323; Meyers and Meyers 1987:65-66; Sharon 1996:99-102.

when you bring your faithful hand to bear for me
at my temple.
(xi.20) (then) to the mountain range, the place
where the north wind dwells,
I will direct my steps.
The man of abundant strength, the north wind —
from the mountain range, the pure place,
I will have it blow straight to you.
When it has given fortitude of heart to the people,
(xi.25) one man will do the work of two men.²⁷
At night moonlight will continually go forth for
you,
at midday sunlight will continually go forth for you
daily.
(xii.1) The day will build the temple for you,
the night will make it grow for you.
From below, *halub*
and *biḥan(?)* wood I will have come to you.
(xii.5) From above, cedar, cypress, and *zabatum*
wood I will have brought to you freely(?).
From the mountain of ebony trees
I will have ebony wood brought to you.
From the mountain of stone, the great stone of the
mountain range
I will have cut into blocks for you.
(xii.10) In that day, when I have touched your arm
with fire²⁸
you will surely know my signal.”
Gudea awoke, having been asleep.
He trembled, having had a dream.
To the command of Ningirsu
(xii.15) he bowed the head (in submission).
He reached into the white he-goat.
He performed an extispicy; his extispicy was favor-
able.
The heart of Ningirsu,

being (clear as) daylight, went forth for Gudea.

III. The Construction of the New Eninnu (Cyl. A xii.20–xxv.21)

Narrative transition to the initial stages of construc- tion (xii.20)

He had come to know what was important, (so) he
proceeded to do it.²⁹

A. Initial Excavations, Social Calm, Purity, and Preparation of Brick Mold and Hoe (Cyl. A xii.21– xiv.6)³⁰

Gudea initiates the building project (Cyl. A xii.21– xiii.15)

(xii.21–22) The ruler set forth instructions in his
whole city as if to one man.

All Lagash land acted with a unified heart like sons
of the same woman.

It took hold of tools, tore out shrubs,

(xii.25) (and) stacked the (torn up) foliage in
piles(?).

Gudea eliminates social, legal, and economic strife and
abuse, as well as physical and ritual impurity from the city
(xii.26–xiii.15).³¹

Gudea prepares the brick-mold and hoe, and purifies the sacred area (Cyl. A xiii.16–xiv.6)

He made a he-goat lie down before the box of the
brick-mold(?);

invoked (an extispicy for) the brick over the he-
goat.

He looked with favor at the hoe;

the shepherd, whose name is called by Nanshe,
established it in princely form.³²

(xiii.20) The box of the brick-mold, which he
designed;

the hoe, which he established in princely form;

²⁷ The translation here follows Edzard and Jacobsen, but it could also mean “one man will work with another” (Sum. *lú-aš lú-mín-da kin mu-da-ak-ke*, lit. “one man, with two men [or, a second man], he will do work”).

²⁸ The expression “touched your arm with fire” has been interpreted in various ways. Landsberger suggested that the forthcoming *giskim* “signal” would literally include an accompanying sensation that Gudea’s arm was burning (Landsberger 1964:72; cf. the note on Cyl. A viii.19 above). Jacobsen translates “the fire will touch your borders” (Sum. *d* can mean either “arm” or “border”), suggesting that it refers to the future purification of the foundation plot by fire. The actual construction of the building could begin once the fire reached the borders of the foundation plot (see Jacobsen 1987b:403 and n. 56 where he refers to Cyl. A xiii.25 *sic*; cf. Cyl. A xiii.12–13).

The translation here takes the expression to be a metaphorical way of referring to Gudea’s sleepless energetic obsession to fulfill the commission to build the temple. This was described in Nanshe’s interpretation of the first dream (Cyl. A vi.9–13) but not actually experienced by the ruler until Cyl. A xvii.5–xx.4 (note esp. xvii.7–9 and xix.21–27). It was only after this was fulfilled that Gudea came to understand the full intent (*ša* lit. “heart”) of Ningirsu regarding the construction of the new Eninnu (Cyl. A xix.28–xx.1; cf. the notes on Cyl. A i). Thus, the final *giskim* “signals” consisted of the various oracles and divinations described in Cyl. A xx.2–11, including another incubated dream (see the note on Cyl. A xx.8 below).

²⁹ See the note on Cyl. A vii.10 above.

³⁰ For an explanation of the literary structure of Gudea Cyl. A xii.21–xxv.19 reflected in these headings see the note on Cyl. A xiv.6 below.

³¹ The elimination of social, legal, and economic strife and abuse, as well as physical and ritual impurity from the city and sanctuary were major concerns. In Cyl. A xii.26–xiii.15 Gudea enforced this in order to set the stage for making the first brick (Cyl. A xiii.16–23 and xviii.3–xix.19; cf. also the purification of the city in xiii.24–25, and the more expanded parallel version of this in Stat. B iii.6–v.11, Edzard 1997:32). See the translation of Cyl. B xvii.18–xviii.11 (and the note on xviii.11) for similar concerns during the seven-day dedication festival.

³² Cyl. A xiii.16–23 is difficult, but clearly recounts the initial preparations for the making the first brick, the actual fabrication of which is described in Cyl. A xviii.3–xix.19 (see the note on Cyl. A xix.19 below). These initial preparations involved, above all, divinatory approval of the “box (or perhaps ‘shed’) of the brick-mold” (xiii.16, 20, Sum. *pisan-ù-šub-ba*; compare Heimpel 1987a:206–207 with Jacobsen 1987b:404 and Edzard 1997:77) and the “hoe” (xiii.18, 21, reading *KA.AL* as *zú-al(a)* lit. “tooth of the hoe,” normally written *al-zú*) or perhaps “clay pit” (taking *KA.AL* as a genitive *ka-al(a)* lit. “mouth of the hoe” = Akk. *kalakku* “excavation”; Heimpel 1987a:206–208).

With regard to the latter, in favor of reading *zú-al* “hoe” see the writing *zú-al* in RA 16 (1919):19 ii.25 in a delivery text (one cannot “deliver” a “clay pit”) with the determinative for something made of wood, along with *zú-al-dili* “hoe with one tooth” (Hoe and Plow 174, cf. COS 1.580;

being the Anzu-bird of the standard of his king,
he caused (them) to shine brightly as protective
emblems.³³

He was purifying the city for him (Ningirsu), (its)
heights and depths(?), (down) to the under-
ground waters(?).³⁴

(xiii.25) he was cleansing the heights(?) for him.

Juniper, being the pure plant of the mountain, he
stuffed into the fire;

cedar resin, being the fragrance of the god, gave
off its incense.

For him the day was for prayer offering(s);
he was passing the night in petition.

(xiv.1) The Anunna gods of all Lagash land;
to build the temple of Ningirsu
they stood with Gudea
in prayer and supplication.

(xiv.5-6) For the faithful shepherd, Gudea, it was
cause for rejoicing.³⁵

B. Gathering of Laborers, Provisions, and Raw Materials (Cyl. A xiv.7-xvii.4?)

At that time the ruler imposed a levy on his
land.³⁶ *m*

*m*Exod 35:10-
19; 36:1-4;
1 Kgs 5:27-
32[13-18];
2 Chr 2:1-2

n 1 Kgs 5:20-
24[6-10];
2 Chr 2:3-16

On his whole country,
on the Guedinna of Ningirsu,
(xiv.10) he imposed a levy.

The following materials, their source, and their transport
are of special interest:

Wood (Cyl. A xv.19-xvi.1)³⁷

Into the cedar mountain, which no man can enter,³⁸
(xv.20) for Gudea the lord Ningirsu
prepared the way.

He (Gudea) cut down its cedars with great axes.

For the *Sharur* weapon, the right arm of Lagash,
the flood weapon of his king,
(xv.25) he dressed (the logs).

Being like majestic snakes floating on water,
from the cedar mountain range, cedar rafts,
from the cypress mountain range,
cypress rafts,

(xv.30) from the *zabatum* mountain range,
zabatum rafts,

great big spruce trees, plane trees,
and *eratum* trees;

their great big rafts, which floated (downstream),
(xv.35) at the majestic quay of Kasurra

references courtesy of Åke Sjöberg, personal communication). If *pisan* means "box" of the brick-mold, then we have two primary implements for the making of bricks, the hoe for mixing the clay and the brick-mold into which the clay was poured. The particular hoe and brick-mold were selected by extispicy. For another interpretation, see Hallo 1962:9.

³³ The rendering here takes Sum. *urī* "protective emblems" (line 23) to be a reference to the brick-mold and the hoe (lines 20-21), which take on the character and function of Ningirsu's Anzu bird standard in this context (line 22). Others take it to be the pole on which the regular Anzu-bird standard of Ningirsu was raised for display (Heimpel 1987a:209; cf. Jacobsen 1987b:404 "upright"), or the actual banner affixed to the pole (Edzard 1997:77). The reference to "designing" the brick-mold in line 20 suggests that perhaps the brick-mold had the design of the Anzu-bird on it. In the immediately following context, the brick-mold and hoe may have been paraded around as part of the purification procedures for the temple foundation area (xiii.24-27).

³⁴ The rendering here follows PSD B:199 (cf. the notes in Averbeck 1987:639 nn. 259 and 260). According to that interpretation, the line reads lit., "the height (Sum. *u₃* = Akk. *ṣagū* "high") the depth (Sum. *U* = *buru₃* = "hole, cavity; depth") toward the underground water (Sum. *BAD* = *idim* = Akk. *nagbu* "underground water") the city was purifying for him." Others read the line differently: lit. "a mound (= same as above) toward eighteen *iku* (Sum. *U* = *buru₃* = Akk. *buru* = "18 *iku*" of ground or surface area) six *iku* (Sum. *BAD* = *eše₃* = "6 *iku*" of ground or surface area) the city was purifying for him." Thus, "a mound up to 24 *iku* the city was purifying for him" (Edzard 1997:77; cf. Jacobsen 1987b:404).

³⁵ Cyl. A xiv.5-6 is the first occurrence of a *minor* structural formula that occurs four (or five) times, dividing the third and most complicated section of Cylinder A (xii.21-xxv.21) into five (or six) segments (see the note on Cyl. A vii.10 for the *major* structural formula and overall structure of Gudea Cylinders A and B). See Averbeck 1997:71-74 for discussion of this minor formula and its uses in other compositions as well (cf. Hurowitz 1992:53-54). We are not sure whether it occurs four or five times because the text is broken at Cyl. A xvii.1-4, and the subject after the break is different from before it. The formula may have appeared again in the break (Averbeck 1997:72).

The grammar and translation of the formulaic sentence has been much debated (see Averbeck 1997:71-72 n. 88 for sources and discussion). It reads: *sipa-zī gū-dé-a hūl-la-gim im-na-na-ni-lb-gar*, and may be rendered lit., "It (-b- verbal infix refers to the previous accomplishment) established (*gar*) (something) like (-*gim*) rejoicing (*hūl-la*) there (-*ni*-) for the faithful shepherd, Gudea (*sipa-zī gū-dé-a* plus the -*na*- verbal infix meaning 'for')." Others take *hūl-la-gim* plus the verb *gar* to mean "to make joy like a festival," and render the sentence something like this: "For the faithful shepherd, Gudea, it was like a festival day." In either case the point is that Gudea truly rejoiced over what had just been accomplished.

In the present context he had successfully made preparation and purification of the populace, sacred precinct, and brick-mold, and had attained the cooperation of the Anunna gods in the ongoing work of the project (Cyl. A xii.21-xiv.4). The next clear use of the formula is in Cyl. A xvii.28, after Gudea had gathered laborers and materials (xiv.7-xvii.4?; text broken at xvii.1-4, see remarks above), and surveyed and laid out the sacred area (xvii.5-27). The third occurrence is in Cyl. A xx.4, after the successful fabrication and presentation of the first brick (xvii.29-xx.3). Finally, the formula occurs a fourth time in Cyl. A xx.12, after the oracular confirmation of the architectural plan (xx.5-11). The final segment of this section of the document comes after the last instance of the formula, and provides an extended account of the actual construction of the new temple (xx.13-xxv.19). The whole section ends with the third occurrence of the major structural formula (xxv.22-23; see the note on Cyl. A vii.10 above).

³⁶ The term *zi-ga* "rising" in Cyl. A xiv.7, 10, 13, etc. combines with the verb *gar* "to set, establish" or *gál* "to (cause to) be" to attain the meaning "to impose a levy." According to Cyl. A xiv.7-28, Gudea levied laborers and the provisions to support them from the various regions of the land in order to build the temple. Likewise, Moses and Solomon levied laborers when they built the tabernacle and the temple, respectively (Exod 35:10-19; 36:1-4; 1 Kgs 5:27-32[13-18]; 2 Chr 2:1-2).

³⁷ Gudea had wood brought from various places all over the ANE for the building of the temple (Cyl. A xv.6-xvi.1; cf. Stat. B v.21-36 and v.45-vi.2). This included cedar wood from the cedar mountain range in northern Syria, along the upper Mediterranean coast (Cyl. A xv.19-25). The parallel passage in Stat. B v.28 refers to this specifically as the Amanus mountains (Edzard 1997:33). Solomon obtained cedar from the same

(xvi.1) [he (Gudea) moored for him (Ningirsu)].

[perhaps another lost line?]

Stone (Cyl. A xvi.3-6)³⁸

[Into the stone mountain, which no man can enter, for Gudea] the lord [Ningir]su

(xvi.5) [prepared] the way.

Its great big stones he brought in their blocks. °

The account of transporting stones and bitumen continues (xvi.7-12).

Precious metals and stones (Cyl. A xvi.13-32)

To the ruler who built the Eninnu,

great things came to his aid.

(xvi.15) From Kimash the copper mountain range called itself for him.

He unloaded its copper from its raft(?).³⁹

To the man who was about to build the temple of his king,

to the ruler, gold from its mountain

(xvi.20) was brought in its dust (form).⁴⁰ p

The account continues with the gathering of other precious metals and stones (xvi.21-32).

C. Surveying and Laying Out the Sacred Area (Cyl. A xvii.5-28)

Enki reveals the design of the temple complex to Gudea (Cyl. A xvii.5-17)

(xvii.5) He [prolonged] the day[s] for him];

o 1 Kgs 5:29-32[15-18];
2 Chr 2:2,
17-18 (cf.
1 Chr 22:2-5;
28:14-18)

p Exod 35:5,
22; 1 Kgs
6:20-22, 30,
35; 2 Chr
3:4-10; 4:19-
5:1 (cf.
1 Chr 22:14-
16)

g Ps 132:2-5

r Ezek 40

he prolonged the nights for him(?).⁴¹

For the sake of building the temple of his king,

he did not sleep at night,

he did not bow the head in sleep at noon.⁴² q

(xvii.10) Being the one at whom Nanshe looked with favor,

being the man of the heart of Enlil,

being the ruler ... (?) of Ningirsu,

Gudea, being born in a lofty sanctuary

by Gatumdug;

(xvii.15-16) Nisaba opened the house of wisdom for him,

Enki prepared the plan of the house for him.⁴³

Gudea proceeds to survey and measure off the sacred area where the temple was to be built (xvii.18-28), concluding with lines 26-28:

(xvii.26) It being the right field(?), he laid the measuring cords (on it),⁴⁴ r

drove in stakes at its borders, and checked (the measurements) himself.

It was cause for rejoicing for him (Gudea).⁴⁵

D. Fabricating, Presenting, and Placing the First Brick (Cyl. A xvii.29-xx.4)

Gudea makes the first brick (Cyl. A xvii.29-xix.15)

During the evening he went to the old temple in supplication.

(xviii.1) At the throne room of the Girmun, Gudea

geographical region through Hiram, king of Tyre (1 Kgs 5:20[6]; cf. 2 Sam 5:11-12 and 7:2), and both Gudea and Hiram floated them to their destinations in the form of rafts (see Cyl. A xv.26-xvi.1 and 1 Kgs 5:23[9]). See ANET 268-269 and Hurowitz 1992:205-207.

³⁸ The lineation of column xvi is uncertain at the beginning because the text is broken, but the main substance of it can be restored from Cyl. A xv.19-21.

Both Gudea (Cyl. A xvi.3-12; cf. Stat. B vi.59-63, Edzard 1997:35) and Solomon (1 Kgs 5:29-32[15-18]; 2 Chr 2:2, 17-18 [cf. 1 Chr 22:2-5; 28:14-18]) had large stones quarried and brought to them for laying the foundations of their respective temples. See ANET 268-269 and Hurowitz 1992:205-207.

³⁹ For this translation of this line see PSD A1:61. Others take it to refer to the actual mining of the copper (e.g., Edzard 1997:79 and Jacobsen 1987b:408).

⁴⁰ Gudea (Cyl. A xvi.13-32), Moses (Exod 35:5, 22), and Solomon (1 Kgs 6:20-22, 30, 35; 2 Chr 3:4-10; 4:19-5:1 [cf. 1 Chr 22:14-16]) all collected and used gold and other precious metals and stones in the construction of their sanctuaries. See ANET 268-269 and Hurowitz 1992:206.

⁴¹ Line 5 is quite broken, but the first *ud* (= "day") and the *mu*- verbal prefix are relatively clear. The translation of line 6 offered here follows Falkenstein's view that we should read *DUGUD DUGUD* as *gi₂₃-gi₂₅ = gi₆-gi₆* "nights" (Falkenstein 1978:1.7-8). If this is correct, then "day" in line 5 suggests that these two lines should be treated as corresponding doublets. Others take *DUGUD DUGUD* as a reference to rain clouds (e.g., Edzard 1997:79 and Jacobsen 1987b:409). Falkenstein's analysis fits well with the following lines.

⁴² For Gudea's single-minded devotion and untiring effort in building the temple reflected in Cyl. A xvii.5-9 see also Cyl. A vi.11 above and the note there. See also the discussion in Hurowitz 1992:324-325.

⁴³ Although some of the details are unclear to us and subject to various interpretations, Nisaba's appearance along with Enki has to do with Enki's preparing a proper "plan" (*gis-hur*; cf. Cyl. A v.21-vi.5). In this instance, *gis-hur* may refer to the plan of the temple complex as a whole. Cyl. A xvii.29 refers to Gudea going to the old Eninnu, and xviii.6-9 speaks of Gudea going out from the "holy city" (i.e., the temple complex) for a "second time." Gudea Statue B, on which is inscribed a shorter but parallel account of the building of the new Eninnu, has the ruler sitting with a tablet resting on his lap (see Johansen 1978:10 and plates 19-22). On the tablet there is a diagram of a walled-in area with six gate areas. Heimpel has argued convincingly that this diagram depicts the external walls of the Eninnu complex, and with this we agree. He also suggests on the basis of his interpretation of one inscription that the actual sanctuary of Ningirsu within the complex was called the "White Eagle (Anzu-bird) House" (Sum. *é anzu-babbar*, Heimpel 1996:19; regarding *anzu*, see the note on Cyl. A v.17 above). The latter point seems less certain, but it is true that a separate Tarsirsir sanctuary of Baba was also part of the complex (Heimpel 1996:22; see Cyl. A xxvi.9-11 and Gudea Stat. E ii.14-20, Edzard 1997:43).

Therefore, it seems that Cyl. A xvii.17 refers to the revelation of the *gis-hur* "plan" of the overall temple complex, and Cyl. A xix.20-27 describes the initial stages of Gudea's proper implementation of the plan in close association with the proper making of the first brick (Cyl. A xvii.3-xix.19). See also the notes on Cyl. A i.21 and vi.5 above (cf. vii.6-8).

⁴⁴ Some read Sum. *GAN₂ = iku* = Akk. *ikū* an area of land a little smaller than an acre (ca. 60 yards square), rather than Sum. *GAN₂ = gana₂* = Akk. *eqle* "field." PSD A2:9 translates, "he laid the measuring cords down on (every) cultivated field and put pegs at its borders," but this context is concerned with a particular field, the "right field." Ezekiel was shown a vision of a man measuring the dimensions of the temple walls and gates (Ezek 40).

⁴⁵ See the note on Cyl. A xiv.6 above.

was calming the heart
for him (Ningirsu).
Day dawned, he bathed,
(and) dressed himself suitably(?).
(xviii.5) The sun was shining brightly for him.
Gudea went out a second time from the holy city
(and) offered up a perfect bull and a perfect he-
goat.
He went to the temple
(and) put his hand to his nose (in humble salute).
(xviii.10) The holy basket, the rightly decreed brick-
mold,⁴⁶
[line too broken to read]
... head lifted high he went along.
Lugalkurdub ('King Who Shakes the Mountains')
went before him,
(xviii.15) Igalim ('Bison Door') followed behind
him,
Ningishzida ('Lord of the Good Tree'), his (per-
sonal) god, was leading him by the hand.
In the box of the brick-mold he libated fine(?)
water.
While *adab*, *šim*, and *ala* instruments resounded
for the ruler,
he anointed the brick hoe,(?)⁴⁷
(xviii.20) hoed in honey, butter, and ... oil;
sap and resin(?) from various kinds of trees
he worked into the paste.
He picked up the holy carrying basket (and)
stepped up to the brick-mold.
Gudea put the clay into the brick-mold.
(xviii.25) He made the long enduring thing appear in
splendor;
the brick of the temple he set forth in splendid
appearance.
The lands sprinkled (it) with oil;
sprinkled (it) with (essence of) cedar.
(xix.1) His city and all Lagash land joyously
passed the day with him.

s Zech 4:7(?)

r 1 Sam 6:10-12

(Later) he shook the brick-mold (and) the brick fell
into the sunlight (to dry).
At the hoe (used for mixing) of the clay in its
mold(?)
(xix.5) he looked with gratification.
(With) *hašur* resin and sap
he anointed (the brick).
Over the brick which he had made in the brick-
mold
Utu (the sun god) rejoiced.
(xix.10) In his mold, which rises like a lofty canal,
king En[ki] decreed destiny.
... (?) he entered into the temple.
He lifted the brick out of the box of the brick-
mold.
(Like) a holy crown lifted up to heaven,
(xix.15) he lifted the brick up and carried it around
among his people.⁴⁸
*Gudea energetically devotes himself to laying out
the plan of the temple* (Cyl. A xix.16-27)
Being (like) the holy team of Utu tossing the(ir)
head(s);
being (like) that brick lifting its head toward
heaven,
like the cow of Nanna (the moon god), ready to be
hitched in its pen;
he placed the brick (and) walked about in the
temple.
(xix.20) Gudea was laying out the plan of the tem-
ple.⁴⁹
Being (like) Nisaba, who understands numbers,
like a young man building a house for the first
time,
sweet sleep was not entering his eyes.
Like a cow that keeps its eye on its calf, '
(xix.25) he went to the temple in constant worry.
Like a man who puts (only) a little food in his
mouth,
he did not tire from being constantly on the go.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ For helpful translations as well as philological and interpretive remarks on Cyl. A xviii.10-xix.20 see Heimpel 1987a:206-211.

⁴⁷ For the translations "box" and "hoe" in lines 17-19 see the note on Cyl. A xiii.19 above.

⁴⁸ The first and foremost event in laying the foundation of the temple was making the first brick, the so-called "destined brick" (Sum. *sig₁-nam-tar-ra*; Cyl. A vi.7; cf. i.15, v.7, vi.7) or "true brick of the Eninnu" (Sum. *sig₁-zi-é-ninnu*; Cyl. A vi.8). There were two separate parts of the process (Heimpel 1987a:210): the previous preparations for making the first brick (Cyl. A xiii.16-23; see the note on Cyl. A xiii.19 and 23 above) and now the actual making of the first brick with great ritual pomp and circumstance (Cyl. A xviii.3-xix.19). Finally, he placed the first brick as the ritual initiation of the actual construction of the new temple.

Later we hear of Ganumdug, the mother goddess of Lagash, giving birth to the bricks used to build the Eninnu (Cyl. A xx.17-18). In other places *sig₁*, "brick" refers to the new Eninnu as a whole "brickwork" (Cyl. A xxi.25, B i.3, xiii.7, xx.15, 16, 18) even "the destined brickwork" (Cyl. B xxi.18-19). The first "destined brick" was in a sense the prototype of the Eninnu as a whole and needed to be fabricated in a way that honored it, the future temple as a whole, and Ningirsu himself.

Although there is no clear biblical parallel, some biblical scholars have compared Gudea's first brick and the "first" or "former brick" (Akk. *libittu mahrltu*) in the Mesopotamian *kalû*-ritual for rebuilding temples with the "head" or "former stone" (Heb. *hā'eben hār'ōšāh*) referred to in Zech 4:7 (Halpern 1978:170-171). Others associate Zechariah's stone with the dedication of the temple (e.g., Hurowitz 1992:261 n.2), but in its context Zech 4:9 does indeed refer to laying the foundation of the second temple in Jerusalem.

⁴⁹ According to the original dream, the revelation of the plan of the temple was to be closely associated with the molding of the first brick (Cyl. A vi.3-8), and Gudea would then work feverishly to complete the construction of the temple (vi.9-13). This corresponds to the sequence here of molding the first brick (Cyl. A xvii.3-xix.19), and then feverishly working to lay out the plan of the temple at the sacred site (xix.20-27). Cf. the notes on Cyl. i.21, vi.5, and xvii.17 above.

⁵⁰ See the note on Cyl. A vi.11 above.

Gudea gains full understanding of Ningirsu's intentions for the temple (Cyl. A xix.28-xx.4)

The heart of his king had come forth like daylight.
(xx.1) The command of Ningirsu was displayed for Gudea like a banner.

In his heart that summoned (him) to build the temple,

a man delivered a propitious oracle.

It was cause for rejoicing for him.⁵¹

E. Oracular Confirmation of the Architectural Plan
(Cyl. A xx.5-12)

He performed an extispicy; his extispicy was favorable.

He cast barley on moving(?) water; its appearance was right.

Gudea lay down as an oracular dreamer;

a command went forth to him.⁵²

The building of the temple of his king,
(xx.10) the separation of the Eninnu from heaven and earth,

was displayed there for him before his eyes.

It was cause for rejoicing for him.⁵³

F. Construction of the Temple (Cyl. A xx.13-xxv.19)

The various gods now take up their specific tasks in the construction of the temple from the divine perspective (Cyl. A xx.13-23).

u Zech 4:8-10; Ezra 3:8-13

v 1 Kgs 8:31-53

w Exod 3:1; 15:17; Isa 2:2-3 (= Mic 4:1-2); Pss 2:6; 48:2-41-3

Gudea participates directly in the actual construction of the temple (Cyl. A xx.24-27)

Gudea, the temple builder, "

(xx.25) put the carrying basket of the temple on (his) head like a holy crown.

He laid the foundation; made the footings for the walls(?).⁵⁴

He gave a blessing, "the plumb-line aligns the bricks."⁵⁵ v

Gudea continues blessing the house for a total of seven times (xxi.1-12) and then sets the door frames (xxi.13-18).

Gudea and the gods build the temple high toward heaven like the mountains (Cyl. A xxi.19-23)

They were making the temple grow (high) like a mountain range;

(xxi.20) making it float in mid-heaven like a cloud;

making it raise its horns like an ox;

making it raise (its) head high in the mountains like

the *gišgana* tree of the Abzu,

making the temple raised (its) head high in heaven and earth like a mountain range.⁵⁶ w

Further laudatory figurative descriptions of various features of the Eninnu follow (xxi.24-xxii.23), followed, in turn, by an account of the shaping and setting up of six stone stelae around the temple complex (xxii.24-xxiv.7). The account of the fourth stela well-illustrates the pattern for all six:

⁵¹ See the note on Cyl. A xiv.6 above.

⁵² This particular dream incubation stands as the last in a series of three distinct divination procedures. They include extispicy (xx.5), reading a configuration of grain cast upon water (xx.6; cf. perhaps the casting of flour on water in the *mtš pē* ritual series, Jacobsen 1987a:23 and 25, and see Butler 1998:229 and the literature cited there), and incubation of a dream (xx.7-11; cf. the notes on Cyl. A i.17, 21, and esp. viii.3, 19 above). In this case, there is no new revelation given in the dream. That had already been received in the process of fashioning the first brick (Cyl. A xvii.29-xx.1 and the notes on xvii.17 and xix.20 above). The purpose of the multiple divination procedures here was to confirm that all was well and that it was now time to begin the full-scale construction of the temple (Cyl. A xx.13-xxv.21). Thus, in this second incubated dream the temple appeared complete in every detail perched high on the temple platform between heaven and earth (xx.9-11), a vision to which Gudea responded with great joy (xx.12; see the note on Cyl. A xiv.6 above).

⁵³ See the note on Cyl. A xiv.6 above.

⁵⁴ Laying the temple's foundation (Sum. *temen*) was, of course, an essential starting point filled with importance (see Ellis 1968). Cyl. A xx.15-26 has Enki, Nanshe, Gatumdug, Baba, *en* and *lagal* priests, the Anunna gods, and Gudea himself directly involved, and the following lines and columns recount various aspects of the process, all in poetic form. Biblically, the significance of the foundation of the temple appears in Ezra 3 and Zech 4.

The second half of line 26 is difficult. Thureau-Dangin (1907:110-111) and many others since him have taken *á-gar* as a writing of *é-gar* "wall" with vowel harmony, and translate "set the walls on the ground." There is, however, evidence that *á-gar* refers to some kind of "spade" (see the discussion and literature cited in Dunham 1980:399 n. 2 and Römer 1965:62 n. 151; cf. PSD A 2:60). If the latter is correct, then this clause refers to wielding a tool rather than setting walls.

⁵⁵ According to the rendering here, Cyl. A xx.27-xxi.12 records seven blessings that Gudea pronounced as he laid the foundation of the new Eninnu (see Jacobsen 1987b:413-414 nn. 98-102 for helpful explanations). There may be a remote parallel to the seven requests that Solomon made on behalf of the people of Israel at the dedication of the temple in Jerusalem (1 Kgs 8:31-53). The content and intention of Gudea's blessings, however, are not similar to Solomon's requests. See Hurowitz 1992:288 n. 1 and 296 n. 1, and the literature cited there.

Recently, Suter has revived the proposal by Lambert and Tournay that we should read *sá-mu-sum* (or *si*) "he laid a square," rather than *silim-mu-sum* "he gave a blessing" in Cyl. A xx.27, xxi.1, 3, 5, 7, 9, and 11. In that case, *sá* would be a shortened writing for *ki-sá* "platform" (cf. Dunham 1982:38-39). She interprets the statements that follow each instance of the expression as similes corresponding to the progressive building up of a seven step temple tower (ziggurat), atop which the Eninnu sanctuary was to be built (Suter 1997; cf. Suter 1995:100-102 and Lambert and Tournay 1948a:418 and 1951). If this is correct, then the biblical parallel outlined above would not hold true even in a general way.

⁵⁶ The new Eninnu is sometimes described as a "mountain" (Sum. *kur*, Cyl. A xxii.10, xxiv.11, Cyl. B i.5-6, 9, xxiv.9) or "mountain range" (Sum. *hur-sag*, Cyl. A xxi.19, 23, xxiv.15-16, xxx.10, Cyl. B i.4), which had its foundation embedded in the "deep" (Sum. *abzu*, Cyl. A xx.15, xxii.11, Cyl. B xiii.3) and its top rising high between earth and heaven (Cyl. A xx.10, xxi.16, 19-23, xxiv.8-17, Cyl. B i.1-2, 6-9, xxiv.9, 14). Observe that Cyl. B begins and ends with this motif (Cyl. B i.1-9 and xxiv.9-15). In point of fact, the temple was built on a tower of some sort, whether a ziggurat or not (see the note on Cyl. A xx.27 above). So it did stand out physically above the surrounding area.

The residence of deities on mountains is well-established as a common motif in the ANE. In the Ug. Baal Epic, e.g., the abode of the chief god "El" is represented as being situated on a mountain in some texts (see COS 1.244-245 nn. 16 and 29; cf. Smith 1994:25-30). Moses and later the whole nation of Israel met God at Sinai, "the mountain of God" (Exod 3:1, 12; 4:27; 18:5; 19:1-3; 24:13). In the Song of the Sea reference is made to the mountain of the Lord's inheritance, his dwelling place, his sanctuary (Exod 15:17). Mount Zion is said to be the Lord's "holy mountain" (Ps 2:6) in the "far north" (Ps 48:1-3[2-4]), and "the mountain of the house of the Lord" will be "the chief of the mountains" in the

(xxiii.25) The stone which he set up before the Shugalam:
 "The king at whose name the mountain lands tremble,
 the lord Ningirsu,
 made Gudea firm upon his throne,"
 he named that stone.^{57 x}

Further laudatory figurative descriptions of various features of the Eninnu follow (xxiv.8–xxv.19).

IV. *Furnishing, Decorating, Supplying, and Praising the Temple Complex* (Cyl. A xxv.20–xxx.5)

x 1 Sam 13:14;
 16:1-13;
 1 Kgs 2:15;
 1 Chr 28:5

y Exod 25:10-
 28:43; 30:1-
 10; 36:8-
 38:31;
 1 Kgs 6:14-
 38; 7:13-51

Narrative transition to furnishing, decorating, and supplying the temple complex (Cyl. A xxv.20–23)
 (xxv.20) He had built (it)! After he had finished (it),
 being that the heart of the gods was overflowing,⁵⁸
 the faithful shepherd Gudea had come to know
 what was important,
 (so) he proceeded to do it.⁵⁹

Laudatory account of Gudea decorating, furnishing, and supplying the temple complex (xxv.24–xxix.12), closing praise of the new Eninnu (xxix.13–xxx.5), epilogue praising Ningirsu and the Eninnu (xxx.6–14), and colophon (xxx.15–16).⁶⁰

CYLINDER B:

Prologue (Cyl. B i.1–11)

The temple, mooring pole of the land,
 which grows (high) between heaven and earth;
 the Eninnu, the true brickwork, (for) which Enlil
 decreed a good destiny;
 the beautiful mountain range, which stands out as
 a marvel,
 (i.5) (and) which towers above the mountains;
 the temple, being a big mountain, reached up to
 heaven;
 being Utu, it filled heaven's midst;
 the Eninnu, being the shining Anzu-bird,
 spread its talons over the mountain.
 (i.10) The people were set firm there, the land was
 standing (still) there (in awe),
 (and) the Anunna gods just stood there in admir-
 ation.

V. *Gudea's preparations for the induction of Ningirsu and Baba into the new Eninnu* (Cyl. B i.12–ii.6)

Gudea's attentive piety (Cyl. B i.12–19)

The ruler, being wise and knowledgeable,
 bowed low before the divine;
 bowed to the ground submissively(?) in prayer and
 supplication.⁶⁰
 (i.15) The ruler spoke a supplication unto the god of
 his city.
 He added more bread to the bread ration of the

temple;
 added more sheep to the evening meal of mutton.
 Bowls, being (like) the abundance of heaven's wide
 expanse(?),
 he set up in front of it (the temple).

Gudea prays to the Anunna gods (Cyl. B i.20–ii.6)

He stepped up to the Anunna gods
 (and) made a petition: "O Anunna, O Anunna,
 pride of Lagash land;
 (ii.1) guardian deities of all lands, whose command
 overflows (like) high water,
 which will carry away any man who tries to stop it
 up;
 (but) the faithful young man, the man at whom you
 look,
 life is prolonged for him;
 (ii.5) I, the shepherd, have built the temple, (and)
 would bring my king into his temple.
 O Anunna gods, may you invoke a petition on my
 behalf!"

VI. *The induction of Ningirsu and Baba into the new Eninnu* (Cyl. B ii.7–xiii.10)

Narrative transition to the induction of Ningirsu and Baba into the new Eninnu (Cyl. B ii.7–8)

The faithful shepherd Gudea
 had come to know what was important, (so) he
 proceeded to do it.⁶¹

last days (Isa 2:1–2 = Mic 4:1–2; Wildberger 1991:88–89). See the discussion in Averbeck 1987:147–154, 199–204; Clifford 1972:9–25 and Clifford 1984.

⁵⁷ The names of most of these stelae reflect well upon Gudea, but the fourth is especially significant because it specifically affirms his right to the throne: Cyl. A xxiii.25–29. This mention of Gudea's selection and confirmation by Ningirsu to be the ruler of Lagash corresponds to the common doctrine in the ANE that the legitimate king was divinely chosen and commissioned. This is an important factor in the establishment of both David (1 Sam 13:14; 16:1–13) and Solomon (1 Kgs 2:15; 1 Chr 28:5) on the throne of Israel (see de Vaux 1961:100–101.).

⁵⁸ See the note on Cyl. A i.9 above.

⁵⁹ Regarding the structural importance of Cyl. A xxv.22–23 see the note on Cyl. A vii.10 above. The rest of Cyl. A is taken up largely with poetic descriptions of various aspects of the new temple and its furniture, and the temple as a whole. Cf., e.g., Exod 25–38 and 1 Kgs 6–7, although the biblical descriptions are not poetic.

⁶⁰ See the note on Cyl. A i.14 above.

⁶¹ The structural formula occurs first in Cyl. B after Gudea had enlisted the support of the Anunna gods in praying to Ningirsu that he and his consort, Baba, would occupy the newly constructed Eninnu (i.20–ii.6; note the formula in Cyl. B ii.7–8, and cf. the note on Cyl. A vii.10 above). Immediately after the formula, the text depicts Gudea going to the old temple (i.e., the old Eninnu, ii.11), where he prayed directly to Ningirsu and Baba that they would indeed take up residence in the new temple (ii.16–iii.1). Within the prayer, just before the petition, Gudea reported the completion of the temple in terms that echo, *mutatis mutandis*, the parallel lines in his first petitionary prayer to Ningirsu: "O warrior, you commanded me, (so) let me execute it well for you. O Ningirsu, let me build your temple for you" (Cyl. A ii.13–14; cp. Cyl. B ii.19b–21 below).

In this prayer, however, Gudea does not echo the next line in Cyl. A ii.15, where he continues "(and) let me perfect the me for you," referring

Gudea prays to Ningirsu and Baba (Cyl. B ii.9-iii.1)
 His good *Udug*-spirit walked in front of him;
 (ii.10) his good *Lamma*-spirit followed behind him.
 To his king, at the long enduring temple, the old
 temple, his place of habitation,
 to the lord Ningirsu
 Gudea surely made great gifts.
 He stepped up to the lord in the Eninnu
 (ii.15) and made a petition:
 "O my king, Ningirsu,
 the lord who returns to the *Ahush*,⁶²
 the lord whose speaking takes precedence,
 the male child of Enlil; O warrior, you commanded
 me
 (ii.20) (and) I performed faithfully for you.
 O Ningirsu, I have built your temple for you,
 (so) may you enter (it) in festive joy.⁶³
 O my Baba, I have set up your bed-chamber(?) for
 you,

21 Kgs 8:12-
 13 (= 2 Chr
 6:2)

(iii.1) (so) settle into it comfortably."⁶³

Ningirsu comes from Eridu to enter the temple (Cyl. A iii.2-12)

His plea having been heard,
 the warrior, the lord Ningirsu,
 accepted the prayer and supplication from Gudea.
 (iii.5) The (old) year being gone, the (last) month
 being at an end,
 the new year stepped forward in heaven.
 The (first) month entered its house,
 (and) three days passed in that month.⁶⁴
 Ningirsu having come from Eridu,⁶⁵
 (iii.10) brilliant moonlight was shining.
 It illuminated the land, (and) the (new) Eninnu
 rivaled the newborn Suen (the moon god).

With the help of the gods, Gudea puts the house into a
 final state of readiness for the divine couple (iii.13-iv.12),
 and makes the whole land rest peacefully the night before
 their arrival at dawn the following morning (iv.13-24).

to the *me* of the temple. For general remarks on the Sum. term *me*, see the note on Cyl. A i.2 above. Building the temple well, according to Ningirsu's standards, was one thing, and that had already been accomplished in Cyl. A. Perfecting the *me* of the temple was still another thing, and that was yet to be accomplished in the process of dedicating the temple. It included the proper installation of all the attending deities, each "with" his or her *me* (Cyl. B vi.11-xiii.10; see the note on Cyl. B vi.23 below and the involvement of Suen, the moon god in Cyl. B xiii.4-5), as well as the offering of Gudea's special gifts of a war chariot with all its associated weapons (Cyl. B xiii.13-xiv.12; note the direct connection to *me* in xiv.8) and utensils and furniture for eating and sleeping (Cyl. B xiv.13-24).

As a result of all this, "The temple lifted its head in great *me*" (Cyl. B xvi.3; cf. xx.21), and Ningirsu and Baba actually took up residence in the new Eninnu (Cyl. B xvi.4-xvii.11). In close association with the divine occupation of the temple the narrator remarks that Gudea "had built the Eninnu, had perfected its *me*" (Cyl. B xvii.13-14). Here is the echo of Cyl. A ii.15 (see the remarks above). Thus, in the interval between the prayer in Cyl. B ii.16-iii.1 and the narrator's explanation in Cyl. B xvii.13-14 Gudea had accomplished what we might refer to as the proper "*me-ing*" or "*activating*" of the temple's functions. He had made it luxuriously inhabitable for the divine couple.

⁶² See the note on Cyl. A viii.15 above.

⁶³ After enlisting the help of the Anunna gods (Cyl. B i.15-ii.6), Gudea went to the old Eninnu (ii.11) in order to announce the completion of the new Eninnu to Ningirsu and his consort Baba (written Ba-Ú, read Ba-ba) and invited them to take up residence in it (Cyl. B ii.16-iii.1). Solomon's proclamation at the dedication of the temple in 1 Kgs 8:13 (= 2 Chr 6:2) seems to correspond to this, but note 1 Kgs 8:27-30. Cf. Weinfeld 1972:35 and 195.

⁶⁴ There are four key time references in Cylinder B. First, Cyl. B iii.5-11 refers to Ningirsu's return from a trip to Eridu after three days had elapsed in the first month of the new year (see the note on Cyl. B iii.8-9 below). Second, Cyl. B iv.22-v.2 narrates Ningirsu's initial entrance into the new Eninnu at early dawn on the following (fourth) day, and his consort Baba with him (v.10). The third key time reference describes the coming of full daylight (Cyl. B v.19). As previously promised (Cyl. B i.20-ii.6), the Anunna gods assisted in the proceedings of the inaugural day (v.22), and the various attending deities paraded in review before Ningirsu as they took up their positions in the new temple (B vi.11-xii.25). This must have taken up a good portion of the day. The last major section of the composition opens with the ruler's presentation of special gifts to Ningirsu and Baba (see the note on Cyl. B xiii.14-17), after which the divine couple is described as reveling in all the features and provisions of their glorious new habitation (Cyl. B xvi.3-xvii.11).

Finally, the fourth important time reference is Cyl. B xvii.18-19, which refers to a seven-day temple dedication festival, during which time the whole region maintained purity and peace (xvii.20-xviii.11) while the gods celebrated at a fine banquet (xix.16-17). This seven-day banquet apparently began with the meal provided for the gods on the very day that Ningirsu and Baba arrived and entered into their new abode (cf. Cyl. B v.20-vi.2).

⁶⁵ After hearing Gudea's prayer in the old Eninnu (Cyl. B ii.11-iii.1), Ningirsu accepted Gudea's offerings (iii.2-4) and undertook a journey to Eridu (iii.9-11; cf. viii.13-16). We are not told precisely why he traveled to Eridu, but it is clear that Enki, the patron deity of Eridu, was one of the chief deities most closely associated with temple building in Sumer. From the Gudea Cylinders alone we can see that he was responsible for the design of the temple (Cyl. A xvii.17), the approval of the first brick (Cyl. A xix.10-11), and the embedding of the temple's foundation (Cyl. A xx.15; cf. Cyl. B xiii.3). Also, Eridu is the site of some of the oldest known temples in southern Babylonia, and the first temple hymn in the Sum. temple hymn collection is dedicated to Enki's Abzu in Eridu (Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969:17-18). For an overview and general remarks on journeys to Eridu see Green 1975:268-276.

These factors as well as the fact that he makes this journey right after Gudea's report that the temple was finished (cf. Cyl. B ii.19-22), suggest that Ningirsu may have traveled to Eridu to make a similar report to Enki, on the divine level. Moreover, Enki and Eridu are closely associated with purity and purification procedures, which are the major concern of the next two and a half columns (Cyl. B iii.11-v.24). Included in this is a reference to Asar, who is often associated with Enki and Eridu in purification contexts (see, e.g., Michalowski 1993:152-156 on text A line 14). Also, Nindub is called "the lofty purification priest of Eridu," and Enki issued oracles as the various deities went about their tasks of purification (Cyl. B iv.1-5; cf. v.22-24). Note also Gudea Stat. B iv.7-9, which says that "He (Gudea) built the temple of Ningirsu in a pure place like Eridu" (see Edzard 1997:32).

Thus, the immediate context before and after the reference to Ningirsu's journey to Eridu suggests that he went there to report to Enki and enlist his support in the necessary purification procedures. Finally, since the induction of the various attending deities with their *me*'s into the temple is such an important part of the following context (Cyl. B vi.11-xii.25), and since Enki was viewed as the deity in charge of the *me*'s (see, e.g., COS 1.522), therefore, Ningirsu might also have traveled to Eridu to obtain Enki's support in the proper "*me-ing*" of the temple (see also the notes

Ningirsu and Baba enter into the new temple (Cyl. B v.1-19)

The warrior, Ningirsu, was entering into the temple;
the king of the house came.⁶⁶
Being (like) an eagle gazing at a wild bull;⁶⁷
the warrior, his entering into his temple
(v.5) being (like) a storm roaring into battle,
Ningirsu was coming into his temple.
Being (like) the Abzu sanctuary at festival time,
the king surely paraded forth from his temple.
It was (like) the sun rising over Lagash land.
(v.10) Baba's going to her bed-chamber(?)
being (like) a faithful woman taking care of her house;
her entering by the side of her bed(?)
being (like) the Tigris at high water;
her sitting down beside her ... (?)
(v.15) being the lady, the daughter of holy An, a beautiful garden bearing fruit;
sun rising; destiny being decreed;
Baba entering into her bed-chamber;
Lagash land being in abundance,
day dawned. Utu lifted (his) head high over Lagash in the land.⁶⁸

Offerings are presented and purification and divination procedures are performed (v.20-vi.10).

Installation of attending deities (Cyl. B vi.11-xii.25)

Each of the attending deities is installed into their temple office and its responsibilities according to the following pattern:

Igalim (Cyl. B vi.11-23)

To guide aright the hand of the one who does righteousness;
to put the wood (neck stock) on the neck of the one

who does evil;
to keep the temple true; to keep the temple good;
to give instructions to his city, the sanctuary Girsu;
(vi.15) to set up the throne of decreeing destiny;
to put into the hand the scepter of prolonged day(s);
for Gudea, the shepherd of Ningirsu,
to lift (his) head toward heaven as (if wearing) a beautiful crown;
to appoint the leather-clad, the linen-clad, (and) the head-covered one(s)(?)
(vi.20) to (their) position(s) in the courtyard of the Eninnu;
the great door, the pole of Girmun, the chief constable of Girsu;
Igalim, his (Ningirsu's) beloved son,
was passing in review before the lord Ningirsu with his emblem (of office).⁶⁹

After the installation of the minor attending deities, the major gods of the pantheon are characterized as supporters of the new temple (xii.26-xiii.10).

VII. The housewarming celebration of the induction of Ningirsu and Baba into their new Eninnu (Cyl. B xiii.11-xxiv.8)

Narrative transition to the celebration of the induction of Ningirsu and Baba into the new Eninnu (Cyl. B xiii.11-13)

The powerful steward of Nanshe,
the obedient shepherd of Ningirsu,
had come to know what was important, (so) he proceeded to do it.⁷⁰

Gudea presents housewarming gifts to Ningirsu and Baba (Cyl. B xiii.14-xvi.2)

Upon the temple, the man who built the temple,
(xiii.15) Gudea, the ruler

on Cyl. A i.2 and B ii.7-8 above).

⁶⁶ See the note on Cyl. B iii.8 above.

⁶⁷ Jacobsen suggests that this pictures Ningirsu as a scavenger bird circling to pounce on the carcass of a dead bull in the wild (Jacobsen 1987b:429 n. 15).

⁶⁸ See the note on Cyl. B iii.8 above.

⁶⁹ Cyl. B vi.11-xvii.12 is surrounded by expressions that recall Cyl. A i.1-4. First, Cyl. B v.16 refers to the determination of destiny at the dawn of the new day (cf. Cyl. A i.1). Second, Cyl. B vi.8 refers to Ningirsu lifting his head high in the great me's (= the "greatest stature"?; *me-gal-gal-la*, cf. the note on Cyl. A i.2 above). Third, Cyl. B xvii.12 refers to the fact that the ruler had succeeded in gloriously establishing "the enduring thing(s)" (*ni-ul*; or perhaps read *ni-du*, "the appropriate thing[s]"; see the note on Cyl. A i.4 above) of the city (cf. Cyl. A i.4), and concludes that he had both built the Eninnu and now "perfected its me" (Cyl. B xvii.13-14; see the note on Cyl. B ii.8 above).

Thus, in the meantime, on this inaugural day Gudea had seen to the proper installation of all the me's necessary for the effective functioning of the temple. Cyl. B vi.11-xii.25, in particular, recounts the various supporting deities "passing in review before" (or "going over to"; Sum. *dib*) Ningirsu "with his me" (*me-ni-da*) as they are incorporated into the temple as members of the staff (Cyl. B vi.23, vii.11, 23, viii.9, 22, ix.4-5, 14, x.2, 8, 15, xi.2, 26, xii.6, 17-18, 25). See Jacobsen 1976b:81-83 for a helpful description of the basic functions of each of these deities in the temple estate.

There have been several interpretations of the expression *me-ni-da-dib*. Edzard translates "he (Gudea) brings along (*dib*) with himself (*me-ni-da*) and introduces to the lord Ningirsu ...," taking *me* to simply mean "self" (see the note on Cyl. A i.2 above). Most, however, take *me* as the renowned Sum. term for the elements of their cultural system (see the note on Cyl. A i.2 above). Jacobsen understood the subject of the verb to be the deity in the context and rendered *me-ni-da* as "was going about his duties for the lord Ningirsu" (*dib* = Akk. *bā'u* "to go along"; Jacobsen 1987b:431-436). Cooper took Gudea, not the deity, to be the subject of the verb, and translated the expression "He (Gudea) made him (the deity) ... pass in review with his me's before lord Ningirsu" (*dib* = Akk. *erēqu* "to pass"; Cooper 1978:159 and n. 2). More recently, Klein has proposed rendering the expression "He (Gudea) lets such and such deity go over to (*dib* = Akk. *bā'u*) Ningirsu with his symbol/emblem," or "he (Gudea) lets such and such deity pass before (*dib* = Akk. *erēqu*) Ningirsu with his symbol/emblem" (Klein 1997:217-218). In that case, *me* here actually refers to a two dimensional representation of the symbol associated with the *me*, which had been engraved or painted on a sign, banner, or standard of some kind.

⁷⁰ See the note on Cyl. A vii.10 above.

of Lagash,

was bestowing gifts.⁷¹

The gifts included a well-decorated war chariot with its associated weapons (xiii.18-xiv.12), and utensils and furniture for eating and sleeping (xiv.13-22).

After accepting the gifts, the divine couple settles into their fully supplied and fully functional residence (xiv.23-xvii.11).

Gudea prepares a temple dedication banquet for Ningirsu (Cyl. B xvii.12-xix.17)

He made the long enduring thing(s) of his city appear in splendor.

Gudea built the Eninnu;
he perfected its stature.⁷²

(xvii.15) He made fat and cream enter into its dairy house.

He put bread into its house of holy ... (?).

He cancelled debts (and) cleared the hands (of criminals).⁷³

When his king entered into the temple,
for seven days⁷⁴ *aa*

(xvii.20) the slave girl did become equal with her mistress;

the slave did walk beside the master;

(xviii.1) in his city the unclean one did sleep on its outside edge(?).

He removed speaking(?) from the evil tongue;
turned back anything evil from that(?) house.

To the laws of Nanshe and Ningirsu

(xviii.5) he paid close attention.

He did not deliver the orphan up to the rich man;
he did not deliver the widow up to the powerful man.

In the house that had no male heir,
he installed its daughter as the heir.⁶⁵

(xviii.10) A day of majestic justice arose for him;
he put his foot on the neck of (the) evil one(s) and complainer(s).⁷⁵ *cc*

Like Utu (the sun god), the city
went forth from the horizon.

aa 1 Kgs 8:2,
65; Ezek
45:21-25;
2 Chr 7:9;
cf. Lev 23:34

bb Num 27:1-
11

cc Ezek
42:13-14, 20;
43:6-12

On his head he wound(?) a turban(?).

(xviii.15) Before holy An

he made himself known.

He was entering with head held high like an ox.

In the sanctuary of the Eninnu

he offered up perfect ox and perfect he-goat.

(xviii.20) A tall bowl was standing (there)

(and) he was pouring wine from it.

The Ushumgalkamma ('dragon-of-the-land')
instrument was standing there with the *tigi*
instrument,

(xix.1) (and) the *ala* instrument, being (like) a storm
wind, was resounding for him.

Atop a ... (?), the ruler

did surely stand out.

His city marveled (at him).

(xix.5) Gudea ...

[lines 6-11 completely broken]

... [abun]dance [went forth] from ...;

the land was making spotted barley grow for him.

Along with the ruler, Lagash

(xix.15) increase in abundance.

Having entered into the new Eninnu, the warrior
prepared a fine banquet for the lord Ningirsu.

The gods take their seats at the divine banquet table
(Cyl. B xix.18-?)

An he seated for him on the big side (of the table).

Next to An he seated Enlil.

(xix.20) Next to Enlil

he seated Ninmah.⁷⁶

Large sections of Cyl. B xx-xxiii are missing, but from what remains we know that it consists of blessings and good destinies determined for Ningirsu, Eninnu, and Gudea by the various gods in attendance at the divine banquet. The final blessing is pronounced for Gudea himself:

A blessing for Gudea (Cyl. B xxiii.18-xxiv.8)⁷⁷

"Your (Gudea's personal) god, the lord Ningishzida, being descendant of An;

⁷¹ The last major section of the Cylinders begins with Gudea offering special gifts to Ningirsu (Cyl. B xiii.14-xvi.2), and, although the text is broken, seems to end with Ningirsu pronouncing a special blessing of prosperity and longevity upon the ruler (Cyl. B xxiii.16-xxiv.8; see the note on Cyl. B xxiv.6 below). Compare the chariot in Cyl. B xiii.18-xiv.12 with the one described in Cyl. A vi.14-vii.8.

⁷² See the note on Cyl. B ii.8 above.

⁷³ The parallel line in Gudea Stat. B vii.29 testifies that the last sign should be *luh* "to wash" not *gar* "to put, set." The scribe allowed his eye to slip up to the previous line and, therefore, wrote *gar* by mistake (Å. Sjöberg, personal communication).

⁷⁴ Gudea's seven day temple dedication festival mentioned in Cyl. B xvii.18-19 (cf. Stat. B vii.30, Edzard 1997:36) parallels Solomon's dedication of the temple during the seven day feast of booths in the seventh month (1 Kgs 8:2; cf. also Ezek 45:21-25). Actually, there were apparently two sets of seven day festivals on this occasion, one for the altar and the other for the temple as a whole (1 Kgs 8:65-66; 2 Chr 7:8-9). The numerous multiples of seven in association with building and dedicating temples in the ANE is impressive. Cf. the seven day period for consecrating the priests (Lev 8:33), and esp. the seven years that it took to build Solomon's temple (1 Kgs 6:38), and the seven days for building Baal's temple (CTA 4 vi.24-38). See the note on Cyl. B iii.8 above and Levenson 1988:78-79; Sarna 1986:145-148; Sharon 1996:107.

⁷⁵ Upon the occupation of the temple by Ningirsu and Baba, and during the seven-day temple dedication period and banquet of the gods, the ruler enforced social and ritual regulations similar to those established for the initial stages of the building of the Eninnu. Compare Cyl. B xvii.18-xviii.11 with Cyl. A xii.25-xiii.15. See also the note on Cyl. A xiii.15 above and the literature cited in Wildberger 1991:50-51. Ritual sanctity and purity is also emphasized in Ezekiel's temple building program (note esp. Ezek 42:3-14, 20; 43:6-12), although concerns for social justice and equity do not seem to be articulated there. For the overall problem of physical impurities in sacred space see Lev 12-16. See Greenberg 1984:191-194; Sharon 1996:102-103. For variations on the millennial topos in xviii.6-11, see Hallo 1990:205f. Cf. Exod 22:21-24; Deut 24:17-18; Isa 1:17; Jer 7:5-6.

⁷⁶ The text is broken after line 21 so the seating arrangements at the seven-day divine temple dedication banquet may have included other gods and goddesses besides An, Enlil, and Ninmah. For an explanation of these lines and the Ug. parallels see Ferrara and Parker 1972:38-39.

⁷⁷ Here we break into a speech in progress, not knowing exactly where it starts because of the broken condition of the text.

your divine mother, Ninsumuna, being the mother
 who gives birth to faithful offspring,
 (xxiii.20) who loves offspring;
 the one born by the faithful cow in woman-fashion
 are you.
 The faithful young man who goes forth from
 Lagash land,
 (xxiv.1) you are Ningirsu's.
 From below to above let your name be famous.

dd 2 Sam 7:4-
 17 (= 1 Chr
 17:3-15);
 1 Kgs 8:14-
 21; 9:1-9 (= 2
 Chr 7:11-
 22); Ps
 78:68-
 70

O Gudea, what you say
 no man disregards(?).
 (xxiv.5) A ... (?) young man known by An are you.
 O my(?) ruler,⁷⁸ the house determines (a good)
 destiny for you(?).
 O Gudea, son of Ningishzida,
 let life be prolonged for you.⁷⁹ *dt*

Epilogue praising Ningirsu and the Eninnu (xiv.9-15) and
 colophon (xiv.16-17).

⁷⁸ The reading of xxiv.6 is important and, at the same time, problematic. Some scholars read [en]si₂-[m]u "my ruler" and others read [en]si₂-[z]i "faithful ruler." The former would assure us that Ningirsu was the one addressing Gudea in the blessing, although the latter reading would not exclude that possibility. The ending of the *mu* and *zi* signs is very similar. However, on the photographs of this portion of Cyl. B kindly sent to me by Béatrice André-Salvini (Conservatrice-en-chef of the Louvre Département des Antiquités Orientales), the size, depth, and shape of the remnants of the sign compared with other *mu* and *zi* signs in close proximity to it suggest that it was originally a *mu* sign. If it is not Ningirsu, it is An, Enlil, Nanshe, Enki, or perhaps another deity in attendance at the divine banquet.

⁷⁹ The close association of temple building with the responsibilities and blessings of kingship is well established in the ANE (McCarter 1984:224-225). Although the latter part of the second cylinder is broken, the last pronouncement is reserved for special praise and promise to Gudea. Cyl. B xxiii.16-xxiv.8 clearly records a divine decree of prosperity and long life for Gudea for his care in building the temple.

Similarly, Solomon was promised special blessing after completing the construction of the temple, but in his case it depended upon continued fidelity to the Lord (1 Kgs 9:1-9). The blessedness of temple building is also reflected elsewhere in the Bible (2 Sam 7:4-17 = 1 Chr 17:3-15; 1 Kgs 8:14-21; and Ps 78:68-70).

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PREFACE

The Context of Scripture has claimed the attention of publisher, editors, and contributors for a full decade from conception through execution (1991-2001). The original schedule proved too optimistic by half. According to his memorandum of agreement of December 20, 1991, the editor was "to deliver to the Publisher the final and complete material of Volume 1 not later than two years from the signing of this Agreement; Volume 2 not later than three years from the signing of this Agreement; and Volume 3 not later than four years from the signing of this Agreement."

Had this ambitious five-year schedule been maintained, the publication dates might have read 1994, 1995 and 1996 instead of 1997, 2000 and 2002, respectively. But short of "genius grants" to relieve them of all other duties in the interim, neither the editor nor his tireless associate editor could have delivered on such an undertaking.

In fact, however, those other duties continued unabated throughout the course of the undertaking. In the case of the associate editor, moreover, the project spanned his move from LeTourneau University in Texas to Trinity International University in Illinois; in the editor's case, its completion coincides with his retirement from formal teaching at Yale and the curatorship of its Babylonian Collection.

While thus falling short of "all deliberate speed," the more realistic pace at which the project actually proceeded entailed a number of compensatory benefits: the inclusion of some of the latest textual discoveries; the incorporation of constructive criticisms offered by the reviewers; the utilization of emerging technologies in communicating with contributors and in preparing the layout of their contributions, to mention only a few.

At the same time it would be disingenuous to claim that all the aims of the original undertaking have been met. According to the Preface to volume 1, these constituted "a test of some of my long-held and long-taught methodologies: not only the contextual approach, but also my taxonomy of ancient documentation, and my theories of translation" (COS 1:xi). Of these objects, the first two have been satisfied, but hardly the last.

The theories of translation in question were briefly set forth in the Introduction to volume 1, where their application "to ancient Near Eastern texts *apart* from the Bible" were adjudged as "theoretically ... possible — though difficult in practice" (COS 1:xxvi). In the event, theory has had to bow to practice. There has been no attempt to correlate with each other all translations from any one language, let alone from different languages.

Nevertheless, the basis for such correlations is laid by the extensive index furnished with this concluding volume. The basic index is the work of John G. Wright (Yale '01); it has been rendered more user-friendly by the identification of proper nouns in a manner first developed in the editor's *Origins* (Brill 1996). Others who have made the completion of the project possible include the contributors, the consultants, Lawson Younger the indefatigable associate editor, and the ever-helpful Mattie Kuiper of Brill. It is a pleasure to thank them all, however inadequately, for their devoted labors.

William W. Hallo
December 2, 2001

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

(* For abbreviations not listed here, please consult volumes 1 and 2)

AASF	Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia.	RSOu 10	O. Callot. <i>La tranchée « Ville Sud »</i> . <i>Études d'architecture domestique</i> . RSOu 10. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1994.
AECT	F. M. Fales. <i>Aramaic Epigraphs on Clay Tablets of the Neo-Assyrian Period</i> . <i>Studi Semitici</i> 2. Materiali per il lessico aramaico 1. Rome: Università degli studi "la Sapienza," 1986.	SCCNH	Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians.
AP	A. E. Cowley. <i>Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.</i> Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1923.	SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity.
ARWAW	Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.	Studies	B. Hartmann, et al. Editors. <i>Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Walter Baumgartner</i> . VTSup 16. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967.
AUA	M. Lidzbarski. <i>Altaramäische Urkunden aus Assur</i> . Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1921.	Baumgartner	R. M. Boehmer and H. Hauptmann, Editors. <i>Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens: Festschrift für Kurt Bittel</i> . Mainz-am-Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1983.
AUCT	Andrews University Cuneiform Texts. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press.	Studies	M. Lubetski, C. Gottlieb, and S. Keller, Editors. <i>Boundaries of the Ancient Near Eastern World. A Tribute to Cyrus H. Gordon</i> . JSOTSup 273. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.
BJPES	<i>Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society</i> .	Gordon 1998	S. E. Porter, et al., Editors. <i>Crossing the Boundaries: Essays in Biblical Interpretation in Honour of Michael D. Goulder</i> . Leiden: Brill, 1994.
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East. Leiden: Brill.	Goulder	T. P. J. van den Hout and J. de Roos, Editors. <i>Studio Historiae Ardens. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday</i> . Istanbul: Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul, 1995.
FT	<i>Faith and Theology</i> .	Studies	T. Abusch, Editor. <i>Studies in the Ancient Near East in Memory of Thorkild Jacobsen</i> . Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, forthcoming.
GEA	T. Muraoka and B. Porten. <i>A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic</i> . Leiden: Brill, 1998.	Houwink	T. Folkers, J. Friedrich, J. G. Lautner and J. Miles, Editors. <i>Symbolae ad iura Orientis Antiqui pertinentes Paulo Koschaker dedicatae</i> . Leiden: Brill, 1939.
HBM	S. Alp. <i>Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük, Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları</i> , VI. Dizi-Sa. 35. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991.	ten Cate	K. van Lerberghe and A. Schoors, Editors. <i>Immigration and Emigration Within the Near East. Festschrift E. Lipiński</i> . OLA 65. Leuven: Peeters, 1995.
HH	E. Laroche. <i>Les hiéroglyphes hittites</i> . Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1960.	Studies	G. Braulik, W. Gross and S. McEvenue. Editors. <i>Biblische Theologie und gesellschaftlicher Wandel: Für Norbert Lohfink SJ</i> . Freiburg/Basel/Wien: Herder 1993.
HKM	S. Alp. <i>Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat-Höyük Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları</i> , VI. Dizi-Sa. 34. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991.	Jacobsen 2	H. B. Huffmon, F. A. Spina, and A. R. W. Green, Editors. <i>The Quest for the Kingdom of God: Studies in Honor of George E. Mendenhall</i> . Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1983.
HPBM 4	Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. 4th series.	Studies	D. P. Wright, D. N. Freedman and A. Hurvitz, Editors. <i>Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom</i> . Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995.
HUS	W. G. E. Watson and N. Wyatt, Editors. <i>Handbook of Ugaritic Studies</i> . HdO, Erste Abteilung: Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten 39. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999.	Lipiński	Vorderasiatische Archäologie. Studien und Aufsätze. Anton Moortgat zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet von Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern. Berlin: Verlag Gebrüder Mann, 1964.
ILR	<i>Israel Law Review</i> .	Lohfink	O. Carruba, M. Liverani, and C. Zaccagnini, Editors. <i>Studi orientalistici in ricordo di Franco Pintore</i> . Studia Mediterranea 4. Pavia: GIES Edizioni, 1983.
JJP	<i>Journal of Juristic Papyrology</i> .	Studies	Mélanges bibliques, rédigés en l'honneur de André Robert. Travaux de l'Institut catholique de Paris 4. Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1956.
MAIBL	Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres de l'Institut de France. Materiali epigrafici di Ebla.	Mendenhall	W. H. Ph. Römer, M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and T. E. Balke, Editors. <i>Dubbar anta-men: Studien zur Alt-orientalistik: Festschrift für Willem H. Ph. Römer zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres, mit Beiträgen von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen</i> . AOAT 253. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1998.
MEE	Monographs of the Hebrew Union College.	Studies	H. Krahe, Editor. <i>Corolla linguistica: Festschrift Ferdinand Sommer zum 80. Geburtstag am 4 Mai 1955, dargebracht von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen</i> . Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1955.
MHUC	R. Degen, W. W. Müller and W. Röllig, Editors. <i>Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik</i> . 3 Vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972-78.	Milgrom	
NESE	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement</i> .	Studies	
PEFQS	<i>Palästina-Jahrbuch des deutschen evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem</i> .	Moortgat	
PJB	T. Abusch, et al. Editors. <i>Historiography in the Cuneiform World</i> . Proceedings of the XLV ^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Part 1: Harvard University. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2001.	Studies	
RAI 45/1	<i>Revue des Études Juives</i> .	Pintore	
REJ	Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique.	Studies	
RES	<i>Revue des études sémitiques</i> .	Robert	
RES	B. Janowski, K. Koch and G. Wilhelm, Editors. <i>Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament. Internationale Symposium Hamburg 17.-21. März 1990</i> . OBO 129. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993.	Studies	
RgB	O. Callot. <i>Une maison à Ougarit. Étude d'architecture domestique</i> . RSOu 1. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1983.	Römer	
RSOu 1	P. Bordreuil and D. Pardee. <i>La trouvaille épigraphique de l'Ougarit. 1 Concordance</i> . RSOu 5/1. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1989.	Studies	
RSOu 5/1		Sommer	

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|------------------------------------|--|-----|---|
| <i>Studies</i>
<i>Wacholder</i> | J. C. Reeves and J. Kampen, Editors. <i>Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder</i> . JSOTSup 184. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994. | TH | J. Friedrich, et al. <i>Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf. Keilschrifttexte und aramäische Urkunden aus einer assyrischen Provinzhauptstadt</i> . AfO Beiheft 6. Reprint 1967. Osnabrück: Biblio-Verlag, 1940. |
| <i>Studies</i>
<i>Williams</i> | J. K. Hoffmeier and E. S. Meltzer, Editors. <i>Egyptological Miscellanies: A Tribute to Professor Ronald J. Williams</i> . Ancient World 6. Chicago: Ares, 1983. | ZAH | Zeitschrift für Althebräistik. |
| TFS | S. M. Dalley and J. N. Postgate. <i>The Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser</i> . CTN 3. Oxford: British School of Archaeology, 1984. | | |

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INTRODUCTION

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UNDERSTANDING HEBREW AND EGYPTIAN MILITARY TEXTS: A CONTEXTUAL APPROACH*

James K. Hoffmeier

The disciplines of Egyptology and Assyriology were born at approximately the same time (ca. 1800), with scholars in both fields having strong interests in the biblical world in general, and specifically because it was thought that archaeological discoveries in these two great riverine civilizations in some way would reflect positively in the Old Testament.¹ After all, the setting of the events of Genesis 1-11 is the Tigris-Euphrates valley, and it was Abraham's homeland prior to migrating to the land of Canaan (Gen 11). As for Egypt, the Joseph story is set there (Gen 39-50), as are the events in the book of Exodus (Exod 1-14). In subsequent biblical history, these two superpower neighbors continued to exert influence on Israel. So it is little wonder that the early pioneers of biblical archaeology thought that the new disciplines of Assyriology and Egyptology would be natural allies of Biblical Studies.

As the nineteenth century gave way to the twentieth, Egyptology had not produced any direct evidence for Joseph, Moses or the Hebrew sojourn, although the "Merneptah (Israel) Stela" had been discovered by Petrie in 1896. (More on this text later). Edouard Naville, the Swiss biblical scholar and archaeologist, thought he had discovered cities related to the exodus in the Wadi Tumilat, but was subsequently proven wrong, which earned him the wrath of Sir Alan Gardiner.² I believe that it was the Oxford don's tremendous stature among Egyptologists and his unusually harsh criticism of what might be called "biblical Egyptology" that caused generations of Egyptologists to avoid the study of Hebrew and Biblical Studies in general. This had the positive outcome of Egyptology becoming a discipline in its own right, but the negative result of Egyptology being isolated as a cognate field of Biblical Studies. Assyriology too gained its independence from Biblical Studies and from the excesses of the "Pan-Babylonian" approaches that had characterized the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, inasmuch as Akkadian is cognate with Hebrew, many students of the Bible continued to study the cuneiform scripts, while Egyptian texts have been largely ignored by biblical scholars. This proclivity is surprising given the fact that Egypt and Canaan/Israel were next door neighbors, and Egypt is known to have exerted tremendous influence on the Levant especially during the Late Bronze Age, both through trade and through its military domination.³ Babylon, on the other hand, is located approximately 900 miles from Jerusalem (following normal travel routes), and not until the Neo-Assyrian period was there much direct contact between the Tigris-Euphrates world and the Levant.

The late Ronald Williams offered the following explanation for the tendency of biblical scholars to give priority to Mesopotamian sources in the study of the Bible over those of Egypt:

By the very nature of their training, Old Testament scholars are more likely to have acquired a first-hand knowledge of the Canaanite and cuneiform sources than they are to have mastered the hieroglyphic and hieratic materials of Egypt. For this reason they have had to depend to a greater degree on secondary sources for the latter. It is not surprising, then, that Israel's heritage from Western Asia in such areas as mythology, psalmody, theodicy, proverb collections, legal "codes" and practices, suzerainty treaties and royal annals has been more thoroughly investigated. Yet Egypt's legacy is by no means negligible⁴

A quarter century has passed since Williams penned these insightful words, and Egyptology's place in Biblical Studies, I believe, has improved somewhat. Certainly the number of Egyptian texts in *The Context of Scripture (COS)* indicates that the editors recognize the importance of Egyptian sources to the comparative or contextual approach to studying the Bible. Nearly a decade ago, this writer proposed to the Society of Biblical Literature program committee

* This essay and the three that follow reproduce, with some changes, the remarks delivered to the joint meeting of the Midwest Sections of the Society of Biblical Literature, the American Oriental Society, and the American Schools of Oriental Research, 2000, for a panel on "The Context of Scripture," chaired by William W. Hallo.

¹ P. R. S. Moorey, *A Century of Biblical Archaeology* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992) 11-24.

² A. H. Gardiner, "The Geography of the Exodus," in *Recueil d'études Égyptologiques dédiées à la mémoire de Jean-François Champollion* (Paris: Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études, 1922) = "The Geography of the Exodus, An Answer to Professor Naville and Others," *JEA* 10 (1924) 87-96; and E. Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus* (London, 1903); "The Geography of the Exodus," *JEA* 10 (1924) 18-39.

³ For cultural influences, see R. Givon, *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan* (OBO 20; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), and linguistic influences, see Y. Mouchki, *Egyptian Proper Names and Loanwords in North-West Semitic* (SBLDS 173; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999).

⁴ "A People Come Out of Egypt": An Egyptologist looks at the Old Testament," *VTSup* 28 (1975) 231-232.

the establishment of a Consultation on Egyptology and Ancient Israel, and it was warmly received. This was the first such consultation concentrated on investigating the relationship between Egyptology and the Hebrew Bible. It has since become a permanent "Section," and is thriving, having attracted the participation of many established scholars, as well as younger scholars, all of whom are engaged at some level of Egyptological and biblical research. These signs are encouraging and indicate that Egyptology may one day take its rightful place as a cognate field of Biblical Studies.

I share William W. Hallo's commitment to the contextual or comparative method that he has so compellingly advocated over the past several decades,⁵ as well as his essay in *COS* (1:xxiii-xxviii). His identification of the two dimensions of the contextual approach is helpful. First, there is the "horizontal dimension" which examines "the geographical, historical, religious, political and literary setting in which it was created and disseminated" (*COS* 1:xxv). Secondly there is the "vertical axis" which examines the relationship "between the earlier texts that helped inspire it and the later texts that reacted to it" (*COS* 2:xxv-xxvi).

Under the heading "Monumental Inscriptions" in *COS* 2 are Egyptian texts that span the period from the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts (ca. 2400 BCE), to the stela of Piankhy (or Piye) (ca. 734 BCE), and they represent a wide range of genres, viz., Royal, Biographical, Funerary, and Hymnic. Owing to the limits of space and time for this presentation, it will focus primarily upon some of the so-called "Royal Inscriptions" of the New Kingdom found in *COS* 2 (and a few not included) because they touch on the question of historiography which has been a major subject of discussion by biblical scholars in the last two decades of the twentieth century. It will be suggested that there are possible Egyptian influences upon the Hebrew scribal traditions. The texts in this category in *COS* 2 are: The Armant and Gebel Barkal stelae and the Annals of Thutmose III, and the Memphis-Karnak Stelae of Amenhotep II from the Eighteenth Dynasty. This writer was responsible for translating these, and thus has given considerable thought to this material. From the Nineteenth Dynasty come the various military Campaign Inscriptions of Seti I in Western Asia from Karnak, along with his two Beth Shean stelae, the Battle of Kadesh inscriptions of Ramesses II, translated by Kenneth Kitchen, and the hymnic portion of the Merneptah Stela which the writer translated.

The reason for examining these particular texts is because they are not usually considered by biblical scholars when engaged in comparative study. Nevertheless, it appears that upon careful study these texts are germane for comparison with the Bible. A notable exception to the tendency to ignore this corpus of literature is Lawson Younger's seminal study *Ancient Conquest Accounts* which appeared in 1990.⁶ After a thoughtful and thorough comparative study of Assyrian, Hittite and Egyptian military reports with those in the book of Joshua, Younger concluded

This study has shown that one encounters very similar things in both ancient Near Eastern and biblical history writing. While there are differences (e.g., the characteristics of the deities in the individual cultures), the Hebrew conquest account of Canaan in Joshua 9-12 is, by and large, typical of any ancient Near Eastern account. In other words, *there is a common denominator, a certain commonality between them*, so that it is possible for us to speak, for purposes of generalization, of a common transmission code that is an intermingling of the texts' figurative and ideological aspects.⁷

Independently, I arrived at conclusions similar to those of Younger.⁸ Hence, it will be argued that there is still much light Egyptian royal inscriptions of the New Kingdom can shed on Hebrew military writing.

Owing to the supposed "aetiological" nature, the theological affirmations and ideological nature of the "conquest" narratives in Joshua, coupled with the hyperbolic claims of wiping out the population of certain parts of Canaan (particularly in chapter 10), many recent studies of the Joshua narratives have dismissed the biblical account of Israel's arrival in Canaan.⁹ With the Hebrew writings confined to the sidelines, the Merneptah or Israel stela has been thrust onto center stage, and historical minimalists have become preoccupied with this text. Ironically, historical minimalists of the Bible, like Ahlström¹⁰ and Lemche¹¹ became maximalists, accepting at face value an Egyptian

⁵ "Biblical History in Its Near Eastern Setting: The Contextual Approach," in *SIC* 1, 1-26.

⁶ K. L. Younger, Jr., *Ancient Conquest Accounts: A Study in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical History Writing* (JSOTSup 98; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990).

⁷ *Ibid.*, 265 (emphasis mine).

⁸ J. K. Hoffmeier, "The Problem of 'History' in Egyptian Royal Inscriptions," in *VI Congresso Internazionale De Egittologia Atti* (ed. by Silvio Curto; Turin: 1992) 291-299; "The Structure of Joshua 1-11 and the Annals of Thutmose III," in *FTH* 165-179; *Israel in Egypt* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) Chaps. 1 & 2. The arguments on the Joshua narratives presented in this essay echo those found in these earlier works.

⁹ Some examples include G. Ahlström, *Who Were the Israelites* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1986) 1ff.; N. P. Lemche, *Ancient Israel: A New History of Israelite Society* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988) chaps. 2-3; J. Van Seters, "Joshua's Campaign and Near Eastern Historiography," *JSOT* 2 (1990) 1-16; R. B. Coote, *Early Israel: A New Horizon* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990) 3.

¹⁰ *Who Were the Israelites?* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1986) 37-43.

¹¹ Lemche, *Early Israel: Anthropological and Historical Studies on the Israelite Society before the Monarchy* (Leiden: Brill, 1985) 430-431.

document, despite the fact that it too is religious and ideological, replete with hyperbole and propaganda, whereas, when similar literary and rhetorical devices are found in Joshua, the historical value of those narratives is summarily dismissed. The methodological inconsistency is self-evident.

In recent years there has been some comparative analysis of the Joshua narratives alongside cognate Near Eastern military writings. Moshe Weinfeld in his study of the Deuteronomistic School offered parallels between Neo-Assyrian texts and Joshua to show the 7th century date of the latter.¹² However, he completely failed to consider earlier texts of the 2nd millennium as possible analogues. This omission led Jeffrey Niehaus to reexamine features which Joshua and Neo-Assyrian texts share in common (e.g. war oracles, the command-fulfillment chain, divine involvement in warfare) and to agree that "it is only fair to recognize that the literary phenomena in Joshua have first-millennium extrabiblical analogues."¹³ However, he goes on to show that these very same features are well attested in Ugaritic and Middle Assyrian texts of the 2nd millennium, thus severely weakening the rationale for an exclusive connection between Deuteronomist and Neo-Assyrian parallels.

In contrast to Younger's comprehensive study, an essay published by John Van Seters in the same year drew parallels solely between Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions and the Joshua narratives.¹⁴ Parenthetically, it should be noted that Van Seters and other like-minded scholars have often criticized the comparative method when it is used to date biblical stories to the 2nd millennium BCE.¹⁵ However, 1st millennium parallels are readily accepted, and often without any critical evaluation when arguing for the lateness of a biblical text. In so doing, Van Seters, Thomas Thompson,¹⁶ and others are not in fact repudiating the comparative method or contextual approach. Rather, they are using it selectively, not comprehensively, with their conclusions predetermined. The contextual approach as advocated by Hallo and Kitchen considers all pertinent material from all periods before reaching conclusions about the biblical materials.¹⁷

I had the occasion to critique Van Seters' treatment of the Joshua narratives in a study published in 1994.¹⁸ A summary of that analysis is offered here. Like Weinfeld, Van Seters was trying to demonstrate that the "Conquest" narratives of the DtrH originated at the time suggested by Neo-Assyrian parallels. All ten parallels (topoi) Van Seters drew between the Joshua and Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions were treated by Younger who has identified comparable 2nd millennium analogues.¹⁹

Van Seters, for instance, believes that the motif of the Israelites crossing the Jordan during flood stage is borrowed from reports of Sargon II and Ashurbanipal's crossing the Tigris and Euphrates during "high water of the spring of the year."²⁰ Based on just these two texts, he concludes, "The special emphasis on the crossing (Josh 3-4) can only be explained as a topos taken from the Assyrian military accounts."²¹ Van Seters' treatment of this matter fails on two points. First, the spring of the year was the traditional time for kings to go to war in Israel (cf. 2 Sam 11:2) as well as in Mesopotamia; as Robert Gordon has observed, "Spring was the time for launching military campaigns, when the winter rains had stopped and the male population was not yet involved in harvesting."²² Spring is also when the rivers, the Jordan as well as the Tigris and Euphrates, are at their highest levels because of melting snow from the mountains to the north (cf. Josh 3:15). Secondly, the seemingly miraculous crossing of raging rivers by a king is well-attested in earlier Near Eastern sources. Hattušili I (ca. 1650 BCE) boasts of his accomplishments in this respect, likening them to those of Sargon the Great (ca. 2371-2316 BCE).²³ On one occasion, Tiglath-pileser I (1115-1077 BCE) records that this particular crossing of the Euphrates was his twenty-eighth, and it was "the second time in one year."²⁴ It is clear that when Sargon II (721-705 BCE) broadcasts his achievement, he is emulating his warrior

¹² Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972) 50.

¹³ J. J. Niehaus, "Joshua and Ancient Near Eastern Warfare," *JETS* 31 (1988) 45-50.

¹⁴ Van Seters, *SJOT* 2 (1990) 1-16.

¹⁵ Van Seters, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1975).

¹⁶ T. L. Thompson, *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives: The Quest for the Historical Abraham* (BZAW 133; Tübingen: de Gruyter, 1974).

¹⁷ Kitchen is especially emphatic about looking at texts for all periods, the early as well as the late, for pursuing serious comparative study. Kitchen praises Van Seters and Thompson for exposing sloppy and careless comparative work done by those eager to support the Bible, but goes on to affirm: "However, these same advocates themselves then fail to match up to this selfsame standard of reviewing the patriarchal data against all periods. Instead they neglect the 3rd millennium BC entirely, along with whole sections of relevant evidence from the early 2nd millennium, and give exaggerated attention to 1st millennium materials" (K. A. Kitchen, *The Bible in Its World* [Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1977] 58).

¹⁸ J. K. Hoffmeier, *FTH*, 165-179. In addition, some of the comments in this section were presented in a paper ("Recent Developments in Historiography: Implication for the Study of Egyptian 'Historical' and Old Testament Texts") at the Society of Biblical Literature annual meeting in November 1993 in Washington D.C.

¹⁹ Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, chapters 5 and 6.

²⁰ Van Seters, *SJOT* 2 (1990) 6-7.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

²² R. P. Gordon, *1 & 2 Samuel: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1986) 252.

²³ See Hoffmeier, *FTH*, 178 for references.

²⁴ *ARAB* §330.

predecessor rather than inventing a new motif.²⁵ Consequently, there is no basis for Van Seters' assertion.²⁶ The river crossing in Joshua 3 by Israel's forces accurately reflects the seasonal realities of military life in the Near East throughout the three millennia BCE.

Another literary borrowing the Deuteronomistic History (DtrH) made from Assyria, according to Van Seters, is the practice of describing only a few major battles in a report and giving only cursory accounts of others. However, this characteristic is well known in New Kingdom Egyptian military writings, especially in the Annals of Thutmose III. There, lengthy reports (e.g. the Battle of Megiddo) can be compared with those in Joshua (e.g. Jericho), and terse reports such as Thutmose III's sixth campaign are similar to Joshua 10:28-42. Not only are these general observations striking, but there are other points to consider, but before this is done, we need to consider the nature of the composition of the Annals of Thutmose III.

Pioneering studies by Martin Noth²⁷ and Hermann Grapow²⁸ have recently been updated and expanded by Anthony Spalinger²⁹ and Donald Redford. Spalinger thinks that there were several sources behind the Annals, the "day book" and the scribal war diary being the principal ones. He believes that the latter was compiled by military scribes who accompanied the king on his campaigns and reported on the personal involvement of the monarch.³⁰ Redford dismisses this proposal on the grounds that there is no evidence for a "daybook of the army."³¹ Grapow had demonstrated that the "daybook style" (*Tagebuchstil*) can be traced back to the Thirteenth Dynasty in Pap. Bulaq 18 and as late as the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty in Pap. Anastasi III. The *Tagebuchstil* is characterized by the use of bare infinitives and lacked literary features. In fact, it reads more like the log of a ship than a flowing narrative. Redford documented sixteen surviving Daybooks, the earliest of which dated to the Twelfth Dynasty.³² He too recognized the "rigid" format and the use of infinitives in Anastasi III. The same is found in the sixth campaign of Thutmose III's Annals which are divided into three parts:

1. Introduction:

Regnal year 30. Now his majesty was in the foreign land of Retenu³³ on this 6th victorious campaign of his majesty.

2. Daybook Summary

Arriving at the city of Kadesh, destroying it, cutting down its trees and plucking its barley. Proceeding from Shesryt, arriving at the City of Djamer, arriving at the city of Irtjet (*Irtwt*). Doing likewise against it.

3. List of Tribute

The list of the gifts³⁴ which were brought by the chieftain of Retenu because of the awe of his majesty ... male and female servants 181, horses 188,

A similarity between the elements of the *Tagebuchstil* witnessed here and in the military reports in Joshua 10:28-39 is striking indeed. Consider Joshua 10:29-30,

Then Joshua passed on from Makkedah, and all Israel with him, to Libnah, and fought against Libnah; and the Lord gave it also and its king into the hand of Israel; and he smote it with the edge of the sword, and every person in it; he left none remaining in it.

The Libnah report, like the others in Joshua 10:28-42, contains terse, stereotyped formulas that are repeated frequently. The Hazor pericope (11:10-14) shares the same features, but like the year 30 report in the Annals concludes with a reference to the booty: "All the spoil of these cities and the cattle, the people of Israel took for their booty."

²⁵ That Sargon II deliberately borrowed from his 3rd millennium namesake has been long recognized by Assyriologists; cf. Sidney Smith, "Esarhaddon and Sennacherib," in *CAH* 3 (1973) 46.

²⁶ Van Seters, *SJOT* 2 (1990) 7.

²⁷ M. Noth, "Die Annalen Thutmose III. als Geschichtsquelle," *ZDPV* 66 (1943) 156-174.

²⁸ H. Grapow, *Studien zu den Annalen Thutmose des Dritten und zu ihnen verwandten historischen Berichten des Neuen Reiches* (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Jahrg. 1947. Phil.-hist. Kl. 2; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1947).

²⁹ A. J. Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians* (YNER 9; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 120-121.

³¹ D. B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History* (Mississauga: Benben Publications, 1986) 122.

³² *Ibid.*, 103-121.

³³ Retenu is a general term that includes the area of Lebanon and Syria. Eg. scribes could distinguish between upper and lower Retenu, but the dividing line between the two regions is unclear (Gardiner, *AEO* 1:142*-149*).

³⁴ The word used here is *imw*, literally "that which is brought."

Van Seters thinks an Assyrian prototype lies behind Joshua's use of the fame and terror of Israel's army causing the enemies to submit. However, as I showed many years ago, such motifs are well known in second millennium Egyptian royal inscriptions.³⁵ A few examples will suffice to illustrate this point. Concerning Thutmose III it is said,

He (Amun-Re) caused that all foreign lands (come) bowing because of the power of my majesty, my dread being in the midst of the Nine Bows, all lands being under my sandals.³⁶

The poetical stela of Thutmose III contains the speech of Amun-Re who recalls that he placed his "bravery" (*nḥt*), "power" (*bꜣw*), "fear," (*snd*) and "dread" (*ḥryt*) in the king so that all lands would submit to him.³⁷ This type of language abounds during the New Kingdom. In Mesopotamia similar expressions are used, as Alan Millard has demonstrated, in Middle Assyrian texts from the end of the 2nd Millennium.³⁸

The summary statement, a device used in Joshua 10:40-43, 11:16-20, and 12, is another feature Van Seters considers the DtrH to have borrowed from the Neo-Assyrian scribal tradition. Here too, earlier analogies from Middle Assyrian and 18th Dynasty Egypt are readily available.³⁹ The *shwy* (review or summary) of Egyptian texts is found in Thutmose III's annals as well as in the Armant stela of the same pharaoh.⁴⁰

Van Seters also thinks that hyperbole that is so typical in Joshua derives from Neo-Assyrian practice. Once again, however, New Kingdom royal inscriptions are replete with examples of this type of exaggeration. Consider the lofty claims of Thutmose III in the Gebel Barkal Stela and Amenhotep II in the Memphis stela in COS 2:

He is a king who fights alone, without a multitude to back him up. He is more effective than a myriad of numerous armies. An equal to him has not been, (he is) a warrior who extends his arm on the battlefield, no one can touch him. He is one who immediately overwhelms all foreign lands while at the head of his army, as he shoots between the two divisions of troops, like a star he crosses the sky, entering into the throng, [while a bl]ast of his flame is against them with fire, turning into nothing those who lie prostrate in their blood. It is his uraeus that overthrows them for him, his flaming serpent that subdues his enemies, with the result that numerous armies of Mitanni were overthrown in the space of an hour, annihilated completely like those who had not existed, ... great of might in the mêlée, who slaughters everyone, by himself alone, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, may he live forever (COS 2:14-15).

Now at that time the ruler raged like a divine falcon, his chariots were shooting like a star in the sky. His majesty entered (the fray). Its chieftains, children and wives were carried off as prisoners-of-war, and all its inhabitants likewise, and all its property without end: its cattle, its chariots, and all the herds in front of him (COS 2:21).

Exaggerated numbers are also found in the Battle of Kadesh report in which boast is made of Ramesses II that he was "more valiant than hundred-thousands" (COS 2:33) and "Amun I found more help to me than millions of troops, than hundred-thousands of chariotry, than ten-thousands of men" (COS 2:35). The much quoted Merneptah stela also contains farfetched claims of devastating entire regions within the same section that makes reference to conquest of particular cities like Gezer and Ashkelon. It begins with the boast that none of the Nine Bows (Egypt's traditional enemies) could so much as lift a head after Pharaoh's onslaught, and then concludes by saying that "all lands are united" (under Merneptah) and "all who roamed have been subdued."⁴¹ Thus we have in the same literary unit lofty assertions of universal conquest, side by side with sober statements about taking individual cities. This same combination is found in the Joshua narratives (compare Josh 10:40-11:1-5 with Josh 8:1-29).

Additionally, the Poetical Stela of Thutmose III contains an interesting comparison with Joshua 10:20:

When Joshua and the men of Israel had finished slaying them with a very great slaughter, until they were wiped out, and when the remnant which remained of them had entered into the fortified cities, all the people returned safe to Joshua at the camp of Makkedah.⁴²

The Stela boasts: "The heads of Asiatics are severed" ... "none escape (death)."⁴³ It goes on to claim that there were no survivors because of the swashbuckling king, but later in the same text, thousands of prisoners of war are reported

³⁵ Hoffmeier, "Some Egyptian Motifs Related to Enemies and Warfare and Their Old Testament Counterparts," In *Studies Williams* 53-70. It should be pointed out that Van Seters' *SJOT* study does not cite this work.

³⁶ Translation *ibid.*, 66; text: *Urk.* IV 161.14-16.

³⁷ Text in *Urk.* IV. 612.7-9; the translation is my own.

³⁸ A. R. Millard, "The Old Testament and History: Some Considerations," *FT* 110 (1983) 46.

³⁹ Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 231-232 and 251-253.

⁴⁰ See Hoffmeier, *FTH*, 175-176 for references and discussion. See the Armant Stela (COS 2.2C).

⁴¹ Text in *KRI* IV, 19.3 & 8, the translation is my own.

⁴² The italics are meant to show the apparently contradictory statements.

⁴³ *Urk.* IV. 614.1-2.

to have been taken.⁴⁴ Thus what appears to a western reader of this text to be a patent contradiction in Joshua, appears to be a well-known device in Egypt.

Hyperbole, as Younger has shown, was a regular feature of Near Eastern military reporting. The failure of J. Maxwell Miller,⁴⁵ William G. Dever,⁴⁶ Redford⁴⁷ and others to recognize the hyperbolic nature of such statements in Joshua is ironic because the charge is usually leveled at maximalist historians that they take the text too literally! As a consequence of this failure, these scholars have committed "the fallacy of misplaced literalism" which David Hackett Fischer defines as

the misconstruction of a statement-in-evidence so that it carries a literal meaning when a symbolic or hyperbolic or figurative meaning was intended.⁴⁸

The above quoted Egyptian statements must be understood to be hyperbolic in nature so as to perpetuate Egyptian royal ideology.⁴⁹ This does not mean, however, that the Levantine campaigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, Ramesses' Battle of Kadesh, and Merneptah's invasion of Canaan did not take place. Egyptologists, while recognizing the propagandistic nature of the material, nevertheless ascribe some historical worth to the bombastic claims.⁵⁰ The critical reader of the texts needs to understand the rhetoric and the propagandistic nature of the material, but should not throw out the proverbial baby with the bath water by dismissing the more sober reports in the body of the same text. However, when similar hyperbole is found in the Bible, the account is often viewed *a priori* as unhistorical. This is true especially if there is a hint of divine intervention. And yet, divine involvement or intervention in military affairs is a regular feature of Near Eastern military writing.⁵¹ The Merneptah stela provides an excellent illustration. In line 14, the capture of the Libyan chieftain is described as follows: "a great wonder (or miracle) happened" (*biʿt ʿwt hprt*).⁵² Despite the claim of a miracle and use of hyperbole in this inscription, Egyptologists accept the historicity of the Libyan war of Merneptah.⁵³ A good example of Egyptologists embracing the historical worth of this miraculous story is J.F. Borghouts.⁵⁴ In his comprehensive study, "Divine Intervention in Ancient Egypt and Its Manifestation (*bʿw*)," he acknowledges the "propagandistic statements" in the account of Merneptah's Libyan campaign, "but," he concludes, "that need not prevent them from being taken literally in regard to the purpose intended."⁵⁵

Another type of divine intervention found in biblical and Egyptian sources is theophany before a battle. Joshua 5:13-15 reports that Joshua experienced a divine visitation on the eve of battle in order to assure him of victory against Jericho. Similarly, Amenhotep receives words of encouragement from Amun-Re in a dream while on campaign. The report on the Karnak-Memphis Stela states:

A Pleasant thing which happened to his majesty: The majesty of this august god, Amun-Re, Lord of the Throne of the Two Lands came before his majesty during sleep, in order to encourage his son, Aakheperure. His father Amun-Re was the guardian of his body, while protecting the ruler (*COS* 2:21-22).

To summarize the foregoing discussion on the literary nature of the Joshua conquest narratives, it is maintained here that comparative study of the Hebrew material must include documents from the second millennium, and not just the first millennium. Van Seters is absolutely right when he concludes, "His (DtrH) historiographic method is to write

⁴⁴ *Urk.* IV. 612.14-16.

⁴⁵ J. M. Miller, "The Israelite Occupation of Canaan" in *Israelite and Judaeon History* (Ed. by J. H. Hayes and J. M. Miller; Philadelphia/London: Westminster Press, 1977) 215.

⁴⁶ W. G. Dever, *Recent Archaeological Discoveries and Biblical Research* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990) 57-59.

⁴⁷ D. B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) 264.

⁴⁸ *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971) 58.

⁴⁹ John Wilson, "The Royal Myth in Ancient Egypt," *PAPS* 100, no. 5 (October 1956) 439-442; A. R. Schulman, "The Great Historical Inscription of Merneptah at Karnak: A Partial Reappraisal," *JARCE* 24 (1987) 22.

⁵⁰ For examples, see G. Posener, *Littérature et politique dans l'Égypte de la XXe dynastie* (Paris: 1956) 14-15; R. J. Williams, "Literature as a Medium of Political Propaganda in Ancient Egypt," *Studies Meek*, 14-30.

⁵¹ For numerous examples, see Millard, *FT* 110 (1983) 34-53; Niehaus, *JETS* 31 (1988) 37-50; Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*. I have also dealt with this issue in Eg. "historical texts"; see Hoffmeier, "The Problem of 'History,'" in *VI Congresso Internazionale De Egittologia Atti*, 296-297.

⁵² Text: *KRI* IV, 19.4-5; the translation is my own.

⁵³ See for example R. O. Faulkner in *CAH* 2/2:232-235; Schulman, *JARCE* 24 (1987) 21-22. Even though Redford is somewhat skeptical about the historic worth of the Asian campaign, he nevertheless believes that there was a smaller scale campaign during Merneptah's tenure. He does not appear to question the Libyan invasion in which "the great miracle" took place; see Redford, "The Ashkelon Relief at Karnak and the Israel Stela," *IEJ* 36 (1986) 188-200. Robert Coote takes Redford's scaled down campaign and offers a further reduction saying, "While Merneptah might have sent soldiers to Palestine during the first year or two to display imperial muscle, the campaign implied by the stela inscription may never have occurred" (*Early Israel: A New Horizon*, 74).

⁵⁴ J. F. Borghouts, "Divine Intervention in Ancient Egypt and its Manifestation (*bʿw*)," in *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina* (ed. by R. J. Demarée and J. J. Janssen; Leiden: Netherlands Institute for Near Eastern Studies, 1982) 1-70.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 28.

past history in the form and style of contemporary historical texts.”⁵⁶ The question is, what contemporary historical texts influenced the Hebrew scribal tradition? By restricting his parallels to Neo-Assyrian texts of the first millennium and ignoring those of the Late Bronze Age (as Weinfeld did earlier), Van Seters is able to finesse the results to his desired conclusion. However as Niehaus, Younger and this writer have shown, sources from the previous millennium cannot be ignored simply because the material invalidates one’s presuppositions about the dating of the Joshua narratives and DtrH. The earlier parallels are just as valid, if not more compelling, and thus might suggest a date of composition centuries before the reforms of Josiah at the end of the 7th century BCE.

Another feature of Egyptian battle inscriptions that has a literary parallel in the Bible can be introduced. The Chronicler frequently includes the prayers of pious kings, especially in battle or crisis situations. Examples of this phenomenon are the prayer of Asa when facing Zerah’s invasion in 2 Chronicles 14:11 and that of his son, Jehoshaphat, prior to taking on the invading coalition from Transjordan in 2 Chronicles 20:51-52. In the case of Jehoshaphat, he was vastly outnumbered and called upon the Lord, and was able to win the battle. In the Battle of Kadesh, when Ramesses II finds himself outnumbered by the Hittite chariotry and “hundred-thousands of men,” he calls on Amun for help, and a lengthy prayer follows (*COS* 2:34-35). From distant Thebes Amun responded and Egypt was victorious.⁵⁷ Interestingly, his appeal, “What will people think, if (even) a minor mishap befalls him that depended on your counsel,” sounds strikingly like Moses’s appeal in Exodus 32:12 and Numbers 14:13ff. when he asks “What would the Egyptians say” if the Israelites were to die in the wilderness. In both biblical and Egyptian theological perspectives, there was a clear connection between one’s military success and the power of a nation’s deity, and that may be what is reflected here. Additionally, the Chronicler, with his penchant for drawing on earlier sources, may well have been familiar with this old Egyptian literary device of including the king’s prayer in the crisis of battle, and employed it.

This essay has attempted to show that Egyptian monumental inscriptions, particularly royal ones, can shed light on the Hebrew scriptures, both on the literary and structural levels. Furthermore, the similarities in the two corpora of literature may even suggest that books like Joshua date earlier than the seventh century as is widely accepted or, minimally, that the Hebrew author(s) drew on earlier (Late Bronze Age) sources. Despite the brevity of this study, it is hoped that Biblical scholars will agree with Williams’ thesis that Egypt’s legacy is vital to the task of studying the Hebrew Scriptures, and that students and scholars alike will use these Egyptian sources because they are a part of the context of scripture.

⁵⁶ Van Seters, *SJOT* 2 (1990) 11-12.

⁵⁷ Comparing Ramesses II texts with those of the Chronicler in no way is meant to argue that the Chronicler is a pre-exilic work, but it does illustrate that he used earlier sources. Similarities in language and ideology between the thirteenth century Eg. texts and a ninth century Judaeon monarch might be attributable to similar views of deity.

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HITTITE-ISRAELITE CULTURAL PARALLELS

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Although it was biblical references that ultimately led to the rediscovery of the Hittites in the first decade of the twentieth century, very few Hittitologists today show a significant interest in the bearing of their materials on the interpretation of the Bible.¹ There are several reasons for this: (1) the secularization of ancient Near East scholarship during the past century, (2) the unfamiliarity of Hittitologists with biblical material, and (3) the geographical and cultural remoteness of the Hittites from Israel, which is often perceived by scholars in both disciplines as evidence for lack of significant influence.

For their part, most biblical scholars have reciprocated by showing little interest in Hittite sources. Like the Hittitologists (1) they are tempted to view the geographical and cultural remoteness of Hittites as evidence for little if any influence, (2) many assume that most if not all biblical texts originated much later than the fall of Hatti in 1190 BCE, and (3) they assume that too much time and effort would be necessary to learn the Hittite language and investigate its sources. I for one sympathize with the biblical scholars. For Hittitologists do nothing to assist non-specialists by finding and making known to biblical scholars potentially relevant material. Be that as it may, it is a fact that if graduate students in Biblical Studies learn any languages other than Greek, Hebrew and Aramaic, they are Ugaritic, Phoenician or Akkadian, not Hittite. As a language Hittite is too different from the Semitic languages that are the standard fare of Old Testament scholars. I can attest to that unhappy situation even at the University of Chicago. In my 26 years on its faculty, one Egyptology major, two or three Assyriology majors, and no West Semitics majors have enrolled in beginning Hittite. One faculty member in Assyriology took two years of Hittite.

Still, a few scholars in both fields have attempted to evaluate mutually relevant materials. And although very few comprehensive surveys have been attempted, quite a number of individual items in Hittite texts have been compared in print to biblical materials.

Obviously, volumes like *ANET* and the new *Context of Scripture* volumes — like their German counterparts (the older Bousset-Gressmann, and the newer *TUAT*) — are making translations of important ancient Near Eastern texts available to a broader public. And the SBL series entitled *Writings from the Ancient World* (SBLWAW) has produced around ten volumes of translated documents from the ancient Near East, including two consisting entirely of Hittite texts (Beckman's *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* and my *Hittite Myths*, both now in revised second editions,² and a third, Martha T. Roth's *Law Collections*,³ which contains my translation of the Hittite laws.⁴

There are not many studies which attempt to survey the subject comprehensively. Early surveys, when little was known from the Hittite texts themselves, focussed on how the Hittites described in the Old Testament could be related to the newly discovered materials from the Hittite capital in Turkey. But already they also tried to apply Anatolian Hittite evidence — both archaeological and textual — to the Bible's own contents. One of the earliest publications was a 1928 article by Archibald Henry Sayce, entitled "Hittite and Mittannian Elements in the Old Testament."⁵ One of the pioneers of Hittitology, Emil Forrer, even saw in the ubiquitous references in Hittite cult texts to "drinking" various gods a forerunner of the Christian Eucharist.⁶ Another early survey, which was largely confined to the question of how "Hittites" are described in the Bible, was the 1947 Tyndale Archaeology Lecture given by the New Testament scholar F. F. Bruce.⁷

Twenty-one years later, in 1969, I gave the annual Tyndale Archaeology Lecture on "Some Contributions of

¹ Symptomatic is the small number of Hittitologists (as opposed to the biblical scholars who contributed) represented in the volume B. Janowski, K. Koch and G. Wilhelm, eds. *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament. Internationales Symposium Hamburg 17.-21. März 1990* (OBO 129; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993). Henceforth *RgB*.

² G. M. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (2nd ed.; SBLWAW 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999); H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *Hittite Myths* (SBLWAW 2; 2nd Rev. Ed.; ed. by S. Parker; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998).

³ M. T. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (2nd Ed.; SBLWAW 6; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997).

⁴ H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "The Hittite Laws," in *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 211-247.

⁵ A. H. Sayce, "Hittite and Mittannian Elements in the Old Testament," *JTS* 29 (1928) 401-406.

⁶ E. Forrer, "Das Abendmahl im Hatti-Reiche," in *Actes du XXe Congrès Internationale des Orientalistes (Bruxelles 1938)* (Louvain, 1940) 124-128.

⁷ F. F. Bruce, *The Hittites and the Old Testament. Tyndale Archaeology Lecture 1947* (London: Tyndale Press, 1947).

Hittology to Old Testament Study,"⁸ in which I sought to update the summary of both what was known about Hittites in Palestine and about Hittite materials which could elucidate the Old Testament. I concluded from the onomastics and customs of persons called "Hittites" in the pre-monarchic period that these were not of Anatolian Hittite origin. References to Hittites in the period of the monarchy I considered to pertain to the so-called "Neo-Hittite" kingdoms of Syria. Aharon Kempinski⁹ and James Moyer¹⁰ did not share my conviction that the pre-monarchic "Hittites" of the Bible were not true Anatolian Hittites, but cited archaeological evidence for Hittite or at least Anatolian influence in Bronze Age Palestine from Amarna texts and artefacts excavated in Israel. A similar point of view was held by Nahum Sarna in his JPS commentary on Genesis,¹¹ citing the non-Semitic names ʾR-Ḫepa (usually read with West Semitic ^c*Abdi-* rather than Akkadian *Warad-* or Hurrian *Purame-*) and Šuwardata identifying Amarna period rulers in Palestine alongside of Hittite pottery types and hieroglyphic Luwian seals found in Late Bronze sites in Israel. Since no finds of Hittite or Hurrian texts have been made in these regions, Sarna argued that these Hittites or Hurrians in Hebron and the Judean hill country were culturally "Hittite" but no longer linguistically so. Hence, in the Bible too they used the same Semitic language as the patriarchs.

Meanwhile, regardless of whether they believe that pre-monarchic "Hittites" in the Bible were really Anatolian Hittites, scholars have continued to mine Hittite texts for material to elucidate the Old Testament.

Fifteen years after my Tyndale Archaeology Lecture, James Moyer¹² reviewed many suggested parallels which I had already adduced in 1968, but also summarized and evaluated proposals made by others in the intervening years. Since Moyer's article, no other book or article that I am aware of has appeared which has attempted to review systematically all proposals of Hittite or Hurro-Hittite materials having a bearing on Old Testament interpretation. But an international symposium was held in March of 1990 in Hamburg which addressed the subject of "History of Religions Connections between Anatolia, North Syria and the Old Testament." Papers from the symposium were published in 1993, edited by Janowski, Koch and Wilhelm.¹³ A paper delivered by Moshe Weinfeld at this symposium approximates the general coverage achieved by Moyer, but without its detailed evaluations.¹⁴

No reasonably complete bibliography of the subject has been published. A start was made by Moyer in 1983. A somewhat larger, but still only partial bibliography of publications through 1995 on this subject was published in 1996 by the late Vladimír Souček and his wife Jana Siegelová.¹⁵

The area that has drawn the most attention among biblical scholars is the question of the origin of the covenantal form or forms found in the Bible. It was George Mendenhall who in 1955 first posited a connection between the Israelite covenantal form and the international treaties of the late second millennium, represented almost exclusively by Hittite vassal treaties of the 14th and 13th centuries.¹⁶ Since that time scholars have lined up — pro and con — on whether the Hittite material has significant relevance to the central biblical formulations of the Sinai covenant. In addition, central covenant vocabulary — such as the verbs "love" (^a*āhab*) and "know" (*yādaʿ*)¹⁷ — have been compared to the usage of Hittite treaty terminology. And passages from the Israelite prophets in which the people are indicted for blaming Yahweh's punishment of them upon the transgressions of their forebears have been interpreted in the light of statements in Hittite treaties.¹⁸

Although I participated with Grayson, Van Seters and others in a Symposium on Ancient Historiography held in the late 1970's at the University of Toronto, the papers of which were published separately rather than in a symposium volume,¹⁹ the first somewhat systematic attempt to show an appreciable similarity between Israelite and Hittite histori-

⁸ H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "Some Contributions of Hittology to Old Testament Study. The Tyndale Archaeology Lecture, 1968," *TB* 20 (1969) 27-55.

⁹ A. Kempinski, "Hittites in the Bible — What Does Archaeology Say?" *BAR* 5 (1979) 20-45.

¹⁰ J. C. Moyer, "Hittite and Israelite Cultic Practices: A Selected Comparison," *SJC* 2 (1983) 19-38.

¹¹ N. M. Sarna, *Genesis* (Ed. by N. M. Sarna and C. Potok; The JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia, New York, and Jerusalem: Jewish Publication Society, 1989) 395-396.

¹² Moyer, *SJC* 2, 19-38.

¹³ See note 1.

¹⁴ M. Weinfeld, "Traces of Hittite Cult in Shiloh, Bethel and in Jerusalem," in *RgB*, 455-472.

¹⁵ V. Souček and Jana Siegelová, *Systematische Bibliographie der Hethitologie 1915-1995. Teilband 1*. Praha: Národní Muzeum, 1996; *Systematische Bibliographie der Hethitologie 1915-1995. Teilband 2*. Praha: Národní Muzeum, 1996; *Systematische Bibliographie der Hethitologie 1915-1995. Teilband 3*. Praha: Národní Muzeum, 1996).

¹⁶ G. E. Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Pittsburgh, PA: The Biblical Colloquium, 1955).

¹⁷ W. L. Moran, "The Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Love of God in Deuteronomy," *CBQ* 25 (1963) 77-87; H. B. Huffmon, "The Treaty Background of Hebrew *yādaʿ*," *BASOR* 181 (1966) 31-37; H. B. Huffmon and S. B. Parker, "A Further Note on the Treaty Background of Hebrew *yādaʿ*," *BASOR* 184 (1966) 36-38.

¹⁸ A. Malamat, "Doctrines of Causality in Hittite and Biblical Historiography: A Parallel," *VT* 5 (1955) 1-12; J. B. Geyer, "Ezekiel 18 and a Hittite Treaty of Mursilis II," *Journal of the Society for Old Testament* 12 (1979) 31-46.

¹⁹ Grayson's and mine were published in the same issue of *Orientalia* 49. H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "Histories and Historians of the Ancient Near East: The Hittites," *Or* 49 (1980) 283-332.

ography was made in 1976 by Hubert Cancik.²⁰ Four years later in 1980 Kyle McCarter was able to build upon Hittite historical materials that were first compared to the stories of Saul and David by Herbert Wolf and me²¹ in order to construct his own analysis of what he called "the Apology of David."²²

A second area within Hittitology that has produced information of interest has been less widely discussed among biblical scholars. That is the legal formulations found in the Hittite "code." Although in 1953 Manfred Lehmann, somewhat unconvincingly, claimed that Hittite law (specifically laws §§46-47) explained the conditions of property transfer between Abraham and "Ephron the Hittite" (Gen 23),²³ more cogent examples of Hittite laws bearing a resemblance to laws in the Pentateuch have appeared in publications not usually consulted by biblical scholars.²⁴ Among the topics worthwhile exploring are: levirate marriage (§§192-193), the case of the unknown manslayer (§6 and §IV), laws about sexual relations with animals (§187, §199), and compensation for bodily injuries (§§7-16).²⁵ Many of the possible parallels between Hittite and Israelite laws are identified in the center column of COS 2:106ff.

Other areas of interest, many briefly surveyed by Moyer, are: (1) necromancy,²⁶ (2) rites of gender transformation,²⁷ (3) purity regulations concerning contact with unclean animals, (4) ritual elimination of impurity by scapegoats, (5) regulations regarding the duties and responsibilities of priests and temple officials, (6) rituals for the summoning of a departed deity, (7) drink ordeals to determine perjury, which cause the forswearing person to swell up, (8) the symbolism of cult gestures, (9) the occasional use of the contest of champions in warfare, and (10) the characteristics of texts employed to legitimize royal usurpers (the so-called "apologies").

In addition there is the interesting area of shared lexical items, words which need not have been loan words from Hittite to Hebrew or vice versa, but which appear to be common to both Hittite or Anatolian Hurrian and biblical Hebrew. Chaim Rabin surveyed this field almost 40 years ago,²⁸ but new evidence has accrued.

In his 1993 article entitled "Traces of Hittite Cult in Shiloh, Bethel and Jerusalem" delivered orally at the 1990 Hamburg symposium,²⁹ Moshe Weinfeld listed a large number of examples of Hittite influences in the biblical description of the Israelite cult. Some are more convincing than others. Several are simply based upon inaccurate recording or interpreting of the Hittite or biblical data.

1. He claims that "The quantity of festival offerings in the Bible equals the quantity of the offerings in the Hittite festival calendars" (455f.). But he has arbitrarily selected one Israelite festival to compare with one Hittite one, where the distribution of victims happens to be the same, without demonstrating the need to associate particularly these two. The correlation would not work if one selected a different Israelite or Hittite festival.

2. In rituals for the purification of a childbearing woman, a distinction is made between cases in which the child is male or female, but the offerings at the end of the purification period are identical in both cultures: one lamb and one bird (Lev 12:6, compared with a Hittite ritual).³⁰ This is a valid observation, but one wonders if in *all* Hittite or Hurrian birth rituals the same offerings were used. It was not uncommon in Hurrian-type rituals from Kizzuwatna — and not just purification or birth rituals — to offer a single lamb and a single bird. Usually the species of bird is not given, but occasionally it is a "large bird" (MUŠEN.GAL).

3. Weinfeld mentions the ceremonies for purification of a house which according to him employ two birds, cedar and crimson. Leviticus 14:49ff. is the biblical example he cites, which also involves hyssop. It is true that cedar and red wool are used together in some Hittite rituals of Kizzuwatnean origin (e.g., CTH 477.1, and CTH 483), but not

²⁰ H. Cancik, *Grundzüge der hethitischen und alttestamentlichen Geschichtsschreibung* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1976).

²¹ H. M. Wolf, *The Apology of Hattusilis Compared with Other Political Self-justifications of the Ancient Near East* (Ph.D., Brandeis University, 1967); H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "A Hittite Analogue to the David and Goliath Contest of Champions?" *CBQ* 30 (1968) 220-225.

²² P. K. McCarter, Jr., "The Apology of David," *JBL* 99 (1980) 489-504.

²³ M. Lehmann, "Abraham's purchase of Machpelah and Hittite Law," *BASOR* 129 (1953) 15-18.

²⁴ E. Neufeld, *The Hittite Laws* (London: Luzac and Co. Ltd., 1951); H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *The Laws of the Hittites* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Brandeis University, 1963); "Incest, Sodomy and Bestiality in the Ancient Near East," in *Studies Gordon*, 81-90; Moyer, *SIC* 2, 19-38; R. Westbrook, *Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Law* (Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 26; Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1988); E. Otto, "Körperverletzung im hethitischen und israelitischen Recht," in *RgB*, 391-426; R. Haase, "Deuteronomium und hethitisches Recht. Über einige Ähnlichkeiten in rechtshistorischer Hinsicht," *WO* 25 (1994) 71-77; Hoffner, "On Homicide in Hittite Law," in *Studies Astour*, 293-314; "Agricultural Perspectives on Hittite Laws §§167-169," in *Acts of the 13rd International Congress of Hittitology. Çorum, September 16-22, 1996* (ed. by S. Alp and A. Stiel; Ankara: Grafik, Teknik Hazirlik Uyum Ajansı) 319-330; and *The Laws of the Hittites. A Critical Edition* (Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

²⁵ See the commentary in Hoffner, *The Laws of the Hittites*, 175-178.

²⁶ Esp. the use of the Israelite *ʾôb* and the Hurro-Hittite *abi*; cf. H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "Second Millennium Antecedents to the Hebrew *ʾôb*," *JBL* 86 (1967) 385-401.

²⁷ Cf. H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "Symbols for Masculinity and Femininity: Their Use in Ancient Near Eastern Sympathetic Magic Rituals," *JBL* 85 (1966) 326-334.

²⁸ C. Rabin, "Hittite Words in Hebrew," *Or* 32 (1963) 113-139.

²⁹ Weinfeld, "Traces of Hittite Cult in Shiloh, Bethel and in Jerusalem," in *RgB*, 455-472.

³⁰ G. M. Beckman, *Hittite Birth Rituals* (StBoT 29; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983) 206f. (i 10'-12').

to my knowledge in the best known example of a ritual to purify a house (CTH 446).³¹ Weinfeld refers to data in an earlier article,³² which I have not checked yet.

4. The scapegoat ritual of Leviticus 16 according to Weinfeld is "very close to the substitution ritual among the Hittites." Here the fundamental studies were by van Brock, Kümmel, Gurney, Moyer, Wright, and Janowski and Wilhelm.³³ It should be noted that in the Hittite examples the animal carrier of the impurity is not always a domestic animal like a bull, sheep or goat. In one case it is a mouse.³⁴ Wright and Weinfeld claim that one difference between the Hittite and biblical examples is that in Hittite the scapegoat is intended both to appease an angry deity and to remove the impurity. But not all Hittite examples of its use entail appeasement of a deity. Nor in all examples is the animal a substitute for a person who has offended the gods. It has been noticed that the Hittite carrier is sent not into the desolate wilderness or desert, but to an enemy country. It would seem that the "scapegoat" in Hittite religion was not a unified concept. Some aspects of its employment concur with the Leviticus scapegoat and others do not. Scholars have so far only compared these Hittite scapegoat rituals with Leviticus 16. But equally relevant in this discussion is the account in 1 Samuel 5-6 of the sojourn of the ark of the covenant in Philistine territory. To be sure the ark, which is eventually sent back into Israel with gifts to pacify Yahweh, is not a scapegoat in the usual sense. But the occasion of the sending is a plague of tumors sent upon the Philistines by Yahweh. And the ark is sent back by allowing the oxen which draw the cart on which it sits to go where the god wishes them to. The "guilt offering" (Heb. *ʿāšām*) that is sent to Yahweh with the ark consists of gold images of the mice and tumors which ravaged the Philistine cities (1 Sam 6:5-17). The ark is sent to the enemy land which is the land of the offended deity, not to transfer the evils to that land, but to return the cult object to its owner. To be compared here is the Middle Hittite ritual of the city of Gamulla (CTH 480 KUB 29.7 + KBo21.41) translated by Goetze in *ANET* 346 and reproduced in part with discussion by Gurney (1977:51f.). The carrier in this case is inanimate, but capable of transporting propitiatory gifts: it is a boat. Into this boat they place little silver and gold representations of the oaths and curses which have oppressed them. Then the boat is floated downstream to a river and eventually by the river to the sea. The Philistine gold mice and tumors compare well with the gold and silver images of the curses. And since both are made of precious metals, they should not be thought of as impurities to be removed, but as propitiatory gifts in the shape of the calamities, sent to the deities who sent the calamities.

In the Leviticus 16 ritual a crux has always been the term *laʿāzāzēl* rendered in the Septuagint and Vulgate by "as a scapegoat" (followed by the English AV), but replaced in more recent English translations by "for Azazel," sometimes thought to denote a wilderness demon. Appealing to scapegoat rites in the Hurrian language from the Hittite archives, Janowski and Wilhelm would derive the biblical term from a Hurrian offering term, *azazhiya*. This is particularly appealing to me. There were two goats used in the Leviticus 16 ritual. One is designated for Yahweh as a "sin offering" (Heb. *ḥaṭṭāʾt*, LXX *peri hamartias*) (16:9), and the other is "for Azazel," but is presented alive before Yahweh to make atonement, and is sent away into the wilderness "to/for Azazel." The contrast is twofold: (1) Yahweh versus Azazel, and (2) sin offering versus Azazel. If one adopts the first, Azazel seems to be a divine being or demon, who must be appeased. But if one adopts the second as primary, the word *laʿāzāzēl* represents the goal of the action. In the system of Hurrian offering terms to which Wilhelm's *azazhiya* belongs, the terms represent either a benefit that is sought by the offering (e.g., *keldiya* "for wellbeing," cf. Heb. *šālām*), or the central element offered (e.g., *zurgiya* "blood"). If Janowski and Wilhelm's theory is correct, the Hebrew term would not denote a demon as recipient of the goat, but some benefit desired (e.g., removal of the sins and impurities) or the primary method of the offering (e.g. the banishment of the goat).

David Wright has also called attention to the similarity in the use of a hand placement gesture in Israelite (Heb. *sāmak yādō*) and Hittite ritual (*kiššaran dāi-*), noting that in each it has the same two possible implications: (1) conferring authorization on another to act (usually in a ceremony) on behalf of the gesturing person, and (2) to attribute the offering material to the one performing the hand placement.³⁵ The fact that both cultures preserve the same two significances is striking and important. But Weinfeld goes a step further, claiming that in both it is a two-

³¹ See edition in H. Otten, "Eine Beschwörung der Unterirdischen aus Boğazköy," *ZA* 54 (1961) 114-157; translation and discussion in V. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion* (HdO 1. Abteilung 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 283ff., and translation in *COS* 1:168ff.

³² M. Weinfeld, "Social and Cultic Institutions in the Priestly Source against their Ancient Near Eastern Background," in *Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies. Panel Sessions, Bible Studies and Hebrew Language* (Jerusalem, 1983) 95-129, esp. p. 101.

³³ N. van Brock, "Substitution rituelle," *RHA* 17/65 (1959) 117-146; H. M. Kümmel, "Ersatzkönig und Sündenbock," *ZAW* 80 (1968) 289-318; O. R. Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977); Moyer, *SIC* 2, 19-38; D. P. Wright, *The Disposal of Impurity: Elimination Rites in the Bible and in Hittite and Mesopotamian Literature* (SBLDS 101; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987); "The Gesture of Hand Placement in the Hebrew Bible and in Hittite Literature," *JAOS* 106 (1986) 433-446; B. Janowski and G. Wilhelm, "Der Bock, der die Sünden hinausträgt. Zur Religionsgeschichte des Azazel-Ritus Lev 16,10.21f.," in *RgB*, 109-170; Weinfeld, "Traces of Hittite Cult in Shiloh, Bethel and in Jerusalem," in *RgB*, 455-472.

³⁴ CTH 391.1 KUB 27.67 i 37ff.; cf. Gurney, *Some Aspects*, 50.

³⁵ Wright, *JAOS* 106 (1986) 433-446.

handed placement for the first significance and a one-handed one for the second. There is good evidence in the Bible for this distinction, but in Hittite texts there is no evidence for it: rather in both significances the texts read "he places the hand (singular!)." Other parallels cited by Weinfeld are too general to constitute anything specifically Anatolian and are sometimes garbled in their details.³⁶ For example, that ritual slaughter was accomplished by cutting the throat of the animal is extremely widespread. Weinfeld misunderstood Cord Kühne's key article on the Hittite practice.³⁷ He claims the Hittite slaughterer cut the "windpipe" of the victim, whereas Kühne's proposal for the difficult term *auli-* was "neck artery."³⁸ Nor is the provision prohibiting persons with physical disabilities from entering the sacred temple precincts something exclusively Hittite or Israelite.³⁹

But there are a few new sources not mentioned by Moyer or Weinfeld. A fairly recently published source of great relevance to this question is the 15th century Hurro-Hittite bilingual literary text called the "Song of Release," the edition of which was published in 1996.⁴⁰ A substantial portion of this text contains parables or fables illustrating with stories involving animals or inanimate objects certain kinds of undesirable or foolish human behavior. One is about a coppersmith who makes a beautiful cup, only to have it curse him, so that he in turn pronounces a curse on the cup. The Hurro-Hittite text compares this behavior to that of an ungrateful son, who by his refusal to care for his weak and aged parent earns his father's curse. This is obviously an early source of the biblical *topos* about the potter and his clay creation, used both by the prophets Isaiah (29:16, 45:9) and Jeremiah (18:6) and by St. Paul (Rom 9:20-21). But the main part of the story concerns the demand by the god of the city of Ebla (Teššub) that its citizens free the men of the town Ikakali, who are currently their slaves. It is still unclear if they are also debt slaves. When the citizens resist this demand, the god threatens to destroy the city. Haas and Wegner have suggested that the intention of this composition was to explain the destruction of Ebla.⁴¹ In similar manner the Judean chronicler attributed the destruction and exile of the kingdom of Judah to her failure to observe 70 of Yahweh's sabbatical years (2 Chr 36:17-21). The stated beneficiaries of the biblical sabbatical year are the poor, the wild animals and the soil (Exod 23:10-11). The principal objection to observing it would be the greed of the land owners. If there is a common thread running through all parts of the Song of Release — parables, feast in the netherworld palace of Allani, demand for debt release, threatened destruction of Ebla — it may be that in refusing to release their slaves the wealthy leaders of Ebla personify the foolish figures described in the fables, who despise their weak and elderly parents and are overweening in their ambition for wealth and advancement. And in the episode where the leaders refuse to obey Teššub's demand to release their slaves, they even defend themselves by pledging their willingness to relieve the god Teššub himself, if he should ever fall into poverty and need. One is reminded here of the scene of the Last Judgment in Matthew 25, where Jesus says to those granted admission to the Kingdom of Heaven: "I was hungry, and you fed me, naked, and you clothed me, in prison, and you visited me For if as you have done this to the least of my brothers, you have done it to me" (Matt 25:31-46). The promise of the leaders of Ebla to help Teššub is a hollow one, since his need is for them to release their own slaves, which they refuse to do.

A second important new source published in 1991 is the corpus of letters from the Hittite provincial capital of Tapikka, modern Maşat Höyük.⁴² In several of the letters from this site (numbers 58 and 59), and reportedly from an unpublished letter from the Hittite center at Šapinuwa,⁴³ there is mention of the employment of blinded captives in the mill houses, just as was done to Samson by the Philistines. Furthermore, lists of captives to be used as hostages include the notations "blinded" or "sighted" and specify the proposed ransom price for each captive.⁴⁴ In these texts it appears that these blinded captives worked in groups in the mill houses. The incident involving Samson is in a Philistine context. He too has been captured and was blinded in order to make him less dangerous and to prevent his attempting to escape, precisely the same motivations assumed for the Tapikka and Šapinuwa prisoners. And since the Philistines' Anatolian connections are well known, and Hieroglyphic Luwian seals have been found

³⁶ Weinfeld, "Traces of Hittite Cult in Shiloh, Bethel and in Jerusalem," in *RgB*, 455-472.

³⁷ C. Kühne, "Hethitisch *auli-* und einige Aspekte altanatolischer Opferpraxis," *ZA* 76 (1986) 85-117.

³⁸ The Hittite word for "windpipe" or "trachea" is *hu(r)hurta-*, not *auli-*. See H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "An English-Hittite Glossary," *RHA* 25/80 (1967) 99; "From Head to Toe in Hittite," in *Studies Young*, 247-259.

³⁹ On the disabled in Hatti see H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "The Disabled and Infirm in Hittite Society," in *EI* 27 (2001) (Miriam and Hayim Tadmor Volume) (forthcoming).

⁴⁰ E. Neu, *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung I: Untersuchungen zu einem hurritisch-hethitischen Textensemble aus Hattuša* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996); English translation in Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*, 65-80.

⁴¹ V. Haas and I. Wegner, "Literarische und grammatikalische Betrachtungen zu einer hurritischen Dichtung," *OLZ* 92 (1997) 437-455.

⁴² S. Alp, *Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük, Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, VI*. (Dizi-Sa. 35; Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991); and *Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat-Höyük Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, VI*. (Dizi-Sa. 34; Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991). Below, *COS* 3.13-29.

⁴³ A. Süel, "Ortaköy'ün Hitit çağındaki adı," *Belleten* 59 (1995) 271-283.

⁴⁴ H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "The Treatment and Long-term Use of Persons Captured in Battle According to the Maşat Texts," in *Recent Developments in Hittite Archaeology and History* (ed. by H. G. Güterbock, H. A. Hoffner, Jr. and K. A. Yener; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002) 61-71.

at Philistine Aphek,⁴⁵ there is every reason to regard this detail in the Samson story as reflecting historical reality and to relate it to the information in the Maṣat texts.

A final example of the new possibilities is that the term used in the Bible to designate pagan priests (*kōmer*) originated in Anatolia, where it is found in both Old Assyrian and Hittite documents. If my theory, propounded in 1996,⁴⁶ is correct, this Hittite word *kumra-* — like its Old Assyrian counterpart *kumrum* — alternates with the Sumerogram GUDU₁₂ and denotes one of the top two classes of male priestly personnel of the Hittite temple. If this Anatolian source for biblical *k'mārīm* correct, it suggests a conduit for Anatolian cult influences observable in Ugaritic and biblical Hebrew, namely the use in Syro-Palestine of a class of priest originating in Anatolia in the Second Millennium.

Even if some proposals have been unconvincing, there remain far too many points of similarity — especially in legal, ritual and cultic matters — between Hittite culture and the Bible for us to dismiss them as coincidental or accidental. Moreover, many cannot be attributed to a late first millennium intermediary. So we must take seriously the possibility of a channel of cultural influence in the late second and early first millennium that allowed influences from Anatolia to be felt in Palestine. In the past I have been reluctant to say that this was attributable to the “Hittites” and “sons of Heth” mentioned in the narratives of events antedating the reigns of Saul and David. I am still not quite ready to reverse myself on this point, since I believe the observable cultural influence could have been mediated by groups who were in contact with Hittite culture. But in the future scholars in both Hittitology and Biblical Studies must pay more attention to the developing evidence. Hittitologists can provide checks from their side, and biblical scholars controls from theirs. Neither group can safely address the issue in isolation.

⁴⁵ I. Singer, “A Hittite Hieroglyphic Seal Impression from Tel Aphek,” *Tel Aviv* 4 (1977) 178-190; “Takuhlinu and Haya: Two Governors in the Ugarit Letter from Tel Aphek,” *Tel Aviv* 10 (1983) 3-25; M. Kochavi, “Canaanite Aphek. Its Acropolis and Inscriptions,” *Expedition* 20 (1978) 12-17. For Takuhlinu, see also below COS 3.94.

⁴⁶ H. A. Hoffner, Jr., “Hittite Equivalents of Old Assyrian *kumrum* and *epattum*,” *WZKM* 86 (1996) 154-156.

THE "CONTEXTUAL METHOD": SOME WEST SEMITIC REFLECTIONS

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Let's go back for a moment 200 years — instead of 3000 years or more (i.e., about 1800 CE). Suppose biblical scholars gathered for an august conference like this and wanted to discuss the context out of which the Hebrew Bible arose. What could they discuss? Not much. The earliest manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible are not even a millennium old at that point. The Old Greek or Septuagint offered a small window into a much earlier understanding, but this was more like a tiny porthole at the water-line at best. A few classical writers could be investigated, e.g. Herodotus or Josephus. But again these were only very tiny portholes at the water-line and ones with a large amount of seaweed stuffed in them! A recent article by Steven Holloway illustrates this. Investigating the various interpretations of the identification of "Pul" in 2 Kings 15:19-20, he documents that among biblical commentators and historians of the ancient world writing prior to 1850, Pul was universally recognized as the first Assyrian conqueror to trouble Israel, followed immediately by Tiglath-pileser (i.e., two separate kings).¹ Today, we know that Tiglath-pileser III was Pul, though there is still some discussion among Assyriologists concerning the etymology and use of the name Pul.² In 1800, there was not one single known extrabiblical Hebrew inscription. Egyptian hieroglyphics were known, but not yet deciphered. In fact, the Rosetta Stone was still in Egypt in French hands. Cuneiform inscriptions, for the most part, still lay in the ground in Mesopotamia.

Fortunately, all that situation of the early 1800's has dramatically changed. Today a number of persons or events of the Hebrew Bible are attested in extrabiblical materials; in fact, one may even be pictured (Jehu on the Black Obelisk — though some scholars believe it is only Jehu's emissary that is pictured).³ In addition, we may have seals or seal impressions of some biblical characters like Baruch, the scribe of Jeremiah.⁴ A newly published ostrakon mentions a king ²Ashyahu — Joash or Josiah.⁵ The Ketef Hinnom Amulet scrolls provide the earliest attestation of a biblical text, recording a version of the Aaronic blessing at the end of Numbers 6.⁶

Discoveries in the last two decades in Syria alone have been impressive and insightful: Ebla and Emar are noteworthy; so too the number of Assyrian, Old Aramaic, Phoenician and hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions; and more tablets from Mari, Ugarit and Alalakh have been discovered and/or published. And thankfully, we possess much better readings of some of the texts discovered earlier in the twentieth century due to the photographic efforts of B. Zuckerman, W. T. Pitard, T. J. Lewis, A. G. Vaughn, et al.

Yet in the same two decades of these discoveries in Syria, Biblical Studies has moved from author-oriented readings of the Hebrew Bible, to text-oriented readings, to reader-oriented readings. Today, different methodologies jockey for the pole position. Increasingly, biblical literary critics are turning their attention to the relationship between text and reader and to the social context of the reader's "production of meaning." At its most extreme, such literary criticism treats biblical literature in even greater isolation from its cultural environment, with the entire interpretive transaction taking place between the Bible and the modern reader. This approach, as Simon Parker has recently observed,⁷ puts the reader rather one-sidedly in control of the literature, conforming it to the categories and interests of current criticism without regard to the categories and interests of ancient literature. Rather than seeking to let the literature of ancient Israel address us on its own terms — however remote from ours and however we may finally judge them — it too easily makes of biblical literature a reflection of our own concerns at the end of the twentieth century, whether secular or theological.⁸

¹ S. W. Holloway, "The Quest for Sargon, Pul, and Tiglath-Pileser in the 19th Century," in *Mesopotamia and the Bible: Comparative Explorations* (JSOTSup 341; ed. by M. W. Chavalas and K. L. Younger, Jr.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002) 68-87. This essay demonstrates some of the dangers of "biblicizing" ancient texts by forcing on them features drawn from the Bible. For a discussion of this problem, see J. M. Sasson, "Two Recent Works on Mari," *AJO* 27 (1980) 127-135.

² That the names Tiglath-pileser (*Tukulti-apil-Ešarra*) and Pul (*Pulu*) were used to designate a single ruler is no longer seriously called in question. For a further discussion, see *COS* 2:285, n. 21.

³ For the text, see the Black Obelisk, Epigraph 2 (*COS* 2.113F). For the relief, see *ANEP* figs. 351-355.

⁴ See *COS* 2.70A.

⁵ See *COS* 2.50.

⁶ See *COS* 2.83.

⁷ S. B. Parker, *Stories in Scripture and Inscriptions. Comparative Studies on Narratives in Northwest Semitic Inscriptions and the Hebrew Bible* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) 4.

⁸ *Ibid.* In addition to these two factors, Parker points out a third factor, a religious factor. Since the Bible is a direct communication from God

But undoubtedly the response of ancient audiences to many of the features of the ancient documents must have been different from ours. Their rhetoric was designed to create a certain impression on the hearer or reader, and that impression is lessened or confused by a reader's ignorance of the ancient rhetorical devices and the presuppositions that these texts employ. Some apprehension of the ancient culture and social environment that their rhetoric presupposed and addressed — in which the composer made his or her choices — is essential for fulfilling the role of "implied reader."

Please don't misunderstand me. The different reading strategies employed today have provided many new and valuable insights — some to greater or lesser degrees. And I am not interested in this essay devolving into a discussion of philosophical hermeneutics.⁹ But in most cases, these readings, especially the reader-oriented ones, are fundamentally ahistorical. Some even violate the integrity of the text.¹⁰ Thus there is little interest in comparative analyses with ancient Near Eastern texts among many biblical scholars.

At the same time as the rise of reader-oriented readings, there has been a trend within biblical scholarship to date all biblical materials to the Persian or Hellenistic periods. This has had an obvious impact on how certain scholars view the relevance of much of the ancient Near Eastern data now at our disposal. Some scholars may question whether they should really purchase *The Context of Scripture*! Now if they are questioning that because of the price, well that's understandable. But if they are questioning whether it is important for Hebrew Bible scholars to bother reading any of these texts, that's another issue.

Unfortunately, some past comparative studies have indulged in great excesses in over-emphasizing the comparisons. This indiscriminate use of the comparative method has especially occurred when new discoveries are first published and such excesses undercut the importance of the comparative process.¹¹ Over-emphasis for agenda reasons also undermines legitimate comparisons. In this regard, Ugarit has perhaps been the most abused of all the ancient Near Eastern materials.¹² In a newly published book, Mark Smith has compiled a history of interpretation of the Ugaritic materials which demonstrates many of these abuses.¹³ In a number of instances, scholars have been too quick in attempting to do comparative study without allowing time to fully establish the proper reading and understanding of the newly discovered text.

In spite of some of these trends and factors, it seems apparent — at least to me — that one of the best ways to improve one's literary competence in reading the Hebrew Bible is to read as much of the literature under consideration as possible within the Bible, but also and especially within the ancient Near East. Adequate understanding, explanation, and assessment of ancient texts require attention to all dimensions of the text — literary and historical, internal and external, intellectual and social.

Historians who recognize the literary character of the written narratives gain access to ancient Israel's intellectual and social world in a way denied to those who read them naively as direct representations of past events or who dismiss them altogether as historical sources because they do not provide documentary evidence. The former produce "histories" that simply retell the stories of the Bible, while the latter produce histories that ignore the richest material for reconstructing — to use Philip Davies' term with a little tongue and cheek — "historic" Israel.¹⁴

Over the last one hundred and fifty years, questions of how to handle the "parallels" between the biblical text and the ancient Near Eastern materials have received different answers. On the one hand, some scholars have been guilty

to us, many believe that "the Bible must be comprehensible on its own, without having to read the literature of cultures that Israel — indeed God — condemned. In addition, some feel an anxiety about discovering the Bible's human dimension or historical rootedness, which, in their view, might lessen the divine character of the message" (S. B. Parker, "The Ancient Near Eastern Literary Background of the Old Testament," in *The New Interpreter's Bible* [ed. by L. E. Keck; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994] 228-243, esp. p. 229).

⁹ For some common sense remarks, see A. Berlin, "A Search for a New Biblical Hermeneutics: Preliminary Observations," in *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-First Century* (ed. by J. S. Cooper and G. M. Schwartz; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996) 195-207.

¹⁰ An example can be seen in J. C. Exum, "Feminist Criticism: Whose Interests Are Being Served?" in *Judges and Method. New Approaches in Biblical Studies* (ed. by G. A. Yee; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995) 65-90, esp. 83-88. Her interpretation ends up being the opposite of what the text actually says!

¹¹ The tendency has been to overemphasize the importance of new discoveries to the Old Testament, and then when the flaws become obvious, approach comparative data from the standpoint of skepticism, causing many to completely ignore comparative material altogether. See J. J. M. Roberts, "The Ancient Near Eastern Environment," in *The Hebrew Bible and its Modern Interpreters* (ed. by D. Knight and G. Tucker; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985) 96.

¹² On the current status of Ugaritic studies, see W. G. E. Watson and N. Wyatt, editors, *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (HdO, Erste Abteilung: Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten 39; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999) = *HUS*; and its review by D. Pardee, "Ugaritic Studies at the End of the 20th Century," *BASOR* 320 (2000) 49-86.

¹³ M. S. Smith, *Untold Stories: The Bible and Ugaritic Studies in the Twentieth Century* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2001); and "Ugaritic Studies and the Hebrew Bible, 1968-1998 (with an Excursus on Judean Monotheism and the Ugaritic Texts)," in *Congress Volume, Oslo 1998* (VTSup 80; ed. by A. Lemaire and M. Sæbo; Leiden: Brill, 2000) 327-355.

¹⁴ According to Davies, "historic" Israel would be the Israel referred to in ancient Near Eastern inscriptions from its first occurrence in the Merenptah Stela down to the Assyrian sources of the first millennium. See P. R. Davies, *In Search of "Ancient Israel"* (JSOTSup 148; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992).

of overstressing the parallels, a type of "parallelomania,"¹⁵ while others — often in reaction to the excesses of the former — have downplayed the parallels to the point of ignoring clear, informative correlations, producing a type of "parallelophobia."¹⁶ One scholar has actually argued that Israel was so unique among the peoples of the ancient Near East that it is unnecessary to do any comparative study!¹⁷ Interesting, isn't it, that a comparative argument can be used to dismiss the need of doing comparative analyses!¹⁸

The fact is that presuppositions often shape the comparative evaluation. Some scholars emphasize the Old Testament's similarity to and continuity with ancient Near Eastern literature. In this way they seek to demonstrate that the Old Testament is authentic or, on the other hand, that it is merely a product of its environment. Other scholars emphasize the Hebrew Bible's divergence from and contrast with its background. In this, they seek to demonstrate that it is absolutely different or, on the other hand, that each of the ancient Near Eastern literatures should be appreciated on its merits, not just in comparison with the others.¹⁹

In this light, the importance of William W. Hallo's work in proposing a balanced approach — a "contextual method"²⁰ — that seeks to observe both comparisons as well as contrasts in the literature of the ancient Near East and the Hebrew Bible is paramount. The best comparative studies recognize that the literature of the ancient Near East was produced not only out of a particular culture but also out of a larger literary tradition, and that comparison with other literature that is similar within that tradition — serving the same purpose, using the same structure, or referring to the same subject — reveals certain aspects of a text that might remain hidden.²¹ Moreover, this can serve as a counterbalance to speculation derived from the analysis of one text in isolation. A contextual study may lessen the conjectural element in historical analysis, as well as lessen the subjective element in literary criticism by exposing what is traditional, conventional, or generic in a story. In other words, a contextual approach may produce the genre "expectations" necessary to read the biblical text competently. While excessive concentration on similarities or differences among texts distorts any conclusions about their relationship, giving due weight to both contributes to the understanding and explanation — both of the individual texts and of the features they share with others.

A Four-pronged Assessment Process

In the development of criteria for the evaluation of parallels, the keyword must be "caution." I believe that balance in the evaluation of the evidence is achieved through the assessment of propinquity along four lines: linguistic, geographic, chronological, and cultural (not necessarily in this order). A parallel that is closer to the biblical material in language, in geographic proximity, in time, and culture is a stronger parallel than one that is removed from the biblical material along one or more of these lines. That does not mean that a parallel further removed is not relevant evidence. There may be circumstances that strengthen its relevance. For instance, one mitigating factor along the chronological axis is that of a medium for the transmission of tradition. Thus, in the conservative ancient Near East, if there was a clear medium by which a more ancient tradition could accurately be transmitted to a later time period, then the relevance of that parallel may be increased in the evaluation process. This means, for example, that a Sumerian parallel may be more relevant along the chronological axis than it first appears.

By implementing such a four-pronged assessment process, caution signs may appear that slow down the tendency to over-state the evidence. For the problem with the traditional comparative approach, as Dennis Pardee has pointed out, is not that it compares or contrasts, but that it sometimes begins comparing with distant parallels rather than with the proximate ones, or that it does not nuance its use of comparisons with distant entities, or that it is selective, choosing only those comparisons which favor a certain thesis.²²

I would like to illustrate this by looking at a curse formula that involves the "baking of bread in an oven" which parallels Leviticus 26:26. The texts are:

¹⁵ E.g., see M. Dahood, *Psalms* (AB; Doubleday,). For the term parallelomania, see S. Sandmel, "Parallelomania," *JBL* 81 (1962) 1-13.

¹⁶ R. Rafter and B. Zuckerman, "'A Kid in Milk?': New Photographs of KTU 1.23, Line 14," *HUCA* 57 (1986) 15-60, esp. p. 52.

¹⁷ R. J. Thompson argues that because Israel was unique in the ancient Near East (Israel alone developed real historiography), the relevance of the comparative material is questionable (*Moses and the Law in a Century of Criticism Since Graf* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972] 118-120).

¹⁸ For further discussion, see K. L. Younger, Jr., *Ancient Conquest Accounts: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical History Writing* (JSOTSup 98. Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1990) 52-53.

¹⁹ Parker, *The New Interpreter's Bible*, 234.

²⁰ "Biblical History in its Near Eastern Setting: The Contextual Approach," in *SIC* 1:1-12; "Compare and Contrast: the Contextual Approach to Biblical Literature," in *SIC* 3:1-30; *The Book of the People* (Brown Judaic Studies 225; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991) chapter 2: "The Contextual Approach."

²¹ Ibid. Parker states: "A just comparison gives due weight to both commonalities and differences and seeks to explain both — as respectively part of the common culture Israel shared with its neighbors and antecedents, or as part of the particular culture or sub-culture of the individual work — or indeed of the creativity of its author(s)."

²² D. Pardee, "Review of *SIC* 2," *JNES* 44 (1985) 220-222, esp. p. 221. For some further methodological discussion, see S. Talmon, "The 'Comparative Method' in Biblical Interpretation — Principles and Problems," *VT* 29 (1977) 320-356; M. Malul, *The Comparative Method in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Legal Studies* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1990) 13-78.

A. The Tel Fakhariyah Inscription (c. 850-825 BCE)²³

Aramaic

(22) *wm²h . nšwn . l²pn . btmwr . lhm .*
w²l . yml²nh

(22) And may one hundred women²⁴ bake bread in an oven,
 but may they not fill it.

Akkadian

(35) I ME *a-pi-a-te la-a ú- <šam> -la-a* (36) NINDU [var. possibly *la-a ú- <ma> -la-a*]²⁵

May one hundred women bakers not be able to fill an oven.

B. The Sefire Treaty (IA.24) (c. 760-740 BCE)²⁶

Kaufman 1982

*wšb^c bñth y²pn b * 't lhm*
w²l yml²n

And should his seven daughters bake bread in an oven(?),
 but not fill (it).

Fitzmyer 1995; COS 2.82

wšb^c bkth yhkn bšt lhm
w²l yhrgn

and should seven hens(?) go looking for food,
 may they not kill(?) (anything)!

C. The Bukān Inscription (c. 725-700 BCE)²⁷

wšb⁽⁷⁾c . nšn . y²pw . bñr . ḥd [.]
w²l . yml²(8)why .

And may seven ⁽⁷⁾ women bake (bread) in one oven,
 but may they not fill ⁽⁸⁾ it.

D. Leviticus 26:26

b^cšibrī lākem maṭṭēh lehem
w^cāpū ešer nāšīm laḥm^ckem b^ctannūr eḥād
w^chēšībū laḥm^ckem bammišqāl
wa^ckaltem
w^clō^c tišbā^cū

When I break your staff of bread,
 then ten women shall bake your bread in one oven,
 and they shall dole out your bread by weight,
 and you will eat,
 but not be satisfied.

The ancient Near Eastern texts are arranged in chronological order. They all come from Old Aramaic texts — although the Tel Fakhariyah inscription is a bilingual and each text exhibits some dialectal traits. Thus on the

²³ COS 2.34. Since the curse under consideration comes from the second part of the inscription, it is unaffected by diachronic issues related to the inscription's sources. For discussion of these, see C. Leonhard, "Die literarische Struktur der Bilingue vom Tell Fakhariyah," *WZKM* 85 (1995) 117-79; S. B. Parker, "The Composition and Sources of Some Northwest Semitic Royal Inscriptions," *SEL* 16 (1999) 49-62, esp. 50-82.

²⁴ On the unusual form *nšwn*, see S. A. Kaufman, "Reflections on the Assyrian-Aramaic Bilingual from Tell-Fakhariyah," *Maarav* 3 (1982) 137-175, esp. p. 169; and J. W. Wesseliuss, "Review of Abou Assaf, Bordreuil and Millard 1982," *BiOr* 40 (1983) col. 182.

²⁵ Pardee and Biggs state: "Since most double consonants in this text are not written double, an emendation to *ú- <ma> -la-a* seems more likely. The line would then read I ME *a-pi-a-te <NINDA> la-a ú- <ma> -la-a* NINDU 'a hundred woman bakers will not be able to fill an oven with bread.'" See D. Pardee and R. D. Biggs, "Review of Abou Assaf, Bordreuil and Millard 1982," *JNES* 43 (1984) 253-257, esp. p. 257. The Bukān inscription makes the first emendation *<NINDA>* unnecessary since it leaves out *lhm* (probably an ellipsis).

²⁶ COS 2.82; *KAI* 2:238-274, 342; *SSI* 2:18-5; S. A. Kaufman, "Reflections on the Assyrian-Aramaic Bilingual from Tell-Fakhariyah," *Maarav* 3 (1982) 137-175; A. Lemaire and J.-M. Durand, *Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré et l'Assyrie de Shamshi-ilu* (Geneva/Paris: Librairie Droz, 1984); J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire* (Biblica et Orientalia 19a; Rev. ed; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1995).

²⁷ COS 3.89.

linguistic axis they are more or less equal. While they all come from the general chronological range of c. 850-700 BCE, there is approximately one hundred and fifty years between the Tel Fakhariyah inscription and the Bukān inscription. Geographically, the Sefire text would be closest and the Bukān text the furthest away (coming from the state of the Mannēans in what is today modern Iran). However, there are difficulties with the reading of the Sefire text (note the differences between Kaufman and Fitzmyer — both scholars recognize the problems in the reading of this line). Thus this text is a significantly weaker parallel, if it is a parallel at all. Culturally, it is important to note that, as Biggs has pointed out, this curse formula appears to be West Semitic in origin. There do not appear to be any clear Akkadian parallels.²⁸ So on the cultural axis, there is basic equality. But in the contextual analysis, its differences must be noted too. In this regard, on closer inspection, none of the Old Aramaic texts is an exact parallel to the Leviticus passage. In fact, there are slight differences between all the texts. Therefore, it would be wrong, in my opinion, to argue for a direct borrowing on the part of the Hebrew Bible from any of these inscriptions. Moreover, it would be wrong to argue for a particular date for the passage in Leviticus based on this comparison. It appears that there were some stock West Semitic curse formulae that could be drawn from in the composition of curse passages and that these could be adapted to the particular needs of the ancient writers. In the case of the biblical writer, the apodosis of the curse is modified. In the Old Aramaic texts, the result is that the women baking bread in a single oven may not fill the oven (in spite of all their efforts to do so). This may, in turn, imply a resultant hunger. In the case of Leviticus 26:26, the apodosis does not emphasize the inability to fill the oven, but a resultant hunger in spite of baking and eating. By comparison and contrast, a deeper understanding and appreciation of the nuance of the biblical passage is obtained.

I do not intend to suggest by this example that the process of evaluating ancient Near Eastern parallels by means of propinquity will be an easy process. There will be immediate disagreement among biblical scholars regarding the date of the biblical texts that are being evaluated along the chronological axis (some arguing for early dates, others for late dates). Such a difficulty might be overcome by suggesting a range of dates for the biblical material, though this ultimately will not solve the problem. On the other hand, by evaluating the evidence along multiple axes, there is the possibility of "a preponderance of the evidence" which could help minimize some of the disagreement.

Generally the geographic axis and linguistic axis will not be difficult, though certain texts will vex scholarly consensus along linguistic lines (e.g. the Deir 'Alla texts).²⁹ But some difficulties in evaluation may arise along the cultural axis. An example is the relationship between the Ugaritic texts and Canaanite culture. The question whether the Ugaritic texts should be considered exemplars of Canaanite literature, i.e., literature from the same cultural milieu as found in the southern Levant, has been debated off and on for decades. It would appear to me that in this case a balanced view, such as expressed by Wayne Pitard³⁰ that stresses both the cultural continuity and individual distinctives of the southern Canaanite and Israelite contexts, is the best way forward.

Additional Considerations

Besides the assessment of the evidence along lines of propinquity, there are other items which need to be kept in mind. Some of the following items may seem to be issues of common sense. But unfortunately this has not always prevailed. The fact is that when people evaluate parallels, they act as mediators between the observed contexts. Thus since it relies on mediators, the shaping of comparisons will always be a subjective enterprise, and its goal will always seem apologetic.³¹ If we want it to be more than just intuition, there must be certain reasonable controls implemented. Also, this is by no means intended as an exhaustive list — these are items which come most immediately to mind in terms of areas of abuse.

1. The evaluation of parallels should generally be based on parallel types or genres. Thus we should compare epistles with epistles and not epistles and epic poetry.³² However, one must be cautious not to apply an overly strict view of genre, since modern categories may not reflect the ancient types. It would be very unfortunate to eliminate legitimate comparative data simply on the basis of modern literary assumptions. Furthermore, there may be instances where it is very beneficial to note comparisons and contrasts between two disparate genres. But as a general rule and cautionary control, generic considerations should be observed, and where there are differences these should be noted and weighed in the evaluation of the evidence.

²⁸ Pardee and Biggs, *JNES* 43 (1984) 255. For a discussion of the Old Aramaic curses in these inscriptions (except for the Bukān inscription), see K. J. Cathcart, "The Curses in Old Aramaic Inscriptions," in *Studies McNamara*, 140-152.

²⁹ See B. A. Levine, "The Deir 'Alla Plaster Inscriptions," *COS* 2.27.

³⁰ W. T. Pitard, "Voices from the Dust: the Tablets from Ugarit and the Bible," in *Mesopotamia and the Bible: Comparative Explorations* (JSOTSup 341; ed. by M. W. Chavalas and K. L. Younger, Jr.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002) 250-274.

³¹ J. M. Sasson, "About 'Mari and the Bible,'" *RA* 92 (1998) 91-123, esp. p. 91.

³² In this regard, a recent statement by Dennis Pardee is very interesting. Concerning the nature of the Hebrew Bible and Ugaritic corpora, he states: "... the two corpora are, therefore almost mirror-images of each other: there is very little narrative poetry in the Hebrew Bible but much narrative prose, while in Ugaritic there is very little poetry that does not have a narrational structure and nothing comparable to most of the Pentateuch and Former Prophets in the Bible." See D. Pardee, "Review of Simon B. Parker, editor, *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry* (trans. by M. S.

2. It is very important that the ancient text actually contains the reading that we think it contains. A favorite explanation for Exod 23:19 (34:26; Deut 14:21) "you shall not boil a kid in the mother's milk" disappeared when collation and further study revealed that the Ugaritic text (*KTU* 1.23) did not contain the reading that many thought that it did.³³ In fact, nothing in the Ugaritic text gets "boiled." That's because the verb "to boil" or anything like it simply does not appear here. Instead the text reads something like:

Over the fire, seven times the sweet-voiced youth (chants):
 coriander in milk,
 mint in butter ...³⁴

Those who read West Semitic inscriptions know that an unfortunate number of the texts are fragmentary and sometimes quite difficult. The Deir 'Alla plasters come immediately to mind. Another fragmentary text that comes to mind is the recently discovered Tel Dan inscription. Of course, making assessments for comparisons with biblical texts is not impossible with these texts; but caution must rule the day.

3. It is also very important that the interpretation of the ancient Near Eastern text is accurate. A particular interpretation of the Ugaritic text *KTU* 1.119, "Ugaritic Prayer for a City under Siege," is a case in point. A passage of that text was interpreted to mention child sacrifice as a means of relieving a city under siege. This, in turn, was used as a way of explaining the story of Mesha's sacrifice in 2 Kings 3.³⁵ This particular explanation for the 2 Kings 3 passage appeared recently in a new textbook on the history of Israel.³⁶ Laying aside the fact that the Hebrew text of 2 Kings 3 may be interpreted differently,³⁷ the point here is that the Ugaritic text's interpretation was wrong in the first place. It is extremely doubtful that child sacrifice is in view anywhere in the text — see Pardee's translation in *COS* 1.88 with appropriate notes (p. 285, n. 23).

Somewhat in this same vein are the *Rāpī'ūma* texts from Ugarit. (Sorry, I seem to be picking on the Ugaritologists, but some of them, or perhaps more accurately some biblical scholars working with the Ugaritic materials, have provided the most infamous examples of abuses of comparative studies). Quite a number of scholars from almost the beginning of Ugaritic studies have made comparisons between the *rāpī'ūma* of the Ugaritic texts and the *rephāim* of the biblical texts. The secondary literature on this topic is absolutely enormous. This comparison may not, of course, be altogether invalid, but the difficulties of the Ugaritic materials are legion. Wayne Pitard, in his recent discussion of these texts in the *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* states:

[I]n the final analysis, no decisive conclusions about the identity of the *rpum* can yet be drawn ... Only further discoveries of texts relating to the *rpum* are likely to improve the present situation ... It is clear that these texts [i.e. *KTU* 1.20-22] are exceedingly ambiguous and that great caution should be used in drawing upon them to reconstruct aspects of Ugaritic or Syro-Palestinian culture. In many cases such caution has not been employed ... It is important not to place too much interpretational weight on ambiguous and problematic texts such as these. Before they can be used as sources for dealing with the wider issues of Canaanite religion and society, a clearer understanding of the texts themselves is necessary.³⁸

4. Be aware of the limits of the comparison or contrast. Try not to conclude more than the evidence indicates. This is especially important in places where the evidence is silent. The motif of grasping the hem of the garment is attested in a number of ancient West Semitic contexts. It is found in texts from Alalah,³⁹ Ugarit⁴⁰

Smith, et al.; SBLWAW 9; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), *JNES* 60 (2001) 142-145, esp. p. 142, n. 1.

³³ See Ratner and Zuckerman, *HUCA* 57 (1986) 15-60.

³⁴ Following Pardee, *COS* 1.87 (pp. 278-279), I understand *gzm* as a singular with enclitic *m* (following W. G. E. Watson, "Aspects of Style in *KTU* 1.23," *SEL* 11 [1994] 3-8, esp. pp. 5, 7). Pardee translates as a plural "youths (chant)" (p. 278). Cf. another recent translation:

"Seven times by fire, youthful voices
 a *gd* in milk,
 a *annh* in butter ..."

See T. J. Lewis, "The Birth of the Gracious Gods," in *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry* (ed. by S. B. Parker; SBLWAW 9; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997) 208. See also M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Mythen und Epen in ugaritischer Sprache," *TUAT* 3/6 (1997) 1089-1369.

³⁵ B. Margalit, "Why King Mesha of Moab Sacrificed His Oldest Son," *BAR* 12 (1986) 62-63, 76.

³⁶ W. C. Kaiser, *A History of Israel. From the Bronze Age Through the Jewish Wars* (Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman, 1998) 334.

³⁷ For the most recent discussions, see J. M. Spinkle, "2 Kings 3: History or Historical Fiction," *BBR* 9 (1999) 247-270; W. W. Hallo, "A Ugaritic Cognate for Akkadian *hitpu*?" in *Studies Levine*, 43-50.

³⁸ W. T. Pitard, "The *RPUM* Texts," *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (ed. W. G. E. Watson and N. Wyatt; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999) 259-269, esp. pp. 268-269. Cf. also *COS* 1.105.

³⁹ See in particular the extensive use of the metaphor in the land grant of Abbael to Yarimlim. See *COS* 2.137, n. 4; and D. J. Wiseman, "Abban and Alalah," *JCS* 12 (1958) 124-129 (lines 47-49).

⁴⁰ *CTA* 6 2:9-11 and 30-31. See E. L. Greenstein, "'To Grasp the Hem' in Ugaritic Literature," *VT* 32 (1982) 217-218.

and in the Panamuwa⁴¹ inscription from Zincirli and, of course, in 1 Samuel 15:27. These ancient texts elucidate the custom of grasping the hem of the garment. Specifically, it was a gesture in which a suppliant beseeches, or indicates his submission to, his superior by grasping the hem of the superior's garment which explains what Saul was doing in grasping the hem of Samuel's garment. But the occurrence of this motif in these ancient Near Eastern texts cannot establish the date of the biblical text. In fact, the practice of dating a text on the basis of the occurrence of a particular motif — unfortunately a common practice among biblical scholars in the twentieth century — is, in my opinion, an impossible task. For without a *terminus a quo* and a *terminus ad quem* — i.e., a starting point and ending point — for the use of the motif, it is impossible to know when a motif may have been utilized in a corpus of literature and, perhaps most important, when it ceased being used in that literature.

5. Be careful in positing directions and amounts of influence. Do not say more than the evidence allows. In some cases the direction and amount of influence is very clear. For example, the Assyrian Aramaic contracts, in particular the grain loan dockets, demonstrate a very strong Akkadian influence, frequently calquing the Assyrian loan phraseology and, in the case of the grain loans, even taking on the triangular shape of the clay dockets.⁴² But then this should be expected considering the locations where these Assyrian Aramaic documents are found. On the other hand, in the vast number of instances, it is quite difficult, if not impossible, to posit the direction and amount of influence.⁴³ In many cases we simply do not possess enough information to make intelligent guesses. Far too often the term "borrow" has been used to indicate a literary dependence that cannot be proven and is often simply wrong in the light of later scholarly reflection.⁴⁴
6. It is important to stay cognizant of the fact that all literary works may manipulate the evidence, consciously or not, for specific political and artistic purposes. Therefore, it is important to recognize the ideological and literary structures behind these documents.⁴⁵ This is manifest in the use of hyperbole. Two West Semitic examples will suffice. In line 7 of the Mesha inscription, Mesha claims: "and Israel has utterly perished forever" (wysr'l . ʔbd . ʔbd . ʕlm). In the Tel Dan inscription, the Aramean king appears to claim to have "killed [seve]nty kin[gs]."⁴⁶ As noted elsewhere, such hyperbole is used for emphasis and persuasion and reinforces the ideology of the text.⁴⁷
7. We need to recognize the degree of uncertainty in the interpretive process. This may also require a willingness on our part to be prepared to change our historical reconstructions. Hazael's Booty inscription may be cited to illustrate this point.⁴⁸ The inscription reads: "That which Hadad gave to our lord Hazael from ʕAmq in the year when our lord crossed the river." "The river" may be understood to be the Euphrates, as in biblical and cuneiform texts⁴⁹; but in the context as it is mentioned in conjunction with ʕAmq, the Orontes river may be the river that the inscription denotes.⁵⁰ An analogous situation may be seen in 2 Samuel 8:3-8 where we are

⁴¹ See COS 2.37, esp. n. 24.

⁴² See COS 3.56-58 (Aramaic) and COS 3.111-118 (Assyrian); and J. N. Postgate, "Middle Assyrian to Neo-Assyrian: the Nature of the Shift," in *RAI* 39 (1997) 159-168.

⁴³ For a discussion of the issue of "borrowing," see J. Tigay, "On Evaluating Claims of Literary Borrowing," in *Studies Hallo*, 250-255; and N. S. Fox, *In the Service of the King: Officialdom in Ancient Israel and Judah* (HUCM 23; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 2000) 9-42, esp. pp. 9-14.

⁴⁴ An example of the problems inherent in positing literary "dependence" is seen in the problem of the relationship between the Egyptian wisdom work Amenemope (see COS 1.47) and the "words of the wise" in Proverbs 22:17-24:22. Some scholars have assumed that Proverbs 22:17-24:22 "borrowed" its material from Amenemope (e.g. M. Lichtheim, *AEL* 2:147; A. Erman, "Eine ägyptische Quelle der 'Sprüche Salomos,'" *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* [phil.-hist. Kl. 15; 1924] 86-92, taf. vi and vii). A few scholars have argued the opposite (e.g. G. L. Archer, *A Survey of Old Testament Introduction* [Chicago: Moody, 1974] 473-474). Both of these explanations concentrate on the similarities without adequately accounting for the differences. But other scholars have overemphasized the differences to the exclusion of some of the obvious similarities (e.g. R. N. Whybray, "The Structure and composition of Proverbs 22:17-24:22," in *Studies Gould*, 83-96). Another proposal is seen in the work of I. Grunmach, *Untersuchungen zur Lebenslehre des Amenope* (Münchener Ägyptologische Studien 23; Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1972). She argues that both Amenemope and Proverbs 22:17-24:22 are dependent on a common source. While theoretically possible, this can only remain an hypothesis without the discovery of such a source. A more adequate type of explanation is seen in J. Ruffle, "The Teaching of Amenemope and its Connection with the Book of Proverbs," *TynBul* 28 (1977) 29-68. He argues that the writer of Proverbs 22:17-24:22 culled a number of proverbs from Amenemope (in some cases directly, in other cases with slight modifications) and that this writer also added a significant amount of new material to this culled material. This is a more sophisticated model than the simple model of literary "borrowing" and thus seems to be a better explanation for both the similarities and differences between the two works. For the most recent discussion of the problem, see J. A. Emerton, "The Teaching of Amenemope and Proverbs XXII 17-XXIV 22: Further Reflections on a Long-Standing Problem," *VT* 51 (2001) 431-465.

⁴⁵ M. Liverani, "Memorandum on the Approach to Historiographic Texts," *Or* 42 (1973) 178-194.

⁴⁶ Parker, *Stories in Scripture and Inscriptions*, 58. Cf. COS 2.23; 2.39.

⁴⁷ Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 227-228, 235.

⁴⁸ See COS 2.40.

⁴⁹ P.-E. Dion, *Les Araméens à l'âge du fer: histoire politique et structures sociales* (Études bibliques, nouvelle série 34, Paris: J. Gabalda, 1997) 201-202.

⁵⁰ A. R. Millard, "Eden, Bit Adini and Beth Eden," *EI* 24 (1993) 173*-177*.

told that "David beat Hadadezer of Rehob, king of Zobah, as he was going to set up his monument at the river." Again, is the Euphrates river in view or is it the Jordan or Jabbok as Parker has recently suggested.⁵¹ Whatever our personal inclinations are in the identifications of the rivers in these texts, we must admit a degree of uncertainty due to the texts' lack of specificity (at least to the modern reader).

Conclusion

Thus, if these common sense admonitions are joined to assessments of ancient Near Eastern parallels along the lines of propinquity outlined above, I believe that very much can be gained in the understanding of the environment of the biblical texts. I hope that I have, at least in some small way, demonstrated the necessity of a contextual method for biblical interpretation via a few West Semitic examples. It may be noticed that I have restricted my remarks to texts, the epigraphic evidence. I, in no way, mean to imply that there are not additional points to be gained through the rich material cultural remains that archaeology has been providing the biblical interpreter for over a century and a half. But it is the written sources that provide the greatest gains in the interpretation of a written corpus like the Bible. Today, we no longer peer through a tiny porthole, but stand on the deck having the opportunity to take in a large part of the panoramic view of the vast sea of twenty-four books of the Hebrew Bible.

⁵¹ Parker, *Stories in Scripture and Inscriptions*, 69.

THE IMPACT OF ASSYRIOLOGY ON BIBLICAL STUDIES*

David B. Weisberg

150, 100, or even 50 years ago if one had been asked to write on "The Impact of Assyriology on Biblical Studies," the task would have been much easier. But during recent decades, due to the flood of information from many sites (see below), that task has become highly complex, almost unmanageable. However, what makes one's work much simpler at this time is the comprehensive, up-to-date and authoritative series *COS*. For a review of the great syntheses of comparative texts beginning in 1872 with Eberhard Schrader and his *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament* and running to *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* edited by James B. Pritchard in 1954 see Hallo's introduction to *COS* 1.

It is noteworthy how deep and swift-moving is the stream of scholarly output in this area, as can be noticed by the large number of outstanding scholars lavishing their attention upon it. In addition, it is interesting to note how many references can be cited to publications of the past decade, and especially of the last few years. First, let us briefly review the history of the question of "Bible and ancient Mesopotamian civilization."¹

H. W. F. Saggs drew a valuable contrast between Old Testament studies and Assyriology:

The Old Testament has been studied continuously since the canon of Scripture took its final form. Assyriology, on the other hand, is a branch of investigation into the human past which has developed only within the last century and a half. Even now, this branch of learning is only on the fringe of the cultural awareness of a not inconsiderable number of educated people.²

Saggs reviewed the efforts of several scholars who worked at the dawn of the scientific study of Assyriology. He mentioned the memoirs of Claudius James Rich, who visited Babylon in the second decade of the 19th century, the work of Paul E. Botta "who began to dig at Assyrian sites in the neighborhood of Mosul" in 1842 and the efforts of Austin Henry Layard, author of *Nineveh and its Remains*.³

Saggs noted a fact of interest in the present connection, namely that "The impact made upon the British public by Layard's revelation of the Assyrians was due to the biblical relevance of the finds."⁴ Referring explicitly to "those parts of Assyrian history which bore upon the history of the Bible,"⁵ George Smith in 1866 subsequently discovered a part of the Akkadian version of the flood story. The discoveries of Smith illustrate what may be termed the "oscillations" in the relationship between the two fields. On the one hand there was a tendency to confirm, as it were, the teachings of the Bible, whereas in the reaction against this outlook one might see the inescapable swing of the pendulum to the opposite approach, one that came to be known as the "Pan-Babylonian Hypothesis."

The writings of Friedrich Delitzsch (1850-1922), whose "Pan-Babylonianism" was downplayed in Franz Weissbach's biographical note in *RIA*,⁶ Hugo Winckler (1863-1913)⁷ and Alfred Jeremias (1864-1935), whom D. O. Edzard called "einer der prominenten 'Panbabylonisten'"⁸ are the foremost scholars representing the Pan-Babylonian position, which held that "Most of the major stories in the Old Testament, and some in the New, came to be explained in the light of Babylonian mythological motifs."⁹

Commenting upon the "vast quantity, and the enormous scope, of Assyriological epigraphic material," Saggs estimated it to be "of the order of at least twenty times the entire extent of the Old Testament."¹⁰

* It is a pleasure to thank Bill T. Arnold, William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger, Jr., for their valuable help.

¹ H. W. F. Saggs, "Assyriology and Biblical Studies," in *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation* (ed. by J. Hayes; Nashville: Abingdon, 1999) 1:77-83, esp. p. 77.

² H. W. F. Saggs, *Assyriology and the Study of the Old Testament* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1969) 4.

³ *Ibid.*, 8f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁶ *RIA* 2 (1938) 198; cf. R. Lehmann, *Friedrich Delitzsch und der Babel-Bibel-Streit* (OBO 133; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, Freiburg Schweiz; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994). For the original, see F. Delitzsch, *Babel und Bibel. Ein Vortrag* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902).

⁷ *Ibid.*, 38ff.

⁸ "Jeremias, Alfred," *RIA* 5 (1976-80) 276.

⁹ Saggs, *Assyriology and the Study of the Old Testament*, 12.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 13.

We now turn to more recent developments in the field. In his 1999 Presidential address to The Midwest Region of the Society of Biblical Literature, Mark Chavalas dealt with "Assyriology and Biblical Studies: a Century and a Half of Tension."¹¹ He "urged that the two disciplines continue to interact, as long as they retain their own methodology and autonomy."¹² He "traced some of the major developments of the relationship between the two fields since the discovery and subsequent decipherment of 'Babylonian' cuneiform in the mid-nineteenth century,"¹³ outlining the results of recent finds from Ur, Nuzi, Ugarit, Mari, Alalakh, Ebla and Emar. With regard to Ur, Chavalas reviewed the question of the historicity of the biblical flood.

As for Nuzi, it has been "a source of documentation for the socio-economic practices in Mesopotamia."¹⁴ A central theme in this area since the days of E. A. Speiser has been "The Wife-Sister Motif in the Patriarchal Narratives,"¹⁵ though there have been re-evaluations since then.¹⁶

Material from Ugarit bearing upon biblical culture has largely been in Ugaritic — as opposed to Akkadian texts from Ugarit — and thus falls outside the purview of the present survey. As for Mari, it represents "one of the most important discoveries for Bible research," according to A. Malamat. He has sought to provide "a window on" and "view from Mari." He emphasized in the main "societal components - nomadic and sedentary modes of life" — as seen from the perspective of the tribal ambience — and "aspects of West Semitic ritual" such as the institutions of prophecy and the ancestral cult.¹⁷

While evidence from Alalakh often does not relate directly to biblical materials, many have shown how it does shed some light thereon. For example, noting "Gifts of lands and towns" reported in both Alalakh Level VII as well as Joshua 13 (and Joshua 20 and 21), Richard Hess observed that "these gifts either are closely attached to or actually form part of treaty documents or divine covenants"¹⁸ M. Tsevat wished to emphasize just such a comparison: Part II of his article on "Alalakhiana" ("The Alalakh Texts — The Language of Canaan — The Bible") was "written with the biblical scholar in mind. There I put down what I think is of interest in the Alalakh texts to Canaanite linguistic and Hebrew literary studies."¹⁹

Robert D. Biggs' "The Ebla Tablets. An Interim Perspective" helped clarify the relevance of the Ebla texts to biblical material with the following caveat: "Ebla has indeed opened up new vistas. I would stress again, however, that in my opinion, the Ebla tablets will have no *special* relevance for our understanding of the Old Testament."²⁰

Daniel Fleming has noted that "Emar's rich collection of cuneiform tablets ... may offer a closer social comparison for biblical Israel than those of the Ugaritic city-state ... Emar ritual texts inform us about the community's calendrical practices, patterns of festival construction, anointing practices, and rites for the dead. For the study of ancient Israelite worship Emar now challenges Ugarit's preeminence."²¹ Two recent dissertations on Emar, by Jan Gallagher and Tim Undheim respectively, are also worthy of note.²²

The tablets from El Amarna play an important role in our understanding of the impact of Assyriology upon Biblical Studies. In a correspondence spanning "at most about thirty years, perhaps only fifteen or so,"²³ especially that of the Egyptian vassals, we glean priceless information about the history, language and politics of the ancient Near East in an age marked by international diplomacy. With regard to the language of these vassals, Anson Rainey has stated: "... the Amarna texts, especially those from Canaan, were a vital source for linguistic, social, historical and geographic information about the ancient inhabitants of the land of Canaan."²⁴

¹¹ Meeting jointly with the Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society and of the American Schools of Oriental Research. The address was delivered by Gordon D. Young.

¹² "Assyriology and Biblical Studies: a Century and a Half of Tension," (MS) 3. See now *Mesopotamia and the Bible: Comparative Explorations* (ed. by M. W. Chavalas and K. L. Younger, Jr.; JSOTSup 341; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002) 21-67, esp. p. 23.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 23f.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 53f., note 120.

¹⁵ Reprinted in E. A. Speiser, *Oriental and Biblical Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1967) 62-82.

¹⁶ See, for example, S. Greengus, "The Wife-Sister Motif," *HUCA* 46 (1975) 5-31 and B. Eichler, "Nuzi and the Bible," in *Studies Sjöberg*, 107-119.

¹⁷ A. Malamat, *Mari and the Early Israelite Experience* (Schweich Lectures 1984; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); *idem*, *Mari and the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

¹⁸ *COS* 2.127-129, esp. p. 329.

¹⁹ M. Tsevat, "Alalakhiana," *HUCA* 29 (1958) 109-134, esp. p. 110.

²⁰ *BA* 43/2 (1980) 76-87, esp. p. 85.

²¹ Fleming, "More Help from Syria: Introducing Emar to Biblical Study," *BA* 58/3 (1995) 125, 139-147, esp. p. 125.

²² J. Gallagher, *Emar: Study of a Crossroads City* (Ph.D. dissertation. Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion; Cincinnati, 1998); Timothy Undheim, *The Last Wills and Testaments of the Late Bronze Age Middle Euphrates Compared With their Ancient Near Eastern Analogues* (Ph.D. dissertation. Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion; Cincinnati, 2001).

²³ W. L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992) xxxiv.

²⁴ A. F. Rainey, *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets. A Linguistic Analysis of the Mixed Dialect used by the Scribes from Canaan* (4 vols. HdO 25; Leiden: Brill, 1996) 1:xxiii.

As we move into the later periods of Near Eastern antiquity, the links with the Hebrew Bible become more explicit. Many important contributions have appeared in recent years on both sides of the equation.

For a convenient presentation of matters from the side of the biblical world in a field that is fast-moving and has a high volume of new literature each year, David Baker and Bill T. Arnold have produced a volume on "the present state of Old Testament scholarship." It provides up-to-date information as well as valuable bibliographies with many chapters worthwhile for those biblicists who wish to see the Hebrew Bible in its Ancient Near Eastern context.²⁵

Hayim Tadmor, who has devoted himself primarily to Assyrian history and Ancient Near Eastern historiography, has edited several works in this area, including the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*,²⁶ whose entries often illustrate how Assyriological evidence helps to clarify biblical texts. The notes and comments to The Anchor Bible's *II Kings*, co-authored with Mordechai Cogan (1988), make it clear how problematic it is to understand historical sources such as Kings and Chronicles without benefit of Assyriological knowledge. Finally, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III*, though demonstrating how difficult it is to arrange in order the Annals, Summary Inscriptions and miscellaneous texts, is nevertheless an indispensable tool for evaluating evidence from 2 Kings, Isaiah and Chronicles on the Assyrian ruler's campaigns.²⁷

Nadav Na'aman has written extensively on the history of the Assyrian empire, its geography and relationship to events recorded in the biblical historical books.²⁸

Recent works by K. Lawson Younger, Jr. addressed two central areas in which Assyriology has made an impact upon Biblical Studies: "The Fall of Samaria in Light of Recent Research,"²⁹ and "Israel and the Assyrian Exile: A Reassessment."³⁰ In the first article, Younger reviewed the evidence for the number of reconstructive theories: how many events surrounding the fall of Samaria are described in II Kings and how many claims can one find in the Babylonian Chronicle for the role of the conqueror? In the second article, Younger investigated "various filtering processes used by the Assyrians that determined deportee status, as well as the differences that the deportees' exile location made for their everyday lives." Younger also "examined the implication of these matters to ascertain the personal impact of these extraditions on the people of the northern kingdom" and "sought a more comprehensive understanding of the different levels of assimilation or acculturation to Assyria."

J. A. Brinkman's *Prelude to Empire* recognizes the impact of Assyriology upon biblical sources and vice versa, weighing them against Josephus' accounts of the relevant events.³¹ D. J. Wiseman's contributions to our knowledge of the period of Nebuchadnezzar and the Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings have shed much light on the Neo-Babylonian period.³²

When we turn from specific places and periods to the broader question of comparative institutions, it is well to keep in mind the strictures of William Hallo, who many years ago remarked to a student that in order to contrast or compare two things, one needed to know both sides of the equation. He therefore counseled his students that if they wanted to engage in this exercise they would have to know the two areas under consideration (in this case, Assyriology and Biblical Studies). In attempting to bring fairness and balance to this endeavor, Hallo addressed the issue of contrast as well as comparison of biblical with ancient Near Eastern institutions, beginning with the contrastive approach:

... a comparative approach that is truly objective must be broad enough to embrace the possibility of a negative comparison, i.e., a contrast. And contrast can be every bit as illuminating as (positive) comparison. It can silhouette the distinctiveness of a biblical institution or formulation against its Ancient Near Eastern matrix.³³

²⁵ D. W. Baker and B. T. Arnold, *The Face of Old Testament Studies: a Survey of Contemporary Approaches* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999).

²⁶ 8 Volumes, completed in 1982 (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute).

²⁷ See, for example, H. Tadmor, "Tiglath-pileser's Campaigns against Israel 733-732 — The Textual Evidence," in *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III King of Assyria* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1994) 279-282.

²⁸ E.g., N. Na'aman, "Historical and Chronological Notes on the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah in the Eighth Century B.C.," *VT* 36 (1986) 71-92. See also the Akkadian bibliographies of *COS* volumes 2 and 3.

²⁹ Younger, *CBQ* 61 (1999) 461-482.

³⁰ Paper delivered to the Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society, Cincinnati 1999. See "'Give Us Our Daily Bread' — Everyday Life for the Israelite Deportees," in *Life and Culture in the Ancient Near East* (ed. by R. E. Averbeck, M. W. Chavalas and D. B. Weisberg; Bethesda, MD: CDL (forthcoming).

³¹ J. A. Brinkman, *Prelude to Empire. Babylonian Society and Politics, 747-626 B.C.* (Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund 7; Philadelphia: University Museum, 1984) nn. 60, 242, 268, 580f.

³² D. J. Wiseman, *Nebuchadnezzar and Babylon* (The Schweich Lectures 1983; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985); idem, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings (626-556 B.C.) in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1956).

³³ W. W. Hallo, "New Moons and Sabbaths: a Case-study in the Contrastive Approach," *HUCA* 48 (1977) 1-19, esp. p. 2.

Subsequently, he introduced the concept of the "contextual approach" to embrace both positive and negative comparison.³⁴ We turn then to five institutions illustrating the impact of Assyriology on Biblical Studies: law, the calendar, textual criticism, religion and satire.

(1) Law. In the field of comparative law, Martha Roth has collected and elucidated indispensable material bearing upon biblical topics such as for example, the *batultu*, *nu²artu*, the *nudunnû*, divorce and adultery, to mention but a few.³⁵ Her transcriptions, translations and comments relating to the legal material from Mesopotamia present the material in such a fashion as to invite comparatists to scrutinize it and its effect upon biblical law.³⁶

Samuel Greengus addressed the issue of "The Wife-Sister Motif."³⁷ Some of the edifice built by the late Ephraim A. Speiser³⁸ has tumbled down to the ground but, by Greengus' estimate, perhaps some 50% still remains intact.

(2) The Calendar. In his chapter on "The Calendar," Hallo observed:

In Mesopotamia, ... the month of twenty-nine or thirty days, based on the observation of the new moon, served as the basic unit of time. It was learned early on that a cycle of twelve or thirteen such months saw the recurrence of the same seasonal (solar) phenomena, giving rise to a year which was a compromise between lunar and solar considerations As eventually regularized, it provided for a thirteenth (intercalary) month in seven out of every nineteen years. This system, with minor adjustments, was subsequently taken over by the Jews together with the Babylonian month names and serves as the basis for the Jewish religious calendar to this day.³⁹

Hallo went on to discuss the "The Hour," "The Week" and "The Era."

Adjustments made by the rabbis internally once the calendar was taken over from the Babylonians may have their bases in the earlier biblical period, especially when the Judean exiles began to absorb the culture of Mesopotamia after their exile in 587. Illustrative of these long-lasting links, B. Wacholder and the present author tried to show that:

- (a) the system of sighting the moon in cuneiform literature was very close to that of rabbinic records.
- (b) The standard 19-year-cycle emerged in Babylonia in 481 BCE after two distinct earlier stages had been passed through, beginning in about 747 BCE.
- (c) The Talmud preserves the older system of observation of the lunar crescent, as it was practiced in Assyria and Babylonia.⁴⁰

Michael Fishbane discussed the term "Sabbath" and its possible relationship to Akkadian *šapattu*. He argued that "the term and status of the day as one of special character were retained, but the astrological associations were truncated and given new religious significance within the week."⁴¹ Saggs contended that "as an institution [Shabbat] neither derived from nor corresponded to the Babylonian *šapattu*."⁴²

Writing in *The World of the Bible*, M. A. Beek stated:

For the Seleucids themselves and also for the Jewish historiographers, a new era started with Seleucus I. The Seleucid calendar, also adopted by the writer of 2 Maccabees, begins in the fall of 312. For a long time this calendar has been determinative for the chronology, in some parts of the Middle East even until the modern age.⁴³

Clearly without the benefit of the pioneering work of Assyriologists beginning at least as early as the 1890s, the thorough understanding of the ancient calendar characteristic of today's scholarship could not have been achieved.

(3) Textual criticism. As Alan Millard has observed,

Although earlier copies of any part of the Bible are denied us, neighboring cultures can show how ancient scribes worked, and such knowledge can aid evaluation of the Hebrew text and its history.⁴⁴

³⁴ W. W. Hallo, "Biblical History in its Near Eastern Setting: the Contextual Approach," 1-26, esp. p. 2.

³⁵ M. Roth, *Babylonian Marriage Agreements: 7th - 3rd Centuries B.C.* (AOAT 222; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner Verlag, 1989) 3-9 et passim.

³⁶ M. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (SBLWAW 6; 2nd Edition 1997; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995).

³⁷ Greengus, *HUCA* 46 (1975) 5-31.

³⁸ Speiser, *Oriental and Biblical Studies*, 62-82.

³⁹ Hallo, *Origins*, 120-143, esp. p. 121.

⁴⁰ B. Z. Wacholder and D. B. Weisberg, "Visibility of the New Moon in Cuneiform and Rabbinic Sources," *HUCA* 42 (1971) 227-242.

⁴¹ M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985) 149.

⁴² Saggs, "Assyriology and Biblical Studies," 79.

⁴³ M. A. Beek, "The Seleucids: History of the Ancient Near East from the Time of Alexander the Great to the Beginning of the Second Century A.D.," in *The World of the Bible* (ed. by A. S. van der Woude; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986) 332.

⁴⁴ A. R. Millard, "In Praise of Ancient Scribes," *BA* 45/3 (1982) 143-153, esp. p. 143.

He noted that "throughout the history of cuneiform writing there was a tradition of care in copying."⁴⁵ In this observation, Millard is carrying forward a theme broached by A. L. Oppenheim, who emphasized the element of conservatism characterizing Mesopotamian scribal activity:

There is the large number of tablets that belong to what I will call the stream of tradition — that is, what can loosely be termed the corpus of literary texts maintained, controlled and carefully kept alive by a tradition served by successive generations of learned and well-trained scribes.⁴⁶

In the spirit of the above remarks, i.e., with a desire to show how Assyriology — and especially an appreciation of Mesopotamian scribal practice — can illumine the textual study of the Bible, the present author offered the suggestion that a phenomenon preserved in the Masoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible entitled "Break in the Middle of a Verse" such as occurs in Genesis 4:8, 35:22 and elsewhere, might owe its origin to — or at least be clarified by — the Mesopotamian scribal practice of recording a "Break on a Tablet" by using words or expressions such as:

hipu "break";
hipu l šumi "break of one line";
hipu labīru "old break" and
hipu eššu "new break."⁴⁷

This is only the tip of the iceberg. Thus, in order to make a sophisticated contribution to this area, one would have to have expert knowledge of Akkadian lexical texts and scribal tradition on the one hand, and a specialist's erudition in the study of the Masorah on the other. Either one by itself would be rare, both together would be rarer still. But the field holds enormous promise to anyone who would venture into it.

(4) Religion. Due to "the nature of the available evidence, and the problem of comprehension across the barriers of conceptual conditioning," Oppenheim put forth the proposition "Why a 'Mesopotamian Religion' should not be written."⁴⁸ Many scholars have had the suspicion that he was writing with tongue-in-cheek, since after stating this proposition, he proceeded to write a valuable chapter on Mesopotamian religion. He spoke about shrines and temples, statues of the gods, prayers and mythological and ritual texts.

Recent scholarship on ancient religious institutions has compared mythological elements — many of which have a Mesopotamian source — to some biblical traditions.⁴⁹ Other elements such as prophecy by various cult functionaries, especially at Mari, have been compared or contrasted with classical biblical prophecy.⁵⁰

(5) Satire. One final issue concerns classics of the mythological tradition, such as the Babylonian Creation Epic. Does it represent "primitive" story or "elegant satire?" Oppenheim, always interested in the Babylonian Creation story, portrayed it thus:

Shorter than the Epic of Gilgamesh, the Creation story ... has seven tablets ... [I]t tells the story of the theogony, the sequence of the generations of the primeval deities up to the birth of Marduk, who will assume the role of organizer of the universe ... [T]he plot of the story is primitive⁵¹ When Ea, the wise god full of wiles and stratagems, fails, Marduk acts as savior and defeats the evil power in a battle against Tiamat, the monstrous personification of the primeval ocean The battle itself is decidedly not a heroic encounter but rather a contest of magic powers, in which Marduk, quite in style, wins by trickery.⁵²

Benjamin Foster noted that "The poem is a work of great complexity and abounds with conceptual and philological problems."⁵³ Part of that complexity involves the dating of the text. Whereas Speiser had dated it to "the early part of the second millennium BC," W. G. Lambert held that "the traditions moved westwards during the Amarna period [fourteenth century BCE] and reached the Hebrews in oral form."⁵⁴ But part of the complexity involves the sophistication of the ancient author(s).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 146.

⁴⁶ A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (2nd edition; ed. by E. Reiner; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977) 13.

⁴⁷ D. B. Weisberg, "'Break in the Middle of a Verse': Some Observations on a Masoretic Feature," in *Studies Wacholder*, 43ff. [For the "double accentuation" of Gen 35:22, cf. already Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1910) 63 §15p. WWH]

⁴⁸ *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 172.

⁴⁹ See e.g. Saggs, "Assyriology and Biblical Studies," 80: "Data bearing on foreign influences on Israelite religion."

⁵⁰ See Moran, "Divine Revelations," *ANET*³ 623-626.

⁵¹ Emphasis mine. DBW.

⁵² Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 264. For Gilgamesh, see *COS* 1.132.

⁵³ Foster, *BM* 1:352.

⁵⁴ W. G. Lambert, "A New Look at the Babylonian Background of Genesis," *JTS* 16/2 (1965) 287-300, esp. p. 300.

In a series of deft strokes, Herbert Brichto introduced readers to his technique of understanding stories dealing with the "Primeval History," including the creation story. Of special significance are "The Bearing of *Enuma elish* on Genesis I,"⁵⁵ and "Literalism and Metaphor in Genesis I and *Enuma elish*."⁵⁶

In the latter, Brichto observed that we moderns would probably not fail to recognize the use of poetic language and diction were they used in the works of "a contemporary of ours. Yet in regard to the creation stories ... the overwhelming number of scholars assume that even the learned readership of these tales in antiquity would have accepted them on the literal end of the literal-figurative spectrum."⁵⁷ It is our contention that in *Enuma elish* too, the mythological material is to be taken figuratively and not literally.

In offering "A Poetic Reading of *Enuma elish*,"⁵⁸ in which the keynote of the reading is *Enuma elish* as satire, Brichto commented upon the "elegance of style" of the poem. He observed:

When the choice diction and seductive rhythms of a resourceful stylist appear in a narrative, in elevated prose, or in epic verse, a critical alarm should sound for the reader if all this talent seems put to the service of nonsensical plot and idiotic personae. Is that author ... sending two different signals ...? for one audience made up of both dull-witted naifs and perspicacious sophisticates? ... the former would be reading the message as serious and straightforward ... the latter as tongue-in-cheek, perhaps bordering on comic; in short ... satire.⁵⁹

They were lampooning the old gods and the old ways:

... the protean metaphors — of Tiamat as shapeless liquid mass, dragon-monster with two legs and gaping maw, human-like in maternal tenderness, black magician spewing incantations; of Apsu, also watery mass, cradling on his knees the childlike vizier Mummu, who embraces his neck, and ogre-father who would rather strangle his children than diaper them — are surely as meaningless as they are silly, an author's invention and not an inherited time-hallowed religious tradition....⁶⁰

Why, one wonders, would the poet of *Enuma elish* resort to such bizarre and outlandish symbols to portray these supernatural beings? Brichto opines: "Could it be a playful and less than reverential attitude toward the gods that is responsible for the grotesquerie?"⁶¹ Elsewhere he stated: "What we are suggesting is that perhaps a millennium earlier, in Babylon, a genius weaned himself from the outworn pagan creed in which had been suckled"⁶²

Also of special interest here are "The Babylonian Flood Story as a Critique of Paganism,"⁶³ and "Noah's Deluge and Utnapishtim's: A Comparison."⁶⁴ An element of humor, a touch of the nonsensical, should hint at a point of view we would otherwise not glimpse: "A ship in the shape of a cube: this absurdity of nautical design is the clue to the larger design of our narrator."⁶⁵ The "comic-strip vividness"⁶⁶ shows us that some of this material was designed to be cartoon-like, yet we are treating it with a straight face.

Commenting upon the section containing the fifty names of Marduk, Brichto notes:

The proclamation of his fifty names, ascribing to him the powers and attributes of the gods, comes across to us almost as a paradoxical paroxysm: polytheism straining for a monotheistic rebirth. In vesting all power and praise in Marduk, paganism comes close to abandoning polytheism altogether; like a number of hymns from ancient Egypt, it all but breaks through to a formulation of monotheism.⁶⁷

As we continue to assess the Impact of Assyriology upon Biblical Studies, we cannot fail to note the sophistication of the pagan cultures surrounding Israel and their influence upon Israel. Nor should we fail to note the advanced nature of biblical society and its impact upon the surrounding peoples. Hopefully, we can do both these things while recognizing in these ancient cultures two features that are among the finest of our own: an open mind and a sense of humor.

⁵⁵ H. C. Brichto, *The Names of God* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) 37ff.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 50ff. For *Enuma elish*, see COS 1.111.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 53ff.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 126.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 125ff.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 161ff.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 117.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 120.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 400.

SUMER AND THE BIBLE: A MATTER OF PROPORTION¹

William W. Hallo

The reviewers of the first two volumes of *The Context of Scripture* have been almost unanimously generous in their assessments of the project, its intentions, its scope, and its execution. But one point on which many of them have taken a more critical stance is the *title* of the work, and with it the notion that the (Hebrew) Bible should play so central a role in determining the selection of texts from five cultures that, in their own terms, existed quite independently of the culture that produced the Bible. The following is a sampling of the opinions on this score as expressed in the reviews.

Herewith we have again come up against the sad topic of whether the texts offered really have anything to do with the biblical world, and whether they serve to illuminate it, if only *per viam negationis*.²

... I cannot help wondering whether this does not continue to betray the old philosophical presuppositions of *ANET* that the voluminous textual records of the ancient world are ultimately to be assessed according to their utility in elucidating the biblical text, that is, by a criterion outside their own purview.³

Can we in good conscience regard the ancient Near East as primarily 'the context of Scripture'? ... it seems a little ethnocentric to describe the ancient Near East as primarily a context for a different book.⁴

... perhaps it is time to rethink one of the central criteria of selection ... — whether scriptural relevance is a necessary or altogether helpful criterion for inclusion into a volume of ancient Near Eastern and Egyptian texts.⁵

This chorus of courteous critiques calls for a response. It is reminiscent of the campaign to free Assyriology of its role as handmaiden of Biblical Studies and to recognize the *Eigenbegrifflichkeit* of ancient Mesopotamian culture. That campaign was launched 75 years ago, in 1926, by the late great Benno Landsberger. It insisted on studying the ancient cultures in their own terms. It was not enough to compile dictionaries of lexical equivalents to our modern languages, let alone cognates to other ancient (Semitic) languages. Rather, the very different semantic systems of the ancient languages had to be approached first of all through the discovery of a system of "autonomous grammatical concepts."⁶ Only then could one move on to other manifestations of the ancient systems, such as their apprehension of space, or law and commerce. In the event, Landsberger practiced what he preached: he identified the basic grammatical categories of Akkadian and Sumerian which were then elaborated and justified by his students while he himself devoted the bulk of his own research to lexicography.

Landsberger laid out his programme in his inaugural lecture at the University of Leipzig, and then published it in a volume of the University's own new journal *Islamica*, in a special issue dedicated to the great Arabist August Fischer — all indications of the importance he attached to his remarks.⁷ The term "*Eigenbegrifflichkeit*" was presumably his own coinage; one looks in vain for it in German dictionaries and despairs of translating it. I suggested "conceptual autonomy" in an article of 1973⁸ and this was adopted by the team of translators when the original essay appeared in English in 1976.⁹ The concept, if not the term, also informed his three seminal essays on the Sumerians

¹ Remarks delivered to the colloquium on "The Future of Biblical Archaeology: Reassessing Methods and Assumptions" held at the Divinity School of Trinity International University, Deerfield, IL, August 13, 2001.

² O. Loretz, *UF* 28 (1996) 792. (Translation mine.)

³ N. Wyatt, *JSOT* 79 (1998) 168.

⁴ R. S. Hendel, *Bible Review* 14/4 (August 1998) 16.

⁵ G. N. Knoppers, *Review of Biblical Literature* 3 (2001) 88-91, esp. p. 91.

⁶ Landsberger (below, n. 9) 63.

⁷ "Die Eigenbegrifflichkeit der babylonischen Welt," *Islamica* 2 (1926) 355-372; reprinted as vol. 142* of the series *Libelli* (Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965) 1-18, together with a short "Nachwort" by the author (p. 19) and W. von Soden's "Leistung und Grenze sumerischer und babylonischer Wissenschaft" (pp. 21-133).

⁸ W. W. Hallo, "Problems in Sumerian Hermeneutics," *Perspectives in Jewish Learning* 5 (1973) 1.

⁹ "The Conceptual Autonomy of the Babylonian World," tr. by T. Jacobsen, B. Foster and H. von Sieenthal, *Monographs on the Ancient Near East* 1/4 (1976) 59-71.

which were published in Turkish and German during the thirteen years when he found refuge in Ankara (1935-1948).¹⁰ In 1948, Landsberger received a call to the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago where I had the personal privilege of studying under him for five years (1951-56). I learned to heed his strictures on the conceptual autonomy of each of the principal ancient Near Eastern cultures.¹¹ I even became the first of a line of assistants who aided him in his later years. But I chose to write my dissertation under another of my Chicago teachers. And I parted company with those who, in the name of his "Eigenbegrifflichkeit," went beyond merely ridding ancient Near Eastern studies of excessive or even exclusive preoccupation with their relevance for Biblical Studies and began to imply the irrelevance of the one for the other, throwing out the biblical baby with the Babylonian bath, so to speak.¹² My own career over the fifty years since I first entered Landsberger's classroom demonstrates that. This personal jubilee is then a golden opportunity to answer both the critics of *COS* and Landsberger and to make the case for "Sumer and the Bible."

Let me begin on the most obvious level, the case of literary borrowings or what in recent terminology is sometimes referred to as intertextuality. Here a case in point is the Preacher's saying "the three-ply cord is not easily cut" (Eccl 4:12). As first shown by Samuel Noah Kramer, the biblical use of this saying was anticipated by a passage in the Sumerian tale of Gilgamesh and Huwawa.¹³ And lest it be said that the Sumerian text could not have been known to the biblical author, we can point to the subsequent discovery of the missing links, so to speak, in both space and time: the publication in 1959 of a fragment of the Akkadian counterpart of the story of Gilgamesh and Huwawa found at Megiddo, and in 1965 of a fragment of the Akkadian Gilgamesh Epic which includes the very same passage and relieves the translation of the earlier Sumerian version of any doubt that it is indeed talking about a cord as in the Hebrew and not a garment,¹⁴ though I will admit that the latest translation of the Sumerian reverts to the garment.¹⁵

Moving upward on the literary scale, we can proceed from the isolated topos or (common)place to the level of whole compositions. Here, by way of illustration, we may cite another contribution by Kramer, the indefatigable recoverer and reconstructor of Sumerian literature. In 1955 he published a composition to which he gave the title "Man and his God," and the subtitle "a Sumerian version on the 'Job' motif."¹⁶ And indeed it anticipates the biblical book of Job in content, raising as it does the perennial question of theodicy, the justice of God, and doing so by the example of the just sufferer or what, if that seems to beg the question of whether the suffering was or was not justified, can perhaps better be called the pious sufferer.¹⁷ A number of Akkadian compositions take up the same theme; they are not simply translations or even adaptations of the Sumerian composition, but they fill the chronological interim, being attested for Old Babylonian, Middle Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian times.¹⁸ Some of them, in addition, introduce the dialogue structure characteristic of the biblical treatment of the theme.

The next logical step in the literary progression is the genre, something to which the Sumerians were notably sensitive. Though they had no word for the concept as such, they did have a rich terminology of separate genres and were careful to indicate generic classification in the rubrics and colophons of individual compositions and in the literary catalogues which, often enough, grouped numbers of compositions by genre. I can again illustrate the point by appeal to proverbs, and will combine these here with the genre or sub-genre of riddles. Both proverbs and riddles are of course well-nigh universal genres, and often endure for millennia and across linguistic boundaries in either oral or written form. The Sumerian examples of both genres are the oldest known anywhere, and have a special connection to their biblical counterparts. I have already illustrated this for proverbs by an instance, not from the Book of Proverbs, but from Ecclesiastes. For riddles the Bible has of course only isolated examples, the most famous being the riddle posed by Samson to the Philistines. In his narrative, Samson even provides the name of the genre: *hiddā* (Judg 14:12-19). This is cognate with Akkadian *hittu*, and that in turn is the equivalent of Sumerian I.BI.LU.(DU₁₁.GA). The existence of the Sumerian genre-designation, and of examples of the genre so labelled, goes some way toward explaining the occurrence of a corresponding genre within biblical narrative.

A further example is provided by the letter-prayer. This genre, first recognized among Sumerian examples to be dated to the 20th and 19th centuries BCE, continues with bilingual (Sumero-Akkadian) examples from the latter second and early first millennia. It thus provides a possible precedent for the prayer of Hezekiah in Isaiah 38, there described as a "letter" (literally, a writing).¹⁹

¹⁰ Translated by Maria deJ. Ellis as "Three Essays on the Sumerians," *Monographs on the Ancient Near East* 1 (1974) 23-40.

¹¹ Cf. Hallo, "New Moons and Sabbaths: a Case-Study in the Contrastive Approach," *HUCA* 48 (1977) 1-18, esp. p. 2.

¹² Cf. e.g. A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1964) 21: "There are scholars who are inextricably entangled in attempts to relate Assyriological data to the Old Testament in some acceptable way."

¹³ S. N. Kramer, *JCS* 1 (1947) 40 ad line 107.

¹⁴ A. Shaffer, "New Light on the 'Three-Ply Cord'," *EI* 9 (1969) 138f.

¹⁵ D. O. Edzard, *ZA* 81 (1991) 202.

¹⁶ See *COS* 1.179 for the latest translation and bibliography.

¹⁷ G. L. Mattingly, "The Pious Sufferer: Mesopotamia's Traditional Theodicy and Job's Counselors," *SIC* 3:305-348.

¹⁸ See *COS* 1.151-154.

¹⁹ See *COS* 1.164f. and literature cited there.

We can go yet one step further in literary taxonomy and speak of coherent *groups* of genres. Here even our own terminology fails us and perhaps the term super-genre can be suggested — on the analogy of sub-genre — to cover the phenomenon. For when genres as diverse as myths, epics, and songs of praise are all labelled as “hymns” (ZĀ.MĪ) in Sumerian, we realize that such hymns are more than a simple genre. Or to take the more familiar case of the genres I have already delineated: proverbs, riddles, and “pious sufferer” compositions are readily recognized as forming a super-genre of “wisdom-literature.” This term, borrowed from the language of biblical criticism where it has long been serviceable in linking the rather diverse genres represented by the books of Proverbs, Job and Ecclesiastes, reminds us that the relevance of Sumerian for Biblical Studies is a two-way street. Sumerian, however, adds other genres to the mix: fables, disputations, debates, and diatribes to mention only the most obvious.²⁰ And their rediscovery has led in turn to the recognition of comparable phenomena within the biblical corpus, albeit not in the form of discrete compositions, let alone whole books. I refer here to such pericopes as the fable of the trees and the thornbush (Judg 9:8-15) or of the thistle and the cedar of Lebanon (2 Kgs 14:9; 2 Chr 25:18). And long ago, it was pointed out that the Book of Job not only reflects the debate format in its poetic portions, but that its prose-frame too ends in the manner typical of some of the Sumerian literary debates: when the “friends of Job” acknowledge his rhetorical triumph, they do so by each presenting him with a gold ring and a *q’sītā* (Job 42:11) — and whether that is a coin or some other token gift can be debated, but it provides an interesting parallel to the gold and silver which Summer gives to Winter at the end of their disputation.²¹

The ultimate level of literary classification is the totality of sub-genres, genres and super-genres, or what I have long ventured to call the canon. That term had already been used by Landsberger at least as long ago as the “Eigenbegrifflichkeit” article of 1926, and at intervals thereafter.²² In 1945 he spoke specifically of “the literary canon established in the Kassite period.” The term was borrowed *not* from biblical criticism but from *general* literary criticism. In other words it was not a matter of investing the term with the overtones of the sacred and authoritative which adhere to the concept of the biblical canon, but of using it as literary critics do when they speak of e.g. the Chaucer canon to refer to all those compositions which careful study attributes to Chaucer.

Of course there are other differences between the biblical canon and the cuneiform canons. I summarized these a decade ago.²³ But despite these and other disclaimers,²⁴ the subtitle of volume I, “Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World,” exercised the critics almost as often as the main title. Here again is a selection of their animadversions:

Many students of the Bible (lay and professional), for whom the term ‘canon’ is associated with sacred texts that function as a permanent rule or standard for all, will be confused by this designation²⁵

... the titles of the book are misleading. ‘Scripture’ and ‘biblical’ refer to the Old Testament alone, and ‘canonical’ is not used in the normal sense as when referring to the Bible.²⁶

Biblical scholars will have a different understanding of the term from that used by students of ancient Near Eastern texts more generally, and even there the term is not clearly defined.²⁷

This cacophony of cavils notwithstanding, I maintain that there was a Sumerian canon or rather, over the millennia of the existence of the language, a succession of three Sumerian canons. I have identified these as the Old Sumerian, the Neo-Sumerian, and the post-Sumerian canon respectively.²⁸ Without repeating the details of their history, suffice it to say that each in turn formed the core of the curriculum of scribal schools wherever Sumerian was taught — often far from Sumer and ultimately long after the demise of Sumerian as a living language. The persistence of Sumerian compositions, sometimes with translations into Akkadian and other languages, at scribal schools in Syria — places like Emar on the Euphrates and Ugarit on the Mediterranean coast — to the very end of the Bronze Age in or about 1200 BCE (and beyond) provides the technical basis for at least their potential transmission into Canaan in the Iron Age and for the survival of Sumerian topoi, pericopes, compositions and genres in alphabetic scripts.²⁹

²⁰ See COS 1.178, 180-186 for examples.

²¹ Cf. COS 1.183:313.

²² *Islamica* 2 (1926-27) 355 = p. 61 of the English version; Z4 41 (1933) 184; *MSL* 1 (1937) iii; “Die Sumerer” (1943) (above, n. 10) 99 = p. 27 of the English version; “Die geistigen Leistungen ...” (1945) (above, n. 10) 155 = p. 38 of the English version.

²³ Halla, “The Concept of Canonicity in Cuneiform and Biblical Literature: a Comparative Appraisal,” in *SIC* 4:1-19, esp. pp. 10-11.

²⁴ See now also my introduction to COS 2:xxi-xxii.

²⁵ D. I. Block, *Review and Expositor* 94 (1997) 607.

²⁶ W. G. Lambert, *JTS* 49 (1998) 210.

²⁷ D. W. Baker, *Ashland Theological Journal* 30 (1998) 106.

²⁸ Halla, “Toward a History of Sumerian Literature,” *Studies Jacobsen*, 181-203.

²⁹ Halla, “The Syrian Contribution to Cuneiform Literature and Learning,” in *New Horizons in the Study of Ancient Syria* (ed. by M. W. Chavalas and J. H. Hayes; BiMes 25; Malibu: Undena, 1992) 69-88.

But the contextual approach is not confined to the literary sphere. If it were, then *The Context of Scripture* could have ended with volume I. True, the soil of the Holy Land is singularly poor in monumental inscriptions from the biblical period; the possible reasons for this are discussed in the introduction to volume II. But there are ample biblical reflexes of the monumental category as defined in my taxonomy of documentation, i.e. inscriptions on stone, metal or other mediums designed to last into the future, or produced in multiple copies to the same end, or copied from such inscriptions. This definition, admittedly broad, makes room for such genres as law codes, known as inscribed on stone steles since the discovery of the Laws of Hammurapi on the great stele in Susa (along with fragments of two others) at the end of the nineteenth century CE. It also includes treaties, long familiar as carved on the walls of temples in Egypt but more recently seen to have been inscribed on bronze plaques deposited in temples among the Hittites. Both genres have reflexes in the Bible.

Specifically, the casuistic legislation of Exodus and Deuteronomy includes startling parallels with the laws of Hammurapi, sometimes explained as evidence that these laws, which survived to later periods as models of both Akkadian style and legal acumen, became known to the Israelites during the Babylonian captivity. But Hammurapi was preceded by and drew on earlier compilations, and these did not survive their immediate period of composition. When therefore we find closer parallels than with the Laws of Hammurapi between biblical legislation and the Laws of Eshnunna, as in the case of the goring ox, we can no longer content ourselves with the hypothesis of a sixth century date of transmission. Rather we may have to operate with the concept of an oral body of legal wisdom shared widely across the "fertile crescent" in the nineteenth century BCE — much as is Bedouin law in poetic form in the identical geographical parameters to this day.³⁰

But the ultimate origins — or at least the first attested examples — of precedent law are, once more, to be sought in Sumer. While the Reforms of Urukagina (Urukagina) in the 24th century cannot claim to be casuistic or conditional in formulation, the laws attributed to Ur-Nammu (or Shulgi) in the 21st and Lipit-Ishtar in the 20th definitely can. It remains for future investigation to trace the chain of transmission by which Sumerian precedents passed via Akkadian, Amorite and Canaanite intermediaries to their Hebrew reformulation, but the connection is apparent.³¹

The chain is shorter for treaties. The "net-cylinders" of Enmetena (Entemena) have long been recognized as a sort of vassal treaty imposed by a victorious Lagash on its defeated neighbor state of Umma. More recently, the treaty of Ebla with a state variously read as A.BAR.SILA₄, Apishal, or even Assur has been found to represent the earliest known parity treaty. But neither of these 3rd millennium documents served as models for their respective genres known from the late second and early first millennia. It is the latter that influenced biblical formulations, for example in the introduction and conclusion to the "book of the covenant" in Exodus or the curse formulas of Deuteronomy.³²

What then of archival documents, the titular topic of the last volume of *COS*? Long ago, there was recognition of "archival data in the Book of Kings" by Montgomery, and "the descriptive ritual texts in the Pentateuch" by Levine.³³ More importantly, however, Sumerian archival texts reveal *institutions* which have biblical echoes. Take the case of the "Sumerian amphictyony." Forty years ago, I used a Greek concept to characterize this Sumerian institution, leaving it to others to draw the logical implications for biblical history.³⁴ This was done most equitably, in my opinion, by Chambers in 1983.³⁵ Among Sumerologists, some like Maeda have generally supported the theory,³⁶ others like Tanret³⁷ have questioned aspects of it. The main challenge has come from Steinkeller and his student Sharlach, who have gone beyond the BALA of the provincial governors in particular to the BALA in general and have reinterpreted that as a redistribution system for agricultural products rather than as a specific means of channeling livestock to the sacrificial cult.³⁸ The basic link between the calendar and the provincial contribution known as BALA ("turn") remains unchallenged, however, and with it the potential link to Solomon's taxation system and its congeners.

Another example can be drawn from the sacrificial cult. Here the abundant Sumerian archival material helps to explain the comparable biblical institutions not so much by comparison as by contrast. Both cultures featured deities and temples, but while Israelite religion developed into monotheism with a single deity and, eventually, a single

³⁰ See for now Hallo, *Origins*, 55, 245.

³¹ See *COS* 2.130-134, 153-154.

³² See *COS* 2.17-18, 127-129 and references there. For Apishal, see *COS* 3.90, n. 5.

³³ J. A. Montgomery, *JBL* 53 (1934) 46-52; B. A. Levine, *JAOS* 85 (1965) 307-318.

³⁴ Hallo, "A Sumerian Amphictyony," *JCS* 14 (1960) 88-114; cf. esp. p. 96, n. 72a.

³⁵ H. E. Chambers, "Ancient Amphictyonies, Sic et Non," *SIC* 2:39-59.

³⁶ T. Maeda, "Bal-ensi in the Drehem texts," *ASJ* 16 (1994) 115-164.

³⁷ M. Tanret, "Nouvelles données à propos de l'amphictyonie néo-sumérienne," *Akkadica* 13 (1979) 28-45.

³⁸ P. Steinkeller, "The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State: the Core and the Periphery," in *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World* (ed. by M. Rowlands, et al.; Cambridge University Press, 1987) 19-41; T. M. Sharlach, *Bala: Economic Exchange between Center and Provinces in the Ur III State* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard, 1999).

sanctuary, the polytheistic cults of Mesopotamia generated ever more deities and temples, 5580 of the former by one count³⁹ and 1439 of the latter by another.⁴⁰ The fundamental focus of the Sumerian cult was the cult statue of the deity, while the Israelite cult was fundamentally aniconic or even anti-iconic. The Mesopotamian cult involved first and foremost the “care and feeding of the gods” in the guise of their cult statues, as attested by thousands of archival account tablets best described as “descriptive rituals,” i.e. after-the-fact accounts which describe in detail the expenditures incurred in cultic exercises against the possibility of future accounting to and auditing by higher authority. In the process they provide an invaluable objective account of what actually transpired as against the idealized and subjective instructions, not necessarily carried out, which characterize the canonical texts best described as “prescriptive ritual texts.” We gain a better understanding of the distinctive procedures of the Israelite sacrificial cult in light of the archival texts from Sumer even where the canonical literature of both cultures assigns it somewhat comparable origins. In Mesopotamia, the sacrificial animal was first stripped of its entrails, including intestines, lungs, and especially the liver. All these were evidently considered unfit for consumption but instead became the basis for an elaborate system of divination by means of the *exta* (entrails) or “extispicy” and more especially by means of the liver (“hepatoscopy”). The rest of the meat offerings were offered in their entirety, ostensibly to the deity — but in actuality to the statue of the deity, which consumed nothing, leaving the meat thus sanctified to the priesthood and worshippers to enjoy. In Israel, the meat offering was divided in advance between deity, priest and worshipper, and the portion assigned to the deity was truly consumed entirely by fire, whose smoke went up to produce the “pleasant savor” for divine enjoyment; hence the meat sacrifice was called *‘ōlāh* in Hebrew (something which goes up) and holocaust in the Greek translation (something wholly consumed, i.e. by fire).⁴¹

The foregoing has done no more than illustrate the proposition that, just as Sumer is relevant for the Bible, so too the biblical debt to, reaction against, or amplification of the themes struck by the Sumerian documentation help to illuminate the latter in crucial ways. “Conceptual autonomy” cannot, in other words, mean cultural isolation. The ancient Near East was a geographical unit; then as now, developments in one part spread rapidly and enduringly to other parts. The five linguistic cultures included in *The Context of Scripture* were inextricably linked with each other; the indices below help to make this clear. But they were also linked with biblical culture, which it is the special purpose of the middle column of each page to demonstrate. Cultural interdependence is not primarily a function of proximity, whether in space or time; it is rather a function of the degree to which the channels of communication are open across the frontiers of both space and time.

My personal response to Landsberger’s “conceptual autonomy” is the “contextual approach,” which I have defined in various venues as being made up in equal parts of comparison and contrast,⁴² and of setting the biblical evidence both in its vertical dimension as the product of historical kinship with precedents, or intertextuality, and in its horizontal dimension as an expression of the geographical context in which it is set. But even this broad basis does not exhaust the possible analogies that can usefully be drawn from the evidence.

In his essay of 1926, Landsberger had used mathematical formulas to express the scope and limits of comparison. The English version of 1976 put it this way: “All understanding consists first of all in establishing some link between the alien world and our own. In the initial stage this is expressed by a number of simple equations, which are compiled in grammar and lexicon, e.g. ending *-um* [=] nominative singular, root *halak* [=] ‘to go’; but such full equations are possible only to a limited extent, most often we have to content ourselves with partial equations of the type: part of Babylonian concept *x* corresponds with part of our concept *y*. All these equations are correct in so far as both *a* and *b* are beyond any doubt.”⁴³

Landsberger was talking about comparisons between Babylonian and modern (actually: German) concepts, but the same strictures would apply to comparisons with biblical evidence. A year later, though not necessarily with reference to Landsberger, I extended his resort to mathematical formulas to argue that if *A* is the biblical text or phenomenon and *B* the Babylonian one, their relationship can often be expressed mathematically as $A = B$, or $A \sim B$, or $A < B$ or $A > B$ or even $A \neq B$.⁴⁴ But even these more variegated equations do not exhaust the possibilities, limited as all of them are to two terms. Sometimes the analogy involves a relationship among four terms, e.g. between *A* and *A*₂ on the one hand and between *B* and *B*₂ on the other, or again between developments from *A* to *A*₂ in the one culture and from *B* to *B*₂ in the other. In such cases the analogy of the relationships or of the development can best be expressed by four terms in proportion: $A:A_2 = B:B_2$.

³⁹ Hallo, “Albright and the Gods of Mesopotamia,” *BA* 56/1 (1993) 18-24, esp. p. 21.

⁴⁰ A. R. George, *House Most High: the Temples of Ancient Mesopotamian Civilizations* 5; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1993) 171.

⁴¹ Hallo, *Origins*, 212-221.

⁴² For the latter see above, n. 11.

⁴³ Landsberger 1976:62. The confusion between *x* and *y*. *a* and *b* is in the original.

⁴⁴ See above, n. 11.

A first example of this sort that I came up with was drawn from Akkadian rather than Sumerian evidence. It involved the relationship between the Laws of Hammurapi and the Edicts of his successors on the one hand, and between the biblical laws of the Sabbatical and the post-biblical institution of the *prosbol* on the other.⁴⁵

Other examples could be cited to illustrate the inherent potential of this "proportionate technique." In terms of Sumerian, one can support the concept of a Sumerian amphictyony⁴⁶ by appeal to more recent history. Its calendaric basis is paralleled by the Greek institution, by the Solomonic administrative system of taxation (of the northern tribes), and by a contemporary Egyptian system. But beyond its purely fiscal aspect, the Solomonic system also pursued a political agenda. It served to break up the old tribal boundaries and therewith attempted to strike a blow at old tribal loyalties. It may have represented a clever attempt — ultimately unsuccessful — to centralize royal power in Jerusalem by using the outward form of a traditional intertribal cultic institution to mitigate the real threat to tribal identity implied in the abrogation of the old borders. I have always thought of it as an analogy to the French Revolution, which sought — more successfully — to destroy old provincial boundaries and loyalties by creating smaller and more numerous *départements* on a purely mechanical basis. Among the proposals put forward in the Constitutional Assembly of 1789-90, there was even one to subdivide France into "eighty rectangular departments, each with a half-diagonal of eleven to twelve leagues, (which) would permit travelers from any point to reach the administrative center in a day's journey."⁴⁷ We could thus set up a proportion:

pre-monarchic tribal lands : Solomonic administrative districts =
pre-revolutionary French provinces : French *départements*.

The proportion lends support to the older theories of a pre-monarchic tribal league, now not much in favor. But it does not stand or fall with these theories.

Moving beyond the Sumerian evidence, we can cite the debate on history and tradition. To my knowledge, this began with Redford's study of the Hyksos.⁴⁸ It was taken up with enthusiasm by Van Seters, whose dissertation dealt with the Hyksos, but who applied the concept more particularly to patriarchal traditions.⁴⁹ I resisted this approach, on the grounds and to the extent that Mesopotamian historiography seemed at the time exempt from it. That has since ceased to be the case, notably with respect to the traditions about Sargon of Akkad and the rest of the Old Akkadian period, an expansion of the concept to which I have taken exception more recently.⁵⁰ But whatever one's stand, it is possible to set up another proportion, according to which, arguably,

Sargonic history : Sargonic tradition =
patriarchal history : patriarchal tradition =
Hyksos history : Hyksos tradition.

If the premises of the proportionate technique are granted, then it furnishes a further avenue for overcoming the problems of distance in time and space and for breathing new life into the contextual approach.

⁴⁵ Hallo, "Slave Release in the Biblical World in Light of a New Text," *Studies Greenfield*, 79-93, esp. pp. 92f.; cf. COS 2.134 and references there.

⁴⁶ Above, at nn. 34-38.

⁴⁷ T. W. Margadant, *Urban Rivalries in the French Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) 103.

⁴⁸ D. B. Redford, "The Hyksos Invasion in History and Tradition," *Or* 39 (1970) 1-51.

⁴⁹ J. van Seters, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975).

⁵⁰ Hallo, "New Directions in Historiography (Mesopotamia and Israel)," in *Studies Römer*, 109-128; "Polymnia and Clio," in *Historiography in the Cuneiform World* (RAI 45/1; 2001) 195-209.

EGYPTIAN ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

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A. LETTERS

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1. MIDDLE KINGDOM LETTERS

THE HEQANAKHT LETTERS (3.1)

James P. Allen

The three letters translated here provide a unique glimpse into the life of a middle-class Egyptian family of the early Middle Kingdom. They were written by a ka-servant named Heqanakht, who served the mortuary cult of an official's tomb in Thebes, probably during the first decade of the reign of Senwosret I, second king of the 12th Dynasty (ca. 1971-1926 BCE). The letters, along with a number of Heqanakht's accounts and some scribal equipment, were stored in an adjacent, unused tomb. When the latter was used for a burial, apparently during Heqanakht's absence, the documents were sealed up behind a wall used to block access to the burial chamber. As a result, the letters were never sent and remained undisturbed until their discovery by an expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1922. With the exception of one account, all the documents are now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum.

The letters were intended for delivery to Heqanakht's home in the north, probably near Memphis or Herakleopolis, and were written within a few days of one another in response to news brought by one of his employees. At the time of writing, in May, the grain harvest in Heqanakht's fields had just ended, with a yield lower than normal as the result of a low inundation the previous year. Since grain, particularly barley, was the preferred medium of exchange, Heqanakht was faced with the need to stretch his resources over the year ahead until the next harvest, anticipating the possibility that another low inundation in the coming summer would produce an equally poor harvest. His letters concern the three options open to him: reducing his household's monthly salaries (paid in barley), collecting grain debts owed him, and renting more land to farm.

Each of the three letters is primarily concerned with one of these options. Letter I, written to one of Heqanakht's overseers, contains instructions for leasing additional fields for the coming agricultural season. In Letter II Heqanakht first addresses his household as a whole, detailing the salary reduction for each individual; he then speaks to two of his overseers, with instructions for the distribution of the salaries and an addendum on the leasing of farmland. Both letters also deal with domestic disputes, particularly the treatment of Heqanakht's wife, who was apparently an unwelcome newcomer to the family. Letter III is addressed to a high official in a village near Heqanakht's home, asking him to assist the two men who will negotiate for new land leases by facilitating their collection of grain debts owed Heqanakht. The debts themselves are further specified in one of Heqanakht's accounts.

The language of Letters I-II is probably close to the colloquial of Heqanakht's own dialect; epigraphic features indicate that they were written by Heqanakht himself. Letter III, more formal in tone, is couched in the standard literary dialect of the time and was written for Heqanakht by another scribe.

LETTER I (3.1A)

(vo. 18-19) From ka-servant Heqanakht to his household of Sidder Grove.¹

(ro. 1) To be said by ka-servant² Heqanakht to Merisu.³ As for every part of our land that is inundated,⁴ you are the one who plows it — take heed — and all my people as well as you. Look, I hold you responsible. Be very diligent in plowing.

Mind you that my seed-grain is watched over and that all my property is watched over. Look, I hold you responsible. Mind you about all my property.

(ro. 3) Arrange to have Heti's son Nakht and Sinebniut⁵ sent down to Perhaa to plow a plot of land for us on lease.⁶ They should take the cost of its lease from that cloth you have to be woven. If,

¹ Address written on the outside of the letter when folded for delivery.

² Priest responsible for the presentation of daily offerings and other services at a private tomb, as contracted by the tomb owner during life. Heqanakht acted as ka-servant in Thebes, probably for the tomb of an official of some rank, such as the vizier Ipi, in whose tomb-complex the letters were found. His letters were written from there to his home in the north.

³ Probably Heqanakht's steward.

⁴ Heqanakht is writing shortly before the beginning of the annual Nile flood in July, several months in advance of the planting season that began after the floodwaters receded.

⁵ Two of Heqanakht's fieldhands. Letter II indicates that Heti's son Nakht was second in rank to Merisu, even though Letter III describes him as "the one who sees to all my property."

⁶ Land leases of this kind were contracted in advance of use, for an annual payment of one-third the projected crop (see n. 10) or any com-

however, they will have collected the equivalent value of the emmer that is owed me in Perhaa, they should use it there as well. Should you have nothing but that cloth I said to weave, they should take it valued from Sidder Grove and lease land for its value. Now, if it is easy for you to plow 20 arouras⁷ of land there, plow it. You should find land — 10 arouras in emmer, 10 arouras in full barley — in the good land of Khepsht. Don't farm the land everyone else farms. You should ask from Hau Jr. If you don't find any from him, you will have to go before Herunefer.⁸ He is the one who can put you on watered land of Khepsht.

(ro. 9) Now look, before I came upstream here, you calculated for me the lease of 13 arouras of land in full barley alone.⁹ Mind you do not short a sack of full barley from it, as if you were one dealing with his own full barley, because you have made the lease for it painful for me, being reckoned in full barley alone, not to mention its seed — although, when doing full barley, 65 sacks of full barley from 13 arouras of land, being 5 sacks of full barley from 1 aroura, is not a difficult rate, since 10 arouras of land will yield 100 sacks of full barley.¹⁰ Mind you do not take liberties with its oipe.¹¹ Look, this is not the year for a man to be lax about his master, his father, or his brother.

(ro. 14) Now, as for everything for which Heti's son Nakht will act in Perhaa — look, I have not calculated more than a month's salary for him, consisting of a sack of full barley, with a second one of 0.5 sack of full barley for his dependents for the first day of the month. Look, if you violate this, I will make it on you as a shortage. As for that which I told you, however — "Give him a sack of full barley for the month" — you should give it to him as 0.8 sack of full barley for the month.¹² Mind you.

(vo. 1) Now, what is this, having Sihathor¹³ come to me with old dried-up full barley that was in Djedsut, without giving me those 10 sacks of full barley in new good full barley? Don't you have it good, eating fresh full barley while I am *outcast*! Now, the barge is moored at your harbor,¹⁴ and you act in all kinds of bad ways. If you will have had old full barley brought to me in order to stockpile that new full barley, what can I say? How good it is. But if you can't calculate a single measure of full barley for me in new full barley, I won't calculate it for you ever.

(vo. 5) Now, didn't I say "Snefru¹⁵ is now an adult"? Mind you about him. Give him a salary. And greetings to Snefru as "Foremost of my body" a thousand times, a million times. Mind you, as I have written. Now, when my land is inundated, he and Anubis¹⁶ should plow with you — you take heed — and Sihathor. Mind you about him. You should send him to me only after the plowing. Have him bring me 2 sacks of wheat along with whatever full barley you find, but only from the excess of your salaries until you reach Harvest.¹⁷ Don't be neglectful about anything I have written you about. Look, this is the year when a man is to act for his master.

(vo. 9) Now, as for all the area of my irrigated land and all the area of my basin-land in Sinwi, I have done it in flax. Don't let anybody farm it. Moreover, as for anyone who will approach you (about farming it), you should go to Ip Jr.'s son Khen-tekhtai¹⁸ about him. Now, you should do that basin-land in full barley. Don't do emmer there. But if it will be a high inundation, you should do it in emmer.¹⁹

(vo. 12) Mind you about Anubis and Snefru. You die with them as you live with them. Mind you, there is nothing more important than either of them

modity of equivalent value.

⁷ About 13.6 acres.

⁸ The official to whom Heqanakht writes in Letter III (COS 3.1C).

⁹ About 8.9 acres. As opposed to other contracts, the lease arranged by Merisu apparently specified payment in barley alone (see note 6). This arrangement is "painful" both because of barley's greater value (see Letter III, n. 9 below) and because it negates Heqanakht's ability to negotiate for payment in some other commodity. "Full barley" is probably *Hordeum hexastichum*.

¹⁰ This sentence reflects a rental fee of 5 sacks of grain (about 7.9 bushels) per aroura, one-third the projected yield of 15 sacks per aroura.

¹¹ The oipe was standard device for measuring grain, equivalent to 0.4 sacks (about 0.6 bushels).

¹² This payment is equivalent to the amount of the monthly salary listed for Heti's son Nakht and his dependents in Letter II, and apparently represents a reduction. The usual rate was 1 sack per month.

¹³ Another of Heqanakht's men, and the family's scribe, who had evidently come from Heqanakht's home to Thebes with grain and messages for Heqanakht.

¹⁴ Apparently a metaphor for responsibility.

¹⁵ A junior member of the household. The greeting that follows suggests he was a son of Heqanakht. Cf. also 3.1B, n. 15.

¹⁶ Another junior member of the household and perhaps another son of Heqanakht. He was probably older than Snefru, to judge from the order of their names in the salary list of Letter II.

¹⁷ Barley harvest began in early February, some nine months in the future when this letter was written.

¹⁸ Apparently a neighbor of Heqanakht. Letter II indicates that he had fields available for rent.

¹⁹ Young barley plants do not do well in wet soil.

in that house with you. Don't be neglectful about it.

(vo. 13) Now, get that housemaid Senen out of my house — mind you — on the very day Sihathor reaches you (with this letter). Look, if she spends a single day in my house, take action! You are the one who lets her do bad to my wife.²⁰ Look, why should I make it distressful for you? What did she do against (any of) you, you who hate her?

(vo. 15) And greetings to my mother Ipi a thousand times, a million times. And greetings to Hetepet,²¹ and the whole household, and Nefret.²² Now, what is this, doing bad things to my wife? Have done with it. Do you have the same rights as me? How good it would be for you to stop.²³

(vo. 17) And have a writing brought about what is collected from those (debts) of Perhaa. Mind you, don't be neglectful.

²⁰ The noun *hbswt* "wife" is used in this letter and Letter II with reference to Heqanakht's wife, rather than the normal *hjm* "woman." It evidently denotes a second wife taken after the first had died or was divorced.

²¹ Heqanakht's household had two women named Hetepet. The senior was probably an unmarried sister or aunt of Heqanakht; in the salary list of Letter II her name is second to Heqanakht's mother. The other Hetepet was Heqanakht's wife. The senior woman is probably meant here.

²² The arrangement of names in the salary list of Letter II suggests that Nefret was a daughter of Heqanakht's wife, either by Heqanakht himself or a previous husband.

²³ The verb means lit. "be silent," indicating that the family's abuse of Heqanakht's wife was primarily verbal.

LETTER II (3.1B)

(vo. 5-6) From ka-servant Heqanakht to his household of Sidder Grove.¹

(ro. 1) A son who speaks to his mother, ka-servant Heqanakht to his mother Ipi, and to Hetepet:² how is your life, soundness, and health? In the blessing of Montu, lord of Thebes.³ To the whole household: how are you and how is your life, soundness, and health? Don't concern yourselves about me. Look, I am healthy and alive.

(ro. 3) Look, you are like the one who ate to his satisfaction when he was hungry to the white of his eyes.⁴ Look, the whole land is dead and you have not hungered.⁵ Look, before I came upstream here, I made your salary to perfection. Now, has the inundation been very high? Look, our salary has been made for us according to the state of the inundation, which one and all bear. Look, I have managed to keep you alive until now.

(ro. 7) Writing of the salary of the household:

Ipi and her maidservant	0.8 (sacks)
Hetepet and her maidservant	0.8
Heti's son Nakht, with his	

α Isa 9:19;
Mic 3:3

dependents	0.8
Merisu and his dependents	0.8
Sihathor	0.8
Sinebniut	0.7
Anubis	0.4
Snefru	0.4
Sitinut ⁶	0.4
May's daughter Hetepet ⁷	0.5
Nefret ⁸	0.3½
Sitwerut ⁹	0.2
Totalling to	7.9½ (sacks) ¹⁰

(ro. 5b) When a salary is measured for Sinebniut in his full barley, it should be at his disposal for his departure to Perhaa.¹¹

(ro. 24) Lest you get angry about this, look, the whole household is just like my children, and everything is mine to allocate. Half of life is better than total death. Look, one should only say hunger about real hunger. Look, they've started to eat people here.¹² Look, there are none to whom this salary is given anywhere. You should conduct yourselves with diligent heart until I have reached you. Look, I will spend Harvest here.¹²

¹ Address written on the outside of the letter when folded for delivery.

² See Letter I, n. 21. The senior Hetepet is probably meant here.

³ Heqanakht is writing from Thebes.

⁴ The wording suggests that the reference is to a proverbial character.

⁵ Heqanakht is writing some weeks after the annual harvest, which was evidently poor owing to a low inundation the previous year, causing widespread hunger. In Heqanakht's case the reduced crop has limited his barley reserves, occasioning the salary reductions detailed in this letter.

⁶ A woman, perhaps a younger sister of Anubis and Snefru.

⁷ Heqanakht's wife. The use of her father's name here distinguishes her from the other Hetepet.

⁸ See Letter I, n. 22.

⁹ Another female, perhaps a younger sister of Nefret. If so, the fact that she is not greeted in Letter I would suggest she was fairly young.

¹⁰ The salary list originally totaled 7.9½ sacks (about 12.6 bushels). After the list was written Heqanakht emended it by reducing some of the salaries a total of 1 sack (Sinebniut from 0.8 to 0.7, Anubis from 0.5 to 0.4, Snefru from 0.8 to 0.4, Hetepet from 0.8½ to 0.5, and Nefret from 0.3½ to 0.2), but neglected to change the original total as well. The salary listed for Heti's son Nakht and his dependents here is approximately 80% of the normal 1 sack per month, suggesting that the other reductions were similar in scale.

¹¹ This provision was made for Sinebniut's salary for the mission ordered in Letter I. It was inserted here secondarily, after the salary list had been written, apparently because Heqanakht forgot to include it along with the salary specified for Nakht's part in the mission in Letter I.

¹² Letter II was written at the same time as Letter I, shortly before June (see Letter I, n. 4). The term "Harvest" is used both of a calendrical

(ro. 29) To be said by ka-servant Heqanakht to Merisu and to Heti's son Nakht subordonately. You should give this salary to my people only as long as they are working. Mind you, hoe all my land tilled by tilling. Hack with your nose in the work. Look, if they are diligent, you will be thanked and I will no longer have to make it distressful for you. Now, the salary I have written you about should start being given per month, on the first of the month, from the first of Khentekhtai-perti.¹³ Don't be neglectful about those 14 arouras of land that are in pasturage, that Ip Jr.'s son Khentekhtai gave — about hoeing them.¹⁴ Be very diligent. Look, you are eating my salary.

(ro. 34) Now, as for any possession of Anubis's that you (Merisu) owe him, give it to him. As for what is lost, replace it for him. Don't make me write you about it another time. Look, I have written you about it twice already.

(ro. 35) Now, if Mer-Snefru¹⁵ will be wanting to be in charge of those cattle, you'll have to let him be in charge of them. For he didn't want to be with you plowing, going up and down, nor did he want to come here with me. Whatever else he might want, you should make him content about what he might want. But as for anyone who will reject this salary, woman or man, he should come to me, here

^b Gen 16:12

with me, and live as I live.

(ro. 38) Now, before I came here, didn't I tell you "Don't keep a friend of Hetepet's from her, whether her hairdresser or her domestic"?¹⁶ Mind you about her. If only you would be as firm in everything as you are in this. Now, since you apparently don't want her, you'll have to have Iutenhab¹⁷ brought to me. As This Man lives for me,¹⁸ I will speak out against the one who is discovered to have made any of my wife's business a matter of contention. He is against me and I am against him.^b Look, that is my wife, and the way to behave to a man's wife is known. Look, as for anyone who will act for her, the same is done for me. Furthermore, will any of you bear having his woman denounced to him? Then I would bear it. How can I be in the same community with you? Not when you won't respect my wife!

(vo. 1) Now look, I have had 24 copper deben¹⁹ for the lease of land brought to you by Sihathor. Now, have 20 arouras²⁰ of land plowed for us on lease in Perhaa beside Hau Jr., using copper, clothing, full barley, or anything else (to pay for it), but only when you have first collected the value of oil or of anything else owed me there. Mind you, be very diligent. Be watchful, now, and farm good watered land of Khepsht.

season and the natural period of harvest. The latter use is probably meant here. The calendrical season covered the months of August through November during this period (early Dynasty 12). In Letter I Heqanakht orders Snefru sent to him with a supply of grain "after the plowing." He is unlikely to have given this order if he had intended to return home at the end of the calendrical Harvest, since plowing would have begun in the following November, after the annual inundation had receded. Heqanakht is therefore referring to the natural harvest period, from the following February through April.

¹³ Khentekhtai-perti is the name of the tenth lunar month. It began in mid-September.

¹⁴ Heqanakht has apparently bought or rented pasture land from Khentekhtai, and has ordered it converted to crops, probably to compensate for the poor harvest just ended. The plot is approximately equivalent to 9.5 acres.

¹⁵ Mer-Snefru is apparently the formal name of the individual otherwise called Snefru in these letters. Egyptians in the Middle Kingdom frequently had two names, one formal and the other more familiar.

¹⁶ The context indicates that this is a reference to Heqanakht's wife, May's daughter Hetepet.

¹⁷ Iutenhab is the formal name of Heqanakht's wife (see n. 15).

¹⁸ This clause follows the format of Eg. oaths in the Middle Kingdom, which were sworn on the name of the king or a superior. "This Man" refers either to the king or to the tomb-owner whom Heqanakht served as ka-servant (see Letter I, n. 2).

¹⁹ About 11½ oz. The exchange value at this period is unknown, but the instructions that follow suggest it was not sufficient to satisfy the entire rental fee.

²⁰ About 13.6 acres.

LETTER III (3.1C)

(vo. 3) To Delta-overseer Herunefer.¹

(ro. 1) Funerary-estate worker, ka-servant Heqanakht, who speaks.² Your condition is like living, a million times. May Harsaphes, lord of Herakleopolis,

polis, and all the gods who are (in the sky and on earth) act for you. May Ptah South of His Wall sweeten your heart greatly with life and a (good) old age. May your final honor be with the life force of Harsaphes, lord of Herakleopolis.³

¹ Address written on the outside of the letter when folded for delivery. The title "Delta-overseer" denoted an official of the central bureaucracy who had responsibilities in Lower Egypt, but not necessarily one who lived or was stationed there.

² The designation "funerary-estate worker" reflects Heqanakht's sphere of employment.

³ These four sentences are a standard epistolary formula of the Middle Kingdom, used in formal letters such as this one. Their presence here is strictly pro-forma, as indicated by the fact that the scribe has omitted the ends of two of them (added in parentheses in the translation) at the ends of two columns of the text.

(ro. 3) Your humble servant⁴ speaks that I might let Your Excellency⁵ know that I have had Heti's son Nakht and Sinebniut come about that full barley and emmer that is owed me there. What Your Excellency should do is to have it collected, without letting any of it get mixed up, if you please.⁶ And after collection it should be put in Your Excellency's house until it has been come for. Now look, I have had them bring the oipe⁷ with which it should be measured: it is embellished with black hide.

(ro. 6) Now look, **15** (sacks of) **emmer**⁸ are owed by Neneksu in Hathaa, and 13.5 of full barley by

Ipi Jr. in Isle of the Sobeks. That which is in New District: owed by Nehri's son Ipi, **20** (sacks of) **emmer**; his brother Desher, **3**. Total: **38** (sacks of emmer) and 13.5 (sacks of full barley).

(ro. 8) Now, as for one who would give me the equivalent in oil, he shall give me 1 jar for 2 (sacks of) full barley or for **3 of emmer**.⁹ (vo. 1) But look, I prefer to be given my property in full barley.

(vo. 1) And let there be no neglect about Nakht or about anything he comes to you about. Look, he is the one who sees to all my property.

⁴ Lit., "the worker therein," referring to the designation of Heqanakht at the beginning of the letter (see n. 2).

⁵ Lit., "Your Scribe, may he be alive, sound, and healthy," a respectful circumlocution for the second person.

⁶ Lit., "like all your goodness, as you are alive and healthy."

⁷ See Letter I, n. 11.

⁸ The items in boldface are written in red in the original. Amounts of emmer were often distinguished from those of barley in accounts by the use of red ink.

⁹ A sack of emmer was worth two-thirds that of barley. The capacity of the jar is unknown.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: James 1962:1-50, pls. 1-8; Baer 1963; Goedicke 1984:1-85, pls. 1-8; Wente 1990:58-63; Parkinson 1991:101-107; Allen 2002:15-18, pls. 26-37.

2. NEW KINGDOM MODEL LETTERS

THE CRAFT OF THE SCRIBE (3.2)

(Papyrus Anastasi I)

James P. Allen

This extended model letter was probably composed during the early reign of Ramesses II (Dyn. 19, ca. 1279-1213 BCE). Its most complete copy occupies a single papyrus, now in the collection of the British Museum (EA 10247); 84 additional copies are known, all shorter or more fragmentary than Papyrus Anastasi I. The letter takes the form of one scribe's patronizing reply to his addressee's unwarranted claims of scribal learning and experience. Its purpose was both to expose young scribes to the harsh realities of military service and to educate them in the more advanced scribal arts, including practical calculations and foreign topography. Much of the letter deals with the scribe's military role as *mahir*, a Semitic term denoting an officer concerned with logistics and reconnaissance. In line with its instructional purpose, the letter is full of loanwords from Western Asiatic languages, which are transcribed in Egyptian by a semisyllabic orthography known as "group writing." The following translation reflects this feature by rendering the loanwords in the Egyptian vocalization indicated by their orthography; translations and cognates in the parent languages are given in the notes. The items in boldface are written in red in the original.

The letter is a literary composition, written in a form of the language that combines colloquial Late Egyptian with formal and grammatical features of classical Middle Egyptian. Its interest lies not only in its numerous Semitic placenames and loanwords but also in its vivid descriptions of contemporary Canaanite life and customs.

Salutation

(1.1) The scribe of choice heart and lasting counsel, whose phrases excite when they are heard, skilled in hieroglyphs and without ignorance,¹ ...

Hori, son of Wenennefer, of the Abydene nome's Isle of Two Maats, born in the district of Bilbeis of Tawosret, chantress of Bastet in Field-of-the-God nome,² greeting his friend and accomplished

¹ A long series of laudatory epithets follows, omitted here.

² The writer's name, parentage, and provenance establish him as a mythological rather than real character. Hori is a diminutive of the name of the god Horus; Wenennefer ("continually young") is an epithet of the god Osiris, father of Horus, whose main cult center was in Abydos; Tawosret ("the powerful") is an alias of the goddess Isis, wife of Osiris and mother of Horus, who gave birth to Horus in the marshes of the Delta.

brother, the royal command scribe of shock troops ...³ scribe of recruits of the Lord of the Two Lands, Amenemope, son of the steward Mose, possessor of honor.

(2.7) **May you live, become sound and healthy, accomplished brother**, equipped and stable, with no "I wish" for you, having what you need of life in sustenance and nourishment, happiness and laughter joined in your path. ...⁴

Opening

(4.5) **Furthermore:** Your letter reached me in the hour of midday rest; your message found me reposing beside the horse that was in my care. I was excited and joyful and ready to meet it, and entered my horse-stall to read your letter, but found it had neither blessings nor rebukes. Your phrases are switched, this one with that; all your words are flipped and disconnected; your whole document is disjointed and unconnected; your very beginning [...] mixed, applying the bad to the choice and the best to [...]. Your utterances are neither sweet nor bitter: all that has come from your mouth is emetic and honey, and you have taken pomegranate wine with vinegar.

(5.3) I wrote to you like a friend teaching one greater than him to be an accomplished scribe. Now as for me, since you have spoken I will respond, with cooler words than your utterance. You have treated me like one who is upset for fear of you, but I was never afraid of you, knowing your character. I thought you would answer on your own, but your supporters are standing behind you. You have collected many secret *adfiru*,⁵ like those you would harness, with your face grim, and you stand cajoling backers, saying: "Come to me and give me a hand." You have set *birku*⁶ before every man, and they have told you: "Steady your heart: we will overpower him." ...⁷

(6.8) Look, you are the army's command-scribe: what you say is listened to and not ignored. You are experienced in writing, without ignorance, but

a Ps 119:103;
Pr 16:23

your letter is too much like that of an apprentice to command attention, and you have been misrepresented by your pointless papyrus. If you had known beforehand that it was not good you would not have sent it to speak so falsely of you. ...⁸

(7.4) **I will respond to you in like manner** in a letter, new from the first edge to the *qirr*,⁹ full of the utterances of my lips, which I have created alone by myself, no other with me. As the life force of Thoth endures, I have acted by myself, without calling to a scribe for dictation. ...¹⁰ My words will be sweet and pleasant in speech.¹¹ I will not do as you when you replied: you have begun against me with curses from the very beginning; you have not greeted me in the start of your letter. ...¹¹ I will make you a document like a diversion, and it shall become entertainment for everyone. ...¹²

Response to Amenemope's claims

(10.9) **You have come** provided with great mysteries. You have told me a phrase of Hardjedef,¹³ but you don't know whether it is good or bad. Which is the chapter before it and what is after it? You are a scribe at the front of his associates; the scrolls' teaching is engraved on your heart. Your tongue will glorify itself when you speak; one phrase will come out of your mouth worth more than 3 deben.¹⁴ You threw a *hirft*¹⁵ at me to make me afraid. My eyes are clouded from what you have done; I am aghast, since you said "I am deeper in writing than the sky, than the earth, than the Duat, and I know mountains deben by *hin*."¹⁶ But the library is concealed and unseeable, its Ennead hidden and far from [...]. Tell me what you know and I will respond, but beware lest your fingers approach the hieroglyphs. If an apprentice [...], being enraged like one who sits to play at Passing.¹⁷

(11.8) **You have said to me:** "You are not a scribe nor are you a soldier, and have made yourself the superior, but you are not on the list." Since you

(site of Bilbeis and Field-of-the-God nome).

³ A short series of laudatory epithets follows, omitted here.

⁴ A series of wishes for the addressee's well-being in life, death, and the afterlife follow, omitted here.

⁵ *w-d³f-rw*, plural of Semitic *zr/d³r* "helper": Hoch 1994 #108.

⁶ *b³-jr-k³w*, plural of Semitic *brk* "gift": Hoch 1994 #129.

⁷ A short section describing the addressee's "helpers" is omitted here.

⁸ A short characterization of the addressee's letter is omitted here.

⁹ *q³-fj/r*, probably Semitic *gly* "uninscribed edge": Hoch 1994 #427.

¹⁰ A few sentences in the same vein as the preceding are omitted here.

¹¹ In a short section omitted here, the writer claims that he will not be affected by the addressee's taunts and curses.

¹² A long section omitted here describes seven despicable or ludicrous characters.

¹³ A son of the 4th-dynasty pharaoh Khufu (Cheops), to whom a wisdom text of Middle Kingdom date was ascribed.

¹⁴ The deben, a weight of copper (approximately 3.2 oz. Troy), was used as a standard measure of value.

¹⁵ *h³-nr-fj*, Semitic *hrp* "taunt": Hoch 1994 #340.

¹⁶ Sky, earth, and Duat (the netherworld) represent the totality of the ancient Eg. world. For the term deben, see n. 14 above. The *hin* was a measure of capacity (slightly more than one pint). It was cognate with, but smaller than, the biblical *hin*.

¹⁷ "Passing" (or "Senet," Eg. *znt*) was a popular game. [See Hallo, *Origins* 115]. The lacuna makes the significance of its mention here unclear.

are a scribe of the king, who records the army, and all the [...] of the sky are unrolled before you, you should go to the place of the record-keepers, that they may let you see the box of name-lists, and once you have taken an offering to the *harša*,¹⁸ ^b he will open my report for you quickly. You will find my name on the list as a soldier of the great stable of Ramesses II, LPH, and you will learn of the command of the stable, with a bread-ration in writing in my name. Then I will be (seen to be) a soldier, then I will be (seen to be) a scribe, with no child of my generation to match me in distinction. Inquire about a man from his superior: go to my leaders, and they will tell you the report of me.

(12.6) **Again you have said against me:** "A high *harru*¹⁹ is in front of you, for you have entered a wild *harru* without knowing it." If you had entered before me, I would have come after you. If only you had not approached it, you would not come near it. But if you find its interior when I have withdrawn, beware of giving your hand to take me out.

(13.1) **You have said to me:** "You are not a scribe, O empty, pointless name! You have taken the palette wrongly, without having been authorized." Am I a fool? Are you to teach me? Tell me the errors, you who know the explanation. You have harnessed yourself against me again another time. Your phrases are erroneous, and no one will hear them. Let your letters be taken before Onuris²⁰ and he will discern which of us is right, so that you may not be angry.

Problems in calculation

(13.4) **Another matter.** Look, you have come that you might fill me with your office.^c I will let you learn your situation, since you said: "I am the command-scribe of the troops." But you were given a plot to excavate and you came to me to ask how to give rations to the people. You told me: "Reckon it," and abandoned your office, and teaching you how to do it has fallen on my neck. Come, that I may tell you more than what you have said. I will make you happy, and explain to you the command of your lord, LPH. You are his scribe

^b 1 Chr 9:15;
Ezra 2:52;
Neh 7:54

^c cf. Exod
28:11, etc.

^d Ps 18:29

^e Ps 45:2;
1 Chr 27:32

^f Ruth 4:1

and have been sent with responsibility for great monuments for Horus, the lord of the Two Lands.²¹ Look, you are a learned scribe who is at the head of the troops.

(14.2) A ramp is to be made of 730 cubits, 55 cubits wide, of 120 *rigata*,²² full of reeds and beams, of 60 cubits height at its head, its middle of 30 cubits, with a batter of 15 cubits, whose base is of 5 cubits. The bricks needed have been asked of the overseer of the workforce. The scribes are all assembled, without one who knows. They have all trusted in you, saying: "You are a learned scribe, my friend. Decide for us quickly. Look, your name has come forth. Let one be found inside the place to magnify the other thirty. Don't let it be said of you there is something you don't know. Answer us the bricks needed. Look, its site is before you, each one of its *rigata* of 30 cubits and 7 cubits wide." ...²³

(17.2)²⁴ **You scribe**, sharp and elucidative, ignorant of nothing, who lights a torch in the darkness before the troops and makes light for them,^d you have been sent on a mission to Djahi at the head of shock troops to trample those rebels called *na^caruna*.²⁵ The archers that are before you make 1,900, with 520 Shirdana, 1,600 Qahaq, 100 Meshwesh, and 880 Nubians; total 5,000 in all, not counting their leaders. A *šarmata*²⁶ has been brought before you, of bread, sheep and goats, and wine, but the tally of people is too great for you and the things too few for them: 300 *kamaha*,²⁷ 1,800 *ipita*,²⁸ 120 various kinds of sheep and goats, and 30 wine. The army is many and the things underrated, as if you had stolen some of them. You have received them so that they are lying in the camp. The troops are ready and waiting. Partition them quickly, each man's share in his hand, for the Shasu are looking to steal them. O *tjupir yadi^c a*,²⁹ e midday has come, the camp is hot, and they are saying: "It is time to start." Don't make the commander angry. "Many marches are before us," they say. "Why are there no rations at all? Our cot is far off. What's with you, Who-Is-It,³⁰ f this punishing us, since you are a learned scribe? You

¹⁸ *hw-jr-š*, perhaps Heb. *ḥarāš* "cutter, artisan." The context suggests a term referring to someone entitled to open official documents: thus, perhaps, a scribe specialized in the fabrication and utilization of seals. Alternatively, a proper name (see note ^b): Fischer-Elfert 1986:108 n. c.

¹⁹ *h²-rw¹*, Semitic *hr* "mountain": Hoch 1994 #294. The term is used here as a metaphor for knowledge accessible only to learned scribes.

²⁰ A god, cited here as an authority for oracular judgment.

²¹ A reference to the pharaoh.

²² *r-g²-tjw¹*, plural of Semitic *ryqt* "(hollow) compartment": Hoch 1994 #287.

²³ Two further problems, omitted here, deal with the erection of an obelisk and the labor needed to empty a storehouse of sand.

²⁴ For a discussion of the military rations in this section compared with 1 Sam 25, see Malamat 1956.

²⁵ *n²-c²-rw-n²*, Semitic plural *n^crn* "special forces": Hoch 1994 #245.

²⁶ *š²-jr-mj-tj*, Semitic *šlm* "delivery": Hoch 1994 #409.

²⁷ *k²-mj-hw*, Semitic *qmḥ* "wheat bread": Hoch 1994 #464.

²⁸ *jw-p²-tj*, Semitic *pyt¹p²t* "baked goods": Hoch 1994 #7.

²⁹ *hw-p²-jr y-dj-c²*, Semitic *spr yd^c* "learned scribe": Hoch 1994 nos. 540 and 64. Cf. 1 Chr 27:32. The Eg. counterpart, *zh²w sš²w*, occurs later in this same section.

³⁰ I.e., "so-and-so," circumlocution for a specific proper name. Cf. Ruth 4:1: "... sit down here, So-and-so!" (JPSV)

should start to give us supplies, since the time of day has come, for the scribe of the Ruler, LPH, is absent. This getting you to punish us, it is not good, boy. He will hear and send word to destroy you."

The scribe as mahir

(18.3) Your letter is rife with cuts and loaded with big words. Look, I will reward you with what they deserve; a load is loaded on you greater than you wished. "I am a scribe and *mahir*,"³¹ & you said again. If there is truth in what you said, come out that you may be examined. A horse has been harnessed for you, swift as a leopard, with red ear, like a gust of wind when he goes forth.³² You should let loose of the reins and take the bow, so that we can see what your hand can do. I will explain to you the manner of a *mahir*, and let you see what he has done.

(18.7) You do not go to the land of Hatti; you do not see the land of Upi. Khadum's manner you do not know, nor Yagadiya either. What is it like, the Zimira of Ramesses II, LPH? The town of Aleppo is on which side of it? What is its river like? You do not campaign to Qadesh or Dubikh; you do not go to the region of Shasu with the archers. You do not tread the road to the Magara, where the sky is dark by day. It is overgrown with junipers and *alluna*³³ and cedars (that) have reached the sky, where lions are more numerous than leopards and bears, and surrounded with Shasu on every side. You do not climb the mountain of Shuwa; you do not plod with your hands on your legs, your chariot netted with ropes, your horses in tow.

(19.6) Hey, come that you may see Birata and make *hafidja*³⁴ from its ascent, having crossed its river. You will see what it's like to be a *mahir* when your *markabata*³⁵ is set on your shoulders because your aide is exhausted. When you finally unburden yourself in the evening, your whole body is crushed and battered, your limbs thrashed. You will lose yourself in sleep only to awake at reveille in the short night, alone at the harnessing, for no brother comes to (help) brother. The *naharu*³⁶ have entered the camp, the horses are untied. The [...] has withdrawn in the night; your clothes have been stolen. Your *maru*³⁷ has awakened in the night, learned

& Ps 45:2;
Ezra 7:6

what he did, and taken the rest. He has gone over to those who are bad; he has mingled with the Shasu tribes and made himself an Asiatic. The enemy has come to make *šadda*³⁸ in thievery and found you inert. You will awaken and find no trace of them; they have made off with your things. Now you know what it's like to be a *mahir*.

(20.7) I will mention to you another inaccessible town, the one named Byblos. What is it like? And its goddess? Once again, you do not set foot in it. Inform me, please, about Beirut, and about Sidon and Zarepta. Where is the river of Litani? What is Uzu like? They tell of another town on the *yumma*,³⁹ named Tyre of the Port. Water is taken to it in freighters; it is richer in fish than sand.

(21.2) I will tell you another subject. The passage of Zir'am is difficult. You will say it burns more than a sting: how sick is the *mahir*! Come, put me on the road north to the region of Akko. Where does the way to Aksap start? At which town? Inform me, please, about the mountain of Wasir. What is its *ruša*⁴⁰ like? Where does the mountain of Shechem start? Who can take it? Where does the *mahir* march to Hazor? What is its river like? Put me on the track to Hamat, Dagan, and Dagan-el, the parade-ground of every *mahir*. Inform me, please, about its road, and let me see Ya'an. When one is marching to Adamim, where is he facing? Don't withhold your teaching: let us know them.

(22.2) Come, that I may tell you other towns that are above them. You do not go to the land of Takhsi, Gur-Maruni, Tamintu, Qadesh, Dapur, Asya, or Hermon. You do not see Qiryat-anabi and Beit-sopiri. You do not know Aduruna, or Zitti-padalla either. You do not know the name of Khalsa, which is in the land of Upi, a bull on its borders,⁴¹ the place where the troops of every hero have been seen. Inform me, please, about the manner of Qiyana. Let me know Rehob, and explain Beit-she'an and Tirqa-el. The river of Jordan, how is it crossed? You should let me know the pass of Megiddo, which is above it.

(23.1) You are a *mahir* learned in the work of heroism. May a *mahir* like you be found to *sagga*⁴²

³¹ *mj-h²-jr*, Semitic *mhr* "logistics officer": Hoch 1994 #190. For the combination "scribe and *mahir*," cf. Ps 45:1, Ezra 7:6.

³² A metaphor indicating that the addressee has gotten himself into a situation too difficult for him to handle.

³³ *jwn-rw-n²*, Semitic plural *bn* "oaks": Hoch 1994 #11.

³⁴ *hw-ff-d²*, Semitic *hpf/hfz* "flight in terror": Hoch 1994 #310.

³⁵ *mjr-k²* < *bw* > -*jt*, Semitic *mrkbr* "chariot": Hoch 1994 #189.

³⁶ *nh²-rw-jw*, perhaps a collective "refugees" from the Semitic root *nhr*: Hoch 1994 #255.

³⁷ *mj-rw-j²*, Semitic *mr²* "groom" or "squire": Hoch 1994 #173.

³⁸ *š²-d²*, Semitic *šdd* "assault": Hoch 1994 #418.

³⁹ *yw-mj*, Semitic *ymm* "sea": Hoch 1994 #52.

⁴⁰ *rw-š²-jw*, Semitic *r²š* "head, peak": Hoch 1994 #285.

⁴¹ Perhaps a metaphor for the scene of many battles: Fischer-Elfert 1986:187 n. e.

⁴² *š²-g²*, Arabic *šaqqa* "trail-blazing": Hoch 1994 #382.

in front of the army. Oh *maryana*,⁴³ forward to shoot! Look, the face of the *murad*⁴⁴ is a *šadiluta* 2000 cubits deep,⁴⁵ full of scree and pebbles, so that you must make a *sawbib*.⁴⁶ You will take the bow and make a *pirtji*⁴⁷ on your left so that you might let the chiefs see. Their eye is good, and weakness is in your hand: “*abatta kama eri mahir na^cimu*.”⁴⁸ You will make the reputation of every *mahir* of Egypt who passes: your reputation will become like that of Qatsra-yadi, the king of Asuru, when the bear found him in the *bika²i*.⁴⁹

(23.7) The face of the pass is dangerous with Shasu, hidden under the bushes. Some of them are 4 or 5 cubits,⁵⁰ ^h nose to foot, with wild faces. Their thoughts are not pretty, they do not listen to cajoling, and you are alone, no *‘adjira*⁵¹ with you, no *djabti²u*⁵² behind you. You do not find the *ir²i²*⁵³ to make passage for you. The decision is made to go forward, but you don’t know the way. Your face starts to *djanna*,⁵⁴ your head is *šalafi*,⁵⁵ your ba lies in your hand. Your path is full of scree and pebbles, with no toehold to pass, overgrown by *asbarru*⁵⁶ with dangerous *qadja*,⁵⁷ and wolfspaw. The *šadiluta*⁵⁸ is on your one side, the mountain stands on your other. You go in *hastakkata*,⁵⁹ with your chariot on its side, afraid to press your horse, lest he be thrown to the Duat. Your yoke has been thrown off and bare, your *kušana*⁶⁰ has fallen. You will unharness the team to renew the yoke in the middle of the pass, but you are not experienced in the manner of binding it, and do not know how to

Num 13:32f;
1 Sam 17:4;
1 Chr 11:23

1 Jon 1:3,
etc.

Exod 22:15f

refasten it. The *anqafqafa*⁶¹ has been thrown from its place, too heavy for the team to bear. Your heart is disgusted; you will start to trot. When the sky is open (again), you think the enemy is behind you. You will start to tremble: if only you had a wall of shrubs, that you might put him on the other side. The team has been worn down by the time you find a cot; you will see the taste of sickness.

(24.2) You have entered Joppa⁶² and will find the field verdant in its season. You will break through for food and find the little maiden who is guarding the garden, and she will fraternize with you as a companion and give you the color of her embrace. It will be perceived that you have given witness and you are judged with a *mahar*.⁶³ Your cloak of fine linen, you will sell it.

(25.6) Tell me how you will lie down each evening, with a piece of *sagga*⁶⁴ over you. You will go to sleep exhausted and have stolen the bronze fitting of your bow, the knife of your belt, and the piece of your *aspata*.⁶⁵ Your reins have been cut in the dark and your team takes off, taking *maru²a*⁶⁶ on the *hirqata*,⁶⁷ the path stretched out before it. It will give your *markabata* a drubbing and make your *magasa*.⁶⁷ Your leather armor has fallen on the ground: it is buried in the sand and has become part of the barren land.

(26.2) Your boy will ask for the [...] of your mouth: “May you give a meal and water, for I have arrived sound.” But they will play deaf and not listen,

⁴³ *mjr-yn²*, Semitic *mryn* “knight” (from Hurrian *marjannu*): Hoch 1994 #175.

⁴⁴ *mwj-rd*, Heb. *morad* “slope”: Fischer-Elfert 1986:196.

⁴⁵ *š²-dj-rw-tjt*, evidently a feminine noun “ravine,” perhaps related to Arabic *sadala* “hang down, lower” or Semitic *š.yrd* “lower”: Hoch 1994 #419. The measurement is equivalent to 3,445 feet.

⁴⁶ *š²-w²-b²-b²*, Semitic *šwbb/šwbb* “drawing back”: Hoch 1994 #360. In the context, perhaps “detour.”

⁴⁷ *p²-jr-t²*, Semitic *prš/frs* “split”: Hoch 1994 #155. The context suggests that this refers to the action of drawing the bow.

⁴⁸ *j-b²-t k²-mj j²-jr mj-h²-jr n^cmw*. This sentence represents the Semitic utterance of the “chiefs” at the sight of the addressee’s clumsiness in shooting. The Eg. writing leaves the translation of this sentence open to several interpretations (Hoch 1994 #6). In the context, the best is perhaps an ironic *ḥbdt km² ḥr(y) mhr n^cmw* “You have gone astray like a ram, soft *mahir*.”

⁴⁹ *b²-k²-jw*, Semitic *bk²* “fruit tree”: Hoch 1994 #141. The reference is evidently to a tragic or comical literary episode.

⁵⁰ Approximately 6.8–8.6 feet.

⁵¹ See n. 5 above.

⁵² *d²-b²-jw*, plural of Semitic *šb²/qb²* “troop”: Hoch 1994 #573.

⁵³ *jw-r-jw-r*, evidently a word meaning “guide,” perhaps from the Semitic root *ḥwl* “first”: Hoch 1994 #19.

⁵⁴ *d²-n-n²* “bristle” (of hair standing on end), perhaps related to Heb. *šeninim* “thorns” and *šenina* “prickly”: Hoch 1994 #584.

⁵⁵ *š²-nr-ff*, Semitic *šlp* “disheveled”: Hoch 1994 #404.

⁵⁶ *js-bw-jr-rw*, probably metathesized from Semitic *brš/brt* “juniper”: Hoch 1994 #29.

⁵⁷ *q²-d²*, Heb. *qoś/qośa* “thornbushes”: Hoch 1994 #445.

⁵⁸ See n. 45 above.

⁵⁹ *h²-st-k²-tj*, metathesized from Semitic *hšggy* “careening”: Hoch 1994 #302.

⁶⁰ *k²-wj-š²-n²*, Akk. *gursanul/kušanu* “saddle pad, cushion”: Hoch 1994 #453.

⁶¹ *jwn-qfqt*, perhaps “chassis” (of a chariot), etymology uncertain: Hoch 1994 #15.

⁶² *mj-h²-jr*, Heb. *mohar* “bride price”: Fischer-Elfert 1986:219–221. The passage evidently refers to a sexual dalliance that results in a “shotgun wedding,” with the *mahir* forced to sell his linen cloak for the bride price: cf. Exod 22:15–16.

⁶³ *s²-g²*, Semitic *šq(q)* “sackcloth”: Hoch 1994 #383.

⁶⁴ *js-p²-tj*, Semitic *ḥpt/ḥpt* “quiver”: Hoch 1994 #34.

⁶⁵ *m²-rw-j²*, Semitic *mwr²* “fright”: Hoch 1994 #174.

⁶⁶ *hjr-q²-{t}tjt*, Semitic *ḥlqt* “slippery ground”: Hoch 1994 #351.

⁶⁷ *mg-{s²}*, Semitic (Heb.) *miqshah* “hammering”: Hoch 1994 #229. This instance is not cited by Hoch, but the context and traces suit the other attested example of the word.

and don't heed your tales. You will be led instead inside the armory, where craftshops surround you and craftsmen and leathersmen are in your path. They will do all you have wanted — they will take care of your *markabata* so that it stops being useless; your wood piece will be *garpa*⁶⁸ anew, and its sockets will be reset; they will give straps to your aft hand, seat your yoke, and set your chassis with metalwork to the *mahita*;⁶⁹ they will put an *itjmaya*⁷⁰ on your *asbar*⁷¹ and tie *matadji*⁷² on it — so that you may go forth quickly to fight on the battle-field, to do the work of heroism.

Conclusion

(26.9) **Who-Is-It**, you select scribe, *mahir* who knows his hand, leader of the *na^caruna*,⁷³ first of the *djabi*⁷⁴ u, I have told you of the farthest lands of the land of the Canaan, but you do not answer me, good or bad; you do not report to me.

(27.2) Come, that I may tell you much of your [journey to] the fortress of the Ways of Horus. I will begin for you with the House of Ramesses II, LPH: you do not set foot in it at all, you do not eat the fish of its well, you do not wash inside it. What if I recall to you Husayin? Where is its fortress? So come to the Wadjet District of Ramesses II, LPH, its Stronghold of Ramesses II, LPH, Suba-el, and Abi-sagaba. I will tell you the manner of *Aynayna*: you do not know its system; and Nakhasi to Haburta: you do not see it since your birth. Oh *mahir*, where is Raphia? What is its wall like? How many river-miles is it in going to Gaza? Answer quickly, give me a report, that I may call you *mahir* and boast to others of your name as a *maryana*.

(28.1) You will become angry with the speech I

k Gen 34:30

have made to you, but I am competent in every office. My father has taught me what he knew and testified to it millions of times, and I know how to take the reins much more than your expertise in action. There is no hero more distinguished than myself; I am experienced in the procession of Montu.⁷⁵

(28.2) How damaged is all that comes forth on your tongue! How futile are your phrases! You have come to me *bindu*⁷⁶ in mixups and loaded with wrongs. You have split words in forging ahead, not caring whether you shatter them. Be strong and forward, make haste: you will not fall. What is he like who does not know what he has attained?

(28.4) And how will this end? I will back off now that I have arrived.⁷⁷ Submit, let your mind become weighty, your heart set. Don't get upset: let complaints wait. I have shorn for you the end of your letter and responded to what you have said.⁷⁸ Your reports are gathered on my tongue and stay on my lip, but are mixed up in hearing: there is no interpreter who will explain them. They are like the words of a Delta man with a man of Elephantine.⁷⁹

(28.6) But you are a scribe of the great double gate, who reports the needs of the lands, perfect and beautiful to the one who sees them, so that you cannot say "You have made my name stink"⁸⁰ to others and everyone. See, I have told you the manner of a *mahir*, gone around Retenu⁸⁰ for you, and assembled the foreign lands to you in one place, and the towns according to their systems. Would that you would see them for us calmly, that you might be able to relate them and become with us an esteemed official of the treasury.⁸¹

⁶⁸ *g²-jr-pw*, Semitic *glb* "planed": Hoch 1994 #516.

⁶⁹ *mj-hj-tj*. The context suggests "undercarriage"; the etymology is uncertain: Hoch 1994 #197.

⁷⁰ *jw-f²-m²y*, perhaps "ferrule"; etymology uncertain: Hoch 1994 #39.

⁷¹ *js-bw-jr* "whip," perhaps from Semitic *pršlprt*: Hoch 1994 #28. [But note that Akk. *paruššu* is a loan-word from Sum.]

⁷² *mj-tj-q²-jw*, probably "lashes" (plural), perhaps from the root of Heb. *šir'ah* "hornets": Hoch 1994 #233.

⁷³ See n. 25 above.

⁷⁴ See n. 52 above.

⁷⁵ Montu was the Eg. god of war.

⁷⁶ *b²-f²nd²w*, Semitic *bnt* "girded": Hoch 1994 #121.

⁷⁷ I.e., "I am finished expounding and have come to the end."

⁷⁸ I.e., "I could go on, but have curtailed my exposition."

⁷⁹ This sentence is evidence for dialectical distinctions in Eg. well before the attested dialects of Coptic.

⁸⁰ The Eg. designation for the Levant.

⁸¹ Papyrus Anastasi I ends here. Another copy of the text continues with several more fragmentary lines.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: British Museum 1842 pls. 35-62; Gardiner 1911:1*-34*, 2-81; *ANET* 475-479; Fischer-Elfert 1983; 1986; Wente 1990:98-110.

PRAISE OF PI-RAMESSU (3.3)

(Papyrus Anastasi III)

James P. Allen

The papyrus from which this letter is taken, now in the British Museum (EA 10246), is dated to the third regnal year of Merneptah, son and successor of Ramesses II (Dyn. 19, ca. 1213-1203 BCE). It contains several model letters and other scribal exercises, some of which appear in other contemporary papyri. The letter translated here celebrates the charms of the Ramesside capital Pi-Ramessu (House of Ramesses), the biblical Raamses.

(1.11) Scribe Pabes informing his lord, scribe Amenemope, in LPH. It is word sent to let my lord know. Another informing my lord that I have arrived at the House of Ramesses II, LPH. I have found it well very, very excellently. It is a perfect estate, without equal, with the layout of Thebes. Re himself is the one who founded it.

(2.1) The residence is sweet of life. Its field is full of everything good. It is in food and sustenance every day, its fish-ponds in fish, its pools in birds, its gardens flooded with vegetation, the plants of 1½ cubits,¹ the sweet melons like the taste of honey,² with fields of loam. Its granaries are full of barley and emmer: they reach to the sky. There are hills of onions and leeks,³ groves of lettuce, pomegranates, apples, and olives, orchards of figs, sweet wine of Kankemet, surpassing honey. There are redfish of the canal of the Residence,⁴ that live on lotuses, *b²-dj* fish of the riverway, various *b²-jr-y* fish and *b²-g²* fish, [...] fish of the *pw-h²-jr-tj*,⁵ mullet of the waterway [...] of Baal, *h²-w²-t²-n²* fish of the mouth of the waterway "Fig-tree" of "Great of Force."⁶ The Lake of Horus⁷ has salt, the Canal⁸ has natron. Its ships set out and dock, and the food of sustenance is in it every day.

(2.10) Joy dwells within it and there is no one who says to it "I wish." The small are in it like the great. Come, let's celebrate for it its festivals of

a Num 11:5

b Josh 13:3;

Isa 23:3;

Jer 2:18;

1 Chr 13:5

the sky and its season beginnings.

(2.11) To it come the papyrus-marshes with rushes and the Lake of Horus with reeds: shoots of the orchards, wreaths of the vineyards. To it comes the bird from the cataracts, that it might rest on it; [...] the sea with *b²-g²* fish and mullets. To it do their farthest regions direct offerings.

(3.2) The youths of "Great of Force" are in dress every day, sweet moringa-oil on their heads, with new coiffures, standing beside their doorways, their hands bent with foliage, with greenery for the House of Hathor, and flax of the Canal, on the entrance day of Ramesses II, LPH, Montu in the Two Lands, on the festival morning of Khoiak,⁵ every man like his fellow, saying their petitions.

(3.5) There is sweet mead of Great of Force. Its *dbyt*-drink is like *š²-w*,⁶ its syrup like the taste of *jnw*,⁷ surpassing honey. There is Qedy-beer of the docks, wine of the vineyards, sweet salve of Sapakayna, wreaths of the grove. There are sweet singers of Great of Force, from the school of Memphis.

(3.8) Dwell with sweet heart, promenade without straying from it — Usermaatre Setepenre, LPH, Montu in the Two Lands, Ramesses Meramun, LPH, the god.⁸

¹ Ca. 2.5 feet tall.

² A body of water, perhaps from Semitic *bhl* or *bhr*: Hoch 1994 #156.

³ "Great of Force" (*š²-nhtw*) was an epithet of Pi-Ramessu.

⁴ *p² hw-jr* (Sem. *harra*: Hoch 1994 #322). Name of a navigable, brackish body of water in the eastern Egyptian Delta, perhaps joining an arm of the Nile to the Lake of Horus.

⁵ An Eg. festival, celebrated in the Ramesside Period in the latter half of the inundation season (autumn).

⁶ *dbyt* was a beverage probably made from figs. *š²-w* is an unknown plant or fruit.

⁷ An unknown plant or fruit.

⁸ The pharaoh Ramesses II of Dyn. 19 (ca. 1279-1213 BCE), builder of Pi-Ramessu.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: British Museum 1842 pls. 74-76 (1.11-3.9); Gardiner 1918:185-186; 1937:28-29; Caminos 1954:101-103; *ANET* 471.

A REPORT OF ESCAPED LABORERS (3.4)
(Papyrus Anastasi V)

James P. Allen

Like Papyrus Anastasi III, the papyrus from which this letter is taken, now in the British Museum (EA 10244), contains a number of model letters and other scribal compositions, some of which appear in other contemporary papyri. Since several of these, including the letter translated here, mention the pharaoh Seti II (Dyn. 19, ca. 1200-1194 BCE), the papyrus was probably written during his reign, but the mention of Regnal Year 33 elsewhere in the papyrus dates at least one of its compositions to the earlier reign of Ramesses II. The interest of this letter lies in its description of two laborers fleeing from Egypt through the northern Sinai. Although the fugitives are described only as “workers,” their route suggests they were Asiatics rather than Egyptians, attempting to escape to Canaanite territory.

(19.2) Bowmen-chief Kakemwer of Tjeku ^a to bowmen-chief Any and bowmen chief Bakenptah in LPH, in the blessing of Amun-Re, King of the Gods, the life force of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Weserkheperure-setepenre, LPH, our young lord, LPH. ¹	^a Exod 12:37(?)	reached the fortress of Tjeku, on 3 Harvest 10, they told me: “They are reporting from the south that they passed on 3 Harvest 10.” When I reached the fort they told me: “The groom has come from the desert, saying: ‘They have passed the wall of the Tower of Sety Merneptah, ⁴ LPH, beloved like Seth.’”
	^b Exod 14:8	
(19.4) I am saying to Pre ^c -Harakhti: “Make healthy Pharaoh, LPH, our young lord, LPH. Let him make millions of Sed Festivals, ² with us in his blessing daily.”		(20.3) When my letter reaches you, send word to me about the whole story with them. Who found them? Which squad found them? What people are after them? Send word to me about the whole story with them and how many people you had go after them. Farewell.
(19.6) Further: I was sent from the broad-halls of the king’s house, LPH, on 3 Harvest 9, ³ at the time of evening, after those two workers. ^b When I		

¹ The pharaoh Seti II of Dyn. 19 (ca. 1200-1194 BCE).
² A royal festival of renewal, traditionally celebrated on the thirtieth anniversary of the king’s accession and every three years thereafter.
³ This date fell in mid-April during the reign of Seti II.
⁴ The pharaoh Seti I of Dyn. 19 (ca. 1294-1279 BCE).

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: British Museum 1842 pls. 113-114 (19.2-20.6); Gardiner 1920:109; 1937:66-67; Caminos 1954:254-258; *ANET* 259.

A REPORT OF BEDOUIN (3.5)
(Papyrus Anastasi VI)

James P. Allen

This model letter is one of four unique scribal exercises compiled in a single papyrus, now in the British Museum (EA 10245). The opening protocol of the papyrus is dated to the reign of Seti II, but the regnal year mentioned in the letter translated here is probably that of his predecessor, Merneptah. The letter refers to the arrival of bedouin and their flocks from the northern Sinai desert at one of the Egyptian border fortresses erected during the Ramesside period. As such it reflects the careful control that Egypt exercised during this period on traffic in and out of the eastern Delta.

(4.11) Scribe Inena informing his lord, treasury scribe Kagab ¹ [...] in LPH. It is word sent to let my lord know. Another information for my lord that I am doing every mission assigned me well and	firm as brass. I am not being lax.
	(4.13) Another information for my lord that we have just let the Shasu tribes of Edom ² pass the

¹ Probably identical with the scribe of “The Two Brothers” (*COS* 1.40), written Kagab and Ennana there (see the colophon).
² See *COS* 2.4A, n. 1.

Fortress of Merneptah-hetephermaat,³ LPH, of Tjeku, to the pool of Pithom^a of Merneptah-hetephermaat,^b of Tjeku,^c in order to revive themselves and revive their flocks^d from the great life force of Pharaoh, LPH, the perfect Sun of every land, in Regnal Year 8, third epagomenal day, the birth of Seth.⁴

^a Exod 1:11

^b Josh 15:9;
18:15(?)

^c Exod 12:37
(?)

^d Gen 47:4

(5.2) I have sent them in a copy of report to where my lord is, together with the other names of days on which the Fortress of Merneptah-hetephermaat, LPH, of Tjeku, was passed [...]. It is word sent to let my lord know.

³ The pharaoh Merneptah of Dyn. 19 (ca. 1213-1203 BCE). Cf. COS 2.6.

⁴ The beginning of the papyrus is dated to the reign of the pharaoh Seti II of Dyn. 19 (ca. 1200-1194 BCE). During his eighth regnal year (ca. 1193 BCE), the date in question fell around June 4th.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: British Museum 1842 pls. 125-126 (4.11-5.5 = 51-61); Gardiner 1937:76-77; Caminos 1954:293-96; *ANET* 259.

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B. CONTRACTS

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1. SAÏTE DEMOTIC SELF-SALES INTO SLAVERY

PAPYRUS RYLANDS VI (3.6)

Robert K. Ritner

A cultivator Peftjauawykhonsu, attested in five papyri from El-Hibeh in Middle Egypt, sells himself into slavery in return for payment and actions performed by the priest Nessematawy “in year 2 when I was dying.”¹ Subsequent documents renew the initial contract and record temporary transfers of ownership. The self-sale documents are distinct from most slave contracts, in which the slave is treated as chattel rather than an active party in the transaction. In contrast, self-sales are perhaps best understood as voluntary debt-servitude, or as a means to ensure survival in difficult times. The wording closely parallels a Saïte “contract of sonship” in which the adopted party acknowledges receipt of payment and subservience to the buyer with regard to all children and property. In accordance with contemporary format, the initial contract of sale is followed by five copies written and signed by individual witnesses.

Regnal year 3, first month of inundation, of Pharaoh Ahmose,² LPH. There has said Peftjauawykhonsu son of Heribast, whose mother is Kausyenise, to the Comforter of the Father’s Heart, Nessematawy son of Peteise, whose mother is Tasherentaima: “You have caused my heart to be satisfied with my silver-payment for acting for you as a slave. I am your slave forever. I shall not be able to act as a free man with respect to you ever again — up to and including all silver, all grain, and every man-

ner of property on earth — together with my children who are born and those who will be born to us, and the clothes which are on our backs, and everything which is ours, and that which we shall acquire from regnal year 3, first month of inundation, onward to any year forever.”

Written by the Comforter of the Father’s Heart, Iahtefnakht son of Ienharou.

¹ P. Rylands V, l. 2.

² 567 BCE.

REFERENCES

Text: Griffith 1909:50-59, 213-15, and pls. xvii-xix.

2. DEMOTIC SELF-DEDICATION TEXTS

Robert K. Ritner

Attested from Memphis and the Faiyum during the Ptolemaic period, “self-dedication texts” date to the second century BCE. The texts show similarities both to the Saïte self-sales into slavery and to earlier oracular amuletic decrees issued by temples in the name of a protective deity. Amuletic decrees of the Third Intermediate Period (Dynasties 21-22) present the god as listing a long series of individual evils from which he would protect the supplicant. In the self-dedication texts, the supplicant offers perpetual servitude in exchange for similarly detailed guarantees. As a high percentage of dedicants are said to be fathered by “anonymous” (literally, “I do not know his name”), the documents have been considered evidence of temple prostitution. Deriving from the central temple archives of the Faiyumic town of Tebtunis, forty-four “self-dedications” are preserved in the British Museum on thirty-seven documents. Two representative examples of single dedications have been published by Herbert Thompson (1941), and these are translated below. A complete edition of the British Museum corpus is in preparation by W. J. Tait. Two further examples from Tebtunis with multiple dedications were published by Bresciani 1965. The more complete of these, P. Mil. Vogl. 6, is translated below. Additional examples have been identified in collections at Berlin, Copenhagen, Freiburg and Leipzig. For publication of the Freiburg and Berlin texts, see Daniel, Gronewald and Thissen 1986:80-87. For the amuletic decrees, see Edwards 1960. A further example from Cleveland will be

published by Bryant Bohleke.

PAPYRUS BRITISH MUSEUM 10622 (3.7A)

Regnal year 33, second month of winter, day 23 of Pharaoh Ptolemy (VIII)¹ and Cleopatra the beneficent gods, descendants of Ptolemy (V) and Cleopatra the gods manifest, and of Queen Cleopatra his wife,² the beneficent goddess, and of the priest of Alexander, the savior gods,³ the brotherly gods,⁴ the beneficent gods,⁵ the father-loving gods,⁶ the gods manifest,⁷ the god whose father is exalted,⁸ the mother-loving god,⁹ and the beneficent gods, who is in Alexandria, and of the bearer of the prize of valor before Bernice the beneficent goddess,¹⁰ who is in Alexandria, and of the bearer of the golden basket before Arsinoë who loves her brother,¹¹ who is in Alexandria, and of the priestess of Arsinoë who loves her father,¹² who is in Alexandria.

There has said the female servant Tapanebtepten¹³ daughter of Sobekmen, whose mother is Isetwery, before my master Sobek, Lord of Tebtunis, the great god: "I am your servant¹⁴ together with my children and the children of my children. I shall not be able to act as a free person in your estate for-

ever and ever. And you will protect me and you will save me and you will guard over me and you will cause that I be healthy and you will protect me from every male spirit, every female spirit, every sleeping man, every ghost, every magical practice,¹⁵ every spoken spell,¹⁶ every slaughtering demon,¹⁷ every dead man, every man of the river,¹⁸ every man of the desert-edge,¹⁹ every demon, every red thing, every ill-fortune, and every pestilence on earth. And I shall give to you 1 ¼ kite — whose half is ⅝ kite — making 1 ½ kite again, in copper at the rate of 24 to two silver kite as my servant-fee each and every month from regnal year 33 second month of winter until the completion of 99 years, making 1,204½ months, making 99 years again. And I shall give it to your priests each and every month without having caused the payment to be altered from one month to another among them. You and your agents are those who are entrusted regarding everything which has been said with me on account of everything which is above. And I shall do them at your bidding, compulsorily and without delay." Written by Pasy son of Marres.

¹ Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II; 137 BCE.

² Cleopatra III, daughter of the chief Queen Cleopatra II and secondary wife to her uncle Ptolemy VIII.

³ Ptolemy I Soter and Bernice I.

⁴ Ptolemy II and Arsinoë II Philadelphos.

⁵ Ptolemy III and Bernice II Euergetes.

⁶ Ptolemy IV and Arsinoë III Philopator.

⁷ Ptolemy V and Cleopatra I Epiphanes.

⁸ Ptolemy VII Eupator.

⁹ Ptolemy VI Philometor.

¹⁰ Princess Bernice, daughter of Ptolemy III and Bernice II Euergetes.

¹¹ Arsinoë II Philadelphos.

¹² Arsinoë III Philopator.

¹³ "She of the Lord of Tebtunis."

¹⁴ The addition of an "evil" determinative indicates that the nuance of "slave" is meant.

¹⁵ Misread as "drowned man" by Thompson, the term is *heka*; see Ritner 1993:14-28.

¹⁶ Lit., "craft of the mouth," see Ritner 1993:42-43.

¹⁷ *ht*-demon; misread as *hms* "incubus(?)" by Thompson.

¹⁸ I.e. "drowned man."

¹⁹ I.e. "man of the cemetery."

PAPYRUS BRITISH MUSEUM 10624 (3.7B)

Regnal year 10, second month of winter, of Ptolemy (V),²⁰ son of Ptolemy (IV) and Arsinoë the father-loving gods, and of the priest of Alexander, the brotherly gods, the beneficent gods, the god manifest whose goodness is beautiful, and Pharaoh Ptolemy Eucharistos,²¹ Zoilos son of Andron, while

the lady athlophoros²² Iamneia daughter of Huperbassas is the bearer of the prize of valor before Bernice the beneficent goddess, while the lady Purrha daughter of Philinos is the bearer of the golden basket before Arsinoë who loves her brother, and while Eirene daughter of Ptolemy is the

²⁰ 195 BCE.

²¹ Redundant transcription of the Greek epithet for Ptolemy V, translated into Demotic in the preceding line as "whose goodness is beautiful."

²² The transliterated Greek title redundantly translated as "bearer of the prize of valor."

priestess of Arsinoë who loves her father.

There has said the male youth, born of the staff,²³ I[mhotep(?)] son of anonymous, whose mother is Tasheramon, before Sobek, Lord of Tebtunis: "I am [your servant] together with my children and the children of my children and everything and all property [which is mine] and that which I shall acquire from today onward. And I shall give [2½] silver-kite as servant[-fee] before Sobek, Lord of Tebtunis, each and every month without my having caused the payment to be altered among them regarding me from one month to another. What is altered, I shall give [it together with its penalty of 1 at 1½] in the month that follows the said month, beyond the fee [that is above], without delay —

while no demon, ill-fortune, destruction [...], sleeping man or man of the West will be able to exercise power over me and my [children and] the children of my children except you. I shall not be able [to act as a free person] with my children and the children of my children in your [estate forever.]"

Written by Petethouty son of Petamon. Written by Sobek[... son of ...]

Written by Sobek[... son of ...] Written by [... son of ...]

Written by Pahapy son of [...] Written by [... son of ...]

²³ Reading *h-pr*. Thompson read *h-nmh* "born free."

PAPYRUS MILAN 6 (3.7C)

There has said the female servant born within the estate, Taamon daughter of anonymous, whose mother is Baket,²⁴ the one who says before Sobek, Lord of Tebtunis, the great god: "I am your servant together with the children of my children from today onward. And I shall give to you 2½ kite as servant-fee every month. No male or female spirit, sleeping man, ghost, drowned man, demon, ill-fortune or pestilence will be able to exercise power over me except you from today onward. I shall not be able to act as a free person in your

estate forever."

There has said the female servant born in the house, Tasebek daughter of anonymous, whose mother is Baket, the one who says before Sobek, Lord of Tebtunis, the great god: "I am your servant together with my children and the children of²⁵ my children from today onward. And I shall give to you 2½ kite as servant-fee [every] month. [...]"

²⁴ "Servant."

²⁵ Mistakenly written "and."

REFERENCES

Text: Thompson 1941; Bresciani 1965:188-194; Daniel, Gronewald, and Thissen 1986:80-87; Edwards 1960.

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C. COURTCASES

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THE TURIN JUDICIAL PAPYRUS (3.8)
(The Harem Conspiracy against Ramses III)

Robert K. Ritner

At an undetermined point in the thirty-two year reign of Ramses III, a harem conspiracy led by a minor queen Tiye attempted to overthrow the king in favor of her son, prince Pentawere. The relative success of the plot is unclear. Pentawere was likely proclaimed ruler by this faction, since it is euphemistically noted that he was "called by that other name" (col. v.7). Ultimately the conspiracy failed, and those involved were investigated by a commission supposedly convened by Ramses III, who is however already deceased in the surviving records of the trials, being "among the righteous kings" dwelling with Amon-Re and Osiris (col. iii.3-4). Like the great Papyrus Harris, the posthumous proclamation of the trial records served to bolster the legitimacy of the dynastic victor, Ramses IV. Many of the guilty were executed, the more exalted being allowed to commit suicide. An unummified body, seemingly buried alive in a wrapping of ritually impure sheepskin, was found among the cache of royal mummies at Deir el-Bahari and could well be the corpse of Pentawere.¹ During the course of the trials, three members of the investigating commission were seduced by women of the harem who turned the commissioners' office into a beer hall before the officers were themselves arrested and disgraced. Further documents from the trials describe the prominent use of magic in the conspiracy; see Papyri Rollin and Lee, COS 3.9 below.

[King Usermaare-Meriamon, LPH, son of Re, Ramses,] Ruler of Heliopolis, [LPH, said: "...] the land of [...] the land to [...] the[r] cattle [...] to bring them to [...] all [...] in their presence [...] bring them while the [...] people, saying: [...] since (ii.1) they are the abomination of the land. And I commissioned the overseer of the treasury Montuemtawy, the overseer of the treasury Pefrowy, the fan-bearer Karo, the butler Paibes, the butler Qedendenna, the butler Baalmahar, the butler Peirsunu, the butler Djhutyrkhnefer, the royal herald Penrenenut, the scribes May and Preemhab of the archives, and the standard-bearer of the troops Hori, saying: 'As for the matters which the people — I do not know them — have said, go and examine them.' And they went and they examined them, and they caused to die those whom they caused to die by their very own hands, although I do not know them, and they inflicted punishment upon the others, although I do not know them either, whereas [I] had commanded [them strictly], saying: 'Be mindful and beware of causing someone to be punished wrongfully by an official who is not in charge of him.' So I said to them continually. (iii.1) As for all that which has been done, it is they who have done it. Let all that which they have done be on their heads, whereas I

am exempted and protected forever, as I am among the righteous kings who are in the presence of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, and in the presence of Osiris, Ruler of Eternity."

(iv.1) PERSONS who were brought in concerning the great crimes which they had committed and put in the Place of Examination in the presence of the great officials of the Place of Examination in order to be examined by the overseer of the treasury Montuemtawy, the overseer of the treasury Pefrowy, the fan-bearer Karo, the butler Paibes, the scribe of the archives May, and the standard-bearer of the troops Hori.² And they examined them; they found them guilty; they caused that their punishment overtake³ them; their crimes seized them.

The great criminal Paibakemon,⁴ who used to be a chamberlain. HE WAS BROUGHT IN concerning the collusion that he had formed with Tiye and the women of the harem. He had made common cause⁵ with them; he had begun to bring their words outside to their mothers and their brothers who were there, saying: "Gather people and incite enemies to make rebellion against their lord." He was put in the presence of the great officials of the Place of Examination; they examined his crimes; they found that he had committed them; his crimes

¹ See Andrews 1984:67-68. The corpse was the inspiration for the plot of the Boris Karloff film "The Mummy."

² Half of the commission is resident at the "Place of Examination," while the other half seem to have travelled to undertake investigations; see the end of the first list of the accused, below.

³ Lit., "adhere to."

⁴ As a *damnatio memoriae*, the names of the three major conspirators have been consciously deformed. Here, the name "The servant of Amon" has been recast as "The blind servant." For the phenomenon, see the bibliography in Ritner 1993:194.

⁵ Lit., "made one with them."

laid hold on him; the officials who examined him caused that his punishment overtake him.

The great criminal Mesedsure,⁶ who used to be a butler. HE WAS BROUGHT IN concerning the collusion that he had formed with Paibakemon, who used to be a chamberlain, and with the women to gather enemies to make rebellion against their lord. He was put in the presence of the great officials of the Place of Examination; they examined his crimes; they found him guilty; they caused that his punishment overtake him.

The great criminal Painik,⁷ who used to be overseer of the royal harem of the travelling court harem. HE WAS BROUGHT IN concerning the common cause that he had made with Paibakemon and Mesedsure to make rebellion against their lord. He was put in the presence of the great officials of the Place of Examination; they examined his crimes; they found him guilty; they caused that his punishment overtake him.

The great criminal Pendua, who used to be scribe of the royal harem of the travelling court harem. HE WAS BROUGHT IN concerning the common cause that he had made with Paibakemon, Mesedsure and this other criminal⁸ who used to be overseer of the royal harem, and the women of the harem to make a conspiracy with them to make rebellion against their lord. He was put in the presence of the great officials of the Place of Examination; they examined his crimes; they found him guilty; they caused that his punishment overtake him.

The great criminal Patjauemtiamon, who used to be an agent of the travelling court harem. HE WAS BROUGHT IN concerning his having heard the matters which the men had plotted together with the women of the harem and he did not go (to report) concerning them. He was put in the presence of the great officials of the Place of Examination; they examined his crimes; they found him guilty; they caused that his punishment overtake him.

The great criminal Karpes, who used to be an agent of the travelling court harem. HE WAS BROUGHT IN concerning the matters which he had heard and he had concealed them. He was put in the presence of the great officials of the Place of Examination; they found him guilty; they caused that his punishment overtake him.

The great criminal Khaemope, who used to be an agent of the travelling court harem. HE WAS BROUGHT IN concerning the matters which he

had heard and he had concealed them. He was put in the presence of the great officials of the Place of Examination; they found him guilty; they caused that his punishment overtake him.

The great criminal Khaemaal, who used to be an agent of the travelling court harem. HE WAS BROUGHT IN concerning the matters which he had heard (and he had) concealed them. He was put in the presence of the great officials of the Place of Examination; they found him guilty; they caused that his punishment overtake him.

The great criminal Setiemperdjheuty, who used to be an agent of the travelling court harem. HE WAS BROUGHT IN concerning the matters which he had heard and he had concealed them. He was put in the presence of the great officials of the Place of Examination; they found him guilty; they caused that his punishment overtake him.

The great criminal Setiemperamon, who used to be an agent of the travelling court harem. HE WAS BROUGHT IN concerning the matters which he had heard and he had concealed them. He was put in the presence of the great officials of the Place of Examination; they found him guilty; they caused that his punishment overtake him.

The great criminal Waren, who used to be a butler. HE WAS BROUGHT IN concerning his having heard the matters from this chamberlain⁹ with whom he had been close and he had concealed them; he had not reported them. He was put in the presence of the great officials of the Place of Examination; they found him guilty; they caused that his punishment overtake him.

The great criminal Ashahebsed, who used to be an assistant of Paibakemon. HE WAS BROUGHT IN concerning his having heard the matters from Paibakemon for whom he was plotting and he had not reported them. He was put in the presence of the great officials of the Place of Examination; they found him guilty; they caused that his punishment overtake him.

The great criminal Paluka,¹⁰ who used to be a butler and scribe of the treasury. HE WAS BROUGHT IN concerning the collusion that he had formed with Paibakemon; he had heard the matters from him and he had not reported them. He was put in the presence of the great officials of the Place of Examination; they found him guilty; they caused that his punishment overtake him.

The great criminal, the Libyan Inini, who used to

⁶ A deformed name: "Re hates him."

⁷ A deformed name: "This snake."

⁸ Painik.

⁹ Paibakemon.

¹⁰ "The Lycian."

be a butler. HE WAS BROUGHT IN concerning the collusion that he had formed with Paibakemon; he had heard the matters from him and he had not reported them. He was put in the presence of the great officials of the Place of Examination; they found him guilty; they caused that his punishment overtake him.

(v.1) The wives of the men of the gate of the harem, who were in league with the men who had plotted the matters, who were put in the presence of the great officials of the Place of Examination; they found them guilty; they caused that their punishment overtake them: Six women.

The great criminal Paury son of Ruma, who used to be overseer of the treasury. HE WAS BROUGHT IN concerning the collusion that he had formed with the great criminal Penhuybin.¹¹ He had made common cause with him to incite enemies to make rebellion against their lord. He was put in the presence of the great officials of the Place of Examination; they found him guilty; they caused that his punishment overtake him.

The great criminal Binemwase,¹² who used to be archery commander of Cush. HE WAS BROUGHT IN concerning his having been written to by his sister who was in the travelling court harem, saying: "Gather people, make enemies, and come back to make rebellion against your lord." He was put in the presence of Qedendenna, Baalmahar, Peirsunu and Djhutyrekhnepher; they examined him; they found him guilty; they caused that his punishment overtake him.

Second List of Accused

PERSONS who were brought in concerning their crimes, concerning the collusion that they had formed with Paibakemon, Payis and Pentawere.¹³ They were put in the presence of the great officials of the Place of Examination in order to examine them; they found them guilty; they left them in their own hands in the Place of Examination; they killed themselves without punishment having been inflicted upon them.

The great criminal Payis, who used to be commander of the army.

The great criminal Messui, who used to be a scribe of the House of Life.

The great criminal Prekamenef,¹⁴ who used to be a chief lector priest ("magician").¹⁵

The great criminal Iyroy, who used to be an over-

seer of priests of Sakhmet.

The great criminal Nebdjefau, who used to be a butler.

The great criminal Shadmesdjer,¹⁶ who used to be a scribe of the House of Life.

Total: six.

Third List of Accused

PERSONS who were brought in concerning their crimes to the Place of Examination in the presence of Qedendenna, Baalmahar, Peirsunu, Djhutyrekhnepher and Merutsiamon. They examined them concerning their crimes; they found them guilty; they left them in their places; they killed themselves.

Pentawere, the one who used to be called by that other name. HE WAS BROUGHT IN concerning the collusion that he had formed with Tiye his mother when she was plotting the matters with the women of the harem concerning making rebellion against his lord. He was put in the presence of the butlers in order to examine him; they found him guilty; they left him in his place; he killed himself.

The great criminal Henutenamon, who used to be a butler. HE WAS BROUGHT IN concerning the crimes of the women of the harem, among whom he had been, which he had heard and he had not reported them. He was put in the presence of the butlers in order to examine him; they found him guilty; they left him in his place; he killed himself.

The great criminal Amonkhau, who used to be a deputy of the travelling court harem. HE WAS BROUGHT IN concerning the crimes of the women of the harem, among whom he had been, which he had heard and he had not reported them. He was put in the presence of the butlers in order to examine him; they found him guilty; they left him in his place; he killed himself.

The great criminal Paury, who used to be a scribe of the royal harem of the travelling court harem. HE WAS BROUGHT IN concerning the crimes of the women of the harem, among whom he had been, which he had heard and he had not reported them. He was put in the presence of the butlers in order to examine him; they found him guilty; they left him in his place; he killed himself.

Fourth List of Accused

(vi.1) PERSONS who were punished by cutting off their noses and their ears because of their having abandoned the good instructions which I¹⁷ had said

¹¹ A deformed name: "He of evil Huy." Huy is a nickname for Amenhotep. See Papyrus Lee, col. i, COS 3.9 below.

¹² A deformed name: "The evil one of Thebes."

¹³ These persons are the prominent conspirators of lists one, two and three.

¹⁴ A deformed name: "Pre blinds him."

¹⁵ Biblical *harmom*. For the role of magic in this conspiracy, see Papyri Rollin and Lee, COS 3.9 below.

¹⁶ A deformed name: "His ear is cut off."

¹⁷ Translators have consistently disregarded the royal first-person suffix pronoun, but the following list includes members of the investigating court who were instructed by the king personally (col. ii).

to them. The women went and reached them at the places where they were; they made a beer hall ¹⁸ with them and Payis; their crime seized them.	The great criminal Nanay, who used to be a chief of police.
The great criminal Paibes, who used to be a butler. ¹⁹ This punishment was done to him; he was left alone; he killed himself.	<i>Fifth List of Accused</i> PERSON who was in league with them. He was rebuked sternly with harsh words; he was left alone; punishment was not inflicted upon him.
The great criminal May, who used to be a scribe of the archives. ²⁰	The great criminal Hori, who used to be a standard-bearer of the troops. ²¹
The great criminal Taynakht, who used to be an officer of the troops.	

¹⁸ I.e. "caroused."
¹⁹ The seduced Paibes was a member of the investigating commission (cols. ii.2 and iv.1).
²⁰ Like Paibes, May had been on the commission (cols. ii.3 and iv.1).
²¹ Hori had also been a commission member (cols. ii.4 and iv.1).

REFERENCES

Text: Devéria 1866 pls. i-iv; Kitchen 1983 5:350-360. Translations and studies: de Buck 1937; *ANET* 214-216; Breasted 1906 4:208-19, §§416-453.

PAPYRI ROLLIN AND LEE (3.9)
(Magic in the Harem Conspiracy against Ramses III)
Robert K. Ritner

Although fragmentary, these trial records provide more detail regarding the techniques of the conspirators than the complementary summary, "The Judicial Papyrus of Turin" (see *COS* 3.8). The role of magic in the conspiracy is clearly evident, with the use of spells, potions and wax figures following procedures found in scrolls taken from the royal library of Ramses III. As the conspirators included a temple priest, two scribal archivists and a magician (*hry-tp* = Biblical *ḥarṭom*),¹ all of whom would have had access to standard execration rituals, the use of such respected techniques is not surprising. The papyri are often described inaccurately as records of a trial against sorcery, but as shown by the royal and sacerdotal origin of the procedures, such techniques of sorcery were hardly illegal in themselves. It is only the use of such accepted procedures against the state that constituted a "great crime worthy of death."²

PAPYRUS ROLLIN

[...] He began to make writings of magic for exorcizing and for disturbing, and he began to make some gods of wax and some potions for laming the limbs of people. They were placed in the hand of Paibakemon, whom Pre did not allow to be chamberlain, ³ and the other great enemies, saying: "Let them approach," ⁴ and they let them approach. Now after he allowed the ones who did the evil to enter — which he did but which Pre did	^a Gen 43:32	not allow him to be successful in ⁵ — he was examined, and truth was found in every crime and every evil which his heart had found fit to do, (namely) that truth was in them, and that he did them all with the other great enemies like him, and that they were great crimes worthy of death, the great abominations of the land, ^a which he had done. Now when he realized the great crimes worthy of death which he had done, he killed himself.
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¹ See The Judicial Papyrus of Turin (*COS* 3.8), col. v.5. For the term "magician," see Ritner 1993:220-221.
² For the legality of magic in Egypt, see Ritner 1995.
³ The terminology, like the deformed name "The blind servant," represents an act of *damnatio memoriae* falsifying the actual state of affairs to deprive the victim of any underworldly benefits accruing from his earthly status. For the conspirator Paibakemon, see The Judicial Papyrus of Turin (*COS* 3.8), col. iv.2.
⁴ I.e. "Smuggle them in!"
⁵ A formulaic phrase for magical purposes; the relative success of the conspiracy is open to question.

PAPYRUS LEE

(column i) [... was made to swear an oath] of the Lord, LPH, of undertaking fealty, swearing at every [time ... saying, "I have not given] any [magical roll] of the place in which I am to anyone on earth." But when Penhuybin,⁶ who was overseer of cattle said to him, "Give to me a roll for giving to me terror and respect," he gave to him a writing of the scrolls of Usermaare-Meriamon, LPH, the great god,⁷ his lord, and he began to petition god for the derangement of the people, and he penetrated the side of the harem and this other great deep place. And he began to make inscribed people of wax in order to cause that they be taken inside by the hand of the agent I(d)rimi for the exorcizing of the one crew and the enchanting of the others, to take a few words inside and to bring the others out. Now when he was examined concerning them, truth was found in every crime and every evil which his heart had found fit to do, (namely) that truth was in them, and that he did them all with the other great enemies whom every god and goddess

abominate like him. And there were done to him the great punishments of death which the gods said: "Do them to him."

(column ii) [...] ... [...] on the basket, and he went off [...] his hand lame. Now as for [every crime and every evil which he did, he was examined concerning] them, truth was found in every crime and every evil which his heart had found to do (namely) that truth was [in them, and that he did them all with the other] great enemies whom every god and goddess abominate like him, and that they were great crimes worthy of death, the great abominations of [the land, which he had done. Now when he realized the] great crimes worthy of death which he had done, he killed himself. Now when the officials who were in charge of him realized that he had killed himself [... abomination(?) of] Pre like him, which the hieroglyphic writings say: "Do it to him!"

⁶ "He of evil Huy"; see *The Judicial Papyrus of Turin* (COS 3.8), col. v.2.

⁷ Living kings are called "the great god," a further indication that Ramses III is deceased at the time of this investigation; see *The Judicial Papyrus of Turin* (COS 3.8), col. iii.3-4.

REFERENCES

Text: Devéria 1867 pls. v (Rollin) and vi-vii (Lee); Kitchen 1983 5:360-363. For translation, discussion and full bibliography, see Rimer 1993:192-214.

A LAWSUIT OVER A SYRIAN SLAVE (3.10)

(P. Cairo 65739)

Robert K. Rimer

Likely dating to the reign of Ramses II, this papyrus records the oral arguments before a Theban court regarding the ownership of a female Syrian slave and a second, male slave of unknown nationality. In the lost beginning of the transcript, the citizeness Irineferet was accused by a soldier Naky of purchasing these slaves with the property of another woman. The preserved portion of the text begins with the defendant's response. Evaluations are calculated in terms of weight in units of silver. The deben (about 91 grams or 3 oz. Troy) contained 10 kite, and the ratio of silver to copper was 100 to 1, calculated to the nearest fraction. At 4 deben and 1 kite, or 410 copper deben, the value of the female slave was quite high, costing more than three oxen in contemporary prices.

[...] STATEMENT OF the citizeness Irinefret: "[As for myself, I am the wife of the district superintendent Simut,] and I came to dwell in his house, and I worked in [weaving(?)], caring for my clothing. Now in regnal year 15, in the seventh year of my having entered into the house of the district superintendent Si[mut], the merchant Raia approached me with the Syrian slave Gemniherimentet,¹ while she was a [young] girl, [and he] (5) said to me: 'Buy this young girl and give to me her

price' — so he said to me. And I took the young girl and I gave to him her [price]. Now look, I am saying the price which I gave for her in the presence of the authorities:

- 1 shroud of fine linen, amounting to 5 kite of silver
- 1 sheet of fine linen, amounting to 3½ kite of silver
- 1 robe of fine linen, amounting to 4 kite of silver

¹ "She whom I found in the west"; the Egyptian name given to the Syrian by her purchaser.

3 aprons of the best fine linen, amounting to 5 kite of silver

1 dress of the best fine linen, amounting to 5 kite of silver

Bought from the citizeness Kafi: 1 bronze bowl weighing 18 deben, amounting to $1\frac{1}{2}$ kite of silver

Bought from the chief of the storehouse Pyiay: 1 bronze bowl weighing 14 deben, amounting to $1\frac{1}{2}$ kite of silver

Bought from the priest Huy-Pa-(10)-nehsy: 10 deben of beaten copper, amounting to 1 kite of silver

Bought from the priest Ani: 1 copper bowl weighing 16 deben, amounting to $1\frac{1}{2}$ kite of silver, and 1 pot of honey amounting to 1 *heqat* measure (4.5 liters), amounting to 5 kite of silver

Bought from the citizeness Tjuiay: 1 cauldron weighing 20 deben, amounting to 2 kite of silver

Bought from the steward Tutui of the estate of Amon: 1 bronze jar weighing 20 deben, amounting to 2 kite of silver, and 10 shirts of the best fine linen, amounting to 4 kite of silver.

TOTAL of the silver from everything: 4 deben and 1 kite.

And I gave them to the merchant Raia, without there being any property of the citizeness Bakemut among them, and he gave to me this little girl, and I called her Gemniherimentet by name."

STATEMENT OF the council of judges to the citizeness Irineferet: "Make an oath of the Lord, LPH, saying: 'Should witnesses be arraigned against me that there is anything belonging to the citizeness Bakemut among the silver which I gave for this servant and I concealed it, I shall be sub-

ject to 100 blows, being deprived of her.'"

OATH of the Lord, LPH, which the citizeness Irineferet said: "As Amon endures, and as the Ruler, LPH, endures, should witnesses be arraigned against me that there is anything belonging to the citizeness Bakemut among this silver which I gave for this servant and I concealed it, I shall be subject to 100 blows, being deprived of her."

STATEMENT OF the council of judges to the soldier Nakhy: (20) "Present to us the witnesses of whom you said: 'They know that this silver belonging to the citizeness Bakemut was given to buy this slave Gemniherimentet,' together with the witnesses of this tomb of which you said: 'It was the citizeness Bakemut who made it, but the citizeness Irineferet gave it to the merchant Nakht and he gave to her the slave Telptah in exchange for it.'"

QUANTITY OF witnesses whom the soldier Nakhy named in the presence of the council: the chief of police Mini[...]; the mayor Ramose of the west (of Thebes); the priest Huy-Panehsy, the elder brother of the district superintendent Simut; the citizeness Kafi; (25) the wife of the chief of police Pashed, who is deceased; the citizeness Weretneferet; the citizeness Hutia, the elder sister of the citizeness Bakemut — TOTAL: 3 men and 3 women — TOTAL: 6. And they stood in the presence of the council and they made an oath of the Lord, LPH, and likewise a divine oath, saying: "It is in truth that we speak. We shall not speak falsely. Should we speak falsely, let the servants be taken from us."

STATEMENT OF the council of judges to the priest Huy: "State for us the situation of the Syrian slave [Gemniherimentet ...]."

REFERENCES

Text and translation: Gardiner 1935; *ANET* 216-217. For discussion, Janssen 1975.

D. ACCOUNTS

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SEMITIC SLAVES ON A MIDDLE KINGDOM ESTATE (3.11)

(P. Brooklyn 35.1446)

Robert K. Ritner

In active use for about 90 years, this Theban papyrus contains a series of administrative documents concerning servant laborers from the reign of Amenemhet III to that of Sebekhotep III. In the reign of the latter king, two insertions established the woman Senebtisy's right of ownership to ninety-five household workers, whose names, nicknames, occupations and totals are listed in four columns on the verso. Of the seventy-nine names preserved, thirty-three are Egyptians, while forty-five are designated as Asiatics and bear Semitic names in addition to their imposed Egyptian slave names. The Egyptian laborers assigned to fieldwork are probably criminals or descendants of such, but the Asiatic slaves are largely skilled workers perhaps taken as prisoners of war. One child (l. 8) was the son of an Egyptian father and an Egyptianized Semitic mother.

These are her people, being a gift of regnal year 2, month 2 of [...], day 8 [in] the reign of [the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Se]khemre [Se]wadjetawy, the son of [Re, Se]bek-hotep, living forever and ever [...] the servants [...] whom they transported:

The king's slave, Renesseneb's son Ankhu; called Hedjri; steward; 1 man.
The female slave, Aye's daughter Satgemeni; it is her name; hairdresser; a woman.
Her daughter Reniseneb; it is her name; a child.
The king's slave, Iusni's son Asha; it is his name; cultivator; 1 man.
(5) (ditto), Aye's son Ibu; it is his name; cultivator; 1 man.
The Asiatic Senebresiseneb; it is his name; cook; 1 man.
The female Asiatic Rehuy; called Kaipunebi; warper(?) of linen; a woman.
Her son, Nefu's son Resiseneb; called Renefresi; a child.
The Asiatic [cA]pra-Rashpu;¹ [called ...]; brewer; 1 man.
(10) The female Asiatic Hay'immi;² called [...]; weaver of fine linen; a woman.
The female Asiatic Munahhima;³ (called) S[...]tenef; weaver of fine linen; a woman.

a 2 Chr 20:37

b Exod 1:15

The Asiatic Su[...]; called Ankhuse[ne]b; cook; 1 man.
The female Asiatic Sakratu;⁴ called Werditninub; weaver of fine linen; a woman.
(ditto) Immisukru;⁵ (called) Seneb[sen]wosret; weaver of fine linen; a woman.
(15) (ditto) Aduttu;⁶ (called) Nub[...]; weaver of fine linen; a woman
(ditto) [Sa]kratu;⁷ (called) Sen[eb...]; weaver of linen; a woman.
The female Asiatic Ahāti-mil(katu?);⁸ called Henutipuwadjet; warper(?) of fine linen; [a woman].
The Asiatic Dōdi-hu'atu;⁹ a called Ankhuemhesut; steward; [1 man].
The Asiatic Qu'a[...]; called Resiseneb; steward; 1 man.
(20) The king's slave Iywy's son [...]; it is his name; steward; 1 man.
The female Asiatic Shiprah(?);¹⁰ b called Senebhenutes; weaver of fine linen; [a woman].
The female Asiatic Sukrapati;¹¹ called Meritnebu; warper(?) of linen; a woman.
The female Asiatic Ashra(?);¹² called Werintef; weaver [...]; a woman.
Her daughter Senebtisy; it is her name; a child.
(25) The female Asiatic cAn[at]'a(?);¹³ called Nebuemmerqis; weaver of fine linen; a woman.

¹ "Fosterling of Reshep"; see Hayes 1955:94.

² "Where is (my) Mother?"; see Hayes 1955:94-95.

³ "(Such and such a God) Shows Mercy"; see Hayes 1955:95.

⁴ "The Favorite"; see Hayes 1955:95-96.

⁵ "The Favorite (goddess) is my Mother"; see Hayes 1955:95-96.

⁶ "Lady"; see Hayes 1955:96.

⁷ See note 4, above.

⁸ "My Sister is Queen"; see Hayes 1955:96.

⁹ "My Beloved is He"; see Hayes 1955:96.

¹⁰ "Beautiful"; see Hayes 1955:96.

¹¹ "The Favorite (goddess) is my Fair One"; see Hayes 1955:97.

¹² "Prosperous"; see Hayes 1955:97.

¹³ "Anat ..."; see Hayes 1955:97.

The female Asiatic Shamashtu(?);¹⁴ called Senebhenut[es]; warper(?) of fine linen; a woman.
 The female Asiatic I^csibtu;¹⁵ called Amenem[...]; tutor; [a woman].
 The female slave, Wewi's daughter Irit; it is her name; [...; a woman].
 The female Asiatic [...]a'hu'atu;¹⁶ called Menhesut; [...; a woman].
 (30) Her daughter Ded[et]mut; [it is her name; a child].
 Her son Ankhseneb; [called ...]; a child.
 The female Asiatic ^cAhā[ti...];¹⁷ [called ...; ...] of fine linen; a woman.
 The female Asiatic Aduna';¹⁸ called Senebhe[nutes; ...]; a woman.
 Her son Ankhu; called Hedjeru; a child.
 (35) The female Asiatic Ba^caltūya;¹⁹ called Wahreseneb; laborer(?); [a woman].
 Her daughter Senebtisy; it is her name; a child.
 The female Asiatic ^cAqaba^c;²⁰ called Resiseneb-wah; warper(?) of fine linen; [a woman].
 [The female slave], Senaib's daughter Reniseneb; it is her name; gardener; a woman.
 Her [daughter] Henutipu; it is her name; a child.
 [(40) The female slave], Henutipu's daughter Sennut; it is her name; reciter(?); a woman.
 [The king's slave, ...]s son Ibiankh; it is his name; cultivator; 1 man.
 [The king's slave, ...]s son [...]hesut; it is his name; cultivator; 1 man.
 [The king's slave, ...]y's son Hetep(?); it is his name; and Reyet; it is her name; gardener; a woman.
 [Her son ...]; it is his name; a child.
 (45) [...]y; [called ...]; magazine employee; a woman.
 The king's slave, [...]; sandalmaker; 1 man.
 The female Asiatic [...]luna; called Neferet; warper(?) of linen; a woman.
 The female slave, Henutipu's daughter [...]jesni; called Neferettjent[et]; [...; a woman].
 Her son {...}; it is his name; [a child].
 (50) The king's slave Resiseneb, called [...; 1 man].
 The Asiatic ^cAmu[...]; called Werni; [...; 1 man].

The female Asiatic R[...]; called Iunesi[...]; [...; a woman].
 The king's slave, R[...]; it is his name; [...; 1 man].
 The female slave [...]; it is her name; [...; a woman].
 (55) The female Asiatic ^cAk[...]; called [...]nefereten[...]; weaver of fine linen; [a woman].
 The female Asiatic [...]; called Ahay; magazine employee; [a woman].
 Her daughter Hu[...; ...].
 Her son Ankhu; [called] Paamu ("The Asiatic"); a child.
 The female Asiatic ^cAnat[...];²¹ called] Iunerton; warper(?) of linen; [a woman].
 (60) The female slave Iyti; called Bebisherit's daughter Iyt(i); weaver [...; a woman].
 The female Asiatic Rayenet; called Senebhe[nut]es; weaver of fine linen; [a woman].
 The female Asiatic Ayya'abi-'ilu(?);²² called Nehniemkhaset; magazine employee; [a woman].
 Her son ^cAbu[...];²³ called Senebnebef; [a child].
 [The female Asiatic ...]-Ba^cal;²⁴ called Netjeremsa[i]; warper(?) of fine linen; a woman.
 (65) [The female slave Wadjet(?)]hau; it is her name; warper(?) of linen; a woman.
 Her son [Res]iseneb; it is his name; a child.
 The female Asiatic Sakar;²⁵ called Nebuerdies; [...; a woman].
 The king's slave Resiseneb; it is his name; steward; 1 man.
 The female Asiatic Tjenatisi;²⁶ called Petimenti; magazine employee; a woman.
 (70) The female slave Hetepet; it is her name; warper(?) of linen; a woman.
 Her son Ankhu; it is his name; [a child].
 The king's slave Resisen[eb]; called Burekh[...]; cultivator; [1 man].
 [...; called ...]ri; [...].
 [...; called ...]y[...; ...].
 (75) [The female slave] Henu[t]ip[u]; [...].
 [...].
 (80) The female Asiatic Hay'ōr²⁷ [...] The king's slave Nefruhetep [...] The female slave, Iuy's daughter Mer[...]

¹⁴ "The sun god (is my Father?)" see Hayes 1955:97.

¹⁵ "Herbage"; see Hayes 1955:97.

¹⁶ "[...] is He"; see Hayes 1955:97.

¹⁷ "Sister [...]"; see Hayes 1955:97.

¹⁸ "Lord"; see Hayes 1955:97.

¹⁹ Compounded with the deity "Baal"; see Hayes 1955:97.

²⁰ See Hayes 1955:97.

²¹ Compounded with the deity "Anat"; see Hayes 1955:97.

²² "Where is (my) Father?"; see Hayes 1955:94-95.

²³ Compounded with *abu* "Father"; see Hayes 1955:97.

²⁴ Compounded with the deity "Baal"; see Hayes 1955:97.

²⁵ "The Favorite"; see Hayes 1955:95-96.

²⁶ Compounded with the deity Sin, the moon god?; see Hayes 1955:98.

²⁷ "The Living One Shines"; see Hayes 1955:98.

[...]	The female [As]iatic ^c Aqabtu ²⁸ [...]
(85) [The king's slave I]bi [...]	[The female Asiatic] Tjenaterti ²⁹ [...]
[The king's slave] Nefuemantiu [...]	[...]

²⁸ See Hayes 1955:97.

²⁹ Compounded with the deity Sin, the moon god?; see Hayes 1955:98.

REFERENCES

Text, translation and study: Hayes 1955:87-109, 123-25, and pls. viii-xiii; Albright 1954; Schneider 1987; 1992.

SEMITIC FUNCTIONARIES IN EGYPT (3.12)

(KRI 4:104-106)

Robert K. Ritner

Following the Hyksos Period, occasional appearances of Semitic names on funerary stelae from the Nile valley attest to the Egyptianization of resident Asiatic servants and functionaries. From the Amarna Period, a Berlin stela (14122) depicts a Syrian soldier *Trwr^c* drinking beer through a bent straw with the assistance of a servant in the company of his wife, "the housewife *ḥIḥbwr^c*." The high official Tutu of Amarna has been thought to represent the most prominent early example of such assimilation, with an Egyptianized form of the Asiatic name Dûdu.¹ This seems unlikely, however, as a native Egyptian name (and deity) Tutu ("Image") becomes increasingly common, even serving as the initial element of the name Tutankhamon. From Abydos during the reign of Merneptah, a Cairo stela (JdE Temporary Register 3/7/24/17) of the fanbearer and chief herald Ramsesemperra betrays the official's foreign origin by mention of his now "tertiary" Asiatic name and homeland. On the stela, Ramsesemperra adores his royal patron Merneptah, just as he adores Tuthmosis III, the long deceased conqueror of Asia, on a stela from Gurob now in Brussels (E. 5014).

Before Osiris "Lord of the Sacred Land" identified with the deified king "Lord of the Two Lands, Baenre-meriamon, Lord of Diadems, Merneptah-hetephermaat," adoration is offered "by the royal butler, whose hands are pure for the Lord of the Two Lands, the royal fanbearer on the right of the King, the first herald of His Majesty, the great royal butler of the offering chamber, Ramsesem-perra ('Ramses in the estate of Re'), the justified, called Meriunu ('Beloved of Heliopolis'), the justified."

Below the kneeling Ramsesemperra appear his Asiatic father *Yup^c*, his unnamed mother, and a repetition of his titles. The main text consists of the traditional funerary prayer.

An offering which the King gives to Osiris, Foremost of the West, that he might give invocation offerings consisting of bread, beer, oxen, and fowl to the spirit of the royal butler, whose hands are pure for the Lord of the Two Lands, the royal fanbearer on the right of the King, the first herald	of His Majesty, the great royal butler of the offering chamber of the palace, LPH, the great royal butler of the beer (chamber), Ramsesemperra, the justified, the man of Ramses-meriamon (Ramses II) ² beloved like Re, called Ben-'ozen (<i>Bn^ciṯn</i>) of Ziribashani (<i>Drbsn</i>).
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¹ Cf. above COS 3.11, n. 9.

² The expression indicates that Ramses II was Ben-'ozen's original patron.

REFERENCES

Text and study: Kitchen 1982 4:104-106; Janssen 1951:50-62.

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HITTITE ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

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A. LETTERS

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1. MIDDLE HITTITE PERIOD (ca. 1450-1350 BCE)

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Maṣat was a provincial center situated some 30 miles due east of Ḫattuša. The letters found there date to the Middle Hittite Period (ca. 1450-1350 BCE). Their background is formed by the conflict between the Hittite rulers in Ḫattuša and the Kaška of northern Anatolia (3.13, note 2).

THE KING TO KAŠŠŪ IN TAPIKKA 1 (HKM 1) (3.13)

Thus speaks His Majesty: Say to Kaššū: (4) Concerning the matter ¹ of the enemy ² about which you wrote to me, saying: "The enemy is	holding the city Kašaša": (8) Be advised that I have just dispatched chariotry. Be very much on guard against the enemy. ³
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¹ The sections beginning with the word "Concerning the matter of ..." (lines 4-7) confirm to the letter's recipient the sender's receipt of the letter which dealt with the referenced matter. In this case the letter received by the king from Kaššū was a report on enemy activities in his area, specifically the capture and occupation of the city Kašaša.

² The "enemy" referred to anonymously in these letters found at Maṣat is thought to have been the non-sedentary tribal people called the Kaška. When the sender has no substantial comment to make on the matter about which his correspondent has just written him, he may simply refer to the subject matter and add "I have heard it." See 3.15, line 4, and 3.21, line 6 below.

³ Lines 8-10 in Boley 2000.

REFERENCES

Text: HKM 1; HBM 120f., 302. Translations: HBM 121.

THE KING TO KAŠŠŪ IN TAPIKKA 2 (HKM 2) (3.14)

Thus speaks His Majesty: Say to Kaššū: (4) Concerning the matter of chariotry ¹ about which you wrote to me: Be advised that I have already dispatched chariotry. Wait for it. (10) Concerning the matter of Ḫimuili's brother about which you wrote: I am dispatching him now. [PS] ² (14) Say to Uzzū, my dear brother: Thus	speaks Šuriḫili, your brother: With me all is well. (17) May all be well also with you, dear brother. ³ (19) May the gods, including Ea, ⁴ the King of Wisdom, keep you, the wife, and (your son?) Tazzukuli, well. (i.e. 1) Here in your house all is well. So stop worrying, dear brother. ⁵
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¹ The term translated "chariotry" (line 4), lit. "horses," refers to mounted fighting men together with their steeds. Kaššū has requested additional troops in his district, specifying mounted ones. The king assures him that the contingent has been dispatched and is on its way.

² The portion of the tablet beginning in line 14 and noted in the translation as "[PS]" is not a true postscript by the primary author, in this case the king, but is what is called a "piggy-back letter," that is, a personal letter by the scribe. When the letters are sent to higher officials, the piggy-back letters accompanying them are usually to the recipient's scribe. Thus, Šuriḫili is the king's scribe in Ḫattuša, while Uzzū is the scribe of Kaššū in Maṣat.

³ Wishes (or prayers) that the gods may protect the correspondent are common in this correspondence.

⁴ Here it should be noted that in addition to the general subject "the gods," the god "Ea, King of Wisdom" is added. This is because one scribe is addressing another. Ea was the patron deity of scribes. In Akkadian his epithet was "Lord of Wisdom," which the Hittite scribes modified to "King of Wisdom."

⁵ Lines 4-13 in Boley 2000:78a.

REFERENCES

Text: HKM 2; HBM 120f-123, 302f. Translations: HBM 121, 123.

THE KING TO KAŠŠŪ IN TAPIKKA 3 (HKM 3) (3.15)

Thus speaks His Majesty: Say to Kaššū:

(3) Concerning the matter of the enemy about which you wrote me: I have heard it.

(5) Because I have already written you, Let the troops which are in his land not come out again.¹ Let them remain there. And let the land be very much on guard against the enemy.

[PS]² (14) Say to Uzzū, my dear brother: Thus says Šurūhili, your brother:

(17) May all be well with you, and may the gods, including Ea,³ the King of Wisdom, keep you well.

(21) At present all is well in your house and with your wife. So stop worrying, my dear brother. Send me back your greeting, my dear brother.

¹ Lines 5-10 in Boley 2000:174a.

² From this PS we learn that Uzzū, the scribe in Tapikka-Mašat, had a house and perhaps family in the capital city. Šurūhili reassures him of their safety and well-being.

³ On Ea see 3.14, note 4 above.

REFERENCES

Text: HKM 3; HBM 122-125, 303f. Translations: HBM 123ff.

THE KING TO KAŠŠŪ IN TAPIKKA 4 (HKM 4) (3.16)

Thus speaks His Majesty: Say to Kaššū:

Write to me quickly concerning the condition of the

vines, the cattle, and the sheep, in that land.¹

¹ This letter reveals the direct concern of the king for viticulture and livestock in the provinces, a fact we would otherwise not have known. It is well known, however, that the material prosperity of the land, as often measured by these two criteria, depended upon the king's proper relationship with the gods who had entrusted the land and its governance to him.

REFERENCES

Text: HKM 4. Edition: HBM 124-127, 304.

THE KING TO KAŠŠŪ IN TAPIKKA 5 (HKM 5) (3.17)

Thus speaks His Majesty: Say to Kaššū:

(3) Concerning the fact that you took the cattle of the city of Kašipūra and distributed them in the district of EN-tarawa¹:

(7) From now on you must not levy veteran troops and auxiliary troops² out of the district of EN-tarawa. Let him keep the aforementioned cattle. But let him not fail in his work.

¹ This letter reveals that Kaššū in his official capacity was authorized to move royal livestock from one administrative district under his oversight to another: in this case, from Kašipūra, whose governor's name is not given here, to the unnamed district governed by EN-tarawa.

² Kaššū was authorized to levy troops in the king's name. Two types are specified in lines 8 and 9: "veteran troops" (lit. "old" ones) and "auxiliary troops," which would have been less experienced ones to be used only when it was absolutely necessary to supplement the veteran "regulars."

REFERENCES

Text: HKM 5. Edition: HBM 126f.

THE KING TO KAŠŠŪ IN TAPIKKA 6 (HKM 6) (3.18)

Thus speaks His Majesty: Say to Kaššū:

(3) Concerning what you wrote me, saying: "The enemy has come. He pressed¹ the city of Ḫapara on that side of me and the city of Kašipūra on this side. But he himself passed through, and I don't know where he went."

(11) Was that "enemy" perhaps enchanted, that you did not recognize him?

(15) Now be very much on guard against the enemy.

(17) Concerning what you wrote me, saying: "I have just sent out scouts,² and they have scouted out the cities of Malazziya and Taggašta." I have heard it. Fine.

(24) Now get with it. Be very much on guard against the enemy.

¹ Once again Kaššū reports military matters to the king. He says that the enemy has "pressed" two cities, which probably means attacking them. If they were walled cities, which we do not know, it might mean he besieged them.

² This same letter reveals that Kaššū had "scouts" (line 19) at his disposal to track moving contingents, but failed to discover where the marauding enemy was headed next. This lapse angered the king, who then resorts to sarcasm, asking whether Kaššū thinks he was dealing with an enchanted foe (lines 11-12)!

REFERENCES

Text: HKM 6. Edition: HBM 126ff.

THE KING TO KAŠŠŪ IN TAPIKKA 7 (HKM 7) (3.19)

Thus speaks His Majesty: Say to Kaššū:

(3) Concerning what you wrote me, saying: "I have sent out scouts, and they have proceeded to scout out Takkašta and Ukuiduna.

(7), and he has 'drawn down.'"

(9) Get involved with that matter.¹ Send forth scouts, and let them scout thoroughly, and ... And

because I, My Majesty, have written you previously, draw out behind that road.

(16) ... I will come ... Troops already assembled [...]

(23) As I know you, Kaššū, send to the Kaška, and let them be protected beforehand.

¹ Cf. KUB 14.15 iv 48-49 (AM 74-75): "Mit den Leuten von Mira sollen sie sich nicht einlassen".

REFERENCES

Text: HKM 7. Edition: HBM 128ff.

THE KING TO KAŠŠŪ IN TAPIKKA 8 (HKM 8) (3.20)¹

Thus speaks His Majesty: Say to Kaššū:

(3) Concerning the matters about which you wrote to me: how the enemy is damaging the crops, how in the city of Kappušiya he has attacked (the property) of the House of the Queen, how he has [seized] one team of oxen belonging to the House of the Queen, and how they have led away captive

30 oxen of the poor people, and 10 men — (all this) I have heard.

(12) Because the enemy marches into the land at a moment's notice, if you would determine his location, and if you would attack him, you must be very much on guard against the enemy.

¹ This letter gives a pretty good idea of the scope of most of the military operations of the Kaška enemy. They were razzias, raids on villages, rather than large scale pitched battles. One sees here too the typical size of the losses: 30 oxen and 10 men. What was most troublesome to the Hittite king and his officials was the frustrating situation that these enemies could appear at a moment's notice, do damage and then escape. The damage done to the crops was perhaps more serious than the small numbers of lost animals, because this attacked the future food supply not only of Tapikka itself, but the capital city, which may well have received supplies from towns like Tapikka in the Hittite "bread basket."

REFERENCES

Text: *HKM* 8. Edition: *HBM* 130ff.THE KING TO KAŠŠŪ IN TAPIKKA 9 (*HKM* 9) (3.21)¹

Thus speaks His Majesty: Say to Kaššū:

(3) Concerning the fact that you dispatched (to me)
13 (apprehended) fugitives: They have brought

them.

(6) Concerning the matter of horse (troops?) about
which you wrote to me: I have heard it.

¹ Here we see another of Kaššū's common duties: apprehending fugitives and sending them under guard to the capital. The fugitives are Hittites fleeing their masters. They are being returned to the king for him to decide how to return them to their masters. Although the text is cryptic, it is likely that the "horses" Kaššū has asked about are teams of chariot horses and their drivers.

REFERENCES

Text: *HKM* 9. Edition: *HBM* 132f.THE KING TO KAŠŠŪ IN TAPIKKA 10 (*HKM* 10) (3.22)

Thus speaks His Majesty: Say to Kaššū:

(3) Concerning the matter of Piḫinakki about which
you wrote to me: As Piḫinakki is settling the city
of Lišipra, he has already settled 30 families.¹(7) Piḫinakki said to me: "I intend actually to
transfer 300 families (to make up the community
of) Lišipra which I am settling.² Then I will send
the leading men (of the city) before Your Majesty.
Eventually we will transfer the (entire) city." I
have heard this. It is fine. Do that very thing.(14) Concerning the matter of Piḫapzuppi and
Kaškanu about which you wrote me: "They have
already made peace (with us)," I have heard it.(17) Concerning what you wrote me: "Kaškaean
men are coming here in large numbers to make
peace. How will Your majesty write to me?" Keep
sending to My Majesty the Kaškaean men who are
coming to make peace.(23) Concerning what you wrote me: "Until Your
Majesty writes me about this matter of the Kaškae-an men coming to make peace, I will be waiting
word in the land of Iṣḫupitta." Just because the
gods already [.....], you keep wearing me out with
queries, and keep writing me the same things!(33) Concerning what you wrote me: "When I
arrived in the land of Iṣḫupitta, behind me the
enemy attacked the city of Zikkatta, and led away
40 cattle and 100 sheep. I threw him back, and
eliminated 16 men of the enemy, counting both
captured and killed." I have heard it.PS (42) Say to Ḫimuili, my dear brother: Thus
speaks Ḫattušili, your brother: May all be well
with you. May the gods keep you alive, and keep
you in good circumstances.(47) Concerning the matter of your live-in sons-in-
law³ about which you wrote me, I have it in mind,
and will inform the palace of it. A person will go
to them and conduct them to His Majesty.¹ Lit., "30 houses".² *HBM* 135 translates "I will carry off 300 families from Lišipra, which I am resettling," which makes good sense, but which violates the grammar of the text.³ Tentatively, we follow *HBM* in regarding the term in line 47, *andatiyattalla-*, as synonymous with *antiyant-* "live-in son-in-law." The latter is a technical term denoting a young man whose family is too poor to afford the usual bridal gift presented to the family of the bride. Consequently, the bride's family pays this gift to him, and in return he goes to live with them instead of the bride going to live with his family. See Hittite laws §36 (translated in Hoffner 1997:222; *COS* 2.19, p. 110). In the present letter more than one such person is involved, and both (or all) of them are to be brought before the king, perhaps to adjudicate a dispute between them. But it is also possible that the word in this letter is rather synonymous with *ḫantitiyattalla-* "accuser, plaintiff, opponent-at-law." In that case the persons referred to may be bringing charges or claims against Ḫimuili.

REFERENCES

Text: *HKM* 10. Edition: *HBM* 134ff.

THE KING TO KAŠŠŪ IN TAPIKKA 11 (*HKM* 12) (3.23)¹

Thus speaks His Majesty: Say to Kaššū:		Majesty]. [.....] (Reverse) [.....] and [let them]
(4) Seize Tarḫumiya and [send] him before [My		conduct him immediately before [My Majesty].

¹ What remains of this short letter appears to be an arrest order.

REFERENCES

Text: *HKM* 12. Edition: *HBM* 136ff.

THE KING TO KAŠŠŪ IN TAPIKKA 12 (*HKM* 13) (3.24)

Thus speaks His Majesty: Say to Kaššū:		you),” but as of now he has not come. Now put
(3) Concerning the capitulation(?) of Maruwa, the		him in the charge of an officer, and have him
ruler of the city of Ḫimmuwa, about which you		conduct him quickly before My Majesty.
wrote me: “I have dispatched him (to you).” On a		(13) Otherwise, you will become responsible for his
tablet you wrote to me: “I have dispatched him (to		failure. ¹

¹ In interpreting this brief letter much depends on what is meant by “his failure” (lit., “his sin”) in lines 13-14. This “failure” of Maruwa is what is called his “capitulation(?)” (*ḫaliyatar*) in line 4. The action called *ḫaliya-* in military annals is the posture of a surrendering commander. Since he is called the “ruler (lit. ‘man’) of Ḫimmuwa,” and the latter is a Hittite city, we must assume that his sin was surrendering to the Kaškaean enemy.

REFERENCES

Text: *HKM* 13. Edition: *HBM* 138f.

THE KING TO KAŠŠŪ IN TAPIKKA 13 (*HKM* 14) (3.25)

Thus speaks His Majesty: Say to Kaššū:		before My Majesty, and bring with you Maruwa, ¹
(3) As soon as this tablet reaches you, drive quickly		the ruler of the city of Kakattuwa. Otherwise they
		will proceed to blind ² you in that place (where you
		are)!

¹ It is not clear whether this Maruwa, who is called “the ruler of the city of Kakattuwa,” is the same man as the “ruler of the city of Ḫimmuwa” who was mentioned in 3.24 (*HKM* 13) above. Nor is it clear if he is to be brought to the king as a culprit or not. But the urgency of the matter is obvious, hence the threat of blinding Kaššū if he does not quickly comply with the king’s command.

² Blinding was a punishment reserved for the most serious offences, usually treason. Deliberately disobeying a direct order of the king would certainly qualify as treason. See also Letters 3.27 (*HKM* 16) below and *HKM* 84 (not translated here). For discussion, see Hoffner 2001; 2002.

REFERENCES

Text: *HKM* 14. Edition: *HBM* 139f.

THE KING TO KAŠŠŪ AND ZULAPI IN TAPIKKA 1 (HKM 15) (3.26)

Thus speaks His Majesty: Say to Kaššū and Zilapi: (4) As soon as this tablet reaches you, quickly — within three days ¹ — bring before My Majesty the	assembled troops and the chariotry which is with them.
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¹ Line 11 informs us that Tapikka lay within 3 days' march of Ḫattuša.

REFERENCES

Text: HKM 15. Edition: HBM 140f.

THE KING TO KAŠŠŪ AND ZULAPI IN TAPIKKA 2 (HKM 16) (3.27)

Thus speaks His Majesty: Say to Kaššū and Zilapi: (5) As soon as this tablet reaches you, drive quickly before My Majesty.	(11) Otherwise, they will proceed to blind you ¹ in that place (where you are).
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¹ See comment above on 3.25 (HKM 14).

REFERENCES

Text: HKM 16:1-15. Edition: HBM 142f.

THE KING TO KAŠŠŪ, ḪULLA AND ZULAPI IN TAPIKKA (HKM 17) (3.28)¹

Thus speaks His Majesty: Say to Ḫulla, Kaššū and Zilapi: (4) Concerning what you wrote me: "While we were in Ḫattuša, the Kaškaean men heard, and they drove away cattle, and kept the roads under their control." (9) When I sent you and Ḫulla out (last) winter, (the enemies) didn't hear you. But now, of all things, they did hear you? (13) Concerning what you yourselves have now written: "Pizzumaki told us: 'The enemy is on his way to the city of Marešta. I [have] sent Pipitaḫi out to scout the area. And we will attack the sheepfolds ² which are in the vicinity of the city of Marešta.'" Fine. Do as you have said. (22) And if the grain crop is ready, let the troops take it. (24) ³ Concerning what you wrote me: "How [shall I] take the city? ⁴ Or shall we attack the city of Kapapaḫšuwa?"	(28) Since Kapapaḫšuwa is well protected, so that [the capture] of Kapapaḫšuwa is not likely to succeed for me, they will keep its territory pressed on this side, and lie in ambush against you. [.....] (33) From the direction of Taggašta you should attack whatever [... and] the cultivated land, [and] it will succeed. And you will make ... Because [of the ...] there is no one for him. PS (37) Say to Ḫulla, Kaššū and Zilapi: Thus speaks Ḫašammili, your servant: May all be well with you, and may the gods protect you. (41) [.....] was already released. [.....] already are dressed. [...] my dear brother, keep eating (<i>pl.</i>), and [...] [Lines 45-53 are too broken for translation] (Left edge) [Say] to Uzzū: [Thus speaks Ḫašammili,] your brother. [May] the gods [keep you alive and
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¹ In this letter the king shows his concern for several matters. He is quite displeased that the movements of his officials are so successfully monitored by the enemy that they are able to strike in his officials' absence. As usual, in his rebuke he employs heavy sarcasm (lines 9-12). He approves of their plan to scout the area of Marešta and to attack the sheepfolds there (lines 13-21), but instructs them to harvest the crops before they can be damaged or stolen by the enemy.

² For other indications of how the enemy used sheepfolds see HKM 36.

³ In lines 24 and following the king advises his commanders on military strategy in reply to their request. Among other matters he warns them against possible ambushes.

⁴ The clause at the end of line 25 is unclear. HBM 144's reading, *ma-an-wa ma-ah-ha-an-d[a]*, makes no sense. But the form of the next clause, *nu ...-ma*, points to an alternative question.

protect you in well-being.] Get busy with [the ...], and write me [how the ...] are [...]ing. But don't	take anything from him until [.....] something. And you must ... it just as I instruct you in writing.
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REFERENCES

Text: *HKM* 17. Edition: *HBM* 142ff.THE KING TO KAŠŠŪ AND PULLI IN TAPIKKA (*HKM* 18) (3.29)

Thus speaks [His Majesty]: Say to [Kaššū and Pulli]:

[Lines 3-15 are too badly broken for translation]

(16) And send them before My Majesty.

(17) Concerning the matter of troops about which you wrote me: I have some troops of the Upper Land and of the land of Išḫupitta here with me. I will send them to you.

PS (21) Thus speaks Pišeni: Say to Kaššū and Pulli, my dear sons:

(23) The grain which the troops of Išḫupitta and *zaltayaš* have for cultivation, now His Majesty is very concerned(?) about that grain. Send And quickly now. Because grain has been sown/cultivated there for them (or: for you [*pl.*]), get busy: gather it in and store it in storage pits.¹ Then [write] to His Majesty.

¹ On these pits, termed ESAG₂ in the texts (Hoffner 1974:34-37), see Seeher 2000; Neef 2001.

REFERENCES

Text: *HKM* 18. Edition: *HBM* 146ff.

2. LATER NEW KINGDOM (ḪATTUŠILI III TO SUPPILULIUMA II) (ca. 1250-1180 BCE)

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

LETTER FROM QUEEN NAPTERA OF EGYPT TO QUEEN PUDUḪEPA OF ḪATTI (3.30)

§1 Thus says Naptera, Great Queen of Egypt: Say to Puduhepa, Great Queen of Hatti, my sister:
 §2 It is well with me, your sister. It is also well with my land.
 §3 May it be well with you, my sister. May it also be well with your land. I have learned that you, my sister, wrote inquiring about my health, and that you wrote inquiring about the state of the alliance between the Great King of Egypt and the Great King of Hatti, his brother.
 §4 The Sungod (Rē) and the Stormgod (Teššub) will exalt you, and the Sungod will cause peace to prevail and will strengthen the alliance of brotherhood between the kings of Egypt and Hatti forever.

§5 I send you herewith a present as a "greeting-gift," my sister.
 §6 May they inform you, my sister, about the present that I send you in the care of Pariḫnawa, the king's messenger:
 §7 One colorful necklace of fine gold made up of twelve strands and weighing 88 shekels.
 §8 One dyed linen cloak.
 §9 One dyed linen tunic.
 §10 Five dyed linen garments of good fine thread.
 §11 Five dyed linen tunics of good fine thread.
 §12 A total of twelve linen garments.

REFERENCES

Text: KBo 1.29 + KBo 9.43. Edition: Edel 1978:137-143; Edel 1994 1:40-41, 2:63-64. Translations: Beckman 1996:123.

LETTER FROM HATTUŠILI III OF HATTI TO
KADAŠMAN-ENLIL II OF BABYLON (3.31)

- §1 Thus says Hattušili, Great King, King of Hatti: Say to Kadašman-Enlil, Great King, King of Babylonia, my brother:
- §2 It is well with me. It is also well with my household, my wife, my sons, my infantry, my horses, [...], and with all that is in my land.
- §3 May it be well with you, with your household, your wives, your sons, your infantry, your horses, your chariots, and all that is in your land.
- §4 When your father and I made peace and became "brothers," we did not do so for just a single day. Was it not for eternity that we became "brothers" and concluded peace?^a We made a pact as follows: "Since we are mortal, the survivor shall protect the children of the one who dies first." Then when your father died, but the gods [let me live long.] I wept for him like a brother.^b [After] I had completed [the period of mourning] for your father, I dried my tears and dispatched a messenger to the nobles of Babylonia, saying: "If you do not support the progeny of my brother as the rightful rulers, I will declare war on you. I will come and conquer Babylonia. But if (you support the progeny of my brother, and) an enemy arises against you, or some other trouble occurs, write to me, and I will come to your aid." But you, my brother, were only a child in those days, and they did not read my tablet in your presence. Are none of those scribes still alive? Are my tablets not accessible? Let them read those tablets to you now. I wrote those words to them with the best intentions, but Itti-Marduk-balatu — whom the gods have let live far too long, and whose hateful words are without end — disturbed me with his reply: "You don't write us like a brother. You order us around as if we were your subjects."
- §5 ...
- §6 In addition, my brother: Because you wrote to me: "I have discontinued sending messengers to you, because the Ahlamu are hostile." But how can this be? Is your kingdom so weak, my brother? Or has my brother discontinued the messengers because Itti-Marduk-balatu has poisoned my brother's mind against me? In my brother's land horses are more numerous than straw. Did I have to send a thousand chariots to meet your envoy in Tuttul, so that the Ahlamu would have kept their hands off? And if my brother should object: "The King of Assyria will not allow my messenger to pass through his land," the infantry and chariotry of the King of Assyria does not equal those of your land. ...
- §10 Regarding what you wrote: "My merchants are being killed in the land of Amurru, the land of Ugarit, [and ...]" , in Hatti they do not kill [...], they kill [...]. When the king hears of it, [they ...] that matter. They seize the murderer [and turn] him over to the relatives of the murdered man, [but they let] the murderer [live. The place] where the murder occurred is purified. If his relatives will not accept [the compensatory payment], they may take the murderer [as a slave]. If a man who has committed a crime against the king [flees] to another land, it is not permitted to put him to death. Just ask, my brother, and they will tell you. [...] So I ask you: Would people who do not kill murderers kill a merchant (of yours)? [But with regard to] the Subarians, how do I know if they are killing people? [Send] me the relatives of the murdered merchants so that I can investigate their claims.
- §11 Concerning Bentešina, (King of Amurru,) of whom my brother wrote to me: "He continually curses my land": When I asked Bentešina, he replied to me as follows: "The Babylonians owe me three talents of silver." Right now a servant of Bentešina is coming to you, so that my brother can judge his case. And concerning the curses against the land of my brother, Bentešina swore by my gods in the presence of Adad-šar-ilani, your messenger. If my brother doesn't believe this, then let his servant, who claims to have heard Bentešina curse the land of my brother, come here and face him in court. And I will press Bentešina. For Bentešina is my servant. And if he has truly cursed my brother, has he not cursed me too?^c
- §12 Furthermore, [my brother,] concerning the physician whom my brother sent here: When they received the physician, he did many [good] things. When he became ill, I did all I could for him. I instituted many oracular inquiries about him.^d But when his time came [...], he died. My messenger will bring his servants to you, so that my brother can [interrogate] them, and they can tell my brother all that the physician did. ... [Let] my brother [take note of] the chariot, the solid-wheeled wagon, the horses, the fine silver, and the linen that I gave to the physician. I have

^a 1 Kgs 9:13-14; 20:32

^b 2 Sam 10:1-2

^c 2 Sam 16:9-10; 1 Kgs 21:8-14; Eccl 10:20

^d 1 Kgs 14:1-3

sent the tablet on which they are written down
to my brother, so that my brother can hear it.

The physician died, when his time came. I
certainly did not detain the physician.

REFERENCES

Text: KBo 1.10 + KUB 3.72. Edition: Hagenbuchner 1989:281-300. Translation: Beckman 1996:132-137.

LETTER FROM PIḪA-WALWI OF ḪATTI TO
IBIRANU OF UGARIT (3.32)

§1 Thus says Prince PiḪa-Walwi: Say to my
“son” (i.e., subordinate), Ibiranu:
§2 All is well at present with His Majesy.
§3 Why have you not come before His Majesty
since you became king in the land of Ugarit?

Why have you not sent your messengers? His
Majesty is very angry about this matter. So send
your messengers to His Majesty quickly and send
presents to the king together with presents also for
me.

REFERENCES

Text: RS 17.247. Edition: Nougayrol 1956:191. Translation: Beckman 1996:121.

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B. COURTCASES

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1. RECORDS OF TESTIMONY GIVEN IN THE TRIALS OF SUSPECTED THIEVES AND EMBEZZLERS OF ROYAL PROPERTY

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

These texts, called "Gerichtsprotokollen" in German and "Procès" and "documents de procédure" by Laroche in *CTH* pp. 45-46, go by the name "depositions" in the *CHD*. They appear to be written records of testimony given by persons capable of clarifying cases involving the misappropriation of royal property. We do not know whether all these persons were also suspects themselves or whether some were simply associates of the true suspects. It is difficult to suppose, as some scholars do, that these are minutes of the procedure, since they do not report statements by a judge, but are confined to statements by witnesses or suspects. After preliminary remarks about the genre in Güterbock 1939, Güterbock 1955 and Gurney 1990:77, a summary of the text type (Werner 1964-1969) and an edition of all known pieces appeared (Werner 1967). A significant study of the *modus operandi* of the depositions and of the peculiar language and structure of these texts (Tani 1999) appeared after Werner's edition. As Werner 1964-1969 noted, this type of text corresponds to what in Old Babylonian is called a *tuppi būrti(m)*, which the *CAD* B sub *būru* B translates as "tablet with a sworn statement, deposition."

The texts of this type date from the second half of the New Hittite period, the reign of Hattušili III and his successors. They were published in the volumes KUB XIII, XXIII, XXVI and XL, and KBo XVI. Many are fragmentary, and since duplicate copies of texts of this type were not kept in the archives, we have no way to restore the lost parts. This makes producing a connected translation of most of these texts very difficult. The official edition of most of these texts is Werner 1967. A German translation of excerpts of the Ura-Tarḫunta text, based on Werner 1967, is Haase 1984. There is a much fuller translation in Spanish in Bernabé and Álvarez-Pedrosa 2000:216-220. Since only a few small fragments of this type have been identified since the publication of Werner's edition we will give here only lengthy excerpts from the better preserved tablets in his edition.

THE CASE AGAINST URA-TARḪUNTA AND HIS FATHER UKKURA (3.33)

This tablet was found in the East magazine of the Great Temple in the Lower City (quadrant L/19). It was kept there, because since it contained statements supported by oaths taken in the temple of Lelwani, its proper repository was a temple. Not all such tablets, however, were kept in that location. Some were recovered in Buildings A, D, and E of the Acropolis and others in the so-called "House on the Slope" (cf. Cornil 1987 25f. for the documentation). The plaintiff in this case was Puduḫepa, the queen and consort of Hattušili III. The accused were Ura-Tarḫunta ("Great is the Stormgod Tarḫunta") (for this individual cf. van den Hout 1995:157ff.) and his father Ukkura, who held the office "Overseer of Ten." The primary explicit charge was Ura-Tarḫunta's failure to keep documentation of his activities in distributing items entrusted to him by the queen. Implied is a suspicion of misappropriation or embezzlement (German *widerrechtliche Aneignung oder Verwendung*, Italian *malversazione*, Spanish *malversación*, French *détournement*).

§1 With respect to the fact that [the queen] on several occasions turned over to Ura-Tarḫunta, the son of Ukkura, the Overseer of Ten, various items — namely, chariots, items made of bronze and copper, linen garments, bows, arrows, shields, maces (or perhaps 'weapons'), civilian captives, large and small cattle, horses and mules, (the charge is that) he regularly failed to indicate on a sealed tablet what was issued to whom. He also had no manifest(?) or receipt. The queen says: "Let the 'Golden Grooms,' the queen's <i>šalaš</i>-		<i>ḫa</i>-men, Ura-Tarḫunta and Ukkura proceed to make comprehensive statements under oath in the temple of Lelwani." §2 So Ukkura, the Queen's Decurius, took an oath. He made the following declaration¹ under oath: "Regarding whatever items belonging to the Crown I had, I never acted in an untrustworthy manner, and I have not taken anything for myself. I never 'skimmed off' for myself anything of what the queen from time to time entrusted to me. For the horses and mules in my custody I had a wax-coated
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¹ Cf. *anda peda-* in *CHD* P 351 (1 b 2' b').

wood-tablet (the equivalent of the above-mentioned 'manifest') and a sealed receipt. They sent me to Babylonia. And while I was going to Babylonia and returning, no one was ...-ing behind my back. Yet because of that matter I am now in trouble. But when I returned from Babylonia, they sent to me an inspector too.² But again afterwards the matter of ... went along with (it). It was certainly a case of careless incompetence, but by no means deliberate deceit. I [have] not been misrepresenting(?) the king's words. And it never entered my mind that I should make something vanish from the king and take it for myself. §3 Nor do I do this kind of thing. What is this? I had already sworn (to keep faith with the king)! Would I afterwards(?) take something for myself? I was obligated to that matter too. I do not subsequently take something for myself. I had hitched up three mules belonging to the palace (for my personal use), and they died. Consequently, I have already given two mules as compensation. I still owe one mule. §4 Ura-Tarhunta made this additional statement in regard to himself: "I took for myself three high quality harnesses for horses for the Festival of the Year. I also took for myself two mules, which died while in my possession. One mule, however, I gave to Tarhunta-nani, the eunuch. §5 From time to time I have been taking for myself old materials (i.e., items no longer in use by the crown): halters, wheels, leather straps, large and small <i>NAMTULLU</i>-harnesses. And whenever they bring here new bits and snaffles, I have been accepting the new ones for the service of the crown, but of the old ones I have been taking for myself as many as I liked. I took one wagon pole with mud guards for myself. I took two large axes and a hatchet for myself. And whenever they install wall hangings, I receive the new hangings for the king's house, but I have been taking for myself as many of the old ones as I liked. §6 Yet I have been (secretly) exchanging the mules³ of those to whom the queen has charged me to give them, saying: 'Go, give (them)	α Judg 17:1-6	to them!' I either take my own (mules) or (those) of someone else and give them to him (i.e., the person for whom the queen intends them). Then I take the mules of the palace for myself. To the other person I give mules of compensation, but under no circumstances do I give the good ones to them. §7 Of the civilian captives that they have been giving me from the palace I took for myself one man and one woman. §8 Of the materials from the seal house of the city Partiya that they have been giving me I took for myself the following: — (the scribe apparently inserts the following additional note:) Ura-Tarhunta sent to his father two bolts of Palaic linen and a copper vase⁴ — I took for myself ten copper items, one spear, one wash bowl, one copper <i>NAMMANTU</i>-vessel, one copper sieve, one large axe, and one chariot with leather fittings, and I sent it to my mother.⁵ [§§9 and 10 too broken for useful translation] §11 I took for myself three cows of the <i>šalašha</i>-man/men and drove them to my house, where they died. §12⁶ (ii.28-37) The gold-plated bows which the queen had taken stock of I found open[ed and] stripped. I did [not] take the gold for myself. Nor did I take bows from there for myself. Nor do I know who stripped them. When I discovered it, I was very frightened on account of it. So I took the gold of my mother^a and plated them with that. And although I did not mention it at the time, it was because Pallā the goldsmith said: 'Do not denounce me,' that I kept silent.⁷ §13 (ii.38) I did not take for myself any offering-bowl (ornamented with) 'Babylonian stone.'⁸ §14 (ii.39-45) Of the asses which I had (charge of) I took for myself nothing. Five asses died, and I replaced them from (my own) house. Five asses died from abuse. They will drive back here five jackasses (as replacements). Admittedly they haven't yet driven them here. Mr. AMAR.MUŠEN the animal-driver worked them to death,⁹ and he hasn't yet replaced them. But I took nothing for myself.
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² Cf. Tani 1999:185. For the Hittite use of wooden tablets coated with wax, see Güterbock 1939 and Bossert 1958.

³ It is significant that the animals given by the queen are mules, for the mule (as a sterile, non-bred animal) was the most expensive of the domestic animals. Cf. Hoffner 1997:7 with Table 2, and COS 2.19, §180.

⁴ Pala was located in later Paphlagonia, north-northwest of Hattuša.

⁵ Cf. §12 for more references to Ura-Tarhunta's mother. Although his father Ukkura is still alive, his mother seems to be financially independent.

⁶ The events described here remind one of Judg 17, where the mother of the Ephraimite Micah took 200 shekels of silver, had it melted down, and used to cast or plate cult images for use in a domestic shrine.

⁷ Cf. CHD L-N 49 s.v. *lawarr-*, and Gurney 1940:97.

⁸ Or perhaps: "I did not take the offering-bowl (ornamented with) 'Babylonian-stone' (i.e., one that Ura-Tarhunta was perhaps accused of taking)." For the minerology cf. Polvani 1988:145.

⁹ On this line and the situation portrayed by it see Sommer 1932:27.

- §15 (iii.1-2) They originally gave me 30 asses; now 13 remain.¹⁰
- §16 (iii.3-4) Of the valuable items in the storehouse I received two linen (garments), two ingots of copper, six bows, one hundred arrows, two bronze bands (for reinforcing pillars?),¹¹ one veil (lit. 'eye-cloth'), and one copper *dam-muri*.
- §17 (iii.5-8) I became ill. But when I became well again, I found in checking that we now had three ingots of copper, ten valuable bronze items, ten bows, and fifty arrows. I saw no chest belonging to Ibri-šarruma, and I declared none.
- §18 (iii.9-12) Maruwa stated (as follows): "(The queen) gave a pair of mules to Hēllarizzi."¹² Ura-Tarḫunta replied: I took the mules from H. for cultivation work (i.e., plowing),¹³ and gave him colts in return."
- §19 (iii.13-14) Maruwa stated: (The queen) gave [x] mules to Piḫa-Tarḫunta, the eunuch." Ura-Tarḫunta replied: "They do [not] belong to the pen."
- §20 (iii.15-17) Yarra-zalma, a "Golden Groom," stated: "Zuwappi sold a horse (belonging to the queen) and thereby gained for himself a talent of copper." Ura-Tarḫunta replied: "He told me it had died."
- §21 (iii.18-19) "Yarra-zalma took one mule for himself, and Maruwa took one mule for himself (from the queen's stock). But (the mules) were 'milk-sisters'."
- §22 (iii.20-29) This is what Tarḫu-mimma, Nanizi, Maruwa, Yarrazalma, Pallā, Yarra-ziti the son of Tuttu, Yarra-ziti the son of Laḫina-ziti declared (on oath) before the god: "(May the gods destroy us),¹⁴ if we have either sold or exchanged for profit the horses or mules of the queen.¹⁵ We neither hitched them up for ourselves nor caused their death through abuse. Furthermore, we who are supervisors, if any one (of us) took for himself horses (or) mules, or [sold] it for profit, or exchanged it, or caused its death, [.....].
[Followed by seven badly broken lines]
- §23 (iii.38) Kukku, the *šalašḫa*-man, is absent (and therefore unable to give testimony).
- §24 (iii.39-48, iv.1-19a) Ḫapa-ziti, Kaššā, Tarwiššiya, Pallū, Kaška-muwa, Kunni, Magallū, Apattiti,

b Gen 14:23;
Num 16:15;
1 Sam 12:3

- Ḫuḫa-armati, Zuwā, Mutarki, Alalimmi, Šawuška-ziti, Arma-piya, Zidā, Alamūwa the boy, Tarwaški, Zuwā, (and) Šalwini — twenty (men) in all — (swore): "Regarding the chariots (with spoked) wheels, carts/wagons (with) disk wheels,¹⁵ silver, gold, (leather) shields, maces, bows, *parzašša*-arrows, bronze implements, large axes, hatchets, bronze swords, cloth, wall-hangings, (and) leather goods belonging to the queen which we have in custody: we have not taken anything for ourselves, we have not exchanged anything, nor have we hitched up a disk-wheeled chariot or a spoke-wheeled one. Rather, when we finish (using) it, we bring it back and replace it in the controlled stock. If we take garments (or) hangings, and exchange them, or leave them out, or if our superior has taken for himself spoke-wheeled chariots, disk-wheeled wagons, silver, gold, bronze items, maces, bows, arrows, garments, (or) hangings, or if he gives one of the king's 'wheels' (i.e., a spoke-wheeled chariot?) in good condition to someone and takes three broken-down ones in exchange, or if in the future our superior takes something for himself, while we say nothing about it, or if in the future we take something for ourselves, (may the gods destroy us)!" (The queen then addresses the royal servants:) "Whatever I have previously entrusted to you of 'old' items (i.e., those no longer in active use), whether utensils, or spoke-wheeled chariots, garments, hangings, let that no longer be covered (under this oath you have taken). But now in the future you shall not take what gleams(?) (i.e., valuables as typified but not limited to gold, silver, etc.)."¹⁶
- §26 (iv.20-27) Thus says Arlawizzi: "In the presence of the deity I make the following statement of the facts. Whatever utensils Ibri-šarruma delivered to me I brought and delivered to Ura-Tarḫunta. But (may the gods strike me dead) if I broke open a box or broke a seal or took anything for myself or Ura-Tarḫunta took anything for himself and I said nothing about it."
- §27 (iv.28-34) Thus says Ḫuzziya, the Wood-Tablet Scribe: "Whatever utensils they gave to me sealed, I transferred in good condition. I did

¹⁰ The mathematics here is unclear, since a total of 15 asses are reported dead in §14 (ii.39-45), which should leave 15, not 13.

¹¹ Cf. Akk. *miserru* and CAD M/2:110-111. GURU_x (=E.İB). ZABAR is mentioned in the list of *melqētu* in KBo 16.68 i.13.

¹² Perhaps what is meant here is that mules belonging to (Akk. *ana*) Hēllarizzi were given to Ura-Tarḫunta, for this would make sense of the latter's defense statement.

¹³ It is the view of Melchert 1999 that Hittite *tuk(kan)zi* means "cultivation, breeding."

¹⁴ See also §§25, 26, 27. This mode of expressing an oath is common in ancient Israelite speech: see Gen 14:23; 42:15; Num 14:23; 2 Sam 11:11, etc. Cf. BDB s.v. ²*in* 1 b (2).

¹⁵ So, following CAD A/2:486 (*ataru* C). Others translate: "chariots, wheels, light two-wheeled chariots."

¹⁶ The Luwian loanword used here, *mišti-*, shares both root **maiš-/miš-* and suffix *(-i)* with its Hittite cousin *maiš-* "brilliance, luster, glory" and the derived adjective *mišriwant-* "brilliant, lustrous, illustrious" (cf. Rieken 1999:137f.), and shows the same vocalic stem extension vis-à-vis

not break a seal, and I did not break open a box. I brought them here and delivered them to Ura-Tarḫunta. (May the gods strike me dead,) if Ura-Tarḫunta took anything for himself, and I did not report him.” §28 (iv.35-47) Thus says Ukkura, the Queen’s Decurius: “When they sent me to Babylonia, I sealed the <i>LE³U</i>-tablets that I had concerning the horses and mules. Also a receipt was not formalized. For that very reason I didn’t pay close attention. As soon as the horses and		mules arrive, I will seal them in the same way. It was presumptuous of me, but it was not a deliberate offence. I didn’t just look the other way, saying: ‘Some things get lost, others don’t.’ I didn’t take a horse or mule for myself or give one to anyone else. §29 (iv.48-51) The mules that they mention died. They released [.....]. [Yarra]-zalma took one mule for himself, and Maruwa also took one mule for himself.”
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its Hittite cognate *maiši-*, as Luwian *akk(a)ti-* “hunting net” does to Hittite *ēkt-* (of the same meaning). Earlier interpretations, including those in *CHD* L-N, must now be abandoned.

REFERENCES

Text: KUB 13.35 + KUB 23.80 + KBo 16.62 (*CTH* 293). Edition: Werner 1967 3-20.

C. ACCOUNTS

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1. CULT INVENTORIES

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Cult Inventories are administrative texts which were designed to keep records for royal use of the temples (both in Hattuša and in the provincial cities), their staff, the cult images found there, and the offerings and festivals held in fall and spring. They exist in several sub-sets. The first set, exemplified by KBo 2.1 (CTH 509) and edited by Carter 1962, place their emphasis on the various cities where temples and other cult installations were found, detailing all aspects of the cult and its equipment, but in summary fashion. A second type, exemplified by KUB 38.2, translated below, focus on the deities worshiped, and describe the images or cult objects intended to represent the deities. These Cult Image Descriptions are usually referred to under the German term *Bildbeschreibungen*.

CITY INVENTORIES

KBo 2.1 (CTH 509) (3.34)

Šuruwa (ii.9-20)¹

The former state (of the cult in the city Šuruwa): four deities in all —

one stela representing the Stormgod of Šuruwa,

one stela representing the Sungoddess,

one stela of Mt. Auwara,

one stela of the spring Šinaraši.

(The present state:) one iron bull-statue of one šekan in size (representing the Stormgod of Šuruwa),

one silver stela of the Sungoddess, on which rays are depicted in silver,

one club with a sun disk and a crescent as ornamentation and on which is one iron figure of a standing man one šekan in size (representing the Mountain-god Auwara),²

one iron statue of a seated woman the size of a fist (representing the female deified spring Šinaraši).

Four deities of the city Šuruwa which His Majesty commissioned to be made.

(Šuruwa has) ten festivals (each year): five in the fall and five in the spring. (The offerings for each festival are) 12 sheep, 6 PARISU-measures and two SUTU of flour, [?] vessels of beer, 3 PARISU of wheat for the temple storage vessels.

(Šuruwa has) one temple built. Piyama-tarawa is in charge of the silver and gold.

Wattarwa (ii.21-31)

(The state of the cult in the city Wattarwa:) one stela representing the Stormgod of Wattarwa and one statue, plated with tin, one and a half šekan in size. This latter shows a standing man wearing a helmet, holding a club in his right hand and a cop-

per henzu in his left hand. This is the former state. His Majesty had an iron bull-statue of one šekan height made.

For the Stormgod of Wattarwa the daily offering is as follows: one handful of flour, one cup of beer. (Wattarwa has) two festivals (each year): one in the fall and one in the spring.

His Majesty has instituted (as the offerings for each festival) one bull, 14 sheep, 5 PARISU and 4 SUTU of flour, 4 vessels of low-grade beer, 10 vessels of regular beer, 1 huppar vessel of beer, and 3 SUTU of wheat for the temple storage vessels. The city shall give them.

(Wattarwa has) one temple built. The priest has fled.

Hursalašši (ii.32-39)

The former state (of the cult in the city Hursalašši): (the deities are presented by) 1 bronze wakšur-vessel, 1 stela (representing the female) deified spring Hapuriyata.

His Majesty has made 1 iron bull statue 1 šekan in size, 1 small iron statue of a seated woman representing the spring Hapuriyata.

(The city Hursalašši has) 3 festivals (each year): one in the fall and two in the spring.

(Offerings for each festival are:) 1 bull, 4 sheep, 4 PARISU and 1 SUTU of flour, 1 vessel of low-grade beer, 11 vessels of regular beer. The city will give (these things).

(The town has) 1 temple built. The priest has fled.

Aššaratta (ii.40-45)

Stormgod of Aššaratta: one stela from earlier

¹ Translated by Güterbock 1983a:216.

² See the discussion of such TUKUL's in Güterbock 1983a:214f.

times.

His Majesty has made: 1 iron bull statue 1 *šekan* in size.

(The town has) 2 festivals (each year): one in the fall and one in the spring.

His Majesty has instituted (as offerings for each festival): 1 bull, 4 sheep, 3 *PARISU* of flour, 1 vessel of low-grade beer, 8 vessels of regular beer, and 3 *SÛTU* (of wheat) for the temple storage vessels.

(The town has) 1 temple built. Nattaura is in charge of the silver.

Šaruwalašši (iii.1-6)

The former state (of the cult in *Šaruwalašši*): The Stormgod of *Šaruwalašši* is represented by 1 stela.

His Majesty has made: one iron bull statue one *šekan* in size.

(The town has) 2 festivals (each year): one in the fall and one in the spring.

His Majesty has instituted (as offerings for each festival): one bull, 4 sheep, 2 *PARISU* of flour, 6 vessels of beer, and 3 *SÛTU* of wheat for the temple storage vessels.

(The town has) one temple built. But it has no priest yet.

Šanantiya (iv.1-16)

The former state (of the cult of) [the Stormgod] of

Šanantiya: 3 sun disks of silver, of which one sun disk is of iron (i.e., 2 of silver, one of iron), [one] *wakšur* vessel of bronze, one "thunder horn."

His Majesty has had 2 (representations of) deities made: one iron bull standing on all fours, 2 *šekan* in size, whose eyes (i.e., face) is plated with gold, one silver statue of a seated woman, one *šekan* in size, under which are two iron mountain sheep, under which is an iron base, (and) ten gold rays, representing the Sungoddess of *Šanantiya*.

[The daily offering is] one handful of flour.

There are 8 festivals each year: 2 in the fall, [2] in the spring, one festival of the rain, one propitiation(?)-festival, one festival of the sickle, one 'mercy'-festival. And His Majesty has instituted in addition 2 more festivals: one festival of the entry of the new (priest), and one festival of [...].

(Yearly offerings:) 3 bulls, of which [His Majesty instituted] one bull, 93 sheep, 33 *PARISU* of wine for the temple storage vessels, of which His Majesty instituted 2 *SÛTU* [of wine for the temple storage vessels]. The city provides (these) for him (i.e., for the Stormgod).

The temple is not yet built. The king was able (to care) for the Stormgod of *Šanantiya*.

REFERENCES

Text: KBo 2.1. Edition: Carter 1962:51-73.

CULT IMAGE DESCRIPTIONS

The posture of the images and the objects they hold in their hands are illustrated by many cult figures depicted on reliefs and in particular by the great relief scene on the walls of Yazılıkaya (Laroche 1952; Beran 1962; Bittel, Naumann, and Otto 1967; Laroche 1969; Güterbock 1975; Masson 1981; Güterbock 1982). For a convenient line drawing of the procession in a popular book see Gurney 1990:118f. figure 8.

KUB 38.2 (Bildbeschr. Text 1) (3.35)

(i.7-20) *IŠTAR* (Šauška) [a cult-image] seated; from (her) shoulders [wings protrude;] in (her) right hand [she holds] a gold cup; [in her left hand] she holds a gold (hieroglyphic sign for) "Good(ness)."¹ [...] Below her is a silver-plated base. [Under] the base lies a silver-plated *awiti*-animal.² To the right [and left] of the *awiti*-ani-

^a Exod 25:20: 37:9; 1 Kgs 6:23-28; 8:6-7; Isa 6:1-2

mal's wings^a stand Ninatta and Kulitta, their silver eyes plated with gold. And under the *awiti*-animal is a wooden base. Her daily offering is "thick bread" made from a handful of flour, and a clay cupful of wine. Her monthly festival includes Ninatta and Kulitta together. She has (at present) no priest. (Another of her images is) one gold

¹ This is the sign that looks like a triangle (Laroche *HH* sign no. 370) with the new "Latinographic" transcriptional value BONUS.

² Most likely a lion-griffin (Güterbock 1975:190) or lion-sphinx (Güterbock 1983a:205, n. 15). For literature and summary of research, see also *HW² A* and *HED A* s.v.

vessel in the form of and ox's head and neck.

(i.21-27, ii.1-3) Šauška³ of the Battle Cry⁴: a cult image made of gold, a standing man; from his/her shoulders wings protrude; in his/her right hand he/she holds a gold axe;⁵ in his/her left hand he/she holds a gold (hieroglyphic sign for) "Good(ness)"; standing on his/her *awiti*-animal,⁶ having a silver-plated tail⁷ and a gold-plated chest; but [behind], to the right and left of its wings stand Ninatta and Kulitta. [...] /His/Her [two festivals] are in fall [and spring]. She has no monthly festival [...]

(ii.4-7) [Karmah]ili: a cult image (of) a seated man; [his eyes are] gold-plated; [in his right hand] he holds a club. Beneath him is a silver base. The small ruined cities celebrate his [two festivals] in fall and spring. His has no servant.

(ii.8-13)⁸ The Stormgod of Heaven: cult image (of) a seated man, gold-plated; in his right hand he holds a club; in his left hand he holds a gold (hieroglyphic sign for) "Good(ness)." He stands⁹ on two silver-plated mountains (represented as) men. Beneath him is a silver base. Two silver animal-shaped¹⁰ vessels (are there). His two festivals are in fall and spring. [They give it] from the house [of the king.]

(ii.14-16) The Stormgod of the House: (His cult emblem is) a silver ox's head and neck including the front quarters kneeling. His two festivals are [in fall] and spring. [They] give (it) from the house of the king.

(ii.17-23) The Warrior-god "Zababa": a silver cult-image of a man, [standing]; in his right hand he holds a club; in his left [hand] he holds a shield. Beneath him there stands a lion figure, and under the lion a silver-plated base. The men of Kammama

celebrate two festivals in fall and spring. One silver ZA.HUM-vessel. He has no servant.¹¹

(ii.24-26, iii.1-4) The Tutelary Deity (^dLAMMA): a gold-plated cult image of a standing man with gold-plated eyes. In his right hand he holds a silver lance; in his left hand he holds a shield. He stands on a stag. Beneath him is a silver-plated base. The ruined cities of Dala celebrate his two festivals in fall and spring. He has no servant.

(iii.5-8) The Sungod of Heaven: silver cult image of a seated man. On his head is a silver ...¹²; beneath him is a wooden base. The men of Pada celebrate two festivals (for him) in fall and spring.

(iii.9-11) Stormgod of the (Royal) House: a silver (vessel in the shape of an) ox's head and neck with the front quarters in standing position. The men of the city celebrate his two festivals in fall and spring (with) one silver ZA.HUM vessel.

(iii.12-17) Hatepuna: cult image of a woman, veiled(?) [like] a ...,¹³ her eyes plated with gold. She holds in her right hand a silver cup. Beneath her is a wooden base. The men of [...] celebrate her two festivals in fall and spring. She has a *šiwanzanni*-priestess.¹⁴

(iii.18-20) Mt. Išdāharunuwa:¹⁵ a *hutuši*-vessel for wine silver-plated on the inside, one silver *ašzeri*-vessel. The men of Pada (celebrate his two festivals) in fall and spring.

(iii.21-24) *Hegur*-house of Temmuwa: likewise a *hutuši*-vessel for wine silver-plated on the inside. The men of Dala ce[lebrate] two festivals in fall and spring.

[The tablet breaks at this point]

³ The tablet has the signs ^dLIS which indicate a female deity of the *IŠTAR* type. Von Brandenstein emended to ^dU (stormgod), because the cult image is of a man. But since *IŠTAR* is bisexual, and he/she is attended here by his/her handmaids Ninatta and Kulitta, it is preferable (with Laroche 1952:116f., 119) to leave the tablet unemended.

⁴ So both Laroche 1952 and Güterbock 1983a:205 n. 11.

⁵ Such an axe may be depicted on the Hattuša Warrior Gate; Bitel 1976 pls. 267-268.

⁶ Depicted so on the Ashmolean Gold Ring (Hogarth 1920 seal no. 195).

⁷ "Tail" (Güterbock 1975:190), not "teeth" (von Brandenstein 1943).

⁸ Güterbock 1975:189.

⁹ Or, less likely, *IGI DU-anteš* (with Otten, cited in Güterbock 1975:189) "(two) forward striding (mountains)."

¹⁰ Perhaps bull-shaped (Güterbock 1975:189).

¹¹ The Sumerogram ³ZA.BA₄.BA₄ can stand for various deities in Hittite texts. This description does not match any of the warrior-god types depicted at Yazılıkaya (Güterbock 1983a:205).

¹² One reading of the signs, adopted by von Brandenstein 1943:8, is KU₆.HI.A-za "fishes." If the reading is correct, one can only venture the guess that the scribe here misunderstood the winged sun-disk that often stands over this god's head as a fish symbol (Güterbock 1983a:206). This deity is depicted in Yaz. No. 34.

¹³ If read <MINUS> KAR.K[ID?] (without determinative!), lit. "prostitute." But see objections of Güterbock 1983a:206. So also in the last sentence of this paragraph.

¹⁴ AMA.DINGIR, so read by L. Rost.

¹⁵ In Hittite cosmology mountains are male deities and springs are female ones.

REFERENCES

Text: KUB 38.2. Edition: von Brandenstein 1943:4-11, with commentary on 23-45. See the tabular presentation of the data for each deity on his foldout tables 1 and 2. Discussions: Jakob-Rost 1963, 1963; Güterbock 1964; Orthmann 1964; Güterbock 1983a.

2. VOTIVE RECORDS

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

This category of texts records vows made by members of the royal family in order to secure favors from the gods and goddesses. The earliest example in the corpus dates to the reign of Muwatalli II. But the vast majority of preserved examples date from the reign of his second successor, Hattušili III. The most frequent person making these vows is Hattušili's famous consort, Queen Puduhepa. The texts often indicate the god or goddess to whom the vow is made and the city in which it was made in the course of the royal couple's travels to preside at regional festivals. The items most frequently promised to the deity were items of precious metal (gold, silver, etc.), of which the weight is given as well, but not the dimensions. Many (but by no means all) such entries conclude with a notation as to whether or not the vowed items have been given yet. Outside of this text category we know of examples of dreams which gave rise to vows and how they were fulfilled. The best-known example is the dream in which Šawuška sent Prince Muwatalli to his father Muršili, promising that the seriously ill Prince Hattušili would recover and live to a ripe old age provided that Muršili would devote him to Šawuška's priesthood. This Muršili did, and Hattušili III in fact lived to an advanced age (cf. *COS* 1.77, §3). The complete corpus as it was known at the time was edited in the Dutch Ph.D. dissertation of de Roos 1984 (English summary on pp. 175-180), who notes in his comparative survey of the major cultures of the ancient Near East that the closest parallels to the Hittite vow texts are to be found in Ugarit and in ancient Israel (pp. 178f.). The following text illustrates the type. The votary gifts always match something in the request: bath house, ear, etc. The same procedure is seen in 1 Sam 6:4, where the Philistine lords bribe Yahweh to remove the plague of mice and tumors by giving him gold images of the same, and five in number because of the five Philistine cities affected.

KUB 15.1 (CTH 584.1) (3.36)

(i.1-11)¹ Hebat of the city Uda. Dream of the queen. When, the queen in the dream vowed to Hebat of Uda as follows: "If you, O goddess, my lady, will preserve the life of His Majesty, i.e., you will not allow him to come to harm, I will make for Hebat a gold statuette, and I will make for her a gold rosette, and they shall call it 'Hebat's rosette.' I will also make a gold toggle pin for your breast, and they shall call it 'the goddess's toggle pin.'"

(i.12-14) Dream of the queen. In my dream Hebat asked for a necklace with sun-disks and lapis lazuli. We inquired further by oracle, and it was determined that (this Hebat was) the Hebat of Uda.

(i.15-18) Dream.² In the dream the king said to me: "Hebat says, 'In the land of Hatti let them make *zizzahi* for me, but in the land of Mukiš let them make wine for me.'" Further investigation by oracle will be made.

[The rest of the column is too fragmentary for coherent translation.]

(ii.1-4) In a dream [the king] made the following vow to the king's deity ZA.BA₄.BA₄ (warrior god): If you, O god, my lord, will preserve my life, I will plate for you a stela and an altar.

(ii.5-10)³ Šarruma of Urikina. Since in a dream

some young men molested (lit. shut in) the queen behind the bath house in the city Iyamma, in the dream the queen vowed one silver (model of a) bath house to Šarruma of Urikina.

(ii.11-12) The queen vowed to Šarrumanni of Urikina one gold ZI-ornament of unspecified weight, and one silver ZI of 10 shekels weight.

(ii.13-24)⁴ As these curses were determined by oracular investigation, now because it is impossible to undo them, while I look after that matter, and while I complete the offerings, if Šarruma? of Urikina(?), my lord, [will] to/for His Majesty, [.....] [.....], I will make for Šarruma, my lord, one silver shield trimmed with gold of unspecified weight.

(ii.25-27) And if you, Šarruma, my lord, incline your ear to me in this matter, i.e., you hear me, I will give to Šarruma one gold ear of 10 shekels weight, and one silver ear of one mina weight.⁵

(ii.28-36)⁶ And if you two Šarrumanni-deities and one Allanzunni-deity, who have emerged from the deity's knees,⁷ if you hear this my plea, and relay it (favorably) to Šarruma, so that no evil matter shall befall His Majesty, then while he is undoing these curses (with offerings), I will make for each of the two Šarrumanni-deities and the one Allanzunni-deity

¹ Discussed in Oppenheim 1956:254.

² A different logogram is used here: U₃.NUN instead of simple U₃.

³ Discussed in Oppenheim 1956:227. See below in ii.37-44, where the queen had the same dream in the city of Layuna.

⁴ Discussed in Güterbock 1957:359.

⁵ In Hurrian-influenced rituals invoking the assistance of netherworld deities, models of ears in silver or gold were lowered into ritual pits for the gods (Hoffner 1967).

⁶ Discussed in Beckman 1983:40.

⁷ I.e., they are his offspring.

zunni-deity one gold ear and one silver ear of unspecified weight.

(ii.37-41) Šarruma of the city Layuna. As in a dream in the city of Layuna certain young men were molesting the queen behind the bath house, in the dream the queen vowed to Šarruma of Layuna one gold (model of a) bath house.

(ii.42-44) A dream of the queen. Šarruma spoke to me in a dream. But on top of the mountain(s) he will give food in 12 (cult) locations. Further investigation by oracle will be made.

(ii.45-52) In a dream the queen made the following plea to (the goddess named) the Queen of Tarḫuntašša for the days of the Festival of Torches: If His Majesty doesn't get any worse on my account, I will [sacrifice to] the Queen of Tarḫuntašša [.....]

.....

[Several paragraphs are too broken to translate here.]

(iii.7-16)⁸ [Dream of the queen.] When the matter of the deity Kurwašu [.....], as Kurwašu spoke to the queen in a dream: "That matter regarding your husband which you hold in your heart, he will live. I will give to him 100 years (of life)!" In the dream the queen made the following vow: "If you will do that for me, and my husband will live, I will give to the deity three large storage jars: one filled with

oil, one with honey, and one with fruit.

(iii.17-21) His Majesty made the following vow to the goddess Kataḫḫa: "If the city of Ankuwa survives, i.e., it isn't totally burned, I will make for Kataḫḫa one silver (model of a) city⁹ of unspecified weight, and I will give one ox and 8 sheep."

(iii.22-26) The queen made the following vow to the Stormgod of Heaven: "If the city of Ankuwa survives, i.e., it isn't totally burned, I will make for the Stormgod of Heaven one silver (model of a) city of unspecified weight, and I will give one ox and 8 sheep."

(iii.27-31) His Majesty made the following vow to the Stormgod of Zippalanda: "If the city of Ankuwa survives, i.e., it isn't totally burned, I will make for the Stormgod of Zippalanda one silver (model of a) city of unspecified weight, and I will give one ox and 8 sheep."

(iii.48-53) [The queen] made the following vow [on behalf of] the royal prince, the king of Išuwa: "If the prince recovers from this illness, I will [.....] and I will give to the deity on behalf of the prince, the king of Išuwa, a sword, a dagger(?), and one silver ZI-ornament of unspecified weight.

[Most of the rest of the text is too badly broken for translation.]

⁸ Cf. Oppenheim 1956:254f. and Kammenhuber 1964:171.

⁹ On the votive cities of silver and gold, see Hoffner 1969.

REFERENCES

Text: KUB 15.1. Edition: de Roos 1984:184-197, 324-336.

3. ARCHIVE SHELF LISTS

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

These texts, also called "catalogs," list the tablets in the state archives of Ḫattuša. They indicate the author and/or title/incipit of the work, how many tablets it comprised, the tablet's form (ordinary tablets called DUB, special tablets called IM.GÍD.DA "long tablet"), and whether or not all known tablets were found. All such tablets were found in Boğazköy itself; to date none has been reported in Maşat (Tapikka), Kuşakli (Şarišša), or Ortaköy (Şapinuwa). What is translated below is only a small selection to give an impression of these texts. They are identified by the find spot, if that information is available. A new and complete edition is being prepared by Paola Dardano for the series *Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten*.

FROM BÜYÜKKALE, BUILDING A, ROOMS 1-2 (3.37)

(i.18-20) One tablet, whose composition is not complete, entitled "[If/When] his ZI's are constantly ...-ing, this incantation is intended for him. The word of Ḫutupi, the physician." The second tablet (on which the composition would have been completed) is missing.

(i.21-22) Tablet Two of (the Ritual for) the Tutelary Deity of the Hunting Bag,¹ containing the completion (of the composition) — the Tablet One is missing — (with the incipit) "When the king himself worships the Tutelary Deity of the Hunting Bag."

¹ On this deity and his cult see McMahon 1991.

(i.23) Tablet Two of the city of Turmitta, with the composition finished, of the invocation of the fate-deities. ²	a I Sam 28:8-14	(i.27) [Tablet One,] complete of the invocation of the Sungod(dess). (i.28-29) [Tablet One,] complete of the invocation entitled "If/When a dead person is evoked for someone". ^a
(i.24) [Tablet] One of the invocation of the god Telipinu.		(i.30-32) [Tablet One, complete:] "When in the fall the holy priest drives [.....] to his house in order to unseal [the temple storage jars]."
(i.25-26) [Tablet One], complete of "When in Arinna [.....] seats [...]"		

² For these *gulsēs*-deities, see Bossert 1957; Otten and Siegelová 1970; Haas 1994:272-275, 779-781; Popko 1995:72, 81, 111, 124.

REFERENCES

Text: KUB 30.60 + KBo 14.70. Edition: Laroche 1971:153-193. Studies: Laroche 1949; Otten 1986; Güterbock 1991-92; Košak 1995.

FROM BÜYÜKKALE, BUILDING A, ROOMS 4-5 (3.38)

(B ii.3-4) [Tablet ? : "When] (they perform) for <i>İSTAR</i> of Mt. Amana the festival of the doves, the festival of lamentation, and the festival of birth(?) ¹	a I Sam 16:14-23	and woman] are not in harmony ⁴ [...] beforehand, or if [a man and a woman] are always quarreling, or if they keep having bad [dreams], then the exorcist [performs] this ritual." (Composition) [finished.] ⁵
(B ii.5-7) [Tablet ?.] The ritual (lit. word) of Am- <i>miḥatna</i> , Mati and Tulpiya: "[If] they find some sacrilege in a holy temple, this is how they re-consecrate it." ²		(A ii.18) One tablet ⁶ : "If (the consequence of) serious perjury (or: 'a powerful oath') seizes a person," [finished].
(B ii.8) [Tablet ?]: "If the Great King has a fit of anger in <i>Ḥattuša</i> ." ^a	b Judg 17:2	(A ii.19-28) Three tablets. The ritual of Yarinu, the man from the city <i>Ḥaršumna</i> : "If [...], or if he [...], somehow into impurity, or] his years are 'troubled', or if he is designated (lit. 'spoken') [for [...], or if [he keeps seeing] bad [dreams], or if he has taken an oath (falsely?), or if [his] father and mother have cursed him before the gods, ⁷ ^b or if [...], a wife of second rank, or if some wife of second rank ⁸ [committed(?)] an impure act with him, ..."
(A ii.8-10) [Tablet ?:] "If a person is not consecrated, [...] a mouse [in the ...] of the Stone House, or (if) he is consecrated, and someone [...-s] this to him [...]"		
(A ii.11-13) Two tablets: "When they build a new temple, and pound [the <i>kupṭi</i>] in", and one tablet: "When [the ...] pounds the <i>kupṭi</i> in [...]" ³		
(A ii.14-17) Two tablets, the ritual (lit. word) of <i>Eḫal-Teššub</i> , the exorcist from Aleppo: "[If a man		

¹ Or: "and the festival of giving birth(?)."

² The text referred to is preserved as *CTH* 472. Cf. also KUB 30.42 iv.19-23.

³ For the *kupṭi*-, see Pulvel 1997:259f. with lit. cited there.

⁴ For *ḫandai*- with this meaning, see Güterbock 1983b.

⁵ This ritual seems to concern itself with troubled marriages, much like the *Maštigga* Ritual (*CTH* 404, English translation in *ANET* 350f. "Ritual Against Domestic Quarrel").

⁶ The duplicate adds: "The ritual of Arma-ziti, the exorcist".

⁷ In the Hurrian-Hittite bilingual, see Hoffner 1998:70-72.

⁸ An Akkadogram ^{𒀭𒌦𒀭} *NAPTARTU*.

REFERENCES

Text: A = KUB 30.51 + 45 + HSM 3644; B = KUB 30.58 + 44 (+) KBo 7.74). Edition: Laroche 1971:159ff. Studies: Laroche 1949; Otten 1986; Güterbock 1991-92; Košak 1995.

FROM BÜYÜKKALE, BUILDING A (3.39)

(iv.3-5) Tablet Two: "When the king, queen and princes give substitutes to the Sungoddess of the Netherworld." (Composition) finished. We didn't find the first tablet.

(iv.6-7) Tablet One: The word of Annana, woman from Zigazhur: "When I invoke the deity Miyatanzipa." (Composition) finished.

(iv.8-10) One "long tablet": "When the singer libates in the temple of the deity Inar, breaks thick loaves, and recites in Hattic as follows." (Composition) finished.

(iv.11-13) Tablet One of the *zintuḫi*-women. How they speak before the king in the temple of the

Sungod(dess). (Composition) finished.

(iv.14) One "long tablet": The songs of the men of Ištanuwa. (Composition) finished.

(iv.15-18) Tablet One; a treaty. How Išputaḫšu, King of the land of Kizzuwatna, and Telepinu, King of the Land of Hatti, concluded a treaty. (Composition) finished.

(iv.19-24) One "long tablet": The word(s) of Ammi-hatna, Tulpiya, and Mati, the *purapši*-men of the Land of Kizzuwatna: "If they find any sacrilege in the temple, the holy place, this is its ritual;" (composition) finished.

REFERENCES

Text: KUB 30.42 rev. iv.2ff. Edition: Laroche 1971:163ff. Studies: Laroche 1949; Otten 1986; Güterbock 1991-92; Košak 1995.

FROM BÜYÜKKALE, BUILDING E (3.40)

(iii.2-3) "When they give [a festival(?)] in Šapinuwa to [the Stormgod(?)] in the third year."

(iii.4) "When [they draw] from the road the Mother goddesses of the (king's?) body."

(iii.5-6) "When they celebrate the Spring Festival in Kulella for the Stormgod of Kul[ella]."

(iii.7-9) The word of Kantuzzi[li, Chief of the] priests (and) Prince: "When they pour [.....], and they call a little [.....], how they put down [.....] at his feet in the temple;" the ritual [...]

(iii.10-13) The word of Eḫal-Teššub, the exorcist from Aleppo: "When a person's male and female slaves are [not] in harmony, or a man and woman are not in harmony, or a man and woman are having bad dreams, how one [offers] to the deity the ritual of alienation from a evil person."

(iii.14) "When someone offers *ḫarnalianza* to the Goddess of the Night."

(iii.15) "Whenever they move the gods from their (usual) places."

(iii.16-17) "How from Hattuša one goes to renew the Tutelary Deity of Ḫalinzuwa and Tuḫuppiya."

(iii.18) "When someone [...-es] before the deity Alawayammi."

(iii.19-20) "When the king worships the Stormgod of the Army, the Overseer of the thousands of the Field and the dignitaries give cattle and sheep."

(iii.21-22) "When from Šamuḫa the *IŠTAR* of the Battlefield comes along with His Majesty, how the ritual material (*ḫazziwi*) comes on the return trip."

[Rest of the column fragmentary]

REFERENCES

Text: KUB 30.56 iii.2-22. Edition: Laroche 1971:163ff. Studies: Laroche 1949; Otten 1986; Güterbock 1991-92; Košak 1995.

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WEST SEMITIC ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

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A. LETTERS

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1. HEBREW LETTERS

THE MEṢAD ḤASHAVYAHU (YAVNEH YAM) OSTRACON (3.41)

Dennis Pardee

Two archaeological campaigns in 1960 at the site of Meṣad Ḥashavyahu, located about a mile south of Yavneh Yam, unearthed seven Hebrew inscriptions, the longest of which was a fifteen-line text written on an ostrakon. In a Hebrew that is very close to standard Biblical Hebrew prose, a harvest worker pleads with his superior that a confiscated garment be returned. Apparently the worker was accused by an overseer of not having furnished his quota. He claims to have done so and requests the return of his garment, out of pity if for no other reason.

The plea is presented in direct speech and, by the definition for an epistolary document as “a written document effecting communication between two or more persons who cannot communicate orally” (Pardee et al. 1982:2), this text has been classed among the Hebrew letters (ibid., p. 23). It lacks the regular epistolary formulae, however, and the identification as a letter has been questioned (Smelik 1992). In any case, this document clearly belongs to a sub-category of texts consisting of a plea to a superior for the return of what the plaintiff considers to be wrongfully seized property (Westbrook 1988:30-35; Dobbs-Allsopp 1994). Because the definition of a letter cited above is functional, whereas the description just given is formal (cf. Dobbs-Allsopp 1994:54, n. 10), both classifications are applicable and it is somewhat artificial to reject one in favor of the other.

The editor hypothesized that the documents should be assigned to the time of Josiah and taken as evidence for a previously unrecorded Judaeen control of the coastal area (Naveh 1960:139), and this opinion has become widespread in works on the history of the late seventh century BCE. Other proposals have been made, for example a Judaeen occupation under Jehoiakim (Wenning 1989), or Judaeen mercenaries serving in an Egyptian fortress (Naʿaman 1991:44-47). If we assume that the plea was addressed to the official in the language of the ostrakon itself, i.e., without the benefit of translation, that official was at the very least a Hebrew speaker.

The text does not provide enough details to allow a precise identification of the principal personages: Was the official (šr = /sar/) the local governor, or a lower military or administrative official? Was the harvest worker a servant, a slave, or a freeman completing a corvée responsibility? Was the one who seized the garment part of the official’s administration or did he belong to another chain of command? The biblical requirement for the return of a confiscated garment (Exod 22:25-26; Deut 24:12-15, 17) is mentioned in the context of a pledge for a loan; because the circumstances of this case are different, it raises the question of how widely the moral requirement not to keep a distrained garment may have been construed (cf. Deut 24:17).

<i>The plea for a hearing</i> (lines 1-2) May the official, my lord, hear^a the plea¹ of his servant.²	a 1 Sam 26:19 b Ruth 2:21 c Deut 24:17	<i>The circumstances of the confiscation</i> (lines 4-9) Your servant did his reaping, finished,^b and stored (the grain) a few days ago³ before stopping (work). When your servant had finished (his) reaping and had stored it a few days ago, Hoshayahu ben Shabay came and took your servant’s garment.^c When I had finished my reaping, at that time, a few days ago, he took your servant’s garment.
<i>Self-identification</i> (lines 2-4) Your servant is working in the harvest; your servant was at Ḥaṣar-Asam (when the following incident occurred).		

¹ The word is *dābār* in Hebrew, “word,” probably a collective noun meaning “speech, statement.” The plea itself is stated neutrally, *yīšmaʿ ʔet-dʾbar ʿabdōh*, with the simple notation of the definite direct object ʔet, rather than with the prepositions *l* or *b*, which would imply greater involvement on the part of the official.

² ʔādōn, “lord,” and ʿebed, “servant,” are the standard means of expressing social superiority and inferiority in direct speech. Note the switch from third person address in the plea (“may [he] hear” ... “his servant”) to second person address (“your servant”) in the self-identification. Such person-switching is a common result of the use of the nouns “lord” and “servant” to express the social relationship. Below the speaker will again use third-person speech for his lord and will switch back and forth between third-person and first-person speech for himself.

³ The expression *kymm*, lit. “like days,” occurs twice (lines 5, 7) and *zh ymm*, lit., “thus, days” (*zh* has an adverbial function here), once (l. 9). *kymm* seems to be a pluralization of the expression *kayyôm*, “today,” known from BH, with the meaning “a few days (back in time)” and *zh ymm* seems simply to be a back-reference to the previous occurrences of *ymm* (cf. *zeh yammūm rabbīm* in BH).

Possible witnesses cited (lines 10-12)

All my companions^d will vouch for me, all who were reaping with me in the heat of the sun:^e my companions will vouch for me (that) truly^d I am guiltless of any in[fraction^f].

The specific request (lines 12-15)⁵

[(So) please return^g] my garment. If the official^h

d Judg 9:26, 31, 41;
1 Sam 30:23;
2 Sam 1:26;
2 Kgs 9:2;
Amos 1:9;
Neh 4:17;
5:10, 14

does not consider it an obligation^h to return [your servant's garment, then have] pityⁱ upon him [and return] your servant's [garment] from that motivation. You must not remain silent^j [when your servant is without his garment].

e 1 Sam 11:9; Neh 7:3 f Gen 26:10; Jer 51:5; Ps 68:22; Prov 14:9 g Exod 22:25; Deut 24:13
h Mic 3:1 i Zech 7:9 j Jer 14:9

⁴ The word is ^{mn} and it has been explained either as designating what the reapers will say, as I translated previously, or it may be the first word of the reaper's claim to innocence (see, with previous bibliography, Pardee 1978a:37, 51-52; Pardee et al. 1982:21, 22). The principal problems have been to explain why the phrase ^{hy y^cnw ly}, "my brothers will vouch for me," was repeated if the phrase stopped there, and, if ^{mn} belongs to the previous phrase, why the reaper's profession of innocence starts with the verb ^{ngty}, a very rare construction in this text (verb-initial phrases usually begin with ^w). It now appears plausible to explain the construction as owing to switch from direct to indirect speech and the consequent switch of persons: "they will vouch for me: truly he is guiltless" → "they will vouch for me (that) truly I am guiltless."

⁵ The right corner of the ostrakon has been broken and lost, except for a small fragment of lines 13-15, and the restorations are hypothetical, though plausible. The restorations suggested are those of Cross 1962:42-46 and Naveh 1964. For another proposal, see Dobbs-Allsopp 1994:53.

⁶ Here the plaintiff refers to his superior by his official title (^{šar}) rather than by the general title of superiority (^{ʿādōn}).

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Booij 1986; Cross 1962; Dobbs-Allsopp 1994; Lindenberg 1994; Na³aman 1991; Naveh 1960; 1962; 1964; Pardee 1978a; Pardee, Sperling, Whitehead, Dion 1982; Parker 1997; Smelik 1992; Wenning 1989; Westbrook 1988.

LACHISH OSTRACA (3.42)

Dennis Pardee

Some thirty-six inscriptions have been discovered at Tell ed-Duwêr/Tel Lachish, including Proto-Canaanite inscriptions, inscribed seals and weights, several Egyptian inscriptions, and an Aramaic inscription on a Persian-period altar (for a recent overview with bibliography, see Pardee 1997c). The so-called "Lachish Letters," nineteen inscribed ostraca discovered in 1935 and 1938 and published rapidly by Torczyner (1938, 1940) are the best known of these texts, for several are relatively long and well preserved and of great interest from a variety of perspectives.

At least twelve of these nineteen texts are letters, of which the six best-preserved are translated here; one is a list of names; several are too poorly preserved for identification.¹ The letters are at least partially homogeneous, for five of the ostraca are sherds from the same vessel (L. Harding *apud* Torczyner 1938:184). Whether this means that the documents are drafts of letters written on the site and sent elsewhere (Yadin 1981) is open to debate (Rainey 1987; Parker 1994). They are generally dated to the period before the fall of Judah (586 BCE), perhaps in 589, and they provide glimpses of the workings of the royal administration, primarily military, in this period shortly before the Babylonian exile. Because they are letters, they also give precious insights into the personal aspects of these administrative workings.

From the perspective of the history of discovery, the Lachish inscriptions were the first cohesive body of original texts from the pre-exilic period in Hebrew and they were therefore very important in providing data on all aspects of the Hebrew of that period: palaeography, grammar, rhetoric, and, specifically, epistolary usages.

LACHISH 2: THANKS AND GOOD WISHES (3.42A)

Salutation (lines 1-2)

To my lord Yaush.² May Yahweh³ give you good

a 1 Sam 2:24; news⁴ at this very time.
1 Kgs 10:7;
2 Kgs 19:7; Jer 51:46; Prov 15:30; 25:25

¹ To avoid confusion with previous publications, the letters translated here are referred to below by their original numbering as established by Torczyner 1938, 1940.

² Yaush (written {y³wš}), apparently *plene* writing of a name pronounced /ya³ūš/, is the officer to whom several of these letters are addressed, either the recipient of the letters themselves at the site known today as Tell ed-Duwêr or the person to whom the letters were sent and who was located elsewhere, according to the hypothesis that identifies the surviving texts as copies (Yadin 1981). In this letter the writer does not identify himself; all the formulae are those from an inferior to a superior.

³ There is no indication in any of these texts that the divine name (the "tetragrammaton") was not used currently nor that it was not pronounced as written, i.e., something along the lines of /yahwē/. In later periods, of course, this divine name was replaced in pronunciation by "ʾdōnāy." Though the precise vocalization of the name is uncertain, it appears better to indicate a vocalization than to give the impression that it may have already been receiving some special treatment at this time.

⁴ Lit. "cause you to hear a report of well-being," a standard formula, with several variations, in these texts.

<i>Humble Thanks for Being Remembered</i> (lines 3-5) Who is your servant (but) a dog ⁵ ^b that my lord should remember ⁶ his servant? May Yahweh give	^b 2 Kgs 8:13	my lord first knowledge ⁷ of anything you do not already know.
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⁵ On the self-comparison with a dog as a self-abasement formula, see Coats 1970 and Pardee et al. 1982:81; on the pre-history of the Hebrew formula, see Galán 1993. Because the normal transition phrase between *praescriptio* and body (see note 9 below) is missing whenever this self-abasement formula is present, the latter serves in these texts both as a transitional formula and as the first phrase of the body. It is clear from Lachish 6 that it is not purely transitional, for there the entire body of the letter depends on this humble expression of thanks.

⁶ The humble expression of thanks in the following letters always has to do with the addressee having forwarded correspondence to the writer. Perhaps the formula with *zkr*, "remember," refers to a letter that the addressee has addressed personally to the present writer.

⁷ The reading of this verb has been uncertain, though a recent consensus has formed for {ybkr} rather than {y^ckr}, and there is no certain interpretation of either reading (Pardee et al. 1982:80).

LACHISH 3: COMPLAINTS AND INFORMATION (3.42B)

<i>Salutation</i> (lines 1-3) Your servant Hoshayahu (hereby) reports ^c to my lord Yaush. May Yahweh give you the very best possible news. ⁸	^c Gen 32:6; 2 Sam 11:22 ^d 2 Kgs 5:6; 10:2 ^e Cf. Isa 42:20 ^f Isa 1:5; Jer 8:18; Lam 1:22; 5:17 ^g 1 Sam 17:55; 1 Kgs 1:19 ^h Jer 26:22; 37:5-11; Ezek 17:15; 29:1-16; 30:20-26; 31:1-18; Lam 4:17 ⁱ 2 Kgs 6:9; Isa 7:4	read it, I can repeat it down to the smallest detail.
<i>Complaint and Self-Defense</i> (lines 4-13) And now, ⁹ ^d please explain ^e to your servant the meaning of the letter ¹⁰ which you sent to your servant yesterday evening. For your servant has been sick at heart ¹¹ ^f ever since you sent (that letter) to your servant. In it my lord said: "Don't you know how to read a letter?" As Yahweh lives, no one has ever tried to read <i>me</i> a letter! Moreover, whenever any letter comes to me and I have		<i>Military Information</i> (lines 13-18) Now your servant has received the following information: General ^g Konyahu ¹² son of Elnatan has moved south in order to enter Egypt. ^h He has sent (messengers) to fetch Hodavyahu son of Ahiyahu and his men from here.
		<i>A Prophet's Letter</i> (lines 19-21) (Herewith) I am also sending ¹³ to my lord the letter of Tobyahu, servant of the king, which came to Shallum son of Yada from the prophet and which says "Beware." ¹⁴ ⁱ

⁸ There seems to be a consensus now on reading *yšm^c yhw^h ʔt ʔdny šm^ct šlm w šm^ct ʔb*, lit. "May Yahweh cause my lord to hear a report of well-being and a report of goodness" (for bibliography, see Pardee 1990:89).

⁹ A literal translation, for want of a better, of *w^ct*, the standard formula of transition from the *praescriptio* to the body of a letter; it corresponds formally and rhetorically to BH *w^cattāh*, which is used to mark the transition from topic to comment in any discourse and is actually attested before the cited body of letters in BH narrative (Pardee et al. 1982:172-173). Corresponding formulae are also used as paragraph markers in Aram. letters. Cf. Pardee et al. 1982:149-150.

¹⁰ Lit. "cause to be opened please the ear of your servant with regard to the letter" (*hpqh n^o ʔt ʔzn bdk l spr*; see Pardee 1990:89-91).

¹¹ Better parallels for the formula "be sick at heart" (here *lb bdk dwh*) are now known from Ug. than were cited by Pardee et al. 1982:85: two letters from the 1994 campaign (RS 94.2284 and RS 94.2545+) contain the phrase *mrs lb*, identical to the Akkadian formula (*marṣu + libbu*).

¹² Konyahu's title is *šr hšb^o*, "officer of (= over) the army." The personage is unknown from other sources, as are the others named in this report.

¹³ This is one of the clearer cases of the "epistolary perfect" in these letters: the verb is perfective in form and refers to sending another document with the present letter. The perfective verb form expresses the perspective of the addressee when reading the letter (Pardee 1983).

¹⁴ This sentence is enigmatic on several counts, from that of the syntax, which does not make clear who the author of the letter was, to that of the historical situation, since the prophet goes unnamed and none of the other personages is known (bibliography in Pardee 1990:93-94). In the interpretation proposed in the *Handbook*, the letter was written by the prophet and found in Tobyahu's possession; either Tobyahu had confiscated the letter or else he was part of the chain of transmission. In any case, it is not clear whether the addressee had ever seen it or not (Pardee et al. 1982:84-85). As regards Smelik's 1990 interpretation: (1) if one accepts, as does Smelik, that "Beware" is a quotation from the document, I conclude that it is highly likely that the document is a letter in at least the broad sense of the word, for the form in question is an imperative (that Lachish 3 would have referred to a literary text containing an embedded imperative is surely not a likely scenario); (2) though it is possible to accept that Tobyahu wrote the letter which would have been transmitted by the prophet to Shallum (Smelik's preferred interpretation — see further below), it is unlikely that the letter was *about* Tobyahu and only transmitted by the prophet (Smelik's second possible interpretation), for that would mean that Lachish 3 mentions three names, none of which would be the author of the letter. As regards Parker's 1994 interpretation, I do not see how the Hebrew phrase can be made to say that the letter was written by Tobyahu about a message from a prophet, because "from the prophet" follows the quasi-relative formulation *hb^o*, "which came" (see Pardee 1990:93). If one accepts Parker's observation that *spr ʔbyhw* should mean "a letter written by Tobyahu," then the phrase would mean that the prophet had come into possession of a letter written by Tobyahu that he subsequently forwarded to Shallum. This would mean, it appears clear to me, that it was Tobyahu who had said "Beware," not the prophet, an interpretation that many biblical scholars would be loath to accept (but not Smelik, whose first translation is "the document written by ... Tobiah" [1990: 135]). I now find convincing the arguments against the genitive phrase *spr ʔbyhw* meaning only that Tobyahu was in secondary possession of the letter, and propose the following reconstruction of events (suggested to me by one of my students, John Walton). We know from the Jeremiah stories that the king's officials were not always totally opposed to his activities (Jer. 26:24; 36:19; 38:7-13). This fact allows for the possibility that Tobyahu, a member of the royal establishment (*b^cdmk*), composed and sent a written message (*spr ʔbyhw*) to an unknown prophet telling him to "Watch out!" (i.e., warning him to refrain from subversive activities) and that the prophet passed the letter on to Shallum (*hb^o ... m^ct hnb^o*), who in turn passed it on to the author of this letter who is in turn sending it on to Yaush. In this scenario, if the prophet gave the letter to Shallum, it could only be because he assumed Shallum to be sympathetic to his cause; our knowledge

of the situation is too poor to allow us to determine whether Shallum's passing the letter on to Hoshayahu constituted a betrayal of the prophet's trust and, perhaps, in the long run a betrayal of Tobyahu. The grammatical advantage of this reconstruction of events is that it is not amenable to the criticisms that I once voiced against Hofstijzer's analysis, viz. that it did not properly reflect the layers of embedding of this complicated sentence (Pardee 1990:93). Finally, the identification of the prophet with Jeremiah which so sorely tempted many of the early commentators of this text is purely speculative, but the possible allusion to conflict between prophet and royal authority is reminiscent of Jeremiah's career, as would be the existence of an official who sided discreetly with the prophet.

LACHISH 4: MILITARY REPORTS (3.42C)

<i>Salutation</i> (lines 1) May Yahweh give you good news at this time. <i>General Statement</i> (lines 2-4) And now, your servant has done everything my lord sent (me word to do). I have written down everything you sent me (word to do). <i>Report on Bet-HRPD</i> (lines 4-6) As regards what my lord said about Bet-HRPD, there is no one there.	<i>j</i> Jer 36:23 <i>k</i> Josh 7:24; Judg 13:19; 1 Kgs 17:19; Jer 39:5 <i>l</i> Judg 20:38, 40; Jer 6:1 <i>m</i> Jer 34:7	<i>The Semakyahu Situation</i> (lines 6-12) As for Semakyahu, Shemayahu has seized him and taken him up ^k to the city. ¹⁵ Your servant cannot send the witness there [today]; rather, it is during the morning tour that [he will come (to you)]. Then it will be known ¹⁶ that we are watching the (fire)-signals ^l of Lachish according to the code which my lord gave us, for we cannot see Azeqah. ^{17 m}
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¹⁵ Though "the city" could refer to the writer's own city, it appears more likely that the verbal form used (the causative form of *ʿlh* "to go up") would refer to taking someone to Jerusalem. If it could be determined that "there" in the next sentence refers to the same place, it would be quite certain that the city was not the writer's. Unfortunately, the adverb could conceivably mean "there where you are" = "to you."

¹⁶ The readings at the end of lines 8 ("witness") and 9 ("will come") are uncertain, rendering uncertain the logical sequence from the seizure of Semakyahu (lines 6-7) to the beginning of line 10, where the verbal phrase *wydc* may either mean "and he will know," with the witness as subject, as I previously interpreted (Pardee et al. 1982:91-93) or "and one will know" (indefinite subject, the basis for the new translation offered above); yet another possibility is the analysis as a Hiphil ("and he will cause to know"), though one might expect the orthography {*ywdc*} for such a form — the inscriptional data are insufficient to determine this point. I suggest now that the opposition is between the witness not being able to make his report today and being able to do so tomorrow. The same interpretation holds if one restores "I will send (him)" at the end of line 9 (Cross 1956) instead of "he will come." I remain, in any case, dubious that the sequence *wydc ky* means "and he will know (something) for," as Lemaire has proposed (1977:110), or "and may (my lord) know," as Cross has proposed (1956:25; interpretation accepted by Renz 1995 1:422): "my lord" is simply not in the text and the context does not require that that word be understood here, while the phrase *yd^c ky*, "know that" is so common as to render implausible the analysis of *yd^c* as an absolute usage ("he will know something") which is nonetheless followed by *ky*. If lines 6-12 constitute a single message unit, as the syntax seems to imply (lines 4-6 may also belong to this unit, but the uncertainty regarding Bet-HRPD requires leaving that question open), then Semakyahu has apparently accused the writer's military contingent of not being alert.

¹⁷ The two places Lachish and Azeqah are the only well-known places mentioned in this collection of documents. On the controversy surrounding whether the naming of Lachish supports or weakens the identification of Tell ed-Duwêr with ancient Lachish, see Pardee et al. 1982:94; Lemaire 1986:153; Parker 1994:67-68.

LACHISH 5: THANKS AND REMARKS ON THE HARVEST (3.42D)

<i>Salutation</i> (lines 1-2) May [Yahweh] give my lord the best possible [news at this very time]. <i>Humble Thanks for Correspondence</i> (lines 3-7) Who is your servant (but) a dog that you should have sent to your servant these letters? ¹⁸ Your	servant (herewith) returns the letters to my lord. <i>The Grain Harvest</i> (lines 7-10) May Yahweh allow my lord to witness a good harvest today. Is Tobyahu going to send royal grain to your servant? ¹⁹
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¹⁸ Lit.: "the letters like this" ({²[t] h¹s¹[pr m k] z²[t]}). The use of the plural (*spr m* is intact in lines 6-7) seems to indicate that the reference is to a group of documents sent by the addressee to the writer for him to read, not simply to the addressee's own letter. Compare Lachish 6 below, where the origins of a group of letters are mentioned.

¹⁹ The readings and resultant interpretation behind this translation are owing to Lemaire (1977:117-118).

LACHISH 6: REACTIONS TO FORWARDED CORRESPONDENCE (3.42E)

<i>Salutation</i> (line 1) To my lord Yaush. May Yahweh make this time a good one for you. ²⁰	<i>Letters that Weaken Resolve</i> (lines 2-15) Who is your servant (but) a dog that my lord should have sent (him) the king's letter and those
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²⁰ Lit., "May Yahweh cause my lord to see this time (in) well-being" (*yw² yhw² t² dny t² h² t² hzh šlm*).

of the officials asking me to read them? The [officials']²¹ statements are not good — (they are of a kind) to slacken your courage²² and to weaken that of the men[...]. Won't you write to [them] as

^a Jer 38:4

follows: "[Why] are you acting thus?" [...] As Yahweh your God lives, ever since your servant read the letters he has not had [a moment's peace].

²¹ Parker (1994:76-77) prefers the restoration {h[nb²]}, "the words of the [prophet]."

²² Lit. "the words of the [officials] are not good; for the going slack of your hands (are they)" (*dbry h[šrm] P' tbm lrp ydyk*). Lemaire (1986:153) does not explain why "Chaldeans" in his proposed restoration ({ydy k[šdm]}, "the hands of the Chaldeans," in place of {ydyk [...]}, "your hands") would have been written without the -y- of the gentilic ending, elsewhere used consistently in pre-exilic epigraphic Hebrew, almost certainly because the plural ending was pronounced /iyyim/ at the time (rather than /im/, as occurs later). Thus it still appears preferable to see a break between *l tbm* ("not good") and *l rpt* ("to go slack"), rather than to take these words as a single unit ("the words are not proper to cause slackening"). See the detailed discussion in Pardee et al. 1982:101.

LACHISH 9: REQUESTS (3.42F)

Salutation (lines 1-2)

May Yahweh give my lord the [best] possible news.

o 1 Sam 17:30;
2 Sam 3:11;
1 Kgs 12:6

Request for Information (lines 4-9)

Return word^o [to] your servant by the intermediary of Shelemyahu regarding what we are to do tomorrow.

Release to Bearer (lines 3-4)²³

[And] now, give ten (loaves of) bread and two (bar-measures?)²⁴ of wine (to bearer).

²³ The "release-to-bearer" note is common in the Arad letters (3.43 below; see in particular Arad 3 [3.43C] and note 11 to the translation) and it is on the basis of these that Lemaire (1977:127-128) proposed the new readings and interpretations on which this translation is based. That the function of these documents is to authenticate that a given person is authorized to receive stores is clear from the fact that they can be addressed from inferior to superior, as here. It is uncertain whether the bearer of this note, unnamed, is identical with the person by whose intermediary the writer requests a response in the next paragraph, or whether this person, referred to by name as Shelemyahu, is a member of the recipient's staff.

²⁴ When the liquid measure is not indicated, the reference seems to be to a standard-sized jar that held something over twenty liters; the measure was known in Hebrew as a *bat*. In the new excavations at Tell ed-Duwêr (Ussishkin 1978:85-88), a complete jar has been discovered with a capacity of about twenty-one liters and bearing the inscription *b/*, "one *b(at)*-measure" (regarding the abbreviation *b/*, see the Arad Ostraca (3.43A, note 4) below.

REFERENCES

Text, translations, and studies: Coats 1970; Cross 1956; Cross and Freedman 1952; Dion, Pardee, and Whitehead 1979; Diringer 1953; Dussaud 1938; Galán 1993; Hofijzer 1986; Lemaire 1977; 1986; Lindenberger 1994; Pardee 1983; 1990; 1997c; Pardee, Sperling, Whitehead, and Dion 1982; Parker 1994; Rainey 1987; Renz 1995; Smelik 1990; Torczyner 1938; 1940; Ussishkin 1978; Yadin 1981.

ARAD OSTRACA (3.43)

Dennis Pardee

Over two hundred inscribed objects were discovered during excavations at the site of Tel Arad in the northern Negeb, one hundred and twelve in Hebrew, eighty-five in Aramaic, two in Greek, and five in Arabic; in addition there were thirteen inscribed seals, and nine *l mlk* seal impressions on jar handles (Aharoni et al. 1975/1981). Though some of the Hebrew inscriptions may date back as far as the late tenth century, the bulk of the readable ones are from strata VII and VI, dated to the end of the seventh/beginning of the sixth centuries; some of these texts may be dated a bit earlier than the Lachish ostraca. This comparative abundance of documentation — by far the largest group of pre-exilic Hebrew documents from a single Palestinian site — has provided a wealth of information on the history and economy of south Judah/north Negeb in the last years before the fall of Judah. Good summaries are available in Aharoni's edition, up-dated in the English translation (Aharoni et al. 1975/1981), by Lemaire (1977:145-235; and 1997a), and by Lawton (1992).

Of the Hebrew inscriptions, ninety-one were in ink on pottery, for the most part ostraca; the others were incised in clay bowls or on stone seals. Most were found during regular excavations that took place from 1962 to 1967, though the important text no. 88 was found on the surface in 1974 and some of the excavated inscriptions are dated palaeographically rather than stratigraphically (for an overview of the problems that exist in dating the archaeological strata and the inscriptions, see Manor and Herion 1992; for an attempt at typological dating of the texts from strata VIII, VII, and VI, see Drinkard 1988:432-437).

The texts on ostraca are principally administrative in origin, for the most part letters and name lists, with a few account texts. The epistolary documents either are letters of disbursement (like Lachish 9 above) or they deal with various personal and military affairs (Pardee et al. 1982:24-67).

ARAD 1: ORDER FOR ALLOTMENT OF SUPPLIES (3.43A)

To Elyashib. ¹ And now, ² give to the Kittim ³ three <i>b(at-measures)</i> ⁴ of wine and write down the date. ⁵ ^a From what is left of the first meal, have one	^a Ezek 24:2 ^b Josh 9:12	<i>homer</i> -measure (?) of flour loaded up so they can make bread for themselves. ⁶ ^b It is wine from the craters that you are to give (to them). ⁷
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¹ The simple form of address, with no indication of the writer's name or rank, indicates that the writer was the addressee's superior. He was therefore the superior officer located in a military center, perhaps even Jerusalem. Elyashib's precise rank is unknown, but he was certainly in charge of the storehouse at Arad, for all letters that deal with distribution of supplies from Arad refer to him. We know from text 17 and from three seals (Arad 105-7) that Elyashib's father's name was Eshyahu, but nothing beyond that. Elyashib's name was in all probability pronounced /ʔelyāšīb/, meaning "El causes to return," for the spelling of the name with {y} *mater lectionis*, {ʔlyšyb}, is attested in a fourth-century Aram. text from Arad (Aram. text no. 7) and in the Hebrew Bible. In the Hebrew texts from Tel Arad, the name is always spelled without the *mater lectionis*. The defective spelling of /š/ in three words in this short text ({ʔlyšyb}, {kym} = /kittiyīm/, and {trkb} = /tarkīb/; perhaps {rʔšn} as well, if pronounced /rʔ(ʔ)šōn/ as in BH) obliges one to take with a grain of salt the assertion that "yōd for medial š is regular at Arad" (Lawton 1992:336).

² See note 9 to the Lachish Ostraca (3.42B).

³ This ethnic entity (ethnicity indicated by the gentilic suffix -y-), meaning lit. "persons from Kition (a town on Cyprus)," is never defined in these texts, and it is uncertain whether it is used narrowly to designate inhabitants of Kition or broadly for the inhabitants of Cyprus in general, and whether these Kittim were primarily Phoenician-speakers or Greek-speakers, or, finally, whether the term might designate Greeks in general, whether or not from Cyprus (see overview in Dion 1992). Whatever their ethnic origin and linguistic orientation, the fact that they received supplies from the Arad storehouse has generally been interpreted as meaning that they were mercenaries in the service of the king of Judah. The large amount of supplies mentioned in this text, approximately four bushels of flour and over thirty liters of wine, indicates either that these Kittim were numerous or that they were a small group entrusted with delivering supplies elsewhere. The formula "to make bread for them(selves)" (see note 6 below) seems to indicate the first interpretation, as does the specific time designation in Arad 2.

⁴ The interpretation of the graphic sequence "b/ \\\\" here follows that of the editor (Aharoni 1966:2-3). The interpretation as "1 bat, 3 hin," i.e., 1½ bat (1 hin = 1/6 bat) proposed by Naveh (1992) does not take into account the writing "\\\\" b/" in Arad 3:2 (cf. also 7:5 and 8:5). Nor does it take into account that the bat-measure corresponded to an actual vessel (see note 24 to the Lachish Ostraca [3.42F]) small enough to be the one in which the wine was both stored and shipped.

⁵ The Hebrew expression for "the date" is *šem hayyōm*, "the name of the day."

⁶ This sentence has several uncertainties: (1) what is meant by "first flour" (*qmḥ hrʔšn*); (2) the measure of the flour is written as a symbol of which the meaning has not been firmly established; (3) why the specific verb *trkb*, "load up," is used instead of a verb of giving or handing over (others have interpreted *trkb* as meaning "to grind," but it seems strange to grind the *qmḥ*-flour into another form of flour); (4) the clause expressing the making of the bread is expressed infinitively and without a subject (*ʔšt lhm lhm* "to make bread for them"). See discussion in Pardee et al. 1982:31-32.

⁷ The form of the sentence, with the word "wine" fronted (*myyn hʔgnt tm*), seems to indicate that this is a back-reference to the first order regarding wine, not a new quantity (as I first interpreted: Pardee 1978b:297, n. 46). What is meant by *myyn hʔgnt*, lit. "from (= some of) the wine of the craters," is uncertain. What is clear is that it was not wine stored in craters, for these vessels were large open vessels used for mixing wine prior to drinking, and could therefore not have been used for storage. On the other hand, the Hebrew formula is inappropriate to express the concept of "wine for mixing in craters" (Lemaire 1977:159; more explicitly Bron and Lemaire 1980:8: "vin destiné à être mélangé avec de l'eau dans des cratères"). Rather than "wine for mixing," the Hebrew expression could more plausibly be taken as meaning "mixed wine," i.e. "pre-mixed wine." If the Kittim were to be traveling in dry country, where water was scarce, perhaps their wine ration was in this instance to be issued already cut with water, whether or not mixed with honey and/or spices, according to the Greek preference. On the other hand, the bread was not pre-baked; according to these texts, the grain stored at Arad could be issued unprocessed or as flour, dough (Arad 3), or bread (Arad 2).

ARAD 2: ORDER FOR ALLOTMENT OF SUPPLIES (3.43B)

To Elyashib. And now, give to the Kittim two <i>b(at-measures)</i> of wine for the four days, ⁸ three hundred loaves of bread, and a(nother) full <i>homer</i> -measure	^c 1 Sam 7:16; 2 Chr 17:9; 23:2 ^d Ruth 2:14	of wine. ⁹ Send them out on their rounds ¹⁰ tomorrow; don't wait. If there is any vinegar ^d left, give (that) to them (also).
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⁸ The Hebrew expression is definite (*lʔrbʔt hymm*), but the point of reference is unknown.

⁹ The reason for the two distributions of wine is not indicated. The *homer*-measure was some ten times larger than the *bat* (i.e., over 200 liters). It seems plausible to assume that the smaller amount was for the personal consumption of the Kittim, while the larger was for delivery to the smaller forts located in the vicinity of Arad. One must assume that the wine from the large *homer*-vessel was transferred into smaller vessels or skins (cf. Josh 9:4, 13) for shipment and would, therefore, have to have been consumed within a relatively short period of time. The *homer*-vessel would have been one of the large pithoi often found buried to the neck for cooler storage and to avoid breakage.

¹⁰ Lit. "cause them to go around" (Hiphil of *šbb*).

ARAD 3: ORDER FOR ALLOTMENT OF SUPPLIES (3.43C)

To Elyashib. And now, give three <i>b(at-measures)</i> of wine (to bearer). ¹¹ Moreover, Hananyahu has given you orders ¹² concerning Beersheba: you are yourself to load up and convey there two donkey	• 2 Kgs 5:17	loads ⁶ of dough. ¹³ Calculate the (amount of) wheat ([at Arad?]) and count the (loaves of) bread (already made). ¹⁴ Take [...] ¹⁵
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¹¹ When the indirect object is not indicated in the text, it must be assumed that the document entitled its bearer to receive the supplies.

¹² This formulation expresses a third layer of communication: in addition to the writer and the addressee, a third party, probably superior to both Elyashib and the writer, has issued orders that the writer only transmits.

¹³ If the reading {bšq} is correct, we have evidence for dough being transferred from the central storehouse to a fortress that could not be too far away. Lemaire (1977:165) has questioned the reading, but his interpretation ("harness them with a harness") is not particularly attractive (cf. Rainey in Aharoni et al. 1981:18, n. 3). The syntax of this entire sentence is, however, awkward and hence uncertain. A more literal translation would be: "And Hananyahu orders you upon Beersheba with a load of a pair of donkeys and you are to bind (upon) them dough ..."

¹⁴ Lit.: "count the wheat and the bread" (*spr hšm w hšm*).

¹⁵ Traces of six lines of writing are visible on the *verso* of the ostrakon, but they are too fragmentary to be translated.

ARAD 4: ORDER FOR ALLOTMENT OF SUPPLIES (3.43D)

To Elyashib. Give to the Kittim one (jar of) oil. ¹⁶ Seal (the jar) and send it. Also give them one	<i>b(at-measure)</i> of wine.
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¹⁶ The text is "*šmn /*," where the oblique stroke indicates the number, but with no indication of the measure. Since the standard abbreviation for *bat-measure* is not used in these texts when oil is mentioned, it is quite possible that oil was circulated in containers of a different size.

ARAD 5: ORDER FOR ALLOTMENT OF SUPPLIES
PLUS A POSSIBLE MENTION OF TITHE (3.43E)

To Elyashib. And now, send some of the flour which you have left from the [first (batch)], which [...] flour [to make] bread for the Kittim [...]	[...] (someone) will [send] you the tithe in it, before the month passes. ¹⁷ And from the surplus of [...]
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¹⁷ This text of fifteen lines is poorly preserved, and the presence of the word for "tithe," only partially preserved ({*hm*⁶{*šr*}), appears plausible, though far from certain. "In it," of which the point of reference is uncertain, was previously read as the abbreviated form of *bat* plus the number "three"; however, the three strokes are not arranged one after the other, but one above the other, and the combination seems rather to form the sign {*h*}, interpreted as the pronominal suffix of the third person. The word for "month" is *hšš*, which may refer either to a full lunar month or to the festival of the new moon (cf. Amos 8:5); I retain the first interpretation here because the designation of the feast-day is clearly "1 / *hšš*," i.e., "the first (day) of the month," in text 7.

ARAD 7: ANOTHER ORDER FOR ALLOTMENT OF SUPPLIES (3.43F)

To Elyashib. And now, give to the Kittim for the (period from) the first (day) of the tenth (month) until the sixth (day) of (that) month three <i>b(at-meas-</i>	<i>f</i> Josh 8:32; Isa 65:6; Mal 3:16; Est 2:23; 1 Chr 24:6	ures of wine ³). [And] make a record (of this) ^f on the second (day) of the tenth month. ¹⁸ Also seal (a jar of) oil [and send it ...]. ¹⁹
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¹⁸ This formulation seems to imply an urgent situation requiring a release of supplies on the feast-day of the new-moon, though the religious character of this day only permitted registering the transaction on the following day (cf. Pardee et al. 1982:41).

¹⁹ The writing at the bottom of this ostrakon is faded and only traces of the line translated in brackets are visible.

ARAD 16: A LETTER BETWEEN BROTHERS (3.43G)

Your brother Hananyahu (hereby) sends greetings to (you) Elyashib and to your household. I bless	you to Yahweh. ²⁰ And now, when I leave your house I will send the money, ²¹ eight shekels, to the
--	--

²⁰ Without patronyms, it is impossible to know whether this Hananyahu is the same person as the one bearing the same name who is mentioned in text 3, but the familiar tone of this letter, as compared with the official tone of the one in which Hananyahu is mentioned as a third party, indicates that the references may be to different individuals. Whether Elyashib and Hananyahu are blood brothers or only social equals is uncertain; if the former, they now occupy different households, since Hananyahu sends greetings to Elyashib's "house" (*l byrk*). On the sets of greetings used between social equals and family members, quite different from what we have seen up to this point, see Pardee et al. 1982:49-50. The transitive formula *brk l*, "pronounce a blessing (upon someone) to (a deity)," is not attested in the Bible, though the passive formulation is frequent

sons of Ge²alyahu [by] the intermediary of] Azar- | yahu, as well as the [...]²²

(*bārūk* I ..., "blessed to"). Cf. also the inscriptions from Kuntiller = Ajrud, *COS* 2.47.

²¹ The time frame involved here is uncertain, for the first verb ("when I leave") is formulated infinitively and the second is preceded by the conjunction *w*, which may or may not be "*wāw*-consecutive." Because we do not know which house Hananyahu is leaving (he both sends greetings to Elyashib's house and speaks of leaving it) nor when he is leaving it, it appears better to observe normal BH syntax here and interpret the *wāw* as "consecutive" (we previously took it as "conjunctive": Pardee et al. 1982:48).

²² There are traces of six more lines, too fragmentary for interpretation.

ARAD 17: ANOTHER ORDER FOR ALLOTMENT OF SUPPLIES, WITH POSTSCRIPT (3.43H)

To Naḥum. [And] now, go to the house of Elyashib son of Eshyahu and get from there one (jar of) oil and send (it) to Ziph right away (after) affixing your seal to it.

Dated Postscript (lines 8-9)

On the twenty-fourth of the month Naḥum gave oil to the Kittī (for delivery) — one (jar).²³

²³ Naḥum, whose function and identity are unknown and who may have been located anywhere other than in Elyashib's house (Pardee 1985:70), bore this ostrakon to Elyashib's house as proof that he was entitled to receive a jar of oil. The postscript, written on the back of the ostrakon, indicates that Naḥum in turn entrusted the oil to a single member of the Kittim (*nm ... b yd hkay*, "put into the hand of the Kittī") for delivery to the fortress at Ziph. The reading of the place name is the editor's; today the ostrakon is too faded to read in this spot (for another reading, see Lemaire 1977:176; 1983a:446). The sealing of the jar would have been accomplished by putting a lump of wet clay over the mouth of the container and impressing the seal into the clay. The function of the seal was the same as that of similar seals across the millennia: to ensure that the commodity arriving in Ziph was the same as that which had left Arad.

ARAD 18: A LETTER FROM ONE OF ELYASHIB'S SUBORDINATES (3.43I)

To my lord Elyashib. May Yahweh concern himself with your well-being.²⁴ And now, give Shemaryahu a *letek*-measure (?) (of flour ?) and to the Qerosite²⁵ give a *homer*-measure (?) (of flour ?).²⁵

g Ezra 2:44;
Neh 7:47

h Neh 13:4-9

A Confidential Matter (lines 7-10)

As regards the matter concerning which you gave me orders: everything is fine now: he is staying in the temple of Yahweh.²⁶ ^h

²⁴ The idiom Š²L + ŠLM + personal name/pronoun, lit. "to ask (about) the well-being of someone," is common in the Levantine area from the Late Bronze Age on (see below on Ug. letter RS 17.434+, *COS* 3.45J, note 62).

²⁵ The first part of this letter leaves no doubt that persons of inferior rank to Elyashib could authorize release of supplies from the Arad storehouses. One can only determine the rank of the writer from the form of address. The two measures indicated for an unnamed commodity are written as symbols the interpretation of which is uncertain. For *letek*, cf. Hos 3:2. Regarding the sparse references to temple personnel and other matters in these texts, see list and bibliography in Pardee 1978b:317.

²⁶ The enigmatic form in which this confidential allusion is couched has left the modern interpreters dangling. Though interpreting this reference to a temple (i.e. "house," *byt* in Hebrew) as linked with the sanctuary excavated at Arad has been tempting, this is ruled out for archaeological reasons (Herzog et al. 1984), and the reference appears to be, therefore, to the temple in Jerusalem.

ARAD 21: A SON'S LETTER (3.43J)

Your son Yehukal (hereby) sends greetings to (you) Gedalyahu [son of] Elyair and to your household.

i 1 Sam 24:20;
Prov 13:21;
25:22

I bless you to Yahweh. And now, if my lord had done [...] may Yahweh rewardⁱ my lord [...].²⁷

²⁷ This letter was originally ten lines long, but only the *praescriptio* and the beginning of the body are reasonably well preserved.

ARAD 24: MILITARY MOVEMENTS (3.43K)

[...]²⁸ from Arad five²⁹ and from Qinah [...] and send them to Ramat-negeb under^j Malkiyahu son of

j 2 Sam 18:2
k Jer 40:7
l Gen 42:4

Qerabur. He is to hand them over to^k Elisha son of Yirmeyahu at Ramat-negeb³⁰ lest anything happen^l

²⁸ There was a text of eleven lines on the *recto* of this ostrakon, but only a few traces are preserved: Elyashib's name occurs, but only in line 2, so this letter, like text 17, was apparently addressed to a third party.

²⁹ The number is indicated by the Egyptian hieratic symbol, but it is uncertain whether it is the symbol for "five" or for "fifty," though the former now appears more likely.

³⁰ The towns mentioned in this text are known from the Bible, though the exact localization of the last two, especially that of Ramat-Negeb, is debated (cf. Aharoni 1970:21-25; Lemaire 1977:191-192; Pardee et al. 1982:29; Beit-Arieh and Cresson 1991:128).

to the city. This is an order from the king — a life-and-death matter for you. I send (this message) to warn you now.^m The(se) men (must be) withⁿ

m Deut 8:19; 32:46
n 1Sam22:6;
2 Sam 1:11; 17:12; Jer 41:2, 7

Elisha³¹ lest (the) Edom(ites) (should) enter there.³²

³¹ The absence of a verb in this sentence renders its interpretation problematic, but assuming the elision of the verb “to be” seems the best solution. The phrase *šlḥty ... h²nšm ʔt ʔlyš^c* alone cannot mean “I have sent Elisha’s men” (Lemaire 1977:188; 1986:153) because the preposition *ʔt* does not denote simple belonging and the sentence thus would include a double ellipsis, both of the notion of belonging to Elisha and of going to him (the Hebrew sentence corresponding to Lemaire’s interpretation might be something like *šlḥty ... h²nšm [ʔšr t ʔlyš^c lhywtm] ʔth*, “I have sent Elisha’s men so that they might be with him” — this expresses better the double ellipsis than was done by Pardee et al. 1982:61). Nor is it likely that *ʔt* here means “to” (Rainey in Aharoni et al. 1981:49; see Dion 1983:471). Finally, *h²nšm* should, in any case, be the subject of a new clause, not the object of the verb *šlḥ*, for a direct object complement of that verb is regularly preceded by the definite direct object marker *ʔt* in these texts (Arad 5:11 [verb reconstructed]; 16:4; 40:14; the particle is plausibly restored in 13:2).

³² This is the clearest passage in these texts referring to the Edomite menace, though text 40 as reconstructed by the editor (see next text) also refers to hostile Edomites (cf. Beit-Arieh and Cresson 1991:134). The verb “enter” is feminine in form, as with “Edom” in Mal 1:4.

ARAD 40: THE EDMITE PROBLEM (3.43L)³³

Your son Gemar[yahu], as well as Nehemyahu, (hereby) send [greetings to] (you) Malkiyahu.³⁴ I bless [you to Yahweh]. And now, your servant has applied himselfⁿ to what you ordered.³⁵ [I (hereby) write] to my lord [everything that the man] wanted. [Eshyahu has come] from you but [he has not given] them any men. You know [the reports from]

o 1 Kgs 8:58

Edom. I sent them to [my] lord [before] evening. Eshyahu is staying [in my house.] He tried to obtain the report [but I would not give (it to him).] The king of Judah should know [that] we are unable to send the [X. This is] the evil which (the) Edom(ites) [have done].

³³ The right side of this ostrakon has mostly disappeared; I give the editor’s restorations (Aharoni et al. 1975/1981:72-76/70-74) though they are speculative. This is the only text from Stratum VIII translated here. The end of this stratum is dated to 701, the date of Sennacherib’s invasion of Judah (regarding the chronology of the strata at Arad, see the works cited in the introduction). If the general tenor of the message is correctly represented by the restorations, this text provides evidence for Edomite hostility at this time. Rainey (in Aharoni et al. 1981:74) suggests that the evil of Edom was to capitulate to the Assyrians without supporting the resistance of Judah.

³⁴ The letter is from two persons addressed formally to two (or more) persons: *bnkm* = “the son of you [plural],” but subsequent references to both writer and addressee are in the singular and Gemaryahu is, therefore, in fact writing to his father; the plural pronoun on the first word probably constitutes, therefore, an allusive reference to both parents. As in Ug. letters, *ʔadh*, “lord” is apparently here used for the genetic father, rather than as term of respect for a social superior (see COS 3.45I, n. 52 and COS 3.45S, n. 119). “Lord” and “servant” are appropriate terms to express the subservency of the father-son relationship.

³⁵ Lit.: “your servant has stretched out his heart to what you said” (*{bḥb¹ [ʔ]bdk [l]bh ʔl ʔšr ʔm[r]}*).

ARAD 88: A FRAGMENT OF A COPY OF A ROYAL PROCLAMATION (3.43M)³⁶

I have become king in [...] ³⁷
STRENGTHEN³⁸ the armⁿ and [...]

p Prov 31:17;
cf. Ps 89:22

the King of Egypt [...]

³⁶ This text as preserved has no epistolary features, and its literary genre remains in doubt (Pardee 1978b:290, n. 3) as do its date and historical significance (cf. Aharoni 1975/1981:103-104, 151/103-4, 150; Yadin 1976; Malamat 1988:120-122). Only the beginnings of three lines are preserved, and it is not clear whether the first line preserved was the first line of the text: there is a large space between this line and the upper edge of the ostrakon, but the space between the preserved lines is also rather large. Because of the absence of epistolary features, it appears difficult to see this as a letter from the new king to his officers; moreover the humble medium (ostrakon) makes it unlikely that this is the primary proclamation of a new king of Judah. It may, however, be — among other possibilities — a reproduction of such a proclamation that was circulated to the various military outposts, or a quotation from such a proclamation embedded in a longer document (conceivably epistolary if the first preserved line was not the first line of the original text), or even a scribal exercise.

³⁷ The first sign after the preposition “in” appears to be {k}, and the word *kl*, “all,” is usually restored.

³⁸ In capitals because without the preceding context it is difficult to know precisely what form of the verb is used (imperative or perfect?).

REFERENCES

Texts, translations and studies: Aharoni 1966; 1970; Aharoni and Naveh 1975; Aharoni, Naveh, Rainey, Aharoni, Lifshitz, Sharon, and Gofer 1981; Beit-Arieh and Cresson 1991; Bron and Lemaire 1980; Dion 1983; 1992; Dion, Pardee, and Whitehead 1979; Drinkard 1988; Herzog, Aharoni, Rainey, and Moshkovitz 1984; Lawton 1992; Lemaire 1977; 1983a; 1986; 1997a; Lindenberger 1994; Malamat 1988; Manor and Herion 1992; Naveh 1992; Pardee 1978b; 1983; 1985; Pardee, Sperling, Whitehead, and Dion 1982; Yadin 1976.

THE WIDOW'S PLEA (3.44)

Dennis Pardee

This text did not come from regular excavations and the question of authenticity arises here as in other such cases. Because there are no irregularities in script or language, I continue to believe (see Bordreuil, Israel, and Pardee 1996 and 1998) that the text is authentic. To believe the opposite requires the hypothesis that the forger was a master epigrapher, a master grammarian (only an extremely skilled Hebraist could have produced a text that so perfectly reflects the intricacies of Biblical Hebrew morpho-syntax), a master of biblical law, and a master chemist (capable of producing ancient ink and an ancient patina [Rollston *apud* Bordreuil, Israel, and Pardee 1998:8-9]). The forger would also, however, have had to be cunning enough to produce some unexpected forms, such as {whyh ydk 'my} (line 3), which, given the writer's clear mastery of morpho-syntax elsewhere in the text, must have been either deliberate or a simple scribal error. Eph^cal and Naveh 1998 have argued from certain similarities with phraseology in Biblical Hebrew and epigraphic Hebrew that the text may be a forgery. But such arguments are two-edged: unless inaccuracies are present, such arguments are equally valid in favor of authenticity, i.e., the features singled out are like pre-exilic Hebrew because that is how speakers of pre-exilic Hebrew spoke! In addition, the same authors point out a small number of epigraphic features that are distinctive — but that sort of argument is also two-edged, for a modern forger would have to be not only a master epigrapher but a very devious one to produce previously unattested forms consistently throughout two different texts.¹ Finally, Eph^cal and Naveh turn the tables and refute another argument against authenticity, viz., that certain expressions are characteristic of post-biblical Hebrew (Berlejung and Schüle 1998), by showing that other inscriptions about the authenticity of which there can be no doubt contain such expressions.²

Though very different in its forms of expression and in its particular theme (inheritance), the widow's plea provides in its genre a parallel to the Mešad Ḥashavyahu text (COS 3.41). In both cases, someone addresses a plea to an official for redress of a situation that the plaintiff finds detrimental, describing the situation as he/she sees it and stating precisely the action desired of the official.

The two pleas show two primary literary differences. (1) The blessing formula at the beginning of the widow's plea is similar, though not identical, to known epistolary blessing formulae. In addition, the formula w^cr, lit., "and now," separates the blessing from the plea itself. That phrase frequently marks the transition from the *praescriptio* to the body of a letter (see note 9 to COS 3.42B). These two features strengthen the case for these written pleas having been a sub-form of the epistolary genre (see introduction to COS 3.41). (2) The circumstances are recited here much more briefly than in the other plea, indeed are confined to just a few words {mt 'yšy l' bnm}, lit., "My husband is dead, no sons."

The Blessing (line 1)May YHWH bless you^a in peace.^b*The Plea for a Hearing* (lines 1-2)

And now, may my lord the official listen to your maidservant.

The Circumstances (lines 2-3)My husband has died (leaving) no sons.^c^a Num 6:24^b Ps 29:11^c Num 27:8-

14; Deut

25:5-10;

2 Sam 14:5;

2 Kgs 4:1;

1 Chr 2:30,

32

^d Josh 15:41*The Specific Request* (lines 3-6)(I request politely that the following) happen: (let) your hand (be) with me³ and entrust to your maidservant⁴ the inheritance about which you spoke to 'Amasyahu.⁵*Reminder of One Action Already Taken* (lines 6-8)As for the wheat field that is in Naamah,^d you have (already) given (it) to his brother.

¹ This and another text were published together by Bordreuil, Israel, and Pardee 1996 and 1998, and they show an identical hand.

² Lemaire (1999) successfully refutes several other claims for aberrant usage made by Berlejung and Schüle; on the other hand, nothing speaks in favor of Lemaire's own hypothesis that the two texts would have been scribal exercises.

³ The words {w hyh . ydk | 'my} in lines 3-4 present the only significant problem for the superficial interpretation of the text: (1) is *hyh* used absolutely, as I have translated, (2) is its subject *ydk*, a feminine noun, and the verb is masculine because it precedes its subject, or (3) is this a scribal error (for {w hyt(h)}), as in 1 Chr 4:10)?

⁴ *'amh* functions as the female equivalent of *'bd* as an expression of subservience in the mouth of an inferior writing to a superior (the same is true in Ug.: COS 3.45HH). "Entrust to" here translates NTN *byd*, "to give/put into the hand of," distinct from NTN *l*, "to give to," used below to express the transfer to the deceased's brother. This distinction allows the conclusion that the widow was not asking to become the legal owner of the land but only to have its use as a source of income to allow her to live.

⁵ We hypothesize in the *editio princeps* that 'Amasyahu was the name of the deceased husband. The use of the verb "to speak" here and the absence of reference to a written document appear to indicate that the official's promise to allow 'Amasyahu's wife to continue living from the usufruct of his property was purely oral.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Berlejung and Schüle 1998; Bordreuil, Israel, and Pardee 1996; 1998; Eph'al and Naveh 1998; Lemaire 1999; Younger 1998b.

2. UGARITIC LETTERS*

Dennis Pardee

Excavations began at the site of Ras Shamra in the spring of 1929 and have continued with some regularity to the present. Over four thousand inscribed objects have been discovered, including many texts in Ugaritic and Akkadian inscribed on clay tablets (overviews in Yon 1997 and Pardee 1997a,b). The Ugaritic poetic corpus has attracted the greatest attention (see introductions to the Ugaritic myths in *COS* 1), but the vast majority of texts are prosaic reflections of every-day life.

To date well over one hundred letters, often fragmentary, are known in Ugaritic and some one hundred and fifty in Akkadian (recent discoveries will more than double that number: Bordreuil and Malbran-Labat 1995:445). Roughly a third of the former, those well enough preserved to make an English translation of interest, are translated here. Less well-preserved texts are included only when they present a special interest (e.g., drafts of letters going out to other courts or the letter from the son of ²Urtēnu that allowed the identification of that archive [RS 92.2005, 3.45JJ below]).

Letters written in Ugaritic tend to reflect correspondence within the kingdom of Ugarit, notably between Ugaritians, in particular members of the royal family, while Akkadian, the *lingua franca* of the time, was used much more frequently than Ugaritic for international correspondence. It is uncertain whether Ugaritic texts from foreign courts (e.g., here below the texts in part II) represent translations of texts originally written in Akkadian or whether Ugaritic scribes resided at foreign courts where the message may have been translated immediately from the local language into Ugaritic. It is in any case now certain that Ugaritic scribes did reside abroad,¹ but their precise role in the foreign court is still unknown. For overviews of the epistolographic traditions at Ugarit, see Kaiser 1970; Ahl 1973; Kristensen 1977; Cunchillos 1989.

The texts are organized here according to the following life situations:

- I. Correspondence between members of the royal family (texts 1-7);
- II. Correspondence from other courts (texts 8-12);
- III. Correspondence to other courts (texts 13-16);
- IV. Correspondence between king or queen and a non-royal personage (texts 17-27);
- V. Correspondence between non-royal correspondents (texts 28-40);
- VI. Correspondence exercises (texts 41-42).

Note to translations. Words are in all capital letters when the Ug. vocalization is unknown (e.g., SYR in RS 18.040, *COS* 3.45T below) and in the translation of words in broken contexts of which the basic meaning is clear but not the specific form or the subject (e.g., SEND indicates that the identification of the root as *ṣk* may be ascertained but not its precise function in the sentence).

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¹ See Bordreuil and Malbran-Labat 1995:445 for the case of a Ug. scribe resident at the court of the king of Alashia (Cyprus).

The following is a concordance between the translations and the editions:

Edition Number	Number in COS Translation	Number in COS Translation	Edition Number
RS 4.475	= 28 (3.45BB)	1 (3.45A)	= RS 15.008
RS 8.315	= 3 (3.45C)	2 (3.45B)	= RS 9.479A
RS 9.479A	= 2 (3.45B)	3 (3.45C)	= RS 8.315
RS 11.872	= 5 (3.45E)	4 (3.45D)	= RS 34.124
RS 15.007	= 29 (3.45CC)	5 (3.45E)	= RS 11.872
RS 15.008	= 1 (3.45A)	6 (3.45F)	= RS 16.379
RS 16.078	= 15 (3.45O)	7 (3.45G)	= RIH 78.12
RS 16.264	= 17 (3.45Q)	8 (3.45H)	= RS 18.031
RS 16.265	= 41 (3.45OO)	9 (3.45I)	= RS 18.038
RS 16.379	= 6 (3.45F)	10 (3.45J)	= RS 17.434 +
RS 16.402	= 24 (3.45X)	11 (3.45K)	= RS 18.147
RS 17.063	= 30 (3.45DD)	12 (3.45L)	= RS 18.075
RS 17.117	= 31 (3.45EE)	13 (3.45M)	= RIH 78.3+30
RS 17.434 +	= 10 (3.45J)	14 (3.45N)	= RS 34.356
RS 18.031	= 8 (3.45H)	15 (3.45O)	= RS 16.078
RS 18.038	= 9 (3.45I)	16 (3.45P)	= RS 94.5015
RS 18.040	= 20 (3.45T)	17 (3.45Q)	= RS 16.264
RS 18.075	= 12 (3.45L)	18 (3.45R)	= RS 94.2406
RS 18.113A+B	= 21 (3.45U)	19 (3.45S)	= RS 96.2039
RS 18.147	= 11 (3.45K)	20 (3.45T)	= RS 18.040
RS 19.011	= 32 (3.45FF)	21 (3.45U)	= RS 18.113A+B
RS 19.102	= 33 (3.45GG)	22 (3.45V)	= RS 94.2391
RS 20.199	= 25 (3.45Y)	23 (3.45W)	= RS 34.148
RS 29.093	= 34 (3.45HH)	24 (3.45X)	= RS 16.402
RS 29.095	= 35 (3.45II)	25 (3.45Y)	= RS 20.199
RS 34.124	= 4 (3.45D)	26 (3.45Z)	= RS 94.2479
RS 34.148	= 23 (3.45W)	27 (3.45AA)	= RS 94.2592
RS 34.356	= 14 (3.45N)	28 (3.45BB)	= RS 4.475
RS 92.2005	= 36 (3.45JJ)	29 (3.45CC)	= RS 15.007
RS 92.2010	= 37 (3.45KK)	30 (3.45DD)	= RS 17.063
RS 94.2406	= 18 (3.45R)	31 (3.45EE)	= RS 17.117
RS 94.2273	= 42 (3.45PP)	32 (3.45FF)	= RS 19.011
RS 94.2284	= 38 (3.45LL)	33 (3.45GG)	= RS 19.102
RS 94.2383	= 39 (3.45MM)	34 (3.45HH)	= RS 29.093
RS 94.2391	= 22 (3.45V)	35 (3.45II)	= RS 29.095
RS 94.2479	= 26 (3.45Z)	36 (3.45JJ)	= RS 92.2005
RS 94.2592	= 27 (3.45AA)	37 (3.45KK)	= RS 92.2010
RS 94.2619	= 39 (3.45MM)	38 (3.45LL)	= RS 94.2284
RS 94.5015	= 16 (3.45P)	39 (3.45MM)	= RS 94.2383
RS 96.2039	= 19 (3.45S)		RS 94.2619
RS [varia 4]	= 40 (3.45NN)	40 (3.45NN)	= RS [varia 4]
RIH 78.3+30	= 13 (3.45M)	41 (3.45OO)	= RS 16.265
RIH 78.12	= 7 (3.45G)	42 (3.45PP)	= RS 94.2273

I. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL FAMILY

Dennis Pardee

(1) TALMIYĀNU TO HIS MOTHER ṬARRIYELLI (RS 15.008) (3.45A)²

Address (lines 1-3)

Message of Talmiyānu: To Ṭarriyelli, my mother, say:^{3a}

Greetings (lines 4-6)

May it be well with you. May the gods of Ugarit guard you,^b may they keep you well.^{4c}

The Message: Talmiyānu Has Had an Audience with the King of Hatti (lines 6-13)

My mother, you must know^{5d} that I have entered before the Sun^{6e} and (that) the face of the Sun has

a 2 Kgs 19:10

b Num 6:24;

26; Ps 40:12;

Isa 42:6, etc.

c Job 8:6

d Ezra 4:12;

13; 5:8; cf.

Dan 3:18

e 1 Kgs 2:19

f Num 6:25;

Pss 31:17;

67:2; 119:135

Dan 9:17; cf.

Mal 3:20

g Deut 24:5;

Prov 10:1

h Gen 43:27-28;

2 Kgs 4:26

shone upon me brightly.^f So may my mother cause Ma⁷abu⁷ to rejoice;^g may she not be discouraged, (for) I am the guardian of the army.⁸

Report of Well-being and Request for Return of News (lines 14-20)

With me everything is well. Whatever is well with my mother, may she send word (of that) back to me.^{9h}

² Text published in Vroilleaud 1957:30-31, no. 15. Talmiyānu is the author of a letter addressed to the queen (2) and wrote another letter, jointly with a woman named Ḃāhātumilki, to his mother, unnamed in the address (3). Because in the present text the mother is identified as Ṭarriyelli, who is known to have been a queen of Ugarit, while no known king bore the name Talmiyānu, it may be conjectured that the author of these letters was the younger brother of a king. Ṭarriyelli was still living when the last known king took the throne (Bordreuil and Pardee 1982:128, 1991:162), and it is thus plausible to identify Talmiyānu's royal brother as Niqmaddu III (cf. van Soldt 1991:15-18, esp. n. 116), the next-to-the-last king of Ugarit, who died towards the end of the thirteenth century BCE.

³ The address formulae in Ug. letters reflect in various ways the form of expression appropriate for dictating the letter to the messenger who would have borne the tablet and given the message orally, plausibly sometimes including more details than were present in the brief message inscribed in clay. The order of mention of writer and addressee are important, for they usually reflect the social status of each, the more important being mentioned first. The expression of social status may reflect either a familial situation ("mother," "father," "son" ...) or one of the other strata of society ("lord," "lady," "servant"); it may reflect equality ("brother"); and it may be mixed (as apparently here: in the family situation, the parent is superior, but Talmiyānu's social situation, which allows him to have an audience with the Hittite king, has permitted him to address himself to his mother as he would to an inferior).

⁴ The most typical greetings included the verbs *šlm* (*yšlm lk*, "may it be well with you," and *šlm tšlmk*, "may the gods keep you well" [D-stem factitive]) and *ngr* (= Hebr. *nšr*, also with "gods" as subject, "may they guard you"). Only here in the Ug. correspondence are the gods qualified as those of Ugarit.

⁵ An injunction that the addressee must "know" (*šyd*) something may function either as an introduction to something that the author is about to say, as here, emphasizing the importance of what is about to be stated; or it may come at the end of a letter and function as an appeal to the addressee to take careful notice of what has been said. The latter appears to be the more strongly marked and to express both the gravity of the situation in which the author finds himself and anxiety on the author's part that his report may be overlooked.

⁶ *špš*, the word that designates both the celestial orb and the solar deity, is used in Ug. letters to designate both the king of Hatti (see below [9] and [10]) and the king of Egypt (see below [13]). Because there are in the two texts translated below specific references to the king of Ugarit paying his respects to the Hittite court, it is assumed that this text reflects such a visit.

⁷ The identity of the person referred to here by name only is unknown, but Talmiyānu wishes Ṭarriyelli to transmit to that person the news of his successful audience with the Hittite king. Because the gender of Ma⁷abu is unknown, it is not possible to determine whether the following verb, which is grammatically feminine, refers to Ṭarriyelli or to Ma⁷abu; in either case, the person is meant to be encouraged by the writer's assurances that the Ug. army is still in good hands. It is likely that this document is somehow related to the upheavals during the first years of the 12th century which eventually led to the destruction and abandonment of the city of Ugarit (see Astour 1965; Yon 1992; Liverani 1995).

⁸ It has become clear in recent years that *hrd* is the Ug. term for "army" and that it is cognate with Akk. *hurādu*. See bibliography in Pardee 1987a:387 and more recently Vita 1995.

⁹ This is the standard formula for saying in essence "I'm fine, how are things with you?" Both the writer's report and the request for news use the root *šlm*, "be well," revealing the psychology of the times as accentuating the positive (even, apparently, when things were not going well: see below, [9]). The formula may be double, as here, or may express only the writer's state (typically in letters from superior to inferior) or may only ask about the addressee's state (typically in letters from inferior to superior). Similar formulae are attested in the Akk. letters from Ugarit and from Emar (Tell Meskene), but not in the Amarna letters (see the exhaustive tabulation of the published examples from Ugarit in Pardee forthcoming c, d). Here the formula is placed after the body of the letter and thus functions as a closing formula, but in most cases (see here below [4] and [8], and the expanded form in [37]) it occurs between the greetings and the body; the request for return of news appears at the end in (2), but that letter is entirely formulaic. Often the geographical distance between the correspondents is emphasized by the deictic adverbs *hnni/hltny*, "behold, here" and *tmny*, "there" (for example, in [3]), but they are omitted here.

(2) TALMIYĀNU KEEPS IN TOUCH WITH THE QUEEN (RS 9.479A) (3.45B)¹⁰

Address (lines 1-5)

To the queen, my lady, say: Message of Talmiyā-

nu, your servant:

¹⁰ Text published by Vroilleaud 1938:127-31; re-edited CTA 141-42, no. 52. This letter presents all the earmarks of a letter from inferior to

Prostration Formula (lines 6-11)

At the feet of my lady seven times and seven times
(from) afar do I fall.¹¹

i Gen 33:3

Request for Return of News (lines 12-15)

With my lady, whatever is well, may she send
word (of that) back to her servant.

superior: the addressee is mentioned first, the only form of greeting is the prostration formula, and the author does not mention his own well-being but only asks for news from the addressee. Esp. given the absence of address to the writer's "mother," the addressee can hardly have been the same person as in (1). It appears likely, if the author is the same — which cannot be judged certain, since the name Talmiyānu was, with variants, fairly popular — the queen in question was not the queen-mother Tarriyelli but the reigning queen of Ugarit, perhaps Talmiyānu's sister-in-law (see note 2; on the position of the queen-mother, see below, note 15).

¹¹ The hollow root *ql*, "to fall, to prostrate oneself," is used to express as an epistolary fiction the physical act of obeisance that would be expected of inferiors when entering the presence of social superiors (on the force of the formula, see Pardee and Whiting 1987). When used, as in (4), to express polite obeisance by a king to his mother, the formula is doubly fictional, for it may be doubted that the king of Ugarit fell at his mother's feet every time he entered her presence. The noun *mrhq(t)m* is sometimes added to the obeisance formula; it is used adverbially, meaning lit. "(at) a far-away place." It expresses the distance that separates an underling from his superior when he enters his presence, not the distance separating the two correspondents in an epistolary situation (Loewenstamm 1967:42). The equivalent phrase to *mrhq(t)m* in Akk., *īštu rāqīš*, is common in letters discovered at Ras Shamra and Tell Meskene (ancient Emar), but not in the Amarna letters. That the act of obeisance would indeed be effected at a distance is reflected in different formulae in one of the Ba^clu texts (see COS 1.86, n. 199) and in the Heb. Bible (Gen 33:3-4; Exod 24:1-2). From the Amarna letters we learn that the ideal prostration involved falling first on belly, then on back (e.g., *kabātuma šēruma*, CAD K, p. 14); according to the expression of this letter, that would occur seven times each way, for a total of fourteen prostrations. For a graphic depiction of foreigners prostrating themselves in these two positions in obeisance to the Eg. pharaoh, as well as in positions of rising and falling, see ANEP, pl. 5 (p. 2). Corresponding formulae in Anatolian literature show more variety (cf. the Song of Ullikummi, with its reference to thrice repeated prostrations [Hoffner 1998:63]). Do such variant formulae in Akk. texts discovered at Ugarit also reflect Anatolian views (e.g., "three times, nine times" in RS 25.138:5 [Lackenbacher 1989:318-19])? In the Ug. letters, the formula expressing the number of prostrations effected is never used when the addressee is a member of the writer's family, only when a writer of inferior social status addresses a superior.

(3) TALMIYĀNU AND ᵀAḤĀTUMILKI KEEP IN TOUCH
WITH AN UNNAMED LADY (RS 8.315) (3.45C)¹²

Address (lines 1-4)

To my mother, our lady, say: Message of Talmiyānu and ᵀAḥātumilki, your servants:¹³

Prostration and Greeting Formulae (lines 5-9)

At the feet of our lady (from) afar we fall. May the gods guard you, may they keep you well.

Situation Report (lines 10-14)¹⁴

Here with the two of us everything is very fine.
And I, for my part, have got some rest.

Request for Return of News (lines 14-18)

There with our lady, whatever is well, return word
of that to your servants.

¹² Text published by Dhorme 1938:142-46; re-edited in CTA 140-41, no. 51. Here one of the authors identifies himself by name and refers to the addressee as "mother"; the presumption must be, though certainty is impossible, that these two are the same as the correspondents in (1). The entire structure of the letter differentiates these two from the second author, who is not the daughter of the addressee. A reasonable guess is that she is the wife of Talmiyānu. One thing that appears virtually certain today is that this ᵀAḥātumilki is not to be identified with the wife of Niqmêpa^c and mother of ᵀAnumittamru II who bore the same name but who would have been born a century earlier (on this correction, see Freu 1999:27).

¹³ The pronominal suffixes of ᵀumy and ᵀadny distinguish explicitly between the two authors, for the first is 1st person singular while the second is 1st person dual, lit., "my mother, the lady of the two of us" (this suffix -ny peculiar to Ug. and preserved also in Eg., is present again below as the subject indicator attached to the verb "to fall" {qlny}). The last word, ᵀbdk, is almost certainly in the dual, /ᵀabdēki/, lit., "the two servants of you." A similar situation is encountered below, (34).

¹⁴ The writer's situation report is here separated from the request for return of news by a non-formulaic element of the situation report wherein the son reassures his mother to the effect that he is not working too much. These four words, w ᵀap ᵀank nḥr, though enclosed within a formula, constitute by their non-formulaic nature the body of the letter. They reveal clearly that the Ug. scribes were capable of modifying the standard epistolary formulae to fit a particular situation.

(4) THE KING TO THE QUEEN-MOTHER¹⁵ IN THE MATTER
OF THE AMURRITE PRINCESS (RS 34.124) (3.45D)¹⁶

Address (lines 1-3)

[To the queen, my mother, say: Message of the]

k[ing, your son.]

¹⁵ The restoration of *mikt*, "queen," in line 1 is virtually certain, based on the occurrence of the word in the three following texts, (5), (6), and (7). The importance of the queen mother in Ug. society is seen most clearly in this text: it is she who decides what bodyguards to send to the king when he is absent from the city (lines 10-16) and, in his absence, it is she who presents his case in the matter of the Amurrite princess to

Prostration and Greeting Formulae (line 4-6)

At my mother's feet [I fall].¹ With my mother
<may> it be well! [May the gods] guard you,
may they keep [you] well.

Report of Well-being and Request for Return of News (lines 7-9)

Here with me [everythi]ng is well. There with you,
whatever is well, sen<d> word (of that) back to
me.

The King Complains Concerning the Royal Guard
(lines 10-16)

Why do you send this *hupitu*-(soldier¹) and not the
royal guard?¹⁷ If BN QL¹, BN ²ALYY,¹⁸ and the
royal guard go (elsewhere), inform me, and you
will disappoint me severely.¹⁹

The Affair of the Amurrite Princess (lines 17-?)²⁰

Concerning your up-coming presentation to the

J 1 Kgs 2:19

k Ps 51:19;
147:3

I Cf. Deut
19:12, etc.

m 1 Kgs 11:1-
3

n 1 Kgs 10:2,
10

o 1 Sam 10:1;
16:1, 13;
1 Kgs 1:39;
2 Kgs 9:1-3,
6; Pss 23:5;
133:2

p Exod 20:5-
6, etc.

city(-council)²¹ of the correspondence relative to
the daughter of the king of Amurru:²² if the city
remains undecided, then why have I sent letters (to
them) on the topic of the daughter of the king of
Amurru?²³ Now Yabnūnu²³ has left for the court of
Amurru and he has taken with him one hundred
(shekels of) gold²⁴ and *mardatu*-cloth²⁴ for the king
of Amurru. He has also taken oil in a horn and
poured it on the head²⁵ of the daughter of the king
of Amurru. Whatever si[n² ...] because my mother
[...].

Conclusion (lines 42'-45')

[...] is left and moreover [...] brought to an end by
expiating²⁵ [...] your (male) ally/allies.²⁶ And I, for
my part, [...] your (female) enemy.²

the representatives of the city of Ugarit (lines 17-24). It is virtually certain that the queen-mother retained the title of "queen" (*mlkt*) after her husband's death; but there is as yet no direct proof whether the new king's first wife also was honored with that title while the queen-mother lived or only received it on her death (cf. van Soldt 1985-86; Pardee forthcoming d on [3]). Apparent allusions to the wife of 'Ammurāpi' as "queen" while the queen-mother Tarryelli still lived make it likely, however, that both women bore the title.

¹⁶ This letter was one of the texts rescued from the "tas de déblais" in 1973 (see description of the find in Bordreuil 1991); there was a preliminary edition by Caquot (1975:430-32), and a full edition by Bordreuil and Pardee (1991:142-50). Subsequent excavations have shown that the 1973 texts came from a large house in which one of the major officials active near the end of the kingdom of Ugarit lived. His name was ²Urtēnu and he was plausibly a member of the queen's administrative apparatus (see Yon 1995; Bordreuil and Malbran-Labat 1995; Malbran-Labat 1995a). This house is only second to the royal palace itself in the number of epistolary documents yielded that were written in Ug., a total of twenty-seven through the 1996 excavations. Others, from the 1992, 1994, and 1996 campaigns, are translated below.

¹⁷ New textual discoveries have underscored the subservient nature of the *hupitu* in Ug. society (see below, [19] and [27]). It may be expected that a single *hupitu* (unless the term was used as a collective here) would not have been of much comfort compared with several members of the king's personal guard.

¹⁸ Two proper names of the "son-of-X" type; the persons in question are unknown from other texts.

¹⁹ In the Ug., the words are *ttbm lby*, lit., "you will break my heart," though the force of the Ug. idiom probably emphasizes disappointment over despondency (Bordreuil and Pardee 1991:146).

²⁰ In the break at the end of the *verso* (the upper edge of the tablet when viewed from the front) about seven full lines have disappeared. The same break has removed the beginning of each line of the text written on the left edge of the tablet (lines 42'-45'). These lacunae make it impossible to determine whether the end of the text as preserved continues the topic of the daughter of the king of Amurru, or whether the subject changed in the text that has disappeared. In the early days of the study of this text, three primary interpretations of the passage before the break were proposed: (1) the king is speaking of preparations for an up-coming marriage to an Amurrite princess (Caquot 1975:431-432); (2) the topic is an attempted reconciliation between the king of Ugarit, who would be 'Ammittamru II (who reigned ca. 1260-1215 BCE), and his Amurrite wife after she had committed a "great sin" (Pardee 1977; with less conviction Bordreuil and Pardee 1991:150); (3) Yabnūnu's task is to bring about the death of the Amurrite queen of Ugarit after the same "great sin" (Brooke 1979:83-87). Each of these interpretations has weaknesses: the first does not explain the presence of the root *hfr*["], "sin," nor, if that topic continued through the break to lines 42'-45', does it explain *kpr*, "to expiate," and the references to the queen-mother's allies and enemies; the second posits an attempted reconciliation to which no reference is made elsewhere in the various documents concerning the affair of the "great sin" and, if there be no link between the topic treated in lines 17-34 and that treated in lines 42'-45', it relies entirely on the presence of the root *hfr*["]; the third is rendered precarious by the reference to oil poured on the head of the woman in question, for anointing is hitherto unattested in such circumstances (see Pardee 1977:14-19; Bordreuil and Pardee 1991:150). It appears more likely, therefore, that this text deals with a marriage between a later Ug. king, plausibly 'Ammurāpi', the last king of Ugarit, and an Amurrite princess concerning which no Akk. textual data have yet appeared (Freu 1999:27-28).

²¹ The role of the city (*qrr*) is twice mentioned in this text, here and in the second part of this sentence. We have very few data regarding the part that the non-royal segment of the city took in decisions regarding matters of primarily royal concern, such as foreign marriages or dissolutions thereof. This text, however, depicts the queen-mother as presenting the case at hand to the city and it implies that the city had a role in deciding policy, for it is depicted as, translating more lit., "remaining in a state of anguish" (*yḫb b mṣqt*) over the messages that the king has sent regarding the affair.

²² The reference is to the neighboring kingdom of Amurru, located to the south of the kingdom of Ugarit, in the region to the north of modern Tripoli (see Singer 1991; Klengel 1992:160-74).

²³ Yabnūnu is one of a relatively small number of important personages who were deeply involved in the distribution of resources in the city-state and who worked both within the royal administration and in a capitalistic fashion on their own. On Yabnūnu himself, see Courtois 1990; and on the role of these individuals and the "firms" they ran, the brief presentation in Malbran-Labat 1995a:105-6, 110-11. The identification of this Yabnūnu with the personage deeply involved in royal affairs at the end of the thirteenth century is the primary explicit basis for Freu's dating of this text to the time of 'Ammurāpi' (see above, note 20).

²⁴ The word *mardatu* occurs in both Akk. and Ug. texts designating a textile produced in the west, a "fabric woven with several colors in a special technique" (CAD M 1:277). It is attested as a gift between western kings, as here, and from western kings to kings in Mesopotamia (Mari).

²⁵ The presence of the signs {kpr} is certain, but as the verb "to expiate" is otherwise unattested in Ug., other interpretations of the signs have been proposed (Brooke 1979:79).

²⁶ The translations "(male) ally/allies" and "(female) enemy" render the signs {...}hbk and {...}n²itk and assume the restoration of basically nominal forms (plausibly participles, as in Heb.) of the roots ²hb, "to love," and ²sn² (= ²sn²), "to hate." If the forms are indeed participles, it is impossible to determine whether the suffixed form in the case of the male allies is singular or plural.

(5) THE KING OF UGARIT TO THE QUEEN-MOTHER IN THE MATTER OF HIS MEETING
WITH THE HITTITE SOVEREIGNS (RS 11.872) (3.45E)²⁷

<i>Address</i> (lines 1-4) To the queen, my mother, say: Message of the king, your son.	mother, whatever is well, send word (of that) back to me.
<i>Prostration and Greeting Formulae</i> (line 5-8) At my mother's feet I fall. With my mother may it be well! May the gods guard you, may they keep [you] well.	<i>Meeting with the Royal Hittite Sovereigns</i> (lines 14-18) From the tribute they have vowed a gift²⁸ to the queen. My words she did indeed accept²⁹ and the face of the king shone upon us.
<i>Report of Well-being and Request for Return of News</i> (lines 9-13) Here with me everything is well. There with my	

²⁷ Text published by Vroilleaud 1940:250-53; re-edited in CTA 139-40, no. 50.

²⁸ Various new explanations of the difficult sequence {tyndr | ²itt . ²mn . mlkt} in lines 14-16 (cf. the similar expression in lines 12-14 of the following text) have appeared in recent years, none of which is convincing. One of these takes {²itt} as a verb meaning "I am" and {tyndr} as a place name (Cunchillos 1988:46-47; 1989:289, n. 9), but there exists yet no proof that the particle ²itt was inflected for person and the GN is as yet unattested as such. Subsequently, Dietrich and Loretz (1994:69-70) took up an old proposal by Hofstijzer (1967:131-32, n. 2) to see in the mlk of line 18 the king of Ugarit and in the author of the letter a royal scion named mlk; the former is not possible because it is the face of the "Sun," i.e., the Hittite king, that "shines" (see [1]), while the identification of mlk as a person by that name borders on the frivolous, as the personage is unknown and proper names are not used by members of the royal family in the address formula when writing to each other. The interpretation of {tyndr} offered here, "they have vowed a gift," is weakened by the absence of a word divider here and in the parallel text; I maintain the interpretation because seeing here an unattested GN makes little sense of the text.

²⁹ Because to date a better solution has not presented itself (cf. Pardee 1984:224), I translate according to the emended text {l | lq<h>t} in lines 16-17.

(6) THE KING OF UGARIT TO THE QUEEN-MOTHER IN THE MATTER OF HIS MEETING
WITH THE HITTITE SOVEREIGN (RS 16.379) (3.45F)³⁰

<i>Address</i> (lines 1-3) To the queen, my mo[ther], say: Message of the king, your son.	q Num 13:31; Judg 1:1, etc.	whatever is we[ll, send] word (of that) back to me.
<i>Prostration and Greeting Formulae</i> (line 4-7) At my mother's feet I fall. With my mo[ther] may it be well. May the god[s] guard you, may they keep [you] well.		<i>Meeting with the Hittite Sovereign</i> (lines 14-18) Here to the king from the tribute they have vowed a gift and [h]e (as a result has agreed to) augment his "vow".³¹
<i>Report of Well-being and Request for Return of News</i> (lines 9-13) Here with me it is [w]ell. There with my mother,		<i>Assurances</i> (lines 16-24) Now if the Hittite (forces) go up,³² I will send you a message; and if they do not go up, I will certainly send one.³² Now you, my mother, do not be agitated and do not allow yourself to be distressed

³⁰ Text published by Vroilleaud 1957:28-29, no. 13. Though the difficult paragraph of the preceding text re-appears here (ll. 12-14) in a very similar form, only the king is present on this occasion and the author goes into more detail regarding the situation in which he finds himself. Because the last paragraph of the text fits the historical context of a time of military movements, it is plausible, though not certain, that both this text and the preceding date from the troubled times shortly before the fall of Ugarit (cf. [20], [24]).

³¹ The text is damaged here (ll. 14-15) and there is an unsure sign: {w ht | [-]sny . ²u²grh}. My translation assumes (1) the restoration {y[sny]}, root sny, "to increase" (de Moor 1965:358); (2) that the proto-Ug. root ndr is spelled with {d} as a verb (see note 28) but with {g} in the noun {²udr}; (3) that the noun "vow" refers to the Hittite king's reaction to the gift he had received, either abstract (he would make vows to the gods of Hatti and Ugarit) or concrete (reciprocal gifts to Ugarit in return for their military aid). The same word seems to appear again in (24):20 (see below).

³² The spelling {²l} for the 3rd m.s.pf. of the root ²ly, "ascend," is anomalous (see Sivan 1984:290-91; Tropper 2000:664-65 [§75.534]), but no better interpretation has yet been offered (²wl, "do evil" [de Moor 1965:358], does not, I believe, work in this context). The reference may be to the mountainous territory north of the kingdom of Ugarit (see [20]).

in any way.³³

³³ Lit., "and, moreover, do not place anything in your heart" (*w ʔap mḥkm b lḥk ʔal tšr*).

(7) A ROYAL SON TO HIS MOTHER AS REGARDS
WARFARE (RIH 78.12) (3.45G)³⁴

<i>Address</i> (lines 1-2) To the queen, my mother, my lady: <i>Prostration Formula</i> (lines 2-3) At your feet I fall. <i>Report on ʿAbdimilki</i> (lines 3-7) When you sent ʿAkayu, (thereby) ʿAbdimilki the š^ctq³⁵ was saved. He (now) will uplift the heart of	your son and (take away) your pain as well. <i>The Son's Efforts</i> (lines 8-22) Now as for me, for six days I have been fighting continuously. If ʿAbdimilki is not saved a[live?], then the heart [of your son? ...].³⁶ However that may be, ʿAbdimilki is (still) alive. If he should die, I will go on fighting on my own.
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³⁴ Text published by Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:359-60; cf. Pardee's preliminary re-edition based on collation (1984:221-23). I have nothing new to offer here on the interpretation of the individual terms of this text and refer the reader to that study. The formulae are abbreviated (note absence of the messenger formula "say" and the abbreviated prostration formula, "at your feet," rather than "at the feet of my mother, my lady"), as well as the omission of any form of greeting, revealing plausibly the agitation of the military situation (for the absence of greeting, see below, (20), from a similar situation). The omission of the self-identification in the address was probably owing to the same factors, but it has deprived us of knowing whether the "son" was the reigning king or not. The presumption must be that the son was not king, for, in other letters containing that self-identification of the writer, the queen-mother is not addressed as "lady," but only as "mother." One can, however, easily imagine a young ʿAmmurāpi off to his first battle so addressing Tarriyelli (on ʿAmmurāpi's youth at taking the throne, see below on [9]).

³⁵ A female š^ctq³⁵ is attested in the Kirta story as the effective means of removing his illness (COS 1.102, p. 342). Here the context is insufficient to allow us to determine ʿAbdimilki's precise role, though it was clearly in the sphere of removing pain (see next sentence).

³⁶ Plausibly, "the heart of your son will be downcast," the opposite of "being uplifted." After this lacuna, four more lines are too damaged for a coherent translation.

II. INCOMING CORRESPONDENCE FROM OTHER COURTS³⁷

Dennis Pardee

(8) THE KING OF TYRE TO THE KING OF UGARIT IN THE MATTER
OF STORM-DAMAGED SHIPS (RS 18.031) (3.45H)³⁸

<i>Address</i> (lines 1-3) To the king of Ugarit, my brother, say: Message of the king of Tyre, your brother.³⁹ r	r 2Sam5:11; 1 Kgs 5:15- 25; 9:10-14 <i>Greetings</i> (lines 4-5) May it be well with you. May the gods guard you, may they keep you well.
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³⁷ It is generally assumed that all such documents are translations into Ug. from an Akk. original. Because Akk. was the *lingua franca* of the time and because of the hundreds of Akk. letters that have been discovered at Ras Shamra, this hypothesis must be judged likely. On the other hand, because there is not to date a single case where the original has been preserved as well as the translation, two other possibilities must be considered: (1) the Ug. text represents the writing down at Ugarit of a message that would have been delivered orally; (2) a Ug. scribe would have been present at the foreign court and it is he who would have done the translation of the original message into Ug.

³⁸ Text published by Virolleaud 1965:81-83, no. 59. New archaeological investigations have corrected the original excavator's identification of the locus where this and a large number of other tablets and fragments were found as an oven for baking tablets (references in Pardee 2000b:55). As is generally the case at Ras Shamra, the tablets found in "Cour V" and surrounding rooms had for the most part fallen from the upper story when the structure collapsed. No given text may certainly be dated, therefore, to the period immediately preceding the fall of the city, though most would belong to archives in current use and thus be of relatively recent date.

³⁹ There is no reason to suspect that the kings of Ugarit and Tyre were related, and the word "brother" here reflects a common usage, that of expressing equal social status among kings. Because neither king is named in this text, there is no precise element for dating it. The apparently free contacts with Egypt indicate, however, a time after the treaty that established peace between Egypt and Hatti during the reigns of Rameses II and Hattusili III, for Ugarit had been within the Hittite sphere during the period of open hostilities between the two great powers (Liverani 1979:1304-1312; Klengel 1992:100-180). Because this text deals with a shipment of grain, in all probability from Egypt northwards, recent scholarship on this text dates it to one of the periods of food shortage in the Hittite empire that occurred during the last four decades of its life, ca. 1225-1185 (Freu 1999; Singer 1999). As there is no obvious reason to prefer an earlier date over a later, the presumption must be that this text dates to the last few years of the kingdom of Ugarit.

Report of Well-being and Request for Return of News (lines 6-9)

Here with me it is well. There with you, whatever is well, send word (of that) back (to me).

The Storm at Sea (lines 10-27)

Your ships⁴⁰ that you dispatched to Egypt⁴¹ were wrecked⁴² near Tyre when they found themselves caught in⁴³ a bad storm.⁴⁴ The salvage master,⁴⁵ however, was able to remove the ent[ire] (cargo of)

1 Kgs 9:26-27; 10:11, 22
1 Kgs 18:45;
Ezek 13:11,
13; Jon 1:4
Deut 22:9
Gen 12:5,
etc.
Judg 1:31
2 Sam 13:33;
cf. 2 Sam
19:20; Isa
42:25, etc.

grain" in their possession. (Then) I took over from the salvage master the entire (cargo of) grain, as well as all the people⁴⁶ and their food, and I returned (all these things) to them.⁴⁵ Now your boats have been able to moor⁴⁶ at Acco,⁴⁷ stripped (of their rigging).⁴⁷ So my brother should not worry.⁴⁸

⁴⁰ The word is ^{anykn}, consisting of ^{any}, plausibly a collective noun as in Heb. (Cunchillos 1989:351-52, n. 9), plus the 2nd m.s. suffix -k-, plus the enclitic particle -n, of uncertain function here. The noun ^{any} is of feminine gender, as is shown by the verbal forms in lines 13 (^{mtt}), 24 (^{tr}), and 25 (^{ryr}). If the word is indeed collective and not singular, the precise number of boats was not stated by the king of Tyre because all that the Ugaritian king had sent were rescued; he was expected to know the number.

⁴¹ The GN is regularly written ^{msrm} in Ug., a dual form as in the later Northwest Semitic languages, reflecting the Eg. perception of their land as consisting of two major segments, Upper and Lower Egypt.

⁴² Lit. "died" (^{mtt}, ^{fmt}, 3rd fem. sing.). It is clear from what follows that "died" did not imply sinking, only the stripping away of the rigging of the boats, leaving them at the mercy of the storm. It is also clear from what follows that the boats never foundered, for the local salvage master was able to remove everything of value in them and get them to port in Acco. One may surmise that the storm was violent but brief, that the event took place far enough south of Tyre to preclude attempting to bring the damaged boats back against the wind to Tyre, and that Acco was the next major port to the south able to take them in.

⁴³ Lit. "they found themselves in." The verb is ^{nškh}, N-stem perf. of ^{škh}; the 3rd masc. pl. form refers to the crews running the ships, not to the vessels themselves (of which the antecedent would be feminine singular, as we have seen). This form explains the recurring 3rd masc. pl. suffix -hm below (^{bdnhm}, "in their hands" [l. 18], ^{gr²hm}, "their grain" [l. 19], ^{aklhm}, "their food" [l. 21], ^{lhm}, "to them" [l. 23]).

⁴⁴ The meaning of ^{rb mtt}, lit. "master of death," as denoting the local official in charge of wrecks is elucidated by the verb expressing the wrecking of the ships, i.e., ^{mt}, "to die" (Hofjüzer 1979:386). The appointment of a governmental official to be in charge of salvage (cf. English "receiver of wreck") thus has at least a conceptual precedent, if not a precise legal one, in the Late Bronze Age. From the statement below that the king took the salvaged items from the salvage master (the verb is ^{lgh}, the same as was used for the salvage master "removing" the grain from the boats), one may infer that the position was by royal appointment and that the official normally disposed of and therefore profited from the salvage. It may further be surmised that the king of Ugarit would subsequently have been responsible for remunerating the salvage master for his efforts, but that would of course have depended on the custom of the time (it is possible that the local king had the authority to dispose of the salvage as he wished, at least on occasion).

⁴⁵ The item mentioned first, in the preceding sentence, was the cargo of grain. Here the three principal components of the salvage are defined as the cargo of grain, the human beings (^{kl npš}), and the supplies for feeding the crews during the voyage (^{aklhm}). Whether ^{kl npš} may be understood as including passengers as well as crew, there is no way of knowing.

⁴⁶ Ug. had an originally biconsonantal verb, ^{tyw} or ^{ty}, related to the Arabic verb ^{twy} that denotes either the act of a person stopping somewhere or the hospitality extended to that person. The Ug. semantic field appears similar to the Arabic, for here the verb is used to express the finding of refuge in Acco, but in another Ug. letter ([31] [see below]) to express the act of furnishing bread and wine to a lodger. Here it is spelled {t} and is a 3rd fem. sing. pf., apparently pronounced /tīt/, from /*tīyat/ or /*tīwat/. The verb occurs three times in the imperf. spelled {tt} in (31); the form {yī}, "he will furnish (food)," may occur in (9):30 (see following text). The root was identified by Vroilleaud in his ed. of (8) (1965:83). Attempts to identify {tt} as a form of the number "2" must be rejected (Pardee, forthcoming d).

⁴⁷ Lit. "stripped naked": ^{ryr} is an adjective, perhaps a G-stem verbal adjective from ^{rw/y} (cf. Arabic ^{ariya}, "be naked"; the Heb. noun meaning "nakedness" shows III-w, viz., ^{erwā}, a form of the root perhaps attested in RS 2.1003 + i 7 [KTU 1.14]). The antonym is ^{lbbš}, "to clothe," attested once for the act of rigging a ship (RS 18.025:16 [Vroilleaud 1965:129-30, text 106]; cf. Pardee 1975:616).

⁴⁸ The "not to worry" formula is expressed in the third person ("my brother" = "you") and consists of the injunction not "to take it to heart": ^{w ahy mhh b lhh} ^{at yst}, "may my brother not put anything in his heart." See above on (6):22-24.

(9) THE KING OF HATTI TO THE KING OF UGARIT (RS 18.038) (3.45I)⁴⁹

Address (lines 1-2)

Message of the Sun: To ^{Ammurāpi} say:

⁴⁹ Text published in Vroilleaud 1965:84-86, no. 60. This letter, found with the same group of tablets as the previous text (see note 38), is frustrating, for most of the long paragraph that apparently deals with famine (lines 17-30) has been lost, the third and fourth paragraphs (lines 5-16) are also damaged, though plausible restorations based on the repetitiveness of the two paragraphs are here possible, and the final paragraph (lines 31-35) is both damaged and of uncertain interpretation. This text is included here, however, because it is the best preserved of several Ug. letters from the Hittite king to the king of Ugarit. See also the next text, from the Hittite queen to the king of Ugarit. (Many more letters written in Akk., both from the Hittite king himself and from his representative in Syria, the ruler of Carchemish, have been discovered at Ras Shamra.)

⁵⁰ ^{Ammurāpi} is the last known king of Ugarit, who took the throne near the beginning of the 12th century BCE and, as far as we know, was on the throne at the time of the destruction of the city in the second decade of that century. The Hittite king, though here unnamed, may by synchrony be identified with Šuppiluliuma II (Klengel 1992:148); his father would have been Arnuwanda while ^{Ammurāpi}'s father would have been Niqmaddu III (cf. Freu 1999:37; Singer 1999: chart after p. 732). It is now known that ^{Ammurāpi}'s father died young and that the son took the throne while too young to be considered a man: in RS 34.129:5-7 (Malbran-Labat 1991:38-39, text 12), the Hittite king writes to the

Report of Well-being (lines 3-4)

With the Sun everything is very well.⁵¹

The Hittite Sovereign's View of the Previous Reign (lines 5-10)

Before the Sun's [fat]her [your] fath[er],⁵² his servant, did indeed dwell submissively;⁵³ for a se[rvant] indeed (and) his possession⁵⁴ was he⁵⁵ and [his] l[ord] he did indeed guard. My father never lacked g[rain], (but) you, for your part, have not recognized (that this was how things were).^{54 aa}

Amurāpi's Duty (lines 11-16)

Now you also belong to the Sun your master; a serv[ant] indeed, his possession are you. But [yo]u, for your part, you have not at all recognized (your responsibility toward) the Sun, your master. To

y Ps 23:6

z Exod 19:5,
etc.

aa Exod 2:25,
etc.

bb Gen 12:10;
26:1; 41:48-
57

me, the Sun, your master, from year to year,⁵⁵ why do you not come?

The Food Matter (lines 17-30)

Now concerning the fact that you have sent a (message)-tablet to the Sun, your master, regarding food, to the effect that there is no food in your land:⁵⁶ the Sun himself is perishing.⁵⁶ [Now] if I go⁵⁷ [...] a gift⁵⁷ [...] the Sun [...] food he will furnish [...].⁵⁸

The Enigmatic Conclusion (lines 31-35)

(In the month of) ²Ib^caltu [...] but I [have] no scribe. Our scribes are (normally) "pure." (Such) a man search out, wherever he may be, and have him sent to me.⁶⁰

governor of Ugarit because of the youth of the king ("the king your master is little (*se-he-er*), he doesn't know anything"). The general content of (9) indicates that he had matured enough to have been expected to visit Hatti on a regular basis. Texts such as (5) and (6) reflect encounters between the two kings and plausibly date, therefore, after this one.

⁵¹ As is generally the case in letters from the Hittite king to the king of Ugarit, both those in Ug. and those in Akk., the address is very brief and in it the sender is always mentioned before the addressee. Greetings are also brief or even omitted, as here, and the formula reporting on the sender's well-being is never accompanied by the request for return of news from the addressee (on the double formula see above note 9 and the other examples cited there). These are all characteristics of letters from superiors to inferiors when the social separation is great. If line 21 is correctly interpreted as "the Sun is perishing," the purely formulaic character of the report of well-being becomes clear.

⁵² Two considerations permit a new interpretation of this text (as compared with Pardee 1981): (1) in Ug. prose, ²adn normally designates the "(biological) father," not the "(political) father"; (2) restoring {²ad[nk]} rather than {²ad[nh]} in line 6 (suggested to me by A. Sumakai-Fink) permits this entire paragraph to be interpreted as the Hittite sovereign's view of how things were in the time of Niqmaddu III, rather than as the quotation of a previous letter from "Amurāpi," as I had previously understood.

⁵³ The Ug. here is *k* {*bd(m)*} *sglth hw*. The word translated "possession" is *sglt*, cognate to Heb. *s'gullāh*. See the detailed comparison with the Heb. data by Hofstjzer (1982:380-82).

⁵⁴ Here and in line 14, the verb is *yd*^c, used, as occasionally in BH, to express recognition of a state and its associated responsibilities (Huffman and Parker 1966). Here the lack of recognition in the Ug. king is represented as not following his father's example in recognizing his responsibility as a vassal to provide his master with supplies of food in years of poor crops in Hatti. In the following paragraph, to this responsibility is added that of rendering regular visits to the overlord.

⁵⁵ Liverani has recently argued convincingly (1997), in fact taking up a point made several decades earlier (1964b:199-202), that the second word of the formula *šnt šntm* is not dual, as most scholars have thought, but singular with enclitic *-m*.

⁵⁶ Before the colon in my translation the Hittite king is quoting a previous letter from "Amurāpi," wherein he claimed not to have any grain to send to his sovereign. The Hittite king then claims that he will perish without an influx of food supplies.

⁵⁷ At the beginning of line 23 the word *ymt* is preserved, which could be either the noun "gift" or a perfective form of the verb *ymt*, "to give." Because the Ug. word *špš*, "sun," is feminine in gender, the scribe of this document used in line 21 a feminine verbal form with that noun when referring to the Hittite king (*špšn t'ubd* = "Sun" + "nun of apodosis" + "she perishes" [3rd fem. sing. impf.]) and the same could be true of *ymt*. Because of the damaged text, it is not possible to decide the matter. It is in any case not clear, if the form is verbal, why it is perfective in line 23, as compared with the imperfectives in lines 21 (*t'ubd*) and 22 (*alk*), though the perfective could be a part of the apodosis of the conditional sentence begun in line 22 (in Ug., as in Heb., the use of perfective and imperfective forms in conditional sentences reflects the aspectual nature of the verbal system). Nor would it be clear why the writer would refer to himself in the first person in line 22, sandwiched in between the self-references in the third person in lines 21 and 23. Whatever the correct analysis of the morphology and syntax of the form may be, we may surmise that the Hittite king is making reference to previous "gifts" in connection with providing him with food supplies, either his to the kings of Ugarit or theirs to him (i.e., the food itself).

⁵⁸ Only a few signs at the beginning of each of the lines 23-30 are preserved, insufficient to understand even the gist of the Hittite king's further description of his situation. That he continued to speak of food throughout is clear, however, from the repetition of the word ²akl, "food," at the beginning of the last line of the paragraph, followed by {*y1*[...]}. Here taken as a complete word (see above note 46 on *t*₂ in [8]), though the two signs could be only remnants of a longer word.

⁵⁹ The last sign before the break is {²a}, which may plausibly be interpreted as the beginning of a 1st com. sing. impf. verbal form, "I will/would [X]."

⁶⁰ The month of ²Ib^caltu probably fell in December-January, beginning with the winter solstice. See Pardee 2000a:156-58, 669-70 for the proposal to set back by one month the series of Ug. months in the solar year proposed by de Jong and van Soldt 1987-88:71 (for these authors ²Ib^caltu would correspond to January-February). Thus the Hittite king is referring to a situation that will occur in winter. One might think that the reference should be to the effects of a shortage of grain already visible when the letter was written, at the least several weeks before the winter solstice, but the rest of the paragraph only refers to the need for a scribe and to the matter of "pure" documents (*špm thrm*), whatever they may be. Under what circumstances would the king of Hatti have required a scribe to be supplied from Ugarit? Dijkstra (1976:438-39) believes that a specific scribe was being requested, but my collation of the tablet (Pardee 1981:155-56) has shown that the readings on which this interpretation were based are to be rejected. The only modification of my previous understanding of this text is that I now see the Hittite king referring to how things should be ("normally" our scribes are pure); the purity may refer to social status (cf. *ellu* in Akk.). The fact remains that he was in this letter apparently requesting that a single scribe be sent, plausibly a multi-lingual scribe, capable of understanding Hittite and Ug. (and other languages of the region) and of writing at least Akk. and perhaps Ug. as well.

(10) PUDUḪEPA, QUEEN OF HATTI, TO THE KING
OF UGARIT (RS 17.434+) (3.45J)⁶¹

Address (lines 1-2)

[Messa]ge of PuduḪepa, [great] quee[n, que]n [of Hatti:] [To] Niqmaddu say:

Report of Well-being (lines 2-4)

He[re with] the Su[n and] with the queen, every-thing [is well]; now the well-being of your land and [of] the house of the king [...].⁶²

First Matter: Tribute (lines 5-13)

Concerning the fact that you have sent to the royal palace your message (as follows): "Now [the gold of my tribute] [to] the Sun [I ?] hereby remit, [and,] as for you, the [M][R][T] that you stipulated in the tre[atry, certainly] you will receive it," I went to ʾUD and of[ur] king [stayed] [in] the (capital-)city. We were to return with you by the midst of [...]. [...] But to me you have not come

cc 2 Sam 8:6;
1 Kgs 5:1,
etc.

[... and] your messenger-party⁶³ you have not sent to me. [Now ?] according as you set (something) aside for me — a quantity of gold[...], [you, for your part,] have [not ?] remitted it to me; (only) to the Sun have [you] remitted [gold ...].⁶⁴

Second Matter: Problems with Caravans (lines 14-22, 23'-28')⁶⁵

[Sec]ondly (?): Concerning the fact that you sent word to the royal palace (as follows): "[X-e]d⁶⁶ are the caravans of Egypt and they have stopped; (indeed) th[e] ca[ra]vans of Egypt through the land of Ugarit [have been X-ed] and through the land of Nuḫašše they (now) must pass [...]."⁶⁷ [...] shall pass through the land of [X and through the land of] Qadesh⁶⁸ and through the land of [X ...]; and the land of [X] shall not harm (them) (or: shall not be harmed) [...].

⁶¹ Text published by Caquot (1978a:121-34). It consists of nine fragments, of which three joined to form a single large fragment, all discovered in Room 56, locus 901, in the east section of the royal palace during the 1953 campaign at Ras Shamra. The larger fragments were numbered 17.434 through 17.438; to the four smaller fragments associated two each with RS 17.434 and RS 17.438 were added the letters A and B for purposes of identification (Bordreuil-Pardee 1989:148). Because of similarity of script and ware, it is likely that all these fragments belonged originally to a single letter, though it cannot be determined whether the letter was written on a single tablet or on two. (All the fragments could physically fit into the plausible outline of an original single tablet, but several are too small to permit reconstruction of a continuous text.) On the identification of writing on the back of the principal fragment, proving that that tablet was entirely inscribed, see Dijkstra 1994:125 (observation confirmed by my collation in June of 1996). The PuduḪepa who addressed the letter to a king of Ugarit named Niqmaddu was either the wife of Ḫattušili II who became queen in ca. 1285 BCE or another queen by the same name, currently unknown from other sources. The Niqmaddu in question is either the king conventionally known as the third by that name (which would imply great longevity for PuduḪepa since Niqmaddu III only came to the throne in ca. 1225 BCE), or the second by that name (which would imply that the PuduḪepa of this text was not the known queen since Niqmaddu II lived in the fourteenth century), or an as yet unknown king bearing that name (brief summary in Pardee 1983-84:326; many more details in Cunchillos 1989:363-86). With the new lines identified by Dijkstra, the text is now known to have been over sixty lines long. Only the beginning is translated here because of the fragmentary state of the rest of the text.

⁶² Because the Hittite sovereigns generally do not inquire after the health of their correspondents of inferior status (see preceding text), and because no example of the formula expressing the inquiry after the health of the addressee begins like this one, it is impossible to restore the end of this version. The first words, partially preserved, are probably to be read {w[] d[] b[] m[] k[] [...] "and of the house of the king," but after these traces the end of the line has entirely disappeared. If the lacuna once contained a verb, it may have been ʾʾl, "to inquire after," for that idiom appears to be attested in Ug. in (31):2 (see below) and in Akk. texts of the period (Pardee 1982:46). The idiom is attested in Heb. letters in Arad 18 (see above, COS 3.43D).

⁶³ *mi²akt*, a feminine *mem*-preformative noun from the root *ʾk*, "to send," used in Ug. to designate the "embassy" sent with messages. The root is visible in Heb. in the masculine *mem*-preformative noun *mal²ak*, "messenger, angel."

⁶⁴ Because of the breaks in the text, it is difficult to determine who is doing what to whom here and at the beginning of this paragraph. I have interpreted the passage as referring to the king of Ugarit sending tribute to the reigning Hittite king but not to PuduḪepa. According to the treaty fixed between Niqmaddu II and Šuppiluliuma I in the fourteenth century, attested in both Akk. and a badly broken Ug. version (RS 11.772+ [CTA no. 64]), the Hittite queen was entitled to tribute (see the detailed comparison between the Akk. and Ug. versions in Dietrich and Loretz 1964-66). Whatever the precise historical circumstances here, one may surmise that the author was complaining about not receiving her quota, that all was going to the reigning king.

⁶⁵ Lines 14-22 are preserved on the principal fragment (RS 17.435 + RS 17.436 + RS 17.437, lines 14-22). The topic of passing through various lands continues on the next large fragment (RS 17.434, first six lines, numbered conventionally 23'-28') but the break between the two makes it impossible to determine whether the text as preserved represents a single paragraph in the original or two paragraphs or more. And because the word "caravan" (*nḫt*, lit. "path") is not repeated in lines 23'-28', it cannot be judged certain that the subject of the verb *r^ciq* (*r^ciq*, "to pass on, through, by") in line 26' was that noun and not another.

⁶⁶ The verb or adjective indicating the reason for the cessation of caravan activity along the coast has disappeared both here and in the following sentence.

⁶⁷ Assuming that the reference is to caravans traveling between Egypt and Hatti, the passage through Ugarit would mean, from the perspective of the northern journey, taking a coastal route as far as Ugarit, then heading inland past Aleppo and probably Carchemish before continuing north. The passage through Nuḫašše would imply an inland route turning in from the coast no further north than the Tripoli region, perhaps further south. The northernmost option would involve entering the valley of the Orontes through the Homs Gap, moving east, then leaving Qadesh (mentioned in the passage preserved on [RS 17.434] [see note 65]) on the right and continuing past modern Apamea, in which region the confederation of kingdoms known as Nuḫašše was located (cf. Klengel 1992:151-56). Cf. Judg 5:6.

⁶⁸ On the city-state of Qadesh, located on the Orontes south of modern Homs, see Klengel 1992:157-60.

<i>Third Matter: Problems with Royal Purple</i> (lines 29'-30')⁶⁹ Now concerning the (message)-tablet that [you] sent [to the roy]al [palace] regarding royal purple^{dd} [...:]	dd/Exod25:4, etc.	"Here, why have the men of [my ?] master [X-ed red-dyed] cloth [...] when there is no red-dyed cloth in my house?" [...].⁷⁰
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⁶⁹ The treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Niqmaddu II mentioned above (note 64) explicitly lists various amounts of ³ign²u, a word meaning basically "blue (the color of lapis-lazuli)" which is used to describe "royal purple of a darker hue," and ³phm, a word meaning basically "red (of hot coals)" which is used to designate "royal purple of a redder/browner hue." The Hittite king was to receive five hundred units of ³phm and five hundred of ³ign²u, while the queen was to receive one hundred units each. The same smaller amount was also stipulated for the crown prince and for several high officials in the Hittite court. The word used in the first line of this paragraph of the letter is ³qn²im, plausibly interpreted as a plural or by-form of ³ign²u and used as a generic term including the two principal varieties of royal purple. As this paragraph is preserved, ³phm is attested below, but not ³ign²u. On the other hand, we find attested in line 39', beyond the part of the paragraph translated here, for the first time the Ug. term used to designate those who produce royal purple, ³qn²uym. On this most exclusive of Levantine products, exclusive because the authentic dye was produced from mollusks drawn from the Mediterranean and a great number of mollusks was required to produce a small amount of dye, see Jidejian 1969:142-59.

⁷⁰ The king of Ugarit seems to be saying that he has no stocks of royal purple with which to satisfy the Hittite king's tribute collectors.

(11) PGN TO THE KING OF UGARIT (RS 18.147) (3.45K)⁷¹

<i>Address</i> (lines 1-3) Message of PGN, your father: To the king of Ugarit, [my son], say: <i>Greetings</i> (lines 4-5) May it be well with you. May the gods guard you, may they keep you well. <i>Report of Well-being and Request for Return of News</i> (lines 6-8) Here with me, it is well. There wi[th] my son,	whatever is [w]ell, return word (of that) [to me]. <i>Reference to Previous Correspondence Regarding a Famine</i> (lines 9-?) Concerning the fact that my son has sent a (message)-tablet regarding food (in which you said): "(Here) with me, plenty (has become) famine," let my son assign this: sea-faring boats. Let him [...] and food [...].⁷²
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⁷¹ Text published by Virolleaud 1965:87-88, no. 61. The *recto* is reasonably well preserved, but the text on the back of the tablet has almost entirely disappeared. The text is included here because of the interest provided by the address: someone by the name of PGN describes himself as "father" (the word is ³ab, which designates the political "father," not the biological one — see above, note 52) to the king of Ugarit, his "son." The use of the terms ³ab/bn and the warmth of the greetings indicate an entirely different relationship between these two as compared with the hauteur that characterizes the Hittite sovereign's formulae, or lack thereof, when addressing the king of Ugarit. Because Akk. letters from a king of Alashia (Cyprus) named Kušmešša show similar warmth (Malbran-Labat *apud* Bordreuil and Malbran-Labat 1995:445), the identification of PGN as another king of Alashia is probable. Malbran-Labat (*ibid.*) also describes, however, the king of Amurru as addressing himself to the Ugaritian king as his "father," and that identification must remain a possibility. The identification with a Hittite official named Pukana (Klengel 1974:169; 1992:149; Singer 1999:718) does not fit the pattern established by the epistolary formulae attested for letters from the Hittite sovereign and his officials, but one may perhaps surmise that a warmer relationship existed between a certain official of the Hittite empire and the king of Ugarit. Nevertheless, more than one person may have borne the name spelled {pgn} in Ug., and limiting the identification to the Hittite official because of the similarity of the names must be judged unlikely. The use of ships to transport the needed food (see following note) requires an identification with a sea-faring nation, and appears to eliminate Hatti, which was a receiver of food at this period, not a provider (see [9]).

⁷² Instead of the generally accepted reading {m²idy . w ḡbny} in line 11, where the meaning of the second word is unclear (it is usually taken to mean "fullness," from a basic meaning "thickness"), the tablet appears to read {m²idy . ṛḡbny}, and the entirety of the Ug. king's previous message is therefore summed up in the three words {my | m²idy . ṛḡbny}, a nominal phrase of which {ṛḡbny} is the predicate. If that is the entire message, as the use of bny, "my son," in line 12 appears clearly to indicate, then lines 12-14 contain the beginning of the author's reply: if the "son" needs food, he must send ships to pick it up.

(12) MUTUAL ASSISTANCE (RS 18.075) (3.45L)⁷³

[...]	<i>Greetings</i> (lines 1'-2') May it be w[ell] with you.] May [the gods] gua[rd]
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⁷³ Text published by Virolleaud 1965:93, no. 65. Because the address is lost, it is impossible to determine whether this letter is incoming or one of the rare examples of a draft for an outgoing letter. It is included in this section because the former outnumber the latter. The use of the term ³ḡ, "brother," in lines 19', 21' and 23' shows that the correspondents were equals, either familial or social; the reference to a "servant" (line 15') and the topics of "desire" {ṛš} and of "need" {ḡsr}, attested in Akk. letters of which the king of Ugarit is one of the correspondents (the closest set of parallels is in RS 17.116 [Nougayrol 1956:132-34], probably from Šaušgamuwa, king of Amurru, to the king of Ugarit), make it at least plausible that the correspondents of the present text were also royal.

you, may they keep] you [well].
[...]⁷⁴

I'll Scratch Your Back, You Scratch Mine (lines 15'-23')

Now as for your servant, let him be empowered to speak (for you) to me! Whatever your desire may

be (concerning something) that you lack, I will have it delivered to my brother. And I, for my part, whatever my lack (may be), may my brother have it loaded up there.⁷⁵ May my [br]other not leave me to perish!⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Lines lines 3'-14' are too damaged to translate.

⁷⁵ The writer promises to "have delivered" what he sends ({²ašm, "I will cause to give"), whereas he uses the verb ^cms, "to load" to express what he wishes his correspondent to do. The latter usage apparently reflects the servant's role as intermediary between the writer and the correspondent.

⁷⁶ {²al yb^cm}, lit., "may he not destroy me," viz., by allowing him to perish rather than sending him what he needs. This is a strong expression and, unless it be pure hyperbole, indicates a situation where famine threatens.

III. OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE TO OTHER COURTS⁷⁷

Dennis Pardee

(13) ^cAMMITTAMRU, KING OF UGARIT, TO THE KING OF EGYPT (RIH 78.3+30) (3.45M)⁷⁸

Address and Prostration Formulae (lines 1-6)
[To the Sun],⁷⁹ the great king, the king of Egypt,
the [goo]d [king], the just king,⁸⁰ the [king of

ee Isa 11:4-5;
Ps 23:3; 45:5
ff Ezek 26:7;
Dan 2:37;
Ezra 7:12

k]ings,⁸⁰ ff master of all lands, [...],⁸¹ say: Message
of [^cAmmittam]ru,⁸² your servant. At my [mas-
ter's] feet I fa[ll].

⁷⁷ Certain examples of what are apparently drafts for letters that would have gone out in Akk. have been discovered in the cases of three letters addressed to the Eg. king and of one to the Hittite emperor. The Eg. identification is certain for the first two texts because the addresses are preserved, probable in the third case because of the mention of Eg. gods. Though the address of the fourth text is lost, the Hittite identification appears certain on the basis of typical phrases used in the body of the letter. Because of the many letters from Canaanite cities discovered at el-Amarna and the letter from Ugarit discovered at Tel Aphek (below, COS 3.94) that were in Akk., it is generally assumed that the document actually sent would in each case have been in Akk. Because the situation is the opposite of that of incoming letters (see above, note 37), the documents translated in this section are perforce drafts of some kind, whether for translation, for a final Ug. text, for a letter that was in fact never sent, or for an archival copy.

⁷⁸ Text edited by Bordreuil and Caquot (1980:356-58 and fig. 9, p. 371). What remains of the original tablet is unfortunately only a corner fragment containing the ends of thirty lines, plausibly about half the number of lines in the original document (the original width can be estimated from the likely restorations at the beginning of lines 1-11; this permits, on the basis of an average height:width ratio of 3:2 in Ug. epistolary texts, the reconstruction of the original height as approximately twice that preserved). The letter clearly begins with the line that the editors numbered as line 1, and the lines that wrap around the right edge from the *verso* on to the *recto* appear to constitute exploitation of available space rather than to furnish arguments for reversing the *recto/verso* orientation proposed by the editors; it remains somewhat of a mystery, however, why the scribe left so much space at the end of lines 2, 4, 8, and 9. Because the continuation of a text on the *verso* was written on the left edge of any given tablet, we may hypothesize that the text on the *verso* of this tablet, apparently incomplete (*mlk šdq*, "just king" in line 30' should be followed by *mlk mlkm*, "king of kings"), was once completed on the left edge, now destroyed.

⁷⁹ Because the phrase *špš mlk rb* is attested in the body of the letter (line 15') and because the restoration {1 špš} fills the space perfectly, we may surmise that the address began with this title, though one may consider the possibility that the Pharaoh's name, if it could be represented in Ug. by only three or four signs, was once here.

⁸⁰ The title *mlk mlkm* that appears also in (14) appears to be in imitation of the semantically equivalent title used in Egypt, particularly during the 18th Dynasty. At least until intervening attestations of the formula are found in WS inscriptions, the rare appearance of the cognate formula in later books of the Heb. Bible, once in Heb. and twice in Aram. (see note ff), must be seen as reflecting the later Mesopotamian use of such a formula, rather than the New Kingdom Eg. usage imitated in these Ug. letters (see brief discussion and bibliography in Milano 1983:157).

⁸¹ The restoration at the beginning of line 4 is uncertain. In (14) lines 9-10, according to the restorations in Bordreuil's edition (1982:10-11), one finds the repetition of *mlk mlkm* and in the second position is found the sequence "master of all lands, king of kings" (*b^cl kl hwt mlk mlkm*). That restoration appears difficult here, however, for it would require placing six signs ({[mlk . mlk]m}) in a lacuna that in every other instance in lines 1-10 is filled by four or five signs. The restoration of simply {[msr]m}, which had been my first idea (cf. KTU² vi, 196), and which could be interpreted as representing a part of the preceding formula ("master of all the land of Egypt"), appears too short, while that of {[mlk . msr]m}, "king of Egypt" (de Moor 1996:230, n. 34), is as long as {[mlk . mlk]m}, is equally repetitious, and, unlike *mlk mlkm*, does not appear to be repeated in a single sequence of formulae in (14).

⁸² Though only the last part of the last sign is preserved, that sign must be {k} or {r}, and the only Ug. royal name to end with one or the other of those two signs in the period in which the Ug. script was used was {^cmītmr}, that is, ^cAmmittamru II, who was on the throne for some three decades in the middle of the thirteenth century (ca. 1260-1230 BCE). Because he wishes this document to date to a period later than that of ^cAmmittamru, de Moor (1996:230) has proposed reconstructing {[^cmrpⁱ . š]r^cbdk}, "^cAmmurāpiⁱ, the vassal-ruler, your servant." The restoration must be judged highly dubious, however, for the same reason of space as was adduced in the previous note (six letters in a space elsewhere occupied by four or five letters) and because the word *šr*, which would be cognate with Heb. *šar* and Akk. *šarru*, is not yet with certainty attested in Ug. (see note 13 to COS 1.87), and in any case not in prose.

Greetings (lines 6-?)⁸³

With my master may it be well. [With your house],
with your people, with your land, [with] your
[horses], with your chariots, [with your troops],
with all that belongs [to⁸⁴ the Sun, the] great [k]ing.

88 Exod 20:17

the king of Egypt[*t*], [the good king], the just king,
[... may it be well].

Body[...]⁸⁴

⁸³ The tablet breaks off after line 11 and the end of the list of entities for whom well-being is wished has disappeared. Judging from parallels to these flowery formulae in Akk. letters written at Ugarit (e.g., RS 15.178 [Nougayrol 1955:8]), the verb *yšlm*, "may it be well," which is extant in line 6 for the greeting to the king, would have been repeated at the end of the list. Similar lengthy "household greetings" are found in the Amarna letters, addressed to the king of Egypt, and in the Akk. letters from Ugarit, addressed to the king of Carchemish (as in the example just cited), to the king of Hatti (RS 20.243 [Nougayrol 1968:104, text 32]), and to the king of Alashia (RS 20.168 [Nougayrol 1968:80-82, text 21]).

⁸⁴ Approximately the bottom half of the tablet is lost and with it approximately thirty lines (see note 78). The text on the *recto* after line 11 would have contained the end of the greeting formulae and the beginning of the body. Three ruled paragraphs are partially preserved on the *verso* and upper edge, the beginning of all lines missing: the last two lines of the first paragraph (lines 12'-13'), the entirety of the second (lines 14'-22'), and the beginning of the third (lines 23'-30'). As indicated in note 78, the end of the text was in all probability inscribed on the left edge of the tablet. Only in the case of the royal titles is it possible to restore the broken text. Lines 14'-22' dealt with a shipment or shipments of grain (*ḡr*^c, the same word as was used in [8], above), though it is uncertain who was in need of the grain, for no one statement regarding the grain is preserved completely that would reveal the identity of the party in need. In the following paragraph a matter of payment is treated (*ksp*, "silver," and *šs^cn*, "he has paid it" are preserved) but here the word *ḡr^c* is not extant, so the topic may have changed. The presence in line 24' of *mzn^h*, "his/her food" (new reading as compared with the *editio princeps*), indicates, however, a similarity in the general topics of the two paragraphs.

(14) °AMMURĀPI° TO THE KING OF EGYPT (RS 34.356) (3.45N)⁸⁵*First Address* (lines 1-2)

[To the Sun, the] great [king], king of kin[gs], [my
master], say: Message of °Ammurāpi°, [your
servant].

First Body (lines 3-8)

[...] NMY, [your] messenger, has arrived [...] [the
Sun], the great king, my master, to [me ...]. Then
I, your servant, greatly re[*j*oiced? ...] my good
master [...] the Sun, my master, has sent [...] the

[Su]n, the great king, my master[...].

Second Address (lines 9-11)

[To the] great [kin]g, the king of king[s], master of
all l[an]ds, king of king[s], my master, sa[y]: Mes-
sage of °Ammurāp[i] your servant].

Second Body (lines 12-?)[...]⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Text published by Bordreuil 1982:10-12. The upper right part of this tablet is preserved and the original width may be projected on the basis of line 4, where it appears that only {špš} is to be restored. The tablet clearly bears two sets of address formulae, both from °Ammurāpi° to the king of Egypt, and this document appears rather clearly, therefore, to contain either summaries of two letters or else two projects for a single letter. The brevity of the two addresses, as compared with the lengthy opening formulae of (13), is perhaps a further indication that these are only drafts.

⁸⁶ A few signs are preserved of line 12 as are a few signs of the last three lines of the text, located at the bottom of the *verso*. The tablet was thus entirely inscribed, but the remains that have been preserved are insufficient to give us any idea of what the structure of the rest of the text was or what topics were treated.

(15) PART OF A LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE KING OF EGYPT (RS 16.078) (3.45O)⁸⁷*Reference to a Previous Communication from the Addressee* (lines 1-8)

And according to the word of the Sun, the great
king, my master, to °TT, the [X] of the messen-
gers of his servant.⁸⁸ "[...] your master that he

must ḤP(N) my messengers (when they are) with
him," so [will] your servant [do] when the messen-
ger-party of the Sun, the great king, my master,
arrives (here) with [me ...].⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Text published by Virolleaud 1957:34, no. 18. This text begins *in medias res* and is, therefore, either the second tablet of a longer letter or else the draft of a letter for which the opening formulae were considered unnecessary. The fact that the first word of this text is the conjunction *w*, which does not normally appear as the first word of the body of a letter, makes the first option preferable.

⁸⁸ Typically polite form of self-reference: °*tt* is the [chief, or whatever] of the messengers of the writer, who is servant to the Sun.

⁸⁹ The key word in this paragraph as preserved is {yhpⁿ} in line 4, for it tells what it is that the king of Egypt had asked the king of Ugarit to do for his messengers when(ever?) they arrived in Ugarit. Unfortunately, the meaning of the verb is unknown. It may have been something so simple as "to protest," but that is not certain. In any case, the king of Ugarit assures his correspondent that he will do as requested.

Protestations of Loyalty and Concern (lines 9-24)
I recognize [the X of the Sun], the great [kin]g,
[my] master [...].⁹⁰ And I[, for my part ...], ad-
dress requests[for the X ... of] the gre[at] king,
my [master]; moreover, [I add]ress requests for
[his] lif[e] to Ba^c[lu] Şapunu, my master, and (ad-
dress requests) that my master's days might be

hh Exod 20:12

long^{hh} before Amon and all the gods of Egypt, that
they might protect the life of the Sun, the great
king, my master.

Another Topic (lines 25-40)
[...]⁹¹

⁹⁰ Lines 11-14 too damaged to translate.

⁹¹ Though traces of all but one of these lines are preserved, none are sufficient to give any idea of what topic was treated here.

(16) [FROM THE KING OF UGARIT?] TO THE
HITTITE EMPEROR (RS 94.5015) (3.45P)⁹²

The Writer Refers to his Sovereign's Promises (lines
1-12)

[...] SAY [...] twice [...] GO [...] to ²Anzaḫu, I,
even I, your servant. I will give donkeys, I will
give troops (to be) with him.⁹³ Moreover, the
Sun, the great king, my master, said: "I will cause
(him) to return and he will ML."⁹⁴ Then, (because
of) this, there was no war in the land of your
servant. Also (my master said:) "I will surely give
(you) the troops that are with him."

The Writer's Past Efforts to Get Action (lines 13-17,
18'-21')⁹⁵

To the Sun, the great king, my master, twice, three
times⁹⁶ [I wrote/requested], but you sent (no mes-

ii Amos 1:3,
etc.; Prov.
30:18, etc.;
Ps 62:12

sage) regarding troo[ps ...] GUARD ²Aru and [...].
SENT [...] to your servant [...] troops and donk[ey]s
[...] GO to ²Anzaḫu.

Warning (lines 22'-37')

Now the Sun, the great king, my master, must
know that ²Ari-Tēšub has assembled ^cApirūma⁹⁶
with him and he is going to devastate your ser-
vant's country. I, for my part, your servant, all the
royal personnel [...] in the country of your servant
[...] I disposed them [...].⁹⁷ And a letter [...] troops
to ²ATDN [...]. And the Sun, [the grea]t [king],
my master, must know [...] and below, for there is
[...] your servant and I ask [...] Amurru, GUARD
the country[...].⁹⁸

⁹² Text to be published by Bordreuil and Pardee (in preparation). Only the upper part of the tablet has been preserved. Unfortunately, the upper left corner is damaged, leaving it uncertain whether the tablet ever bore the epistolary *praescriptio*. The words *rgm*, "speak/word," and *tn²id*, "twice," could belong to the address and the prostration formula, respectively, but these would have to have been much abbreviated from what the sovereign would normally expect to hear. This appears, therefore, to be — as expected — a draft in which the *praescriptio* was either omitted or abbreviated. Nothing specific allows the writer to be identified, but since the letter was found at Ugarit, it was either written there or intercepted there and the author was, therefore, most plausibly the king of Ugarit.

⁹³ The writer appears to be quoting what he himself has said on an earlier occasion, but the state of the tablet makes it impossible to know where the direct speech began or even whether he is in fact quoting someone else, perhaps even the great king.

⁹⁴ {w . ml}, an unknown expression in Ug. Perhaps a G-stem form of *√ml*, "languish, fade, disappear."

⁹⁵ Between lines 17 and 18' an unknown number of lines has disappeared with the loss of the bottom portion of the tablet. It is thus uncertain whether the two portions of text belong together.

⁹⁶ This is the first reference in Ug. to bellicose ^cApirūma (i.e., Habiru).

⁹⁷ The "royal personnel" are the *bnšm*, among whom are included various military categories. In spite of the lacunae, the king appears to be claiming here that he has mobilized absolutely all the royal personnel (*klm bnšm* /kulluma bunušima/) and has disposed them (*šrhm* /šātātuhumu/) appropriately.

⁹⁸ The signs ²amr are clear, but they do not necessarily mean "Amurru"; if they do, it is uncertain what the relationship is between Amurru and the need to protect the country. Is the claim that the king of Hatti should require Amurru to defend Ugarit, or is it that Amurru is somehow sponsoring ²Ari-Tēšub?

IV. BETWEEN KING OR QUEEN AND A NON-ROYAL PERSONAGE

Dennis Pardee

(17) THE KING TO ḪAYYA²IL REGARDING AN
ALLOTMENT OF LOGS (RS 16.264) (3.45Q)⁹⁹

Address (lines 1-3)

Message (that) the king spoke: To Ḫayya²il:¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Text published by Virolleaud 1957:23-24, no. 10. On the possibility that the recipient of this letter is identical with a certain {ḫa-Pi-il} known from an Akk. text discovered at Ras Shamra (RS 8.146:32 [Thureau-Dangin 1937:247, 253; not "RS 8.213," cf. Bordreuil and Pardee 1989:45]),

Reference to a Previous Letter from Hayya²il (lines 4-6)

Why do you keep sending me (the following message): "How am I to furnish¹⁰¹ the timbers¹⁰² for the temple of Damal?"¹⁰³

The King's Decision (lines 7-21)¹⁰⁴

I will myself furnish you with the timbers (as

// Gen 6:14;
Exod 25:5;
1 Kgs 5:20;
22, 24; 9:11
kk Ps 22:18

follows): four logs (to be supplied) by (the town of) ²Aru, three by (the town of) ²Ubur^caya, two by (the town of) Mulukku, and one by (the town of) ²Atalligu.¹⁰⁵ You are to provide an account^{kk} of these logs. Do not burden Nūrānu; pay for them yourself, (a total of) sixty (shekels of) silver.¹⁰⁶

see Dietrich and Loretz 1974:454. The Hayya²il of the Akk. text is identified as a *kartappu*, a Sumerian loan-word into Akk. of which the original meaning was "groom" but that came to function in this period as a designation of a court official (CAD K 225-26). The identification is thus plausible though purely hypothetical.

¹⁰⁰ The address formulae are among the briefest attested in Ug. and the use of the verb *rgm* in the perf., expressing the utterance of the sender, instead of in the imperative, addressed conventionally to the messenger (see above, note 3), is unparalleled in the Ug. epistolary corpus. There is also a horizontal dividing line between the reference to the royal dictation and the person to whom the message was addressed (*ihm mlk | l hy²il*), a usage of the paragraph marker unparalleled in this epistolary formula. Below, one finds a horizontal line between three out of the four indications of the villages required to furnish the logs and the preceding paragraph (between lines 8-9, 12-13 and 14-15). This extensive use of the horizontal line is closer to that of the administrative texts, where sections marked off on the tablet often do not constitute complete sentences. The document may therefore be classified as being more narrowly administrative than is the usual Ug. letter and as constituting something closer to a memorandum than to a formal letter. Cf. letter-orders in Akk. and Sum.; below COS 3.132.

¹⁰¹ This translation is based on the assumption that the horizontal dividing line between lines 5 and 6 (*{?iky ²aškn | ^csm l bt dml}*) is anomalous. All attempts to interpret the passage by considering this divider as corresponding to regular usage have failed (including that of Cunchillos 1989:317, who claims to have solved the problem but in whose interpretation one finds that the transitive verb is construed as not having a direct object and that the nominal phrase after this verb is taken as an incomplete sentence: "... je fais les préparatifs. Des grumes pour le temple de Dml."). From a purely syntactic perspective, however, the use of the dividing line between the following sections is identical to this one: a dividing line is placed between the verb "I will give" in line 7 and its direct object "four logs" in line 9, and another between lines 12 and 13, and again between 14 and 15, that is between the verb and each of its direct objects with the exception of the second ("and three" in line 11). An identical structure is also found in one of the Ug. contracts: in RS 15.125:12'-13' (Virolleaud 1957:17-18, text 5) *{w mnkm . l yqh | ^cs²pr . mlk . hnd}*, "and no one shall take | this royal document."

¹⁰² The word translated "timbers/logs" is *^csm*, i.e., the plural of the noun *^cs* meaning "wood." A distinct word for "planks," i.e., sawn-up logs, is not yet attested in the administrative texts, though one of the terms for ²Ilu's dwelling in the mythological texts may go back to such a word, viz. *grš* (see note 29 to COS 1.86). In any case, the small number of pieces, a total of ten, and the relatively high price (six shekels each, whereas planks usually go for a fraction of a shekel), indicate that the pieces in question here are whole logs. Because the precise use of this wood in the temple is unstated, it is unknown whether the logs were intended to be used more or less whole as roof joists or to be sawn up and used as shorter beams, boards, or paneling. On construction techniques at Ugarit, including the various uses of wood and stone, see Callot's study of a typical house (1983) and his detailed treatment of an urban quarter (1994).

¹⁰³ Damal is a very poorly known deity (cf. Virolleaud 1957:24), but the correctness of the text is assured by a second attestation of the divine name in a ritual text (RS 15.130:20 = Virolleaud 1957:13-14, text 4; the structure and meaning of that text are, however, uncertain; cf. the new ed. in Pardee 2000a:439-45, where the *recto/verso* orientation proposed in the *editio princeps* is reversed). There is a possible third attestation in RS 15.115:34 (Virolleaud 1957:137-41, text 106), where one finds *{...}l t . l . dml{...}*.

¹⁰⁴ The king's response to his own rhetorical question begins with the conjunction *p* (cf. Arabic *fā*), used to mark more strongly than *w* a sequential relationship between two utterances. The quotation from the previous letter and the king's rhetorical question are thus in the Ug. expression strongly linked to the king's decision.

¹⁰⁵ The formulation of the requirements is as nominal phrases, lit., "four logs on/upon (= to the account of) ²Aru," etc. The four towns named are all located on the coast south of Ugarit in the Jebel plain (cf. Bordreuil 1984:3-8). This means either that the logs in question were from trees of the type that would readily grow in the area, i.e., poplar-types, or that these towns controlled the distribution of logs that were floated down from the mountainous areas where conifers grow best. Because the conifers of the Syrian mountains were prized for temple and palace building throughout the ANE (mentioned in texts from Sumer to Judah to Egypt), and because of the relatively high price of these logs, the second solution appears preferable. The towns in question are located south of the principal river (the Raḥbānu, modern Nahr el-Kabir) that flows through Ug. territory and empties into the Mediterranean south of the Latakia promontory, and they could thus serve as staging points for logs floated down that river and assembled into rafts near the mouth of the river. The necessity of staging areas on the coast would arise from the fact that the floating of logs and log-rafts could only take place in spring when the seasonal flow of the tributary streams is sufficient to carry the logs. This same flow in the Raḥbānu could, however, carry the logs out to sea, whence they would have to be recovered. The details provided below on proper payment for the logs indicate that the logging business was not a royal monopoly.

¹⁰⁶ One of the long-standing difficulties of the Ug. letters is the sequence *nrm* ²at *t²ud* ²ad ²at *ihm* in lines 19-20. The presence of *t²* and *l* in the forms *t²ud* and ²ad has generally been interpreted as implying identity of root, but there is no single root in Ug. or in the cognate languages that allows for the different vocalizations reflected in the writing of the two forms nor for the difference in meaning required by the context. It thus appears necessary to identify the two forms as reflecting different roots. Heb. and Arabic have a hollow root, ²(w)*d*, that from a basic meaning of "bend" has in both languages developed the notion of "burden" (the word "distress" in Heb. betrays the development); Arabic has a root ²dy that in the D-stem means "to pay." Thus the phrases are to be vocalized /nūrānu ²al ta²ud ²addi ²atta lēbumu/ and translated as above. The formulation appears thus to be approaching a play on words, plausibly a bit of ancient royal irony. The king's decision thus included the stipulations that Hayya²il was to provide the proper "paper-work" for the logs (*w l ^csm tšpr*, which does not mean "count the logs," but "provide an account for the logs") and to pay each town for the logs furnished, the payment not exceeding a total of sixty shekels of silver, i.e., six shekels per log (approximately sixty grams of silver per log). We may assume that Hayya²il was either to disburse the funds from the royal purse (if he had access to it) or that he was to be reimbursed later from royal funds. The name Nūrānu was popular at Ugarit and without the patronym it is impossible to identify this personage. Judging from the wording of the king's decision, one may hypothesize that he was an official of lesser rank than Hayya²il upon whom the latter might be tempted to shift the responsibility for correctly accounting for the logs and for properly paying for them. Nūrānu was perhaps, if the temple of Damal was located outside the capital city, the local representative of the palace in a district or in a particular village.

(18) DOUBLE LETTER: FROM THE QUEEN TO ²URTĒNU AND
FROM ²ILĪMILKU TO THE SAME (RS 94.2406) (3.45R)¹⁰⁷*First Address* (lines 1-2)

Message of the queen: To ²Urtēnu say:

The Queen's Itinerary (lines 3-10)

I was on the sea when I gave this document (to be delivered) to you. Today I lodged at MLWM,¹⁰⁸ tomorrow (it will be) at ²Adaniya,¹⁰⁹ the third (day) at SNĠR, and the fourth at ²UNĠ. You are now informed.¹¹⁰

Instructions Regarding ²Urtēnu's Property (lines 11-15)

As for you, all that belongs to you [...] establish for your name [...] and FINISH SERVANT [...] for (some) disaster has arrived¹¹¹ and [...] his/her request [...].

Instructions Regarding a House (lines 16-20)

Now a house [...] that ²ADR [...] those who cleanse BH[...].¹¹²

Instructions to Keep Quiet (lines 21-25)

As for you, not a word must escape your mouth

until [X] arrives. Then I will send a message to Ugarit [...]. Should I hear that [she] has not agreed to guarantee you,¹¹³ then I'll send a(nother) message.

Preparations (lines 26-30)

Now a *sp*-vessel (or: two *sp*-vessals) of M¹-P, two ²IŠPR, and two GP are ready. (If) she does not guarantee you, does not (agree to) come to me,¹¹⁴ she will send a message to the king and you can kiss your head good-bye.¹¹⁵

Second Address and Greeting (lines 31-33)

Message of ²Ilīmilkū: To ²Urtēnu, my brother, say: May it be well with you.

Reference to a Preceding Letter from ²Urtēnu and ²Ilīmilkū's Response (lines 33-40)

Concerning the fact that you sent me the message "Send me a message quickly," now I have spoken (this) message in the presence of the queen. What you must do is to seize the house for

¹⁰⁷ Text to be published by Bordreuil and Pardee (in preparation). One will remark the extreme brevity of the first address and the fact that the second, from someone who is almost certainly himself not a member of the royal family because he addresses ²Urtēnu as "brother," is not much longer (only *yšlm ik* is added). Whether the author of the second letter was the same ²Ilīmilkū who inscribed the mythological texts signed by someone of the same name it is impossible to say, but the possibility is real (see note 3 to COS 1.86). That ²Urtēnu was himself an important personage in the Ug. court is clear from the fact that the queen has communicated to him her itinerary. ²Urtēnu is entrusted with some delicate tasks but told in no uncertain terms to keep his mouth shut about what is going on. From the queen's itinerary, it is clear that she is headed for Cilicia, but no circumstances or further indications of her long-term itinerary are indicated. It is not implausible that the queen in question is the daughter of the king of Hatī whom 'Ammurāpi married and later divorced (Freu 1999:27-28; Singer 1999:701-4, 706-7, prefers to identify Niqmaddu III as the husband of the Hittite princess Ehli-Nikkalu). The lower right corner of the tablet has disappeared, and the precise content of the various instructions given to ²Urtēnu is for that reason uncertain. Both messages speak of a house; the queen refers first to ²Urtēnu's possessions (*kiklk*, l. 11), and twice refers to a female who will guarantee ²Urtēnu in some respect. Because one of the principal themes of both messages is property at Ugarit, in particular a house that ²Urtēnu is instructed to seize (line 37, cf. line 16), it appears more plausible to see this letter as having to do with the departure of the divorced queen and some hasty scrambling to re-position her assets and her servants (in particular, it appears, these servants) than as reflecting a final desperate flight of another queen of Ugarit shortly before the fall of the city. Some aspect of the proceedings is problematic, however, for, if the female personage of lines 21-30 informs the king of them, ²Urtēnu will lose his head.

¹⁰⁸ The verb is {bt}, either a perfective or a participle of the verb *bt*, "to lodge." If a perfective, the reference is to the preceding night, an indication that the "day" began at sunset, rather than at sunrise. The analysis as a participle, though formally possible, appears contextually unlikely, for one would expect an imperfective to be used to express what the queen would do when the present day's journey was complete. One may expect, therefore that it was at the port giving access to ²Adaniya that the messenger who bore this letter began his journey back to Ugarit, perhaps on the same boat that the queen had taken.

¹⁰⁹ ²Adaniya is the famous city of the Cilician plain mentioned in the Karatepe Phoen.-Luwian bilingual (*KAI* 26 A i 4 *et passim*; COS 2.31). None of the other towns is identifiable, but MLWM must have been a port between Ugarit and the port of disembarkation for ²Adaniya, whereas the other two towns mentioned should be further inland. The word for "tomorrow" here is *lm*, lit. "hereupon/thereupon," used in the ritual texts, like here, in the sense of "on the next day" (Pardee 2000a:168-69). Assuming that the "day" began at sunset, the queen, during the second day of her voyage ("today" in the terms of the letter), dictated the present letter while still on the boat and foresaw spending the second night (the beginning of the third day since her departure, the second since the writing of the letter) at ²Adaniya.

¹¹⁰ Lit., "and know!"

¹¹¹ Neither internal nor comparative data have been cited that convincingly explain the meaning of *th*, which appears again in (24):25, 29, and 37. It is in both texts translated from context. The word has also appeared now in RS 94.2457:10' (too fragmentary for translation here).

¹¹² Perhaps {mršm bh[tm]}, "those who cleanse/purify houses," though the phrase is previously unknown in Ug.

¹¹³ The feminine form of the verb *rb*, "to guarantee," is restored here because that is the form in which it appears in the next paragraph. We must assume that the person in question was identified in the badly damaged previous paragraph.

¹¹⁴ Lit., "does not enter for you (= guarantee you), does not enter with me" (*l'rbt bk l'rbt m*). *rb b*, "to guarantee someone," is well attested, but *rb m* is not. It is either a new idiom, expressing a third party in a guarantee, or it means "enter with (someone)," here "come home with me." The latter solution appears linguistically more plausible and leads to the conclusion that the woman in question was part of the queen's entourage and now has the choice of remaining in Ugarit, and buying favor with the king by revealing the underhanded dealings of the former queen's ministers, or of joining her queen in her return to her home country.

¹¹⁵ It is clear from (38) (see below) that the items mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph could be sent from one place to another.

me. Moreover, you must recognize that the queen also has left. But you must keep absolutely quiet

(about all of this) at Ugarit.¹¹⁶

Only the meaning of *sp* is relatively clear, however: at Ugarit it denotes a container in contexts having to do with rations and the cognate term in Akk. and Heb. is associated particularly with wine (perhaps {m^f-p} should be restored as {m^f-s^f-p} and seen as a variant of *msb*, attested as a type of wine in administrative texts). A word {gpt} is attested among food-stuffs in RS 94.2580:23, where its measure is the *kt*-vessel, of unknown quantity. It would seem that the items mentioned here have been prepared for the person who is expected to guarantee ²Urtēnu, apparently as a bribe, at the very least as travel provisions (see preceding note). If she refuses to cooperate and informs the king of what is going on, ²Urtēnu will suffer the consequences (l. 30: *w r²isk hltq*, "your head is dead").

¹¹⁶ The word "also" (²*ap* in line 38) seems to imply that ²Ilimilku's trip was announced in advance to serve as a cover for the queen's departure; she would have left the palace and entered the boat at the last minute. One may surmise that her residence was in the palace on Ras Ibn Hani (Bounni, Lagarce, and Lagarce 1998), for that relatively remote location would make a secret departure more feasible than would have been one from the main palace at Ugarit. Apparently the queen's departure was to be kept secret until the property arrangement to which both she and ²Ilimilku refer could be completed.

(19) THE QUEEN TO YARMĪHADDU (RS 96.2039) (3.45S)¹¹⁷

Address (lines 1-3)

[Me]ssage of the queen: To Yarmīhaddu, my brother, say:

Reference to a Preceding Letter in Reference to a Servant Who Had Fled (lines 4-17)

(As for) the (message)-tablet (in which I said) "Your servant whom I took [...]; and I, for my part, gave his wife to you;¹¹⁸ and that servant worked on my farm;¹¹⁸ *mm* but that servant returned

#Exod21:1-6

mm Judg 6:11

to his wife at your house; and you are the 'father' H^f-(?)¹¹⁹, so this servant must be seized, and deliver him over to my messenger-party".¹²⁰

The New Demand (lines 18-24)

Now, seeing that he has not moved, and (that) I have not sent a message to the king, but to you have I sent (this message),¹²¹ so now, you must deliver him over to my messenger-party.

¹¹⁷ Text to be published by Bordreuil and Pardee (in preparation). The queen refers to the addressee here as her brother, but the precise nature of the relationship so described is uncertain. One will note in particular that, in spite of the equality that that term expresses on one level, the *praescriptio* includes no greetings, very unusual among letters between equals. The tablet is virtually complete, but its surface is badly worn and small chips have occasionally removed all trace of the original writing; as a result, decipherment has been difficult. We believe that we have succeeded in the main, but two lacunae have to date defied attempts at reconstruction, one at the end of line 5 and the other at the beginning of line 14. Though several of the features of the language are novel, the general structure of the text is clear: the first paragraph of the body of the letter resumes a previous letter in which the queen has required Yarmīhaddu to return the servant who fled, while the second points out that nothing has been done and insists on action. Thus in form the entire letter after the *praescriptio* consists of a single long sentence consisting of a protasis (the quotation of the previous letter) followed by an apodosis (the present demand). The previous letter, however, consisted of a series of short sentences linked by conjunctions. In an attempt to represent the structure of both documents, I separate the quoted sentences by semi-colons. The word translated "servant" throughout is *bnš*, the standard word in Ug. administrative texts for members of the royal work force, from the humblest farm worker (here) to elite leaders of the military. This letter shows clearly that (at least some of) the *bnš* were in fact chattel slaves.

¹¹⁸ *w ht hn bnš hw b gty hbt*, lit., "and behold, that servant on my *gt*-farm did work." Specialists in Ug. grammar will remark the use of *hn* here before a noun that is further modified by the demonstrative adjective *hw*, a function that must have been paralleled in proto-Hebrew and led to the adoption of the particle *hn* there as a true definite article. One wonders if this peculiar usage does not betray the queen's foreign origin — could it be the second wife of ²Ammurāpi? who Freu (1999:27-28) has suggested might have come from the Kingdom of Amurru? Specialists in the Ug. economy will note the reference to the queen's farm (*gt* as an administrative sub-division below the village level and considered the property of the crown, of an official, or, perhaps, of a village) on which the *bnš* served as a *hupšu*. In these new texts (see below [27]) the spelling {hbt} is used when there is a vowel between the /b/ and the {t} (e.g., this form would be /habata/, /hpt/ when there is not through progressive assimilation by the /b/ of the unvoicedness of the /t/ (e.g., {hpt} would have been /huptu/). From this and the following text, it is clear that the *hupšu* did not do only military service, but manual labor as well.

¹¹⁹ Line 13 reads {w² *adn* . ²at}, "and father are you," but this is followed by the undeciphered first word of line 14, and the precise meaning of ²*adn* here is unclear. It may express a literal paternity, a figurative one, or the meaning "lord, master." In the last case, it may reflect another peculiarity of the queen's language, since ²*adn* normally designates the biological father in Ug. prose (see above, note 52 to [9]).

¹²⁰ Here and below, line 24, the demand is to hand the servant immediately over to the messenger who bore the tablet bearing each message. In order to force a slave to return to his owner, the messenger's escort must have been important.

¹²¹ Lines 19-21 consist of the assertion that the author has not sent a letter to the king followed by another pointing out that, instead of writing to the king, she has written again to the addressee — all this a scarcely veiled threat to get the king involved in the case if Yarmīhaddu does not send the servant back immediately.

(20) TIPTIBA^cLU (SHIBTI-BA^cLU) TO THE KING (RS 18.040) (3.45T)¹²²

Address (lines 1-4)

To the king, my master, say: Message of Tiptiba^clu, your [se]rvant:

Prostration Formula (lines 5-8)

[At] the feet of my master, [seve]n times, seven times, (from) a[ff]ar do I fall.

nm 2 Sam 6:13;
1 Kgs 1:9,
19, 25, etc.

The (Military) Situation in Lawasanda (lines 9-19)

As for your servant, in Lawasanda I am keeping an eye (on the situation) along with the king. Now the king has just left in haste to SYR, where he is sacrificing^{nm} MLG^cGM^c.¹²³

The king, my master, must know (this).¹²⁴

¹²² Text published by Virolleaud 1965:90, no. 63. Though the surface of this tablet has suffered rather extensive damage, only easily restorable signs have totally disappeared, and the message it bore, a brief one, is thus complete. The absence of a greeting formula, of any kind, on the part of someone writing to the king probably reflects the agitation of the moment (as I surmised above with regard to [7]). The author is usually identified with the official and business man Tiptiba^clu, who was also the king's son-in-law (see Vita and Galán 1997; Singer 1999:671, 690-91, 697). "The king, my lord" is, of course, the king of Ugarit, while "the king" below in the body of the letter is in all likelihood the king of Hatti, though it could be the king of Carchemish.

¹²³ The reading of the first sign of line 11 has long been in dispute. Collation shows it to be {^ca}, and the line consists, therefore, of a single word, the verb {^ca^cbšr}, lit. "I do observe." On the meaning of *bšr* in Ug., see COS 1.91, note 13, and COS 1.103, note 73. The consensus identification of {^cawsnd} with the Cilician town of Lawazantiya (Astour 1965:257) means that this trusted official of the king of Ugarit is functioning as the latter's eyes and ears in Cilicia, in company with the king of Hatti. The use of *bšr* implies a military situation and the Hittite king's hasty departure ({^cns}, "to flee," in Heb.) to a place called SYR (perhaps the holy mountain {^cse-e-ra}, located in the same general region [my thanks to T. van den Hout for pointing out to me the existence of this name]) to offer sacrifices shows the situation to have been tenuous enough that special divine intervention was thought necessary.

¹²⁴ On the "take notice" formula at the end of a letter, see above note 5.

(21) FROM AN OFFICIAL IN ALASHIA TO THE KING (RS 18.113A+B) (3.45U)¹²⁵

Address (lines 1-3)

To the king, [my] l[ord], s[ay]: Message of the Chief of Ma^ch[adu], your servant.

Prostration Formula (lines 4-6)

At the feet of my master [(from) afar], seven times and seven times [do I fall.]

Greetings (lines 6-9)

I do pronounce to Ba^clu-Šapuni, to Eternal Sun, to ^cAttartu, to ^cAnatu, to all the gods of Alashi[a] (prayers for) the splendor of (your) eternal kingship.¹²⁶

Beginning of Message (lines 10-13)

The king, my master, LAND [...] will cause to be late and with LO[RD ...] ten times SENT [...]. And my master, WHAT[...]¹²⁷

Paying for Ships (lines 31'-39')¹²⁸

And he said: "Don't give them the money until I send a message to the king." This (is) the message that [he] sends [to] the king. Now the king should instigate an inquiry into the[se (matters) ...] them. And as for the boats, if you/they [X ...] this merchant, I, for my part, will say [...] "The king is looking for ships." And I will g[ive] the money? [...] I will make the purchase. O king, send me [...].

¹²⁵ Text published by Virolleaud 1965:14-15, no. 8; preliminary re-edition by Pardee 1987b:204-10. The precise identification of the author is uncertain; he appears to have identified himself by title only, but the end of the second element has disappeared: {rb . m^ci[-]}. It is usually restored as {m^ci[h]d}, generally considered to be the principal port of Ugarit, modern Minet el-Beida, where remains of the Ug. civilization were first discovered. On this town of Ma^ch[adu], see the textual data assembled by Van Soldt 1996:675-76; 1998:743; for a correlation of the textual and archeological data, Saadé 1995. The person in question would have been the king's official in charge of running the port. Because this letter appears to have come from Alashia (on the basis of the blessing below by the gods of Alashia), it appears this port official also had responsibilities for the procurement of sea-going vessels (see below). Cf. also Hallo, *Origins* 3 and n. 15.

¹²⁶ It was long thought that *nmry* in line 9 was a reference to the Eg. pharaoh Amenophis III, one of whose names was pronounced Nimmuria by Semites (Astour 1981:15-16) and who reigned at the end of the fifteenth century (ca. 1415-1380). Because, however, this Ug. text shows no signs of such antiquity, it is either a recent copy/translation of such an old document or else the word has another meaning. Because *nmrt*, "(divine) splendor," is one of the virtues that the Rephaim are said to procure for the Ug. king (RS 24.252:23', 25' [Virolleaud 1968, text 2]), it may be considered plausible that *nmry* is a variant of that word (Liverani 1962:28, n. 6, already expressed doubt about the identification with Amenophis III; Rainey 1974:188 proposed the identification with *nmrt*, an idea followed by Van Soldt 1983:693 and 1990:345, n. 164; the explanation by *nmrt* proposed by Rainey cannot, however, be accepted — see Pardee 1988:115). Though the phrase *mlk^clm* / *mlku^cālami*, lit. "kingship of eternity," is new in Ug., it is worth observing that *mlk^clm* / *mlku^cālami*, "king of eternity," is a title that was, according to RS 24.252:1, ascribed to the head of the Rephaim, i.e., the member of the underworld chiefly responsible for transmitting to the king his divine splendor.

¹²⁷ Except for the small fragment RS 18.113B, which bears traces of six lines of writing, the entire message inscribed on the bottom of the tablet (lower *recto*, lower edge, upper *verso*) has disappeared.

¹²⁸ Damage subsequent to the editor's copy has caused the disappearance of several signs from the last line of text on the *verso* and from all

three lines on the upper edge (numbered 31'-34' in the new ed. that I am preparing; they were given as 20'-23' in my preliminary ed. [1987b:206], 19-22 in *KTU*² 181). The signs as indicated by the editor are translated here.

(22) ʿUZZĪNU TO THE KING (RS 94.2391) (3.45V)¹²⁹*Address* (lines 1-3)

To the king, my master, say: Message of ʿUzzīnu, your servant.

Prostration Formula and Greeting (lines 4-7)

At the feet of my master two times seven times (from) afar I fall. With my master may it be well. [...]

Taking Care of Someone (lines 10'-15')

[...] pr[ie]sts before him. So nourish his well-being.

And you should order for me that he go [some-where]. (If) that happens, his well-being will be there.¹³⁰

ʿUzzīnu's Travels (lines 16'-21')

I, for my part, have arrived in Qadesh and ʔUrī-yānu has left for Upi (Damascus).¹³¹ I will be "pure";¹³² to [...] he will arrive [...].

¹²⁹ Text to be published by Bordreuil and Pardee (in preparation). The name ʿUzzīnu, with several variant pronunciations, was common at Ugarit, and, without a patronym, it is impossible to identify with certainty any given bearer of the name with any other. That said, however, it is plausible that this ʿUzzīnu was the person of that name who was governor (*skn*) of Ugarit (cf. Singer 1999:667), for not everyone could deal directly with the king on international matters. The bottom of the tablet has disappeared so that only the end of the body of the letter is preserved.

¹³⁰ This text contains a new form of the root *šlm*, viz., *šlmt*, apparently with a meaning similar to *šlm*, "well-being." The verb "nourish" in line 12' is *zn*, and seems to be addressed to the king as an imperative; because the preceding text is damaged, however, it could be a 3rd masc. sing. pf., referring to a fourth party.

¹³¹ This is the first attestation in Ug. of {ʔup}, the name used in the Amarna letters for the land in which Damascus was located.

¹³² The precise nuance of {ʔa¹qy}, if indeed from *nqy*, "to be pure," is unclear in this damaged context.

(23) UNKNOWN TO THE KING (RS 34.148) (3.45W)¹³³*Address* (lines 1-4)

To the k[ing, my master], sa[y]: Message of [X], your servant.

Greetings (lines 4-6)

May it be well with the king, my master. May the gods guard you, keep you well.

Situation Report and Promise of Another (lines 7-8)

Now for the two of us, the border with the ki<ng>dom of Carchemish is holding solid.¹³⁴ I will send ʔAnaniʔ with a(nother) messenger-party to you.¹³⁵

The Take-Notice Formula (line 12)

My master [must] know (this)!

¹³³ Text published by Bordreuil and Pardee 1991:163-64, no. 91. The upper right part of the tablet has disappeared and with it the most of the address.

¹³⁴ Line 7 reads {wlnyknʔa¹t¹}, with no word dividers. Not knowing to whom the dual form *lny* would be referring, Bordreuil and Pardee 1991 divided *w ln ykn p²at*, taking *ykn* as an imperfective not marked for gender agreement with *p²at* (a feminine noun) because the verb precedes its subject. I wonder now if the correct division is not *lny kn*, and the dual reference is to the writer and the king, i.e., "for the benefit of both of us, the border with Carchemish" is (still in place)." The word translated "ki<ng>dom" is {mlt}, an apparent error for {mlk} or {mlkt}.

¹³⁵ The verb "to send" is imperfective ({ʔil²ak}). Since Ug. normally uses the perfective to express acts associated with the current letter, this reference must, therefore, be to a message yet to be sent. The formulation is not explicit as to whether ʔAnaniʔ is the messenger or someone being sent with the messenger-party for protection.

(24) MESSAGE OF ʔIRIRITARUMA TO THE QUEEN
(RS 16.402) (3.45X)¹³⁶*Address* (lines 1-2)

[To the queen], my lady, [say: Mes]sage of ʔIri-itaruma, your servant.

Prostration Formula and Greeting (lines 3-4)

[At] my [l]ady's [feet] (from) afar [do I fall]. [W]ith my lady may it be well.

¹³⁶ Text published in Virolleaud 1957:25-28, text 12. The identity of the author, whose name is Hurrian, is unknown but, as he was capable of furnishing two thousand horses (see the "second matter" below), he must have been an official of some importance. The epistolary formulae, those used by an inferior addressing a superior, show him to be politically inferior to and dependent upon the king of Ugarit, whose demands

First Matter: A Royal Campaign (lines 5-21)¹³⁷

[...] our king is strong [...] the enemy which in Mukiš [...] when the king will lodge [...] Mount Amanus¹³⁸ [...]. [And] may my lady know (this). Moreover, as for the king (and) his vow,¹³⁹ he must know that I am rejoicing on that account.

Second Matter: The King's Demand for Two Thousand Horses (lines 22-39)

Now (as for) the king, my master, why has he assigned this (responsibility) to his servant: (viz., that of furnishing) 2000 horses?¹⁴⁰ You have (thus)

oo2Kgs 18:23

pp Deut 28:5-
3, 55, 57;
Isa 29:2, 7;
51:13

declared peril against me.¹⁴⁰ Why has the king imposed this (duty) upon me?¹⁴¹ The enemy has been pressing^{pp} me and I should put my wives (and) children in peril before the enemy?! Now if the king, my master, declares: "Those 2000 horses must arrive here," then may the king, my master, send an intermediary¹⁴² (back) to me with this messenger-party of mine. But the situation they encounter will be a perilous one. The 2000 horses [...] and RETURN.¹⁴³

he may query but must ultimately meet. For lack of more complete data, it is not possible to determine the period and the situation reflected by this letter. It is often dated (cf. Klengel 1992:140-41) to the time of extreme Assyrian pressure on the Hittite empire under Tudhaliya IV (ca. 1260-1220 BCE), though a dating nearer the end of the kingdom of Ugarit appears more plausible (cf. Astour 1965:257-58; Singer 1999:713, 723-25).

¹³⁷ This paragraph is too badly damaged to permit an overall interpretation, but the mention of enemies in Mukiš (the state to the north of Ugarit; cf. Astour 1969:386-87 and, in general, Klengel 1992), of Mount Amanus, and of the king "lodging" (*ybr*) somewhere, seem to indicate that the king is either planning a campaign to the north or has already embarked on it, and that ²Iriṭaruma has received a summons to furnish 2000 horses for that campaign (next paragraph). It is not clear why the letter is addressed to the queen, rather than to the king who has issued the disputed order. The letter assumes, in any case, that the king and the queen are in communication, for the queen is assumed to be able to transmit the writer's concerns to him. Either, therefore, the queen has accompanied the king at least part of the way to Mukiš or else the king is still in the region of Ugarit.

¹³⁸ There has been controversy over whether ²amni designates the Amanus or another mountain in the same general area (see the discussion in Xella 1991:161-64). For the detailed argument in favor of the identification with the Amanus, see my commentary in forthcoming d.

¹³⁹ The word written {²udrh} is of uncertain meaning and the -h may be either pronominal ("his/her ²udr") or locative ("in ²udr"). I have interpreted it along the same lines as what is apparently the same word in (6) line 15 (see above).

¹⁴⁰ This phrase seems to be addressed to the queen (certainly not to the king, who is mentioned in this text only in the third person). On *th*, see above, note 111 to (18).

¹⁴¹ Lit., "placed them (i.e., the horses) upon me."

¹⁴² The meaning of the phrase *bnš bnny* is uncertain. The interpretation reflected in the translation (which goes back to Albright 1958:38) sees *bnny* as the morphological equivalent of Medieval Heb. *bēnōnī*, "what is between, i.e. average," and the phrase as the rough equivalent of BH ²š habbēnayim, "the man of the double between," in context the "champion" who fights in single combat between two opposing armies (1 Sam 17:4, 23). The phrase so interpreted would have been used by ²Iriṭaruma in order to indicate that he wants the king to send someone of more importance than a simple messenger.

¹⁴³ Traces of five signs are visible at the beginning of the last line and about two more have completely disappeared. That *tb*, "return," was the last word of the paragraph is certain from the horizontal line below this line of text. Whether another paragraph may have been written on the left edge, now destroyed, it is impossible to say.

(25) ²URĠITĒTUB (URĠI-TEŠUB) TO THE QUEEN
(RS 20.199) (3.45Y)¹⁴⁴

To the queen, my lady, say: [Me]ssage of ²Urġi-tē_{tub}, your servant. At the feet of my lady (from) afar seven times and seven times do I fall. With my lady may it be well. May the [go]ds guard you,

[may they keep] you well. [Her]e [with me], everything is [ver]y well. There with my lady, whatever is well, send word (of that) back to your servant.

¹⁴⁴ Text published so far only in transliteration (KTU 164, no. 2.68; cf. my preliminary study in 1984:213-15). It is, in my estimation, highly unlikely that the author of this letter is to be identified with the Hittite king of the same name who was dethroned and exiled in ca. 1270 BCE (Helck 1963; Cunchillos 1989:360-61, n. 3; 1999:368), for the text shows no signs of dating so early and I have trouble believing that a former Hittite king would address himself so servilely to the queen of Ugarit. On the other hand, it is possible that this personage would be identical to another Urġitešub who wrote from Carchemish to certain important personages at Ugarit (Malbran-Labat 1995b:39; Singer 1999:729). The author of this letter (RS 88.2009, as yet unpublished) identifies himself only by name, places himself hierarchically above his addressees by naming himself first, but uses no relational terms. He reports on movements of the king of Carchemish and proclaims solidarity with his correspondents. It is plausible, therefore, that an envoy of the court would address the leaders of the city with a superior attitude while addressing the queen as his own superior. Unfortunately, the present text is a "keeping-in-touch" letter, with no details of any kind on the writer's situation.

(26) THE GOVERNOR TO THE QUEEN
(RS 94.2479) (3.45Z)¹⁴⁵*Address* (lines 1-2)

To the queen, my lady, say: Message of the governor, your servant.

Prostration and Greeting Formulae (lines 3-4)

[A]t the feet of my lady I fall. With my lady may it be well.

Report of Well-being and Request for Return of News (lines 5-10)

Here in the king's palace, everything is fine. There with my lady, whatever (is fine), may she return

word (of that) to her servant.¹⁴⁶

The Shipping Report (lines 11-21)

(From) here twenty [*dū*]*du*-measures of barley and five *dūdu*-measures of GDL and five *dūdu*-measures of N^cR,¹⁴⁷ (one) *kaddu*-measure of oil (perfumed with) myrrh, (one) *kaddu*-measure of lamp-oil, (one) *kaddu*-measure of vinegar, (one) *kaddu*-measure of olives¹, (from) my lady's food provisions, all (of this) I herewith cause to be delivered (to you).

¹⁴⁵ Text to be published by Bordreuil and Pardee (in preparation). The tablet is very well preserved and entirely reconstructable. The text is a business letter, in fact a sort of cargo list, for the tablet would in all probability have accompanied the shipment to the queen from the governor of the items listed.

¹⁴⁶ This example of the double formula described above (note 9) contains one novelty (the specification that things are going well in "the house of the king" rather than with the writer) and one aberration (the absence of *šlm*, "well-being" in the second part of the formula). The first is certainly intended (the person of inferior status usually does not describe his own state of well-being, so here it is the palace that is mentioned), the second may be an error (this is the only example in Ug. and in the corresponding formula in Akk. where *mm*, "whatever" is not followed by a complement).

¹⁴⁷ The conjunction *w* is used only before the second and third items of this list and may be interpreted as indicating that those items belong to a single category. Unfortunately, the *n^cr* and the *gdl* are still unidentified, but, in view of their association with barley in other texts, are probably either types of grains or types of flours. It is tempting to identify them etymologically as "small" and "big" or "young" and "old," but these apparently obvious etymologies do not tell us exactly what commodities we are dealing with and it is not impossible that they are in fact red herrings. Tropper once translates *n^cr* by « Röstmehl », but without giving his reasons (2000:411, § 69.223.21). The structure of the present text allows for these three entries either to express types of grain or one type of grain and two types of flour, coarsely ground and finely ground, for example. Because cereal names are usually in the pl. in Ug. (*š^crm*, "barley," *ksmm*, "emmer-wheat," and *h^ctm*, "wheat" are attested to date), as in the other Northwest-Semitic languages, the preference for the interpretation of *n^cr* and *gdl* must be as types of flours (Pardee forthcoming a). The amounts of grain and flour mentioned here are serious, for the *dūdu* probably measured in the neighborhood of fifty liters, a weight of about forty kilograms.

(27) UNKNOWN, PERHAPS THE QUEEN,
TO UNKNOWN (RS 94.2592) (3.45AA)¹⁴⁸*The Request for Particulars on the bnšm-Personnel*
(lines 3'-14')

And I, for my part, I do not know who all the servants are who work there. So you, put (the names of) all the servants who work there in a

99 Ezra 5:4,
10

document and have it delivered to me.⁹⁹ I know what I will do with regard to these (servants). So, as for (every) worker, whoever he may be, put him (i.e., his name) on the document.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Text to be published by Bordreuil and Pardee (in preparation). The top of this tablet has disappeared and with it the address formulae. It is included with royal documents because the ²Urtēnu archive contained various texts dealing directly with the royal holdings and because text 19 shows the queen's involvement in *bnšm*-affairs. The author can hardly have been other than a member of the royal family or a very high official. If the form *yd^ct* following ²*inny* in lines 3'-4' is a participle, the author is feminine and probably the queen.

¹⁴⁹ As in text 19, *bnš* is "servant" and the verb spelled {*hbt*} is translated "work"; here the noun spelled {*hpt*} is translated "worker."

V. BETWEEN NON-ROYAL CORRESPONDENTS

Dennis Pardee

(28) A MILITARY SITUATION (RS 4.475) (3.45BB)¹⁵⁰*Address and Greeting* (lines 1-3)

Message of ²Ewaridārri: To Pilsiya say: May it be

well with you.

¹⁵⁰ Text published by Dhorme 1933:235-37. The tablet is perfectly preserved and the controversies regarding this text have revolved around

<i>Hearsay and Request for Confirmation</i> (lines 5-11) Regarding Targudassi and Kalbiya, I have heard that they have suffered defeat. ¹⁵¹ Now if such is not the case, send me a message (to that effect). ² <i>Ewaridārri's Situation</i> (lines 11-13) Pestilence is (at work) here, ¹⁵² for death is very	rr Exod 9:3	strong. ¹⁵² <i>A Second Request for News</i> (lines 14-19) If they have been overcome, your reply and whatever (else) you may hear there put in a letter to me. ¹⁵³
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interpretation. For a more literal translation than the one offered here and a defense of this interpretation, see Pardee 1987c.

¹⁵¹ The author appears to be referring to the troops under Targudassi and Kalbiya, for the verb form is marked for the plural, rather than for the dual.

¹⁵² The nominal phrase translated by pestilence is *yā ʔilm*. Because the {-m} may be enclitic rather than marking the plural, it may be translated "the hand of the god," "the hand of the gods," or even "the hand of ʔilu." The last interpretation is the least likely since ʔilu is not known for spreading pestilence.

¹⁵³ This is an example of the non-formulaic request for return of news (contrast the formula described in note 9).

(29) REQUEST FOR A FREE HAND (RS 15.007) (3.45CC)¹⁵⁴

<i>Address</i> (lines 1-2) Ganariyānu to Milkiyatanu:	ss Ps 4:2, etc.; cf. Ps 109:12	<i>The Meat of the Message</i> (lines 5-10) Please, my friend, send me (written?) authorization in regard to Šamunu, wherever he may be, so that I may seize him, (I) Ganariyānu. If Milkiyatanu (so says), I will accuse him (viz., Šamunu) of treason and I will seize (him). ¹⁵⁷
<i>Two Introductory Matters</i> (lines 3-4) Please put in a good word for me ¹⁵⁵ to the king. (Whatever) you propose, I will provide. ¹⁵⁶	# Est 2:17; 8:5	

¹⁵⁴ Text published by Virolleaud 1957:40-41, text 20. This tablet is also well preserved but poses even more severe difficulties of interpretation than (28). This is, first, because the scribe used no word dividers, and all divisions into words of the strings of signs in each line are, therefore, the work of the modern interpreter; second, either because the author did not observe the standard conventions for use of the three *alif*-signs or else because the author and/or the scribe had a somewhat "Phoenicianizing" pronunciation of Ug. ("I will give" is written {ʔitn}, rather than the expected {ʔam}, and "I will seize," {ʔihd}, rather than {ʔahd}; on the other hand, the writing of {ʔitr} for Ug. /ʔaṭra/, "place," does not correspond to the pronunciation of the word in any of the Canaanite languages). The address is atypically brief, perhaps another indication that the scribe was not trained in the epistolary conventions of the metropolis (see also [30]). Because the correspondents cannot be identified, it is impossible to do more than speculate about why such a letter ended up in the East Archives of the palace of Ugarit. The mention of "the king" in line 3 — assuming that the king in question is the king of Ugarit — shows nevertheless that the addressee was close enough to the throne to be able to speak to the king and that the sender was known to the king.

¹⁵⁵ Lit., "make me find favor before the king" (*ḥnny l pn mlk*).

¹⁵⁶ Lit., "your proposal I will give" (*šʔnk ʔim*), either in reference to a preceding request on the part of the recipient of this letter or an open offer on the part of the writer to help out the addressee. In either case, the implication seems to be that their aid should be mutual.

¹⁵⁷ The distribution of the personal names and pronouns in this section is complicated. The author mentions his own name after "I may seize him," apparently stating thereby that he will take full responsibility for the operation. Then the addressee is mentioned by name and the verb is in the 3rd person ({hm mlkyn yrgm}, "if Milkiyatanu says"), as in line 5 ({rʔ yšʔa ʔidn ly}, lit. "May my friend cause an authorization to come out to me"). The verb in line 9 bears a pronominal suffix, of which the antecedent is clear only from the sense of the expression ({ʔahnm}, "I will accuse him of treason"), while the last one does not ({ʔihd}, "I will seize").

(30) BROTHER TO SISTER (RS 17.063) (3.45DD)¹⁵⁸

<i>Address, Situation Report, and Third-Party Greetings</i> (lines 1-3) ʔUzzīnu son of Bayaya to his sister ʔUṭtaya: I am alive and well. Say to my mother: "Your 'master' is well." ¹⁵⁹	<i>Dispatch</i> (lines 4-6) I (herewith) send to you [an X-measure of Y?] as well as a piece of linen, entrusted to ḤṢ. ¹⁶⁰
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¹⁵⁸ Text published by Caquot 1978b:389-92; preliminary re-edition based on collation by Pardee 1982. This letter and the following show two primary non-standard characteristics: (1) a *ductus* attested only in these two texts; (2) epistolary formulae unattested elsewhere in Ug. As stated in Pardee 1982, these characteristics are not of the sort to permit identification of these texts as scribal exercises (KTU 403-4; KTU² 492-93). If a student scribe created these documents, he did not pass the course — and for good reason — for we have nothing else from his hand. For an authentic scribal exercise, see (41).

¹⁵⁹ It is uncertain whether this "master" ({bʔlkm}) is the mother's husband, in which case probably not the father of this son, or a master in the social sphere.

¹⁶⁰ {ḥṣ} is either a proper name or else a participle of the verb ḥṣ, "go rapidly," hence, "entrusted to a rapid (messenger)."

<i>Request</i> (lines 7-9) Have (him bring) me ten <i>lg</i> -measures of (olive)-	<i>uu</i> Lev 14:10, etc.	oil ^{uu} and three <i>lg</i> -measures of perfumed (olive-)oil. Have one TZN sent to me. ¹⁶¹
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¹⁶¹ The quantities of oil are not large, assuming that the Ug. *lg*-measure was identical to the Palestinian one (less than half a liter). The *tzr* is unidentified, but the existence of what is apparently a feminine form of the same word (RS 16.001:16 [Virolleaud 1957, text 130]; RS 23.028:6 [KTU 4.721]) shows it to be a real Ug. word.

(31) ^cUZZĪNU AND ANOTHER AUTHOR TO MASTER AND FATHER
(RS 17.117) (3.45EE)¹⁶²

<i>Address and Greeting</i> (lines 1-2) ^c Uzzīnu son of Bayaya a[nd ...]. May Ba ^c lu inquire after your well-being. ¹⁶³	<i>vv</i> Deut 8:3 <i>ww</i> Cf. Ps 51:12	<i>^cUzzīnu's Message</i> (lines 11'-23') ¹⁶⁶ [...] And he asked your sister that she should not give (me) any <i>asa foetida</i> . If she does not furnish it sufficiently according to your order, would you give it to me? ¹⁶⁷ O my master, please give me also two <i>ḥipānu</i> -garments. ¹⁶⁸ I beg of you, what you are going to give me, send [me a message (concerning that)] in a letter. What you give, entrust it to someone with a faithful heart. ^{ww} [...]. ¹⁶⁹
<i>The Son's Message</i> (lines 3-10) As for me, your son, I am alive (and well thanks) to the Sun's proclamation. ¹⁶⁴ ^{vv} I am living in the house of TRTN. (His) wife is furnishing my bread and, moreover, she is furnishing my wine (for) three (shekels of) silver. ¹⁶⁵ She is working for (my) father [...].		

¹⁶² Text published by Caquot 1978b:392-98; preliminary re-edition based on collation by Pardee 1982. On the physical and epistolary characteristics of this letter, see note 158. This letter appears to have been addressed by ^cUzzīnu and another person whose name is lost at the end of line 1 to someone who was the master of ^cUzzīnu and the father of the other person. The servant appears to have been in charge of the son's mission, for he proclaims his importance by placing his name in first position. The son's personal message is, however, placed before the servant's (ll. 3-10 and 11'-23', respectively).

¹⁶³ The upper right corner of the tablet has disappeared and there is, therefore, no way of knowing whether the addressee's name was indicated, as it was in the preceding text. The name was probably written on the destroyed right edge and *verso* of the tablet, i.e., on the original the entire address was inscribed in one long line that wrapped around the edge and ended on what would have been the lower right corner of the tablet viewed from the *verso*. The greeting formula that consists of wishing that a deity should "ask" (*šʔl*) after the well-being of the recipient is not attested elsewhere in Ug., though it is attested in first-millennium epistolary traditions (Pardee *et al.* 1982:56, 148).

¹⁶⁴ {hym l p špš}, lit., "I live by the mouth of the Sun." Nothing in either text permits a decision as to whether the "Sun" is the Eg. or the Hittite king.

¹⁶⁵ The verb translated "to furnish" here and below in ^cUzzīnu's message is {tt} (see above, note 46). For TRTN, cf. possibly Wilhelm 1970.

¹⁶⁶ Here the tablet breaks off after line 10, and a significant number of lines is lost before the text resumes again on the *verso*. It only becomes clear that the servant is speaking in line 16', where the speaker refers to the addressee as "my master" ({b^cly}). I make the preceding paragraph also part of the servant's message because the reference to the addressee's sister in line 12' appears more easily understood in the mouth of the servant than coming from his son.

¹⁶⁷ The Ug. word for *asa foetida*, "fetid gum," is *tyt*. Given that the possibility of sending the commodity across a considerable distance is entertained here, the reference is almost certainly to the medicinal gum, not to the plant itself whence the gum is drawn (see Pardee, forthcoming b, commentary on RS 18.024:26).

¹⁶⁸ The precise type of garment or cloak represented by the word *ḥpn* is unknown (cf. Van Soldt 1990:328, 335 for attestations and previous literature).

¹⁶⁹ The final two lines of the message were written on the left edge of the tablet and are too poorly preserved for translation.

(32) EMERGENCY REPORT FROM A CITY-COMMANDER
(RS 19.011) (3.45FF)¹⁷⁰

<i>Address</i> (lines 1-2) To ĠRDN, ¹⁷¹ my master, say:	<i>The Report</i> (lines 3-11) BN ḤRNK has come (here), he has defeated the
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¹⁷⁰ Text published by Virolleaud 1965:137, text 114. The historical circumstances are unknown, for the writer does not identify himself, the addressee is otherwise unknown, and it is uncertain whether the identification of the perpetrator of the attack (*bn ḥrnk*) is a name or a title. Because the object of the attack is a *qrt*, a "town" or "city," it may be assumed that the addressee exercised an official function at some level in the royal administration of the kingdom.

¹⁷¹ Though originally read {ḡrdn}, the first sign is almost certainly {ḡ}. The name is previously unattested but appears to be Hurrian, consisting of the elements {ḡr} (= /ḡar/ or /ḡur/ in syllabic writing) and {dn} (= /danu/, /tanu/, /tenu/ in syllabic script).

(local) troops,¹⁷² he has pillaged^{xx} the town, he has even burned¹⁷³ our grain¹⁷⁴ ^{yy} on the threshing-floors^{zz} and destroyed the vineyards.^{aaa}

xx Isa 10:6;
etc.
yy Exod 22:5
zz 1 Sam 23:1
aaa Cf. Judg 6:4; Mal 3:11 bbb Gen 13:10; 18:28; 19:13-14; 2 Kgs 19:12; Lam 2:8, etc.

The Urgency of the Situation (lines 12-13)

Our town is destroyed^{bbb} and you must know it.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² *hbṭ hw ḥrd* (on *hbṭ*, see note 11 to COS 1.91; on *ḥrd*, note 23 to COS 1.90, and now Vita 1995).

¹⁷³ "Burn" is here *b^cr*, lit. "destroy (by fire)." The verb is used in the broader sense of "destroy" in RS 24.247+ :41', 56', 58' (COS 1.90), and here in (12) (see above, note 76) and RS 92.2010:23 (37) below.

¹⁷⁴ *akn*, lit. "our food."

¹⁷⁵ The "take notice" formula is here expressed as two asyndetic imperatives: *d^c d^c*, "Know! Know!"

(33) A DOUBLE LETTER TO YABNĪNU
(RS 19.102) (3.45GG)¹⁷⁶

First Address (lines 1-5)

To Yabnīnu, my father, say: Message of Ta[imī-
y]ānu, your son.

Prostration Formula (lines 6-7)

At the fee[t of my father I] fa[II]. [...]

Second Address (lines 13-16)

To Yabnī[nu], my master, s[ay]: Message of

^cAbd[...], your servant:

*Prostration Formula and Request for Return of
News* (lines 17-24)

At the feet of my master twice seven times from
afar I fall. Whatever is well with my master,
[retu]rn word (of that) [to] your servant.

¹⁷⁶ Text published by Virolleaud 1965:138, text 115. The primary interest of this text is that it consists of two letters, both addressed to the same person, one from a son, the other from a servant. Only five lines have disappeared from the bottom of the tablet (lines 8-12), and it is not unlikely that both letters were entirely formulaic, i.e., that the function of both letters was that of "keeping in touch." In spite of the fact that both the father's and the son's names are known, we cannot be sure whether the addressee of this letter was the famous Yabnīnu who was entrusted with the mission to Amurru which is one of the topics of (4) (see above).

(34) TWO SERVANTS TO THEIR MASTER
(RS 29.093) (3.45HH)¹⁷⁷

Address (lines 1-5)

To Yadurma, our master, say: Message of Pinḥatu
and Yarmihaddu, your servants.¹⁷⁸

Greetings and Prostration Formula (lines 5-10)

May it be well with our master. May the gods
guard you, may they keep you well. At the feet of

ccc Cf.
1 Sam 20:6;
Neh 13:6
ddd Neh 3:34;
1 Chr 11:8

our master twice seven times (from) afar we fall.¹⁷⁹

The Problem with Binu-^cAyāna (lines 11-19)

Here Binu-^cAyāna keeps making demands^{ccc} on
your maidservant.¹⁸⁰ So send him a message¹⁸¹ and
put a stop to this.¹⁸² Here is what I have done: I
hired a workman and had this house¹⁸³ repaired.^{ddd}

¹⁷⁷ Discovered in 1966 in the so-called *Quartier Résidentiel* to the east of the palace and published by Herdner 1978, this letter provides a well-preserved and reasonably well-understood example of a letter between persons of non-royal status, in this case two "servants" writing to their master. The servants, at least the one who states her case in the second paragraph, were persons with authority in their master's household. The master was someone who was wealthy enough to control at least two servants and to be absent from the estate where the two servants were employed. He may thus have been involved in one of the Ug. "firms" that are gradually becoming known, have possessed other land holdings elsewhere, been a member of the royal administration, or any combination of these possibilities. On the dual forms, see above, (3). Here, as in the above text, certain forms and expressions allowed one of the authors to distinguish him/herself from the other.

¹⁷⁸ The names Yadurma and Yarmihaddu (or Yarimhaddu) are West-Semitic, while Pinḥatu is Eg. (corresponding to biblical Pinḥas). We learn in the second paragraph (lines 11-19) that one of the two writers was female; unfortunately, she does not indicate her name at that point. The reasons for believing that it was Yarimhaddu are provided in Pardee 1979-80:25-27.

¹⁷⁹ The formula expressing the number of prostrations here is *tn² id šb^c d*, "two times seven times (equals fourteen times)" (see above, note 11).

¹⁸⁰ I use the rather archaic "maidservant" to express the switch from the dual masculine form *bdk*, used in line 5 to designate the two writers, to the feminine singular form *anik*, used in this paragraph for the female servant who here expresses her particular problem. The object of Binu-^cAyāna's demands is not stated here; from what follows it appears to have something to do with the repairs mentioned there.

¹⁸¹ {*l²ak*} must be an imperative. It cannot be a 3rd masc. sing. pf. (Dietrich and Loretz 1984:66), which is {*l²ik*} in Ug. Seeing here an infinitive functioning as 3rd masc. sing. pf. (ibid.) is unacceptable because there is no noun in the vicinity to serve as subject.

¹⁸² Lit. "and refuse him" (*w khānn*), a meaning of *khā* attested in Medieval Heb. and Aram., in Syriac, and in Arabic (Pardee 1979-80:28).

¹⁸³ The form translated "this house" is *hbt*, analyzed as the presentative particle *hn* + *bt*, "house," with the {*n*} assimilated (as in the later Heb. definite article). Liverani (1964a:181-82) has pointed out the peculiar usage of *hn* before several nouns in (24) (translated above); seeing a similar usage here compounded by assimilation appears more plausible than seeing here a case of "w/b interchange" ({*hbt*} = *hwt*, "word": Dietrich and Loretz 1984:66). A similar usage of the particle *h(n)*- may be attested in (35) line 14 {*hmhkm*} (see below, note 190).

So why did Binu-^cAyāna come back¹⁸⁴ and take two shekels of silver from your maidservant?

Food for the Servants, a Garment for the Master
(lines 20-29)

Now as for your two servants, there with you is all (one could need), so you must give food to them.

Moreover, that is what the (members of the) household of your two servants keep requesting.¹⁸⁵ And when your servant¹⁸⁶ comes to tender to you his formal greetings,¹⁸⁷ he will be sure to have a *hipā-nu*-garment made for my master, of whatever (is required) from your servant's own goods.

¹⁸⁴ Dietrich's and Loretz' intuition to read here *lm tb*, "why did he return?" (1984:66) had been pre-confirmed by the reading of a word-divider between the two words (Pardee 1981-82:260, n. 9; 1986:454).

¹⁸⁵ The same verb is used as in the case of Binu-^cAyāna's demands (*š^cl*), but here in the G-stem (*š^cal*), rather than in the tD-stem (with metathesis), as above (*yš^cal*). The two servants were apparently responsible for one of the master's households and are complaining that the master has not enabled them to provide for the needs of the other members of the household by giving them adequate foodstuffs (*tn^c ak^c lhm*, "give food to them," in line 22, refers to the two servants, i.e., the writers).

¹⁸⁶ It is clear from the form *b^cly*, "my master," in line 28 that *bdk* in lines 26 and 29 is singular (*l^cabduka/*), rather than dual, as in lines 5 and 20 (*l^cabdēka/abdāka/*), and that the second part of this last paragraph represents the words of the male servant, Pinḥaṭu. The emendation of {*b^cly*} to {*b^cl<n>y*} (KTU² 191) has no objective basis and may not be admitted.

¹⁸⁷ The formula here used is unattested elsewhere: *ymgy^c bdk l šlm^c mk*, lit., "your servant arrives to ascertain what is well with you." The principal epistolary formulae incorporating *šlm* and a prep. are *šlm^c m*, "it is well with X" (see note 9) and *yšlm l*, "may it be well with (lit. 'for') X" (see note 4). The present phrase may either represent a variation of the former, expressing the writer's proposed presence with the addressee when ascertaining the latter's welfare, or a totally different usage, i.e., the D-stem with the notion of "render accounts" or the like (cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1984:67). In either case, this formula is unrelated to the final line of the letter, which does not represent the well-being formula used for the addressee (Pardee 1987b:210-11).

(35) A PROBLEM WITH RATIONS (RS 29.095) (3.45II)¹⁸⁸

Address (lines 1-2)

Message of Talmiyānu: To Pizziya say:

Greetings and Double Return of News Formula
(lines 3-8)

May it be well with you. May the gods keep you well, may they guard you. Here with me it is w[el]l. There with you <whatever well-being there may be>, return word (of that) to me.¹⁸⁹

What to Do about Rations (lines 9-19)

Now listen well: As ^cDN has been continually requesting of you, he may take a *bīku*-jar (of wine) by permission of ^cPR. Don't you w<or>ry about a thing! Until I arrive in ^cRM, the rations of ^cDN, (in the amount) of a *dūdu*-measure of the left-over grain, give to him.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ Though a transliteration of this text was provided in KTU 2.71 (cf. KTU²), a copy or photograph has not yet appeared. One may reject out of hand the hesitant suggestion by KTU² that the text might be a scribal exercise, for difficulty of interpretation is not a criterion for ascription as a school text and this text shows no other sign of scholastic origin.

¹⁸⁹ The second part of the formula described above in note 9 reads {*tmny^c mk rgm ttb ly*}, i.e., without the expected *mum šlm*. Whether this was considered an acceptable abbr. or not is difficult to say, but I would guess not, as the use of the prep. *m* supposes *šlm* (the "well-being" is "with" the correspondent). Though the author of this letter is clearly superior to the addressee, for he names himself first and gives orders, the number of formulae in lines 3-8, in particular the two *šlm*-formulae and the request for return of news, betray an unusually warm relationship between the two. On that basis, we should probably assume that the hierarchical separation of the two correspondents was not great.

¹⁹⁰ This interpretation is far from certain. The biggest problem is line 12, which reads in context {*pm yqh* (13) *bk . p^cpr*} and which may, at least in theory, be interpreted in several ways. Because the idiom *lqh b(y)d*, "take from the hand/possession of" is well attested, whereas *lqh b*, "take from," is not, I avoid translating "he may take *p^cpr* from you." A word *p^cpr* is, in any case, unknown, and I have divided it, therefore, as *p^cpr*, "(according to) the mouth of ^cpr (personal name)." As suggested long ago (Dijkstra, de Moor, and Spronk 1981:379), {*blk*} in line 15 is to be emended to {*b lk*} and the phrase *dbr hmhm b lk^c al tšt*, "any word/matter at all do not place in your heart," to be understood as an idiom for not worrying. If *rm* in line 17 refers to the town by that name, the whereabouts of the correspondents when sending and receiving this letter, which was, of course, discovered at Ugarit, are unknown, for that town appears to be located far to the north (Van Soldt 1998:728-30, 742). As a *dūdu* probably measured about fifty liters, the amount assigned here to ^cdn would either be enough to last a single person for quite a long time or a household or an officer and his troops for an indeterminable period of time, because we have no way of knowing the number of persons in either group. I avoid translating ^cdn as the noun that means "group, troop," however, because all the forms that refer to that word appear to be singular. It is not impossible, nevertheless, that that is the meaning of the term, treated throughout as a collective. As above in (32), the word here translated "grain" is ^cakl, "food."

(36) DOUBLE LETTER, FROM ^cAZZI²ILTU TO HIS PARENTS,
FROM SAME TO HIS SISTER (RS 92.2005) (3.45JJ)¹⁹¹

First Address (lines 1-5)

[To ²U]rtēnu, my [fa]ther, say, and to BD¹R, my mother, say: Message of ^cAzzi²iltu your son.

Greetings and Double Return of News Formula (lines 6-13)

May it be well with you. May the gods guard your well-being, may they keep you well.¹⁹² Here with me it is well.¹⁹³ Whatever is well there, return word (of that) to me.

Body [...] ¹⁹⁴

Second Address (lines 23-25)

Message of ^cAzzi²iltu: To ²Abīya, my sister, say:

Greetings and Double Return of News Formula (lines 26-32)

May it be well with you. [May] the gods keep (you) well, may they guard you, may they [keep] you [wh]ole.¹⁹⁵ [Here] with me [it is well]. Whatever is well [th]ere, return [word] (of that to me).

Body [...] ¹⁹⁶

¹⁹¹ Text to be published by Bordreuil and Pardee (in press). This badly damaged tablet is included here because, by its very nature and joined with other texts, esp. RS 92.2014 (COS 1.100), it indicates that the archives to which it belonged were those of ²Urtēnu (see above, note 16).

¹⁹² This letter contains the first attestation in Ug. of the phrase *l šlm*, "for well-being," inserted in the blessing formula, which reads {²ilm l šlm tgrkm tšlmkm}, lit., "the gods, for well being, may they guard you two, may they keep the two of you well." The phrase corresponds to *ana šulmāni* in the Akk. letters from Ras Shamra.

¹⁹³ This formula, and probably the corresponding formula in the second letter, also contains a novelty: instead of just {hnyy} or {hiny} (see above, note 9), it reads {h¹ln . h¹n¹ . c^{mn} tš¹lm}, "Here, behold with me it is well." The facts (1) that *hln* here precedes *hn* and (2) that it can introduce the body of a letter while *hnyy* does not, seem to indicate that *hln(y)* expressed the notion of "here" a bit more strongly than *hnyy*.

¹⁹⁴ The body of this letter consisted of 9 lines, but they are too badly damaged to be translated. The presence of the word *hršy*, "my artisans," in line 20 may indicate that the message dealt with having something built or constructed (*hrš* is used for building houses, for making chariots, and for furniture making).

¹⁹⁵ In addition to the absence of a suffix on {tšlm}, attested elsewhere and probably a stylistic variant rather than an error, a blessing unattested elsewhere is partially preserved in line 28, {[¹]¹mmk}, plausibly restored as {w t¹mmk}.

¹⁹⁶ The body of the letter to ²Abīya was five lines long but is even more poorly preserved than that of the first letter on this tablet.

(37) ²ANANTĒNU TO HIS MASTER HĪDMIRATU
(RS 92.2010) (3.45KK)¹⁹⁷

Address (lines 1-4)

To Hīdmiratu, my master, say: Message of ²Anan-tēnu your servant.

Greeting and Prostration Formula (lines 4-9)

May the gods guard you, may they keep you well. At the feet of my master seven times and seven times (from) afar do I fall.

see I Kgs
22:13; Ps
45:2

Expanded Return-of-News Formulae (lines 9-20)¹⁹⁸

Here with your servant it is very well. As for my master, (news of) his well-being, (of) the well being of Nikkaliya, (of) the well-being of his household,¹⁹⁹ (of) the well-being of those who hear your good word(s),²⁰⁰ you, (O master,) you must send back to your servant.

¹⁹⁷ Text to be published by Bordreuil and Pardee (in press). Like (34), the present text illustrates the servant-master relationship. None of the persons mentioned may be identified with well-known personages. Both servant and master here bear Hurrian names, while the third person mentioned, Nikkaliya, bears a name used locally that was based on the Mesopotamian divine name Nikkal (< Ningal). This goddess was the wife of the lunar deity Nanna/Sin and the mother of the solar deity Utu/Šamaš. That Nikkal was assimilated into Ug. culture is well illustrated by the myth of her marriage to the Ug. lunar deity Yarihu (CTA no. 24) and by her appearance in ritual texts from Ugarit, both Hurrian and Ug. (see Pardee 2000a:183, 982, 1185).

¹⁹⁸ The basic forms of this epistolary formula are described above, note 9. The first part of the formula, expressing the writer's well-being, is brief. The second has been expanded beyond the normal reference to the addressee only and includes four other persons or groups of persons. The long sentence in which this formula is couched is impossible to translate smoothly for it starts out addressing the master in the third person (*w b^cly šlmh*, lit. "and my master, his well-being") then, after referring to news about the other persons, switches to the second person in the fourth well-being phrase (*rgmk*, "your word") and in the verbal phrase (*c²at t¹b*, lit. "you, you must cause to return"), which has the repeated noun *šlm* of the preceding phrases as its accusative complements.

¹⁹⁹ Because it is between the reference to Nikkaliya and the shift to the second person when referring to the addressee, the antecedent of the pronoun in this formula is uncertain, either "my master" in line 12 or "Nikkaliya" in the immediately preceding phrase. Household greetings may be expressed either to the addressee (as here above, [13]) or in the third person with reference to a third party, and it is thus possible that the "return of news" formula could also refer to the well-being of a third party's household, in this case Nikkaliya's.

²⁰⁰ The text is *w šlm šm^c rgmk n^cm*, lit. "and the well-being of the hearer(s) of your word, the good one." If, because of the singular form of the attributive adjective, we can be sure that *rgm* in this phrase is singular, there is no way of determining the number of the hearers (either /šāmi^ci rigmika/, "the hearer of your word," or /šāmi^ci rigmika/, "the hearers of your word"). That *šm^c rgm* was a title expressing some sort of function is clear from its appearance in administrative texts (Virolleaud 1957:127, text 100:3; Virolleaud 1965:18-20, text 11:10; 109, text 84:12). It also

A Plea for Clemency (lines 21-24)

Now may my master not destroy his servant's

house(hold) by his (own) hand.²⁰¹

appears clear that one official could have more than one *šm^c rgm*, for in Virolleaud 1965:18, text 11:10-11, two individuals are identified, the first as *šm^c rgm skn qrt*, the second as *šm^c skn qrt*, where the latter formula appears to be an abbr. of the former (or an error). A comparison of the attested forms of the title (esp. the form in this text, "the hearer(s) of your word"), and the one in Virolleaud 1965:18 (*šm^c rgm skn qrt*, "the hearer of the word of the governor of the city") shows that the basic function consisted of the inferior listening to the word(s) of the superior. Precisely what that act entailed and what evolution the basic function may have undergone cannot, however, presently be ascertained.

²⁰¹ Lit. "And my master, the house of his servant, may he not destroy (it) in his hand" (*w b^c ly bt^c bdh^c al yb^c r b ydh*). On *b^c r*, see here above (32) line 9 and note 173. The ambiguity of the suffix on "hand," which could refer either to the servant or the master, leaves the basic meaning of the sentence unclear: is the author worried that Hīdmīratu may come to destroy the house "by his (own) hand," i.e., that he will personally take charge of the destruction, or that Hīdmīratu will destroy the house that is "in his (ʔAnantēnu's) hand," i.e., a house that the author is managing (as seems to be the case of the house mentioned in (34), translated above)? The formulation of the letter and the circumstances that it implies seem to rule out the possibility that the house in question belonged to Hīdmīratu and was managed by ʔAnantēnu, for one may doubt that Hīdmīratu would have contemplated destroying one of his own houses. It appears necessary to conclude, therefore, either that the house belonged to ʔAnantēnu and that one could be a "servant" and a proprietor at the same time, or that the house was managed by ʔAnantēnu for a third party, whom Hīdmīratu would attack through ʔAnantēnu. Only the proximity of the verb and the prepositional phrase indicate that the former solution may be preferable. Nothing is said in the letter about the circumstances that would have provoked the harsh action feared by ʔAnantēnu.

(38) ʔABNIYA ISN'T HAPPY (RS 94.2284) (3.45LL)²⁰²*Address* (lines 1-3)Message of ʔAbniya: To ʔUrtēṭub, ʔUrtēnu, my brother, say: Here ...²⁰³*Objects Sent with the Letter* (lines 4-6)With <Ba>na²ilu I (herewith) send (you) two ʔIŠPR and three ʔRMLHHT and four jars (of wine).²⁰⁴*ʔAbniya's Problem* (lines 7-17)

Now, the heart of your sister is sick^{off} because they have treated me ill and I was never consulted. In the month of Ḫiyyāru — when nobody consulted me — a fattened bull^{gss} was slaughtered and nobody gave me (any). As you live, and as do [I],^{hsh} (I swear that)²⁰⁵ nobody gave [me (any)] and my heart is very sick. [...].²⁰⁶

Response to a Previous Letter (lines 18-23)Now as concerns the letter (regarding) a *ḫipānu-*ff Prov
13:12ggg 2 Sam
6:13; Isa
11:6; Amos
5:22hhh 1 Sam
1:26; 17:55;
20:3; 25:26;
2 Sam 11:11;
14:19; 2 Kgs
2:2, 4, 6;
4:30

garment and a pair of leggings (that you sent me): Some remain (made) partially (of) purple wool. If I KĜ any purple wool, I will certainly put (some of those) with them. When Bana^cilu is sent off, he will take your reply (i.e., my reply to your letter).²⁰⁷

Request for Return of News and Further Complaining (lines 24-34)

Whatever is said (there), send (me) back a report through²⁰⁸ Bana²ilu — he/it is/will be (in?) ʔKD.²⁰⁹ Now, you know how sick the heart of your sister will be if there is any (more) enmity. I'll give two ne<w>⁷ *ḫipānu*-garments²¹⁰ (for?) the wine from the provisions that were not given to me. [...].²¹¹ As for the money that you granted me, send it (to me) so I may cause (you) to sleep where your "soul" is going.²¹² Why do you delay sending your messenger to me? Don't you know that my heart is

²⁰² Text to be published by Bordreuil and Pardee (in preparation). The writer's name is previously unattested at Ugarit, and the vocalization is thus uncertain. Because all forms of reference to the addressee in the rest of the letter are singular, it is clear that the names ʔUrtēṭub and ʔUrtēnu refer to a single person. The element /tēnu/ seems to be substitutable for /tēṭub/, the name of the Hurrian weather deity (Gröndahl 1967:260), and this text attests to one person bearing a name which may take either form. Comparison of this letter with the exercise (42) (see below), indicates that the writer may actually have been residing in ʔUrtēnu's house and writing to him elsewhere.

²⁰³ Immediately after *rgm*, "say," in line 3 is the word *hny*, "here," followed by two small wedges and with a horizontal line between lines 3 and 4. It is uncertain whether *hny* is considered the abbr. of the "return-of-news" formula or the first word of the body of the letter. Against the first explanation is the fact that other formulae usually intervene between the address and the "return-of-news" formula (I know of only one exception, RIH 77/21A, a fragment of a letter from superior to inferior); in favor of the second, the fact that *hny* serves fairly often to introduce the body of a letter when the writer wishes to emphasize that the reference is to his/her location (cf. notes 9 and 193).

²⁰⁴ On ʔIŠPR and the *sp*-vessel, see above (18) and note 115. {ʔrmlht} is almost certainly a compound phrase, but the proper division is unknown.

²⁰⁵ Attested for the first time in Ug. and written both times as a single word, (*hnpšk . w ḫn[psyl]*) is the oath formula corresponding to Heb. *hay/hē naps^hkā* ...

²⁰⁶ The last three lines of ʔAbniya's complaint are damaged, but the word {dbh[...] "sacrifice" appears in line 17, indicating perhaps a cultic context for the sacrifice (the verb *tbh* was used above to express the slaughter of the bull).

²⁰⁷ Aside from some clear individual terms, the sense of this paragraph is rather murky. One of the major problems is {ʔak[ḡ]} in line 20, for which no meaning is clear. Also problematic is the use of *gṛ* for Bana²ilu's departure; elsewhere in Ug. and in Heb., the verb has a strong negative polarity ("drive out, expel").

²⁰⁸ Correct {bb} to {bd}, lit. "in the hand(s) of."

²⁰⁹ The phrase translated above the dash is {hl ʔkd}. Is ʔAbniya asking for a reply in Akk.? [Would have to be ʔkd. Ed.]

²¹⁰ The last word of {tn ḫpnm . ḫdm} is perhaps a mistake for {ḫdtm}.

²¹¹ For line 30, which reads {w ks . p²a . ʔamht . ʔakydnt}, I have found no plausible solution.

²¹² {ʔašhkr . l d hlkt . npsk}, a reference to preparing a tomb?

sick?

(39) PROVISIONS ARE RUNNING OUT
(RS 94.2383 + RS 94.2619) (3.45MM)²¹³

Address and Greeting (lines 1-5)

To ²Urtēnu, my brother, say: Message of ⁶Uttaya, your sister. May the gods keep you well, may they guard you.

The Problem (lines 6-13)

(It has been) three days now that there is no food

in your house and for [... someone] struck and provisions CARRY (to) the house of the king. Twice now (someone) has taken (provisions?) and keeps asking [...] CARRY the (message)-tablet. Now oil [...] perfume [...] and wood [...] for him/her/it.²¹⁴

²¹³ Text to be published by Bordreuil and Pardee (in preparation). The form of the tablet is fully preserved but surface damage has rendered its reading very difficult. The text was complete with line 13, inscribed on the lower edge, for the entire *verso* of the tablet was left uninscribed. I included this text because of who the correspondents were. An ⁶Uttaya was the recipient of (30) and addressed there as the sister of ⁶Uzzīnu. Judging from the reference there to the writer's mother, ⁶Uttaya may have been his true sister. Because of the absence of other such family references in the present text, it is difficult to determine whether the relationship between ²Urtēnu and ⁶Uttaya was familial or purely social.

²¹⁴ The text is unfortunately too badly damaged to allow any certainty as to whether envoys of the king have been taking food from individual houses for the palace or whether people are seeking to receive provisions from the palace.

(40) GETTING ONE'S NAME BEFORE THE KING
(RS [Varia 4]) (3.45NN)²¹⁵

Address and Greeting (lines 1-5)

Message of ²Iwaridārri: To ²Iwaripuzini, my son, my brother,²¹⁶ say: May the gods guard you, may they keep you well.

A Letter Previously Sent to Tarriyelli (lines 6-9)

How is it with the (message)-tablet²¹⁷ ⁱⁱⁱ that I sent to Tarriyelli? What has she said (about it)?

ⁱⁱⁱ Cf. Isa 30:8

ⁱⁱⁱ Cf. I Kgs 2:16-18

²Iwaripuzini's Intervention Requested (lines 10-14)

Now may my brother, my son, inquire of Tarriyelli and may she in turn mention²¹⁸ my name to the kingⁱⁱⁱ and to ²Iyyatalmi.

Report Requested (lines 15-19)

Now may my brother, my son, make this inquiry of Tarriyelli and return word to your brother, your father.

²¹⁵ This text first appeared, in transcription only, in Gordon 1947:168 (text no. 138), but the full *editio princeps* was not presented for decades thereafter (Bordreuil 1982:5-9 and pl. I). Gordon had received the transcription from de Vaux, who had announced that he would publish the text soon (1946:458, n. 3) but who never did so. The tablet was almost certainly removed from the site of Ras Shamra illegally, either during the final excavations before World War II or else while the site was abandoned during the war. The only well-known personage mentioned in the letter is Tarriyelli, the queen or the queen-mother (see above, note 2). All the names mentioned in the text are of Hurrian type. This letter makes reference to a previous letter and asks that the concerns expressed there be pursued by checking with the addressee of that letter (Tarriyelli) who is in turn to take the matter before the king. Nowhere, however, is the content of these concerns expressed. The mention of the otherwise poorly attested ²Iyyatalmi in the same breath with the king indicates that the writer's project somehow falls within the sphere of ²Iyyatalmi's activities. All we know about those is that ²Iyyatalmi was involved in real estate operations (Bordreuil 1982:9).

²¹⁶ Below the addressee is called "my brother, my son" (lines 10-11 and 15-16) while the writer's self-description is "your brother, your father." This double designation of each of the correspondents is unknown elsewhere. The word ²adn, "lord/father," usually reserved for the paternal parent (⁶I is used for a social superior — see above, notes 52 and 119), implies a family relationship. In the first case, ²Iwaridārri might be thought to be an older brother of ²Iwaripuzini, perhaps even one who had raised him like a son; in the second, the writer may be a senior member of one of the commercial enterprises that flourished at Ugarit and whose members referred to each other as "brothers" when of roughly equal age and status but with terms of inequality when of disparate age (cf. the Akk. text RS 34.171, second letter, addressed to two persons, one of whom is EN, "lord," the other ŠEŠ DUG₁₀-GA, "good brother," while the writer calls himself "the brother" of both (Malbran-Labat 1991:52-53).

²¹⁷ The expression *lht spr*, "tablet(s) of message," is attested only here, though similar but more precise phrases are well attested, e.g. *lht ²akl* (9), line 17), translated above "a (message)-tablet... regarding food," or *lht qn²im* (10) line 29'), translated above "(message)-tablet... regarding royal purple."

²¹⁸ The expression is *p rgm l mlk šmy*, "and SAY to the king my name," with the conjunction that emphasizes the sequentiality of two phrases (see above, note 104), and a verbal form not marked for feminine gender. *rgm* is, therefore, if Tarriyelli is the subject, the infinitive used absolutely. It could also be the masc. sing. impv., addressed to ²Iwaripuzini, but if the latter enjoyed immediate access to the king one wonders why the inquiry addressed to Tarriyelli and the addressee's intercession with the king would be mentioned in the same breath. If the two acts mentioned in this paragraph are indeed related, as the logic of the situation and the laconic formulation may be thought to indicate, then the "saying" of the writer's name may be thought to involve more than a mere mention, i.e. a presentation of his concerns, whatever they may have been.

VI. SCRIBAL EXERCISES

Dennis Pardee

(41) A SCRIBE SHOWS OFF
(RS 16.265) (3.4500)²¹⁹

Address and Greetings (lines 1-6)

[Me]ssage of ʔIttēlu to MNN: May the gods guard you, may they keep you well, may they strengthen you, for a thousand days and ten thousand years, through the endless reaches of time.²²⁰ kkk

kkk Pss
111:8; 148:6

and may he grant it to his brother, his friend, (his) friend forever: May you give, and give!, and may you indeed give, and will you not certainly give?, give (me) a cup of wine that I might drink!²²¹

The Request (lines 7-16)

A request I would make of my brother, my friend,

²¹⁹ Text published by Virolleaud 1957:39-40, no. 19. Except for the upper left corner, this tablet is well preserved, leaving no doubt about the "structure" of the text: lines 1-16, written on the *recto* and the lower edge with the rectangular tablet held in the vertical position, contain a practice letter, in which the scribe shows off his command both of epistolary formulae and of verbal conjugation; lines 17-28, written partially in cols. on the *verso* with the tablet held in the horizontal position, contain individual words; lines 29-31, written on the right edge, the upper edge, and the left edge, contain three partial alphabets (the two that are fully preserved both run from {ʔa} to {y}, i.e., the first eleven letters). Cf. COS 1.107. As lines 17-31 bear no real message, only the letter is translated here. The signs in the first two parts are cleanly and consistently executed, with very few forms that show any deviation from the more or less standard palace hands, and must have been inscribed by a student well along in his studies or by a young professional. In contrast, the signs of the partial alphabets are much more awkwardly formed and were surely done by a student fairly near the beginning of the curriculum. Because there is no reason to have kept such a tablet in the palace archives, one must conclude that it dates from the very last days of the kingdom of Ugarit. ʔIttēlu, the author of the letter, is unknown as a scribe. The addressee is {mnn}, which may be either an authentic personal name, attested elsewhere, or an expanded indefinite pronoun, meaning "Anyone."

²²⁰ "May they strengthen you" (tʔzzk) is attested once in a genuine letter (RS 1.018:6 {tʔzz[k]}), but the temporal phrases are not yet attested elsewhere.

²²¹ The scribe runs through the four principal volitive forms, the jussive, the imperative, the imperfective with asseverative *l*, and the imperfective with emphatic *ʔal* (translated here as a rhetorical negative, though this *ʔal* may have been a particle separate from the negative volitive particle), then repeats the simple imperative before the direct object (*tm w m w l tm w ʔal tm m ks yn w ʔišm*).

(42) THE GREETINGS THAT ʔABNIYA MIGHT HAVE SENT (RS 94.2273) (3.45PP)²²²

Address and Greetings (lines 1-7)

[Mess]age of ʔAbniya to ʔUrtēub: [I] fall at the feet of my brother. Here from afar I fall; seven

times, eight times, I fall. May the gods guard you, may they ke[ep you well].²²³

²²² Text to be published by Bordreuil and Pardee (in preparation). This is a small rectangular tablet inscribed as held horizontally with all seven lines of writing on the *recto*. Visible are many remnants of previous writing that have been incompletely erased. The tablet is too small, too poorly prepared, and these seven lines take up too much space to allow us even to contemplate that it may have been intended as the beginning of the letter that has come to us as (38), though it certainly contains some scribe's ideas as to how one of ʔAbniya's letters to her brother, perhaps in happier circumstances, may have begun. It is intriguing that both were found in the House of ʔUrtēnu when one would expect only (38) to have been sent — does this mean that ʔAbniya was at the time resident in her brother's house and he was away from home, i.e., that (38) was never actually dispatched? Because it is difficult to imagine that a rough partial draft like the present text would have been kept in anyone's archives, it appears necessary to conclude that the events of (38) occurred shortly before the fall of the city of Ugarit.

²²³ Though not as flowery as (41), there are three unique features to this set of formulae: (1) the three-fold repetition of the verb "fall," with the first actual occurrence apparently added secondarily (it is written in a smaller script at the end of line 1, just above the phrase *l pʔn*, "at the feet of," in line 2); (2) the presence of an adverb {hlīm}, "here/behold," previously unattested in this form and in this position in the formula, at the beginning of the second prostration formula; (3) the hyperbolic expression of number of prostrations as "seven times, eight times" rather than the expected "seven times, seven times" (see above, note 11).

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1968; Vita 1995; Vita and Galán 1997; Watson and Wyatt 1999; Xella 1991; Yon 1992; 1995; 1997.

3. ARAMAIC LETTERS

THE JEDANIAH ARCHIVE FROM ELEPHANTINE

(419/18 to after 407 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

The first identifiably Elephantine Aramaic papyrus was acquired in 1898/99 on the antiquities market by the Egyptologist Wilhelm Spiegelberg for the (now-named) Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire of Strasbourg and published by Julius Euting in 1903 (*COS* 3.50). While fragmentary, it reported the nefarious acts of the Khnum priests and foreshadowed the tale of the destruction of the Jewish temple. This was detailed in some ten documents uncovered by Otto Rubensohn and Friedrich Zucker in 1907-1908 and published by Eduard Sachau in 1911 (*TAD* A4.1-10). They have been brought together because they were addressed to the Jewish leader Jedaniah son of Gemariah (*COS* 3.46-48), were written by/for him (*COS* 3.51 and 3.53), or concern events in which he was involved (*COS* 3.49-50 and 3.52). Historically, this composite archive is of inestimable significance. It opened in 419 BCE with a fragmentary letter from an unknown Hananiah reporting a (missing) directive of Darius II to Arsames and instructing Jedaniah "and his colleagues the Jewish troop" on the proper observance of the Passover (3.46). It closed some dozen years later with a memorandum of a recommendation for Arsames, issued jointly by Bagavahya of Judah and Delaiah son of Sanballat, governor of Samaria, that the destroyed Temple be rebuilt on its site and (only) incense and meal-offering be made there (3.52); and an abridged draft letter of Jedaniah and his four named colleagues, probably to the same Arsames, offering a handsome bribe and accepting certain restrictions if the reconstruction of their Temple be authorized (3.53). The center piece is an elegantly written and rhetorically stylized draft petition, in two copies, the second revised, addressed to the Persian-named, but probably Jewish, governor of Judah, seeking his written intercession with the Persian authorities for the Temple's reconstruction (3.51 [only the first draft is presented here]). Hananiah's festal letter combined known provisions from the written Torah with innovations from a developing oral Torah. Whoever he may have been, whether a representative of Jerusalem or a delegate from the Persian court, his arrival in Egypt stirred up the Khnum priests on the island of Elephantine against the Jewish Temple. In a letter of recommendation on behalf of two Egyptians who had extricated the scribe Mauziah son of Nathan from a tight situation in Abydos, the latter wrote to Jedaniah, "To you it is known that Khnum is against us since Hananiah has been in Egypt until now" (3.48). Other letters intimated that both sides presented their claims before the Persian authorities in Thebes and Memphis — the Egyptians "act thievishly" (3.47) — and reported how the Jews took things into their own hands and pillaged Egyptian homes, for which they were imprisoned and forced to pay heavy reparations (3.49). All the intact letters open with a form of the standard salutation, "May the gods/God of Heaven seek after the welfare-of-my-lords/brothers/your welfare at all times" (3.46-49, 3.51).¹ Eight of the ten letters are presented here; today they are divided between the museums in Berlin (3.46, half of 3.49, 3.51-52) and Cairo (3.47-48, half of 3.49, 3.53) and the library in Strasbourg (3.50).

THE PASSOVER LETTER (3.46)

(419/18 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

Significant as this letter (*P. Berlin* 13464 [*TAD* A4.1]) is, its full intent eludes us because of our ignorance as to the identity of Hananiah and the loss of the command from Darius to Arsames (*Instructions I*). Hananiah arrived from outside of Egypt, either upon the initiative of the Jewish authorities in Jerusalem or of the Persian court or in response to a petition of the Elephantine Jews. If the latter, we may imagine that their observance of the dual Festivals of Passover and Unleavened Bread was being obstructed by the Egyptian priests. Hananiah succeeded in gaining the king's confirmation of their traditional rights and on his own initiative stated three or four biblical requirements (*Instructions II*), such as eating unleavened bread during the seven day festival, followed by an interlacing of biblical requirements, such as abstaining from work on the first and last days, and interpretative innovations concerning purity, fermented drink, and the storage of leaven (*Instructions III*). These latter may have been recent rulings in Jerusalem. Obscure is the manner in which the first night and day of the Festival of Passover was to be observed. A home sacrifice? A temple sacrifice? As a festal letter, this missive is reminiscent of the letters of King Hezekiah

¹ For the jussive form of the verb, see *GEA* 198.

about Passover, of Esther and Mordecai about Purim, and of the Jerusalem authorities about Hanukkah (2 Chr 30:1-9; Esth 9:20-32; 2 Macc 1:1-2:18). The letter is heavily smeared and may have been a palimpsest.

Internal Address

(Recto)¹¹[To my brothers² a Je]daniah³ and his colleagues⁴ b the Jewish T[roop],⁵ your brother Hanan[i]ah.⁶

Salutation

The welfare of my brothers may the gods⁷ [seek after ²at all times]?⁸

Instructions I

And now,⁹ this year, year 5 of Darius the king,¹⁰ c from¹¹ the king it has been sent¹² to Arsa[m]es ...].¹³

Instructions II

¹⁴[...] ... Now,¹⁴ you,¹⁵ thus¹⁶ count^d four[teen]¹⁷ ¹⁸days of Nisan¹⁸ and on the 14th at twilight¹⁹ the Passover ma]ke²⁰ and from day 15 until day 21 of [Nisan the Festival ²¹of Unleavened Bread observe.

a 1 Kgs 20:32
b Ezra 4:7,
9, 17, 23,
5:3, 6, 6:6,
13
c Neh 12:22
d Lev 23:15-
16; Deut
16:9
e Num 9:1-
14; Ezra
6:20; 2 Chr
30:17
f Judg 13:4,
13; 1 Sam
21:5
g Dan 6:18

Seven days unleavened bread eat.²¹

Instructions III

Now], be pure²² e and take heed.²³ f Work [do] n[ot] do ²⁴on day 15 and on day 21 of Nisan.²⁴ Any fermented drink] do not drink.²⁵ And anything of leaven²⁶ do not [eat²⁷ (Verso) ²⁸and do not let it be seen²⁸ in your houses from day 14 of Nisan at] sunset until day 21 of Nisan at sun²⁹set. And any leaven which you have in your houses b]ring into your chambers and seal⁸ (them) up during [these] days.²⁹ ²⁹[...]

External Address

¹⁰[To] (sealing) my brothers Jedaniah and his colleagues the Jewish Troop, your brother Hananiah s[on of PN].

² A designation used between peers.

³ Internal addresses rarely gave the patronymic of either correspondent. This was Jedaniah son of Gemariah, leader of the Jewish community at the end of the century, probably a cousin of Jedaniah and Mahseiah sons of Mibtahiah daughter of Mahseiah son of Jedaniah, and possibly a priest (reconstructed text in TAD A4.8:1; see GEA 252).

⁴ Collegiality in this period was the usual practice in correspondence and other bureaucratic procedures; e.g. 3.47:2 11, 3.51:1, 4; TAD A6.1:1, 2:11. Here Jedaniah's colleagues were the whole Jewish community; in his petition to Bagavahya they were just the priests (3.51:1; TAD A4.8:1).

⁵ The garrison at Elephantine was primarily Jewish and was defined ethnically (TAD C3.15.1). The one at Syene was more diverse and was known as "the Syenian troop" (TAD C3.14:32); Porten 1968:33-34.

⁶ Unfortunately, his patronymic was lost in the External Address. Though there were several Hanan's at Elephantine (3.68:16; TAD C13:2, 53, 55; 4.6:5), no one there bore the name Hananiah. He arrived from outside Egypt and his presence and actions stirred up the animosity of the Khnum priesthood (3.48:7).

⁷ The form is plural (²thy²) and it is not clear, here and in other letters by Jews, whether it was understood as a majestic singular, whether a pagan formula was used unthinkingly, or whether a pagan scribe actually wrote the letter (see 3.49:1, 9).

⁸ This pagan Salutation was common in Jewish and non-Jewish private letters; see TAD A3.5:1, 3.9:1, 3.10:1 and is also restored in 3.47:1.

⁹ The body of virtually every letter began with some form of this transition word; see EPE 90, n. 9.

¹⁰ It is strange that no month and day date were given. Since the New Year began in Nisan, we may imagine that the rescript was issued at the end of year 5 (before April 15, 418 BCE), with an eye to the Passover of year 6.

¹¹ The word order "from"-to was standard for a message from a superior to a subordinate; see EPE 115, n. 2.

¹² The verb is impersonal, passive (²thy²), meaning "word has been sent."

¹³ This unique ten-word message does not lend itself to confident reconstruction.

¹⁴ Pursuant to Darius' message to the satrap, Hananiah issued some ten instructions on the proper observance of the festival. These may be restored on the basis of close parallels with Exod 12:6, 15-20, 13:7. Some instructions have no biblical parallels. See Porten 1979:91-92.

¹⁵ The 2mp independent personal pronoun regularly preceded an imperative for emphasis in epistolary instructions and commands; see 3.48:5, 8; GEA 298 and EPE 121, n. 72.

¹⁶ With cataphoric meaning — "as follows;" GEA 312.

¹⁷ For the form ²rb[²t ²sr], see GEA 90, n. 415.

¹⁸ The commandment to count in the Bible occurs only in relation to the festival of Shavuoth.

¹⁹ Restoration according to Exod 12:6 where the paschal lamb was to be sacrificed at twilight on the fourteenth of Nisan.

²⁰ ²bd psh = Heb. ²sh psh, which occurs some 30 times in the Bible in eight different contexts. It is immaterial whether we translate these passages neutrally, with the RSV, "keep the Passover" or explicitly (with NJPS) as "perform the paschal sacrifice." The essence of observing this festival is performing the paschal sacrifice, as all the biblical sources make clear, explicating the expression with the verbs ²qryb, "offer up" (Num 9:7, 13), ²zbt "sacrifice" (Deut 16:2, 4-6), and ²sl, "slaughter" (2 Chr 35:1, 6, 11).

²¹ Restoration according to Exod 12; 1 Sam 18; cf. Lev 23:6; Num 28:17.

²² Does this provision refer to the biblical requirement of purity for offering up the paschal sacrifice or to a recently instituted injunction of purity during the seven day festival (cf. Rosh Hashanah 16b; Porten 1979:92)?

²³ Not to become impure; for the form see GEA 17, 116, 192.

²⁴ Restoration on the basis of Exod 12:16; cf. Lev 23:7-8; Num 18:18, 25.

²⁵ A postbiblical injunction (cf. Pesah. 3:1 with its inclusion of Eg. ²zythos among the list of prohibited fermented drinks).

²⁶ For the construction with ²kl mnd²n, see GEA 172, 246.

²⁷ On the basis of Exod 12:20.

²⁸ On the basis of Exod 13:7 ("no leaven shall be seen") which may logically conflict with Exod 12:19 ("no leaven shall be found"). The contradiction was resolved by putting it out of sight under seal (line 8).

²⁹ This permission to store leaven out of sight was disallowed by normative Jewish law (cf. Pesah. 5b, 28b).

REFERENCES

Text, translations, and studies: EPE; GEA; Porten 1968; Porten 1979; TAD A4.1.

REPORT OF CONFLICT AND REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE (3.47)
(Late 5th Century BCE)

Bezalel Porten

Written on a three-ply protocol (first sheet) of a scroll (Cairo J. 43471 [TAD A4.2]), this letter defies proper understanding because of the loss of its left half and the use of numerous words and phrases that occur only here. An unknown subordinate, using the standard pagan *Salutation* formula, informed the leaders Jedaniah, Mauziah, and Uriah of proceedings at the court of Arsames in Memphis where he and his colleagues were bested by the Egyptians who proffered bribes and acted "thievishly" (lines 3-5). Timely appearance before Arsames would have altered the situation, but a counter-offer of goods should help to assuage anger (lines 8-11). The final paragraph is a Report on several discrete matters, including the arrival of Pasou from Elephantine, the detention of Hori, and the "damage" suffered by Arsames (lines 11-15).

Internal Address

(Recto)⁽¹⁾To my lords Jedaniah,¹ Mauziah,² Uriah,³ and the Troop,⁴ [yo]ur servant⁵ * [PN.

a Ezra 4:11,
7:12

b Ezra 5:10,
14, 6:5

c Gen 32:4

give to them a bribe.¹⁵ And from (the time) that [...] ⁽⁶⁾of the Egyptians before Arsames, but act thievishly.¹⁶

Salutations

The welfare of my lords may the gods, all (of them)⁶, ⁽²⁾seek after at all times.⁷ It is well for us here.⁸

Complaint

Now,⁹ every day that¹⁰ [...] ⁽³⁾he complained¹¹ to the investigators.¹² One Jivaka,¹³ he complained to an investigator ... [...] ⁽⁴⁾we have¹⁴ since the Egyptians

Report I

Moreover,¹⁷ b [...] ⁽⁶⁾the province of Thebes¹⁹ and thus say:²⁰ c It is Mazdayazna/a Mazdean who is an official²¹ of the province²² [...] ⁽⁷⁾we are afraid²³ because we are fewer by two.²⁴

Report II and Instructions

Now, behold,²⁵ they favored²⁶ [...]. ⁽⁸⁾Had we re-

¹ See on 3.46:1.

² This was the scribe and leader Mauziah son of Nathan; see EPE 194, n. 40.

³ Of unknown patronymic, Uriah may have been a priest; see on 3.48:1, 12.

⁴ For the coordination in the address see GEA 317, 319.

⁵ The sequence "lord"-servant was standard in Aram. letters, here and in the Bible, both private and official, to/from a superior from/to an inferior; see 3.48:1, 3.51:1; GEA 251.

⁶ Alternately translate as adverb "unanimously;" GEA 248.

⁷ For the blessing formula see on 3.46:1-2.

⁸ See on EPE 93, n. 5.

⁹ See on 3.46:2 ("And now").

¹⁰ It was common for a letter to begin with a temporal reference or allusion, followed by a verb of motion or some other action; see 3.48:3, 3.51:4-5 and EPE 107, n. 6.

¹¹ Several of the letters in the Arsames correspondence opened with the announcement of a complaint (TAD A6.3:1, 6.8:1-3, 6.14:1; cf. 6.15:5, 11); see EPE 159, n. 13.

¹² Aram. *ptyprsm*, *ptyprs*, *ptyprs* = Old Persian **patifrāsa*-, "provost" (Hinz 1975:186); see Porten 1968:53-54.

¹³ An Iranian name (Kornfeld 1978:106).

¹⁴ DAE 388-389 restored [P] *ṣṣṣy* *ln*, "we do [not] have," implying that their approach was blocked because of Eg. bribes.

¹⁵ The word *šhd* occurs only here in all our texts. Bribery was not unusual in ancient Egypt; see EPE 47-48, 51, 311-312; Porten 1968:282-283. Unfortunately, the broken context does not allow for full reconstruction of the circumstances in our situation.

¹⁶ The adverbial form *gnybt* occurred only here (GEA 93, 180, 275). The term is in line with the proffering of bribes, but again the precise meaning eludes us.

¹⁷ The particle "moreover" (*ṣp*) introduces matters both unrelated to the previous topic (3.51:29-30) and matters continuing the previous topic (3.51:9, 17, 19, 21). Broken context does not allow determination of whether here a new matter is being introduced or not.

¹⁸ DAE 389 restored "they arrived from," that is, Jews reported from Thebes.

¹⁹ A subsequent letter reported the seizure and imprisonment "at the gate in Thebes" of five of the communal leaders and six unrelated women (3.49:4-7).

²⁰ "PN thus (*kn*) says" was a common formula in Imperial Aram. documents of all sorts — letters (TAD A4.7:4; 6.2:2, 6.3:6; etc.), a court record (TAD B8.7:3), and the Bisitun inscription (TAD C2.1:8, etc.); see EPE 116, n. 6. Heb. had a different word order — "Thus (*kh*) said PN" (e.g. Gen 32:4).

²¹ This bland title (*pqyd*, "appointed one") designated the steward of Arsames and other Persian dignitaries who cared for their estates in Egypt and elsewhere. According to their names, they were Egyptians, Babylonians or Arameans, and Persians (TAD A6.4, 8-15); see Lindenberger 1994:72-73.

²² The relationship between the province of Thebes and the province of Tshetres is not clear (see on 3.50:9; Porten 1968:42-43; EPE 311-312). For this cleft sentence construction see GEA 294-295.

²³ For imperfect *ndhl* as present see GEA 197.

²⁴ Most enigmatic. Had two of their colleagues died, disappeared, been detained? For predicate-subject (*z'yrn* *c'nhnh*) word order, see GEA 285-286.

²⁵ This double introduction appears also in 3.48:5, where, like here, it preceded an urgent request; see further GEA 329.

²⁶ Aram. *sbrw* occurs only here in our collection and once more the meaning eludes us.

revealed our presence²⁷ to Arsames prior to this, this(!) wou[ld] not [have been done to us ...] ⁽⁹⁾he²⁸ will report our affairs before Arsames. Paisana pacifies us²⁹ [... So whatever] ⁽¹⁰⁾you will find³⁰ — honey, castor oil, string, rope, leather skins, boards [... — send us since] (Verso) ⁽¹¹⁾they are full of anger³¹ ^d at you.

Report III

Pasou son of Mannuki³² came to Memphis³³ and ... ⁽¹²⁾and the investigator. And he gave me silver, 12 staters³⁴ and happy with it [am I³⁵ ...] ⁽¹³⁾Hori gave me when they detained³⁶ him because of the

d Ezek 16:30

e Esth 7:4;
Ezra 4:22

pitcher. Tiri... said: "[...] ⁽¹⁴⁾at the order³⁷ of the king and they detain them. And the damage³⁸ ^e of Arsames and the compensation³⁹ of Djeh[o...]
⁽¹⁵⁾and Hori⁴⁰ whom they detained."

Date

On day 6 of Phaophi the letters arrived [...] ⁽¹⁶⁾we will do (the) thing.

External Address

⁽¹⁷⁾To (sealing) my lords Jaadaniah,⁴² Mauziah, y[our] se[rvant PN].

²⁷ A unique expression (*gly* ^{np}); see DNWSI 223. A timely appearance at the satrapal court would have avoided their present difficulties. For the construction see GEA 327.

²⁸ Who?

²⁹ Another unknown idiom (*hšdk* ^{np}); the Persian Paisana served as conciliator (see Num 17:20 for the parallel Heb. word [*škk* = Targ. Jonathan *šdk*] in comparable context). He was mentioned in two other letters (TAD A3.8:2).

³⁰ The following six plus items were apparently meant as counter-bribe to assuage the anger of the unknown "they." Honey, string, and rope occurs only here in our collection. Honey was valued as food, used in medicine, and part of temple ritual, while the most common material for making ropes was fiber from the date palm, prominent in the cataract region (Porten 1968:36). Castor oil and skins from the cataract region were objects frequently sought after by travelers away from home (TAD A2.1:7, 2.2:13, 2.4:7-8, 12, 2.5:5). The *šp*-board was used in ship repair at Elephantine (TAD A6.2:11, 19).

³¹ The expression *mly lbh*, "to be full of someone's wrath" = "to be full of wrath against someone" contains the Akk. loanword *libbātu*, "wrath" and occurs frequently in letters (KAI 2.233:19-20; TAD A2.3:6, 3.3:10, 3.5:4).

³² This man with Eg. praenomen and Akk. patronym appeared in a list of ethnically mixed names (TAD C4.8:9).

³³ For verb-subject word order, see GEA 296.

³⁴ The Ionian stater appeared only at the end of the century, as the equivalent of two shekels (3.80:5-6; TAD 4.5:3, 4.6:7).

³⁵ The restoration of ^{nh}, however, is problematic; see GEA 240, 292-293.

³⁶ The verb *kly* was quite malleable — "detain" a suspected party (as here), "withhold" salary (TAD A3.3:6), and "restrain" a builder (3.59:6-7, 9-10). For the verb form, see GEA 28, 127-128, 139, 153, 264.

³⁷ The word *šwt* occurs only here in our collection; see GEA 219. For Eg. and Akk. cognates, see Dion 1982:556.

³⁸ Because of the broken context, the syntax of *nzq*, "damage" is uncertain; see DNWSI 724 who appear to follow Cowley. It may be understood as an objective genitive on the basis of biblical analogies ("the damage caused to the king[s]").

³⁹ The word *kpr* should be understood in the same syntactical mode as the preceding *nzq*, that is as an objective genitive, "the compensation due Djeho"; differently DNWSI 531.

⁴⁰ Are these two the same as Djeho and Hori, the servants of Anani (3.48:4)?

⁴¹ Only here is the arrival date of incoming letters recorded; see GEA 221-222 for the date formula. The date at the end of the document is usually that of dispatch (see EPE 109, n. 31). For the verb form, see GEA 101, 279.

⁴² Only here is the common name *ydneyh* spelled with an *aleph* (*y²dneyh*) leading to the explanation that it is an Aramaization of *y²znyh*, "May YH hear"; GEA 4, 34.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: DAE; Dion 1982; EPE; GEA; Hinz; KAI; Kornfeld; Lindenberger 1994; Porten 1968; TAD A4.2.

RECOMMENDATION TO AID TWO BENEFACTORS (3.48)

(Late 5th Century BCE)

Bezalel Porten

This bipartite letter of recommendation (Cairo J. 43472 [TAD A4.3]) set forth in the first half the benefit that Djeho and Hori had bestowed upon the writer, the scribe and leader Mauziah (lines 3-5), and in the second half recommended that upon their arrival at Elephantine they be handsomely reimbursed (lines 5-11). The Troop Commander of Elephantine arrested Mauziah in Abydos, either for complicity or negligence regarding the theft of a precious stone. Through the strenuous intercession of two Egyptian servants of Anani, and with divine assistance, his release was secured. As the servants headed for Elephantine, Mauziah wrote to Jedaniah and his colleagues that they should be well taken care of. He assured the leaders that the expenditure should not be viewed as a loss since it would ultimately be covered by the House of Anani. The letter revealed the antagonism that the arrival of Hananiah had aroused among the Khnum priesthood. Though himself among the community's leaders, Mauziah deferentially addressed them as "my lords" and penned a double *Salutation* (lines 1-3).

Internal Address

(Recto) ⁽¹⁾To my lords Jedaniah, ¹ Uriah² and the priests³ of YHW the God, Mattan son of Jashobiah⁴ (and) Berechiah⁵ son of [...]; ⁽²⁾your servant Mauziah.

Salutations

The welfare of [my] lords [may the God of Heaven^a seek after abundantly at all times and] in favor may you be before ⁽³⁾the God of Heaven.⁶

Report

And now,⁷ when Vidranga the Troop Commander⁸ arrived⁹ at Abydos¹⁰ he imprisoned me on account of¹¹ a¹² dyer's stone¹³ which ⁽⁴⁾they found stolen¹⁴ in

a Ezra 1:2, 5:11-12, 6:9-10, 7:12, 21, 23; Neh 1:4-5, 2:4, 20; 2 Chr 36:23; see also Dan 2:18-19, 37, 44
b 2 Kgs 5:6
c 1 Kgs 5:22-23
d Num 16:9; Deut 10:8; 2 Chr 29:11
e Ezra 4:12-13, 5:8; Dan 3:18

the hand of the merchants.¹⁵ Finally, Djeho and Hori,¹⁶ servants of Anani,¹⁷ intervened¹⁸ with Vidranga ⁽⁵⁾and Harnufe,¹⁹ with the protection of the God of Heaven,²⁰ until they rescued me.²¹

Instructions

Now, behold,²² they are coming²³ there to you. You,²⁴ look after²⁵ b them. ⁽⁶⁾Whatever desire²⁶ c and thing²⁷ that Djeho (and) Hori shall seek from you — you,²⁸ stand before²⁹ d them so that³⁰ a bad thing ⁽⁷⁾they shall not find about you.³¹ To you it is known³² e that Khnum³³ is against us since Hananiah has been in Egypt until now.³⁴ ⁽⁸⁾And whatever

¹ See on 3.46:1 and GEA 252.

² He was among the addressees of 3.47 and his prepositioning to the priests suggests that he was one himself; but see GEA 319.

³ The term *khn* (as distinct from *kmr*) was used to designate a Jewish priest, as in 3.51:1, 18; for the construction see GEA 221, also 317.

⁴ Designated "Aramean, Syenian," this Jew was party to a fragmentary document of withdrawal (TAD B5.2:2).

⁵ Of unknown patronymic, he was one of those reported to have been imprisoned in Elephantine (3.49:3).

⁶ The Jewish scribe Mauziah (see EPE 194, n. 40) employed a Jewish version of the epistolary salutation as did his colleague Jedaniah (3.51:2, 27); contrast Hananiah in 3.46:1-2. The title "God of Heaven," occurring thrice here, was common at this time in Judah; for the form see GEA 222. A variant of the second blessing ("in favor be" [*lrhmn hww*]; GEA 291) was also employed by Jedaniah writing to Bagavahya; here favor is to be before the God of Heaven, there before Darius and the princes. This twofold blessing (welfare and favor) is found only here and in the great petition, where it was augmented by two more blessings (3.51:2-3).

⁷ See on TAD A2.1:4.

⁸ Vidranga had been Troop Commander at least between 420 and 416 BCE, when he bore the additional title, Guardian of the Seventh (3.66:4-5, 3.67:2-3, 3.77:2). Apparently his father, Nafaina, held the position ca. 434/33 BCE (TAD A5.2:7). Sometime before 410 BCE Vidranga was promoted to Chief (see EPE 192, n. 11) and the position of Troop Commander passed on to his son, also named Nafaina (3.50:4, 3.51:5, 7). For the form, see GEA 220.

⁹ For the construction "temporal reference + verb of motion," see 3.47:2 and 3.51:4-5. For the subject-verb word order following *kzy*, see GEA 300.

¹⁰ Located about 370 km traveling distance from Elephantine, Abydos saw many visitors, including Arameans, who scrawled their names and prayers on the walls of the Osiris Temple (Lidzbarski 1915:93-116). For verb of motion plus complement of place, see GEA 269.

¹¹ *ldbr*, written as one word; GEA 40.

¹² Aram. *hd*, "one" = indefinite article; see 3.50:5-6, 3.51:19; EPE 153, n. 8; GEA 177.

¹³ For the literature on this term, written as one word (*bnšrp*), see DNWSI 976; GEA 81, 218.

¹⁴ For the construction with object complement, see GEA 271; for *grayb*, *ibid.*, 119.

¹⁵ Was Mauziah guarding a caravan and accused of connivance in the theft or malfeasance in the performance of his duties? This is the only place in our documents to mention merchants (*rkdy*), though a witness to a grain delivery contract, apparently drawn up at Tahpanhes, bore the trade name Rochel (son of Abihu) (TAD B4.4:20).

¹⁶ Were these the same as Djeho and Hori involved in the previous letter (3.47:14-15)?

¹⁷ Was this fellow, so well known that his patronym need not be given, the Scribe and Chancellor who issued the order in Arsames' name to repair a boat (TAD A6.2:23)?

¹⁸ For the verb *štdrw*, see GEA 26, 118, 189.

¹⁹ Djeho, Hori, and Harnufe are Eg. names.

²⁰ In his famous Bisim Inscriptio, Darius I attributed each of his victories to the help and "protection" (*tlh*) of Ahuramazda (TAD C2.1:10, 16, 42). For the form *btll*, see GEA 87.

²¹ For the clause with *šd* see GEA 333; for shafel *šzbwny*, see *ibid.*, 116.

²² Here, as in 3.47:7, a double introduction leads into an urgent request. See GEA 329.

²³ A similar construction ("PN is coming to you; take care of him") is found in a letter by Arsames (TAD A6.9:2) and in the biblical letter of the King of Aram to the King of Israel.

²⁴ For the pronoun before the imperative see on 3.46:3; also line 6 and 8 below.

²⁵ The expression "look after" (*hzy šd*) occurs esp. with children as object (see EPE 98, n. 32).

²⁶ Aram. *šbw* = Heb. *hps*; cf. the correspondence between Solomon and Hiram.

²⁷ Aram. *mlh* = Heb. *dbar*, "word," attenuated to "thing;" GEA 174.

²⁸ See note 24 above.

²⁹ To "stand before" is to serve. For a New Testament-Peshitta parallel, see Dion 1982:567.

³⁰ An imperative verb followed by the particles "so that" (*kn kzy*), in the sense of "lest something bad happen," is a standard epistolary construction (TAD A6.10:2, 6, 6.15:11); further, GEA 197, 312, 332.

³¹ "Not to find something bad/damaging" is a positive statement; see 3.50:2. For the object-verb word order in categorical negations, see GEA 302-303.

³² Usually found in the form "be it known to you," this statement always introduces a warning or a negative report (TAD A6.10:8-10). In one of the Arsames letters the warning follows upon the command to carry out the "desire" concerning his estate (TAD A6.8).

³³ Depicted as the ram god, Khnum along with Sati (3.65:5) and Anukis constituted the local divine triad. He was known as "Khnum, (the) great, lord of Elephantine" (EPE 374) and his priests and functionaries figured prominently in the demotic documents (EPE 277-338). See further 3.50:3, 3.51:5, where the name is written "Khnum."

³⁴ In some unknown fashion, Hananiah, presumably the one who arrived with the Passover Letter (3.46), aroused the ire of the Khnum priests, who ultimately brought about the destruction of the Jewish Temple (3.51); see discussion in Porten 1968:128-133, 279-282.

you will do ³⁵ for Ḥor, for your [... ³⁶ y]ou are doing. Ḥor is a servant of Hananiah. ³⁷ You, lavish ³⁸ from our houses (Verso) ⁽⁹⁾ goods. As much as ³⁹ your hand finds ⁴⁰ give him. It is not a loss for you. ⁴¹ For that (reason) I send (word) to you. ⁴² He ⁽¹⁰⁾ said to me, "Send a letter ahead of me." [...] If there is much loss, there is backing for it ⁴³ in the	J Gen 18:17	house of Anani. Whatever you do ⁽¹¹⁾ for him shall not be hidden/ from Anani. ⁴⁴ <i>External Address</i> ⁽¹²⁾ To (sealing) my lords Jedaniah, Uriah and the priests, and the Jews; ⁴⁵ your ser[vant] (cord) Mauziah son of Nathan.
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³⁵ For object *mh zy* preceding imperfect verb, see GEA 172, 196, 303, 334.

³⁶ Lindenberger 1994:59-60 restored *lb[?]skm*, "for your h[urt]." While graphically possible, this restoration and interpretation are highly improbable. If Ḥor had gone to great lengths to rescue Mauziah from prison, why would he be a threat to the Elephantine Jews?! Some positive word must have filled the gap.

³⁷ The relationships become confused; above (line 4) Ḥor, along with Djeho, was described as a "servant of Anani." Perhaps Hananiah worked out of the office of Anani. For the construction, see GEA 291.

³⁸ For the various interpretations of this difficult verb (*zwhw*), see DNWSI 307.

³⁹ For the compound preposition + conjunction *lqbl zy*, see GEA 87, 94, 332.

⁴⁰ I.e. as much as you are able to expend. This idiom (*ydkm mškh* = Heb. *tmš yd* [Lev 12:8]) occurs only here. The other idiom in these letters is *tmš yd*, "(your) hand reaches." Like the idiom here, so the one in the Makkibani letters is juxtaposed with the determination to "do" something for someone (TAD A2.4:4).

⁴¹ The pronoun *hw* is of indefinite antecedent; see GEA 155. For the position of *lkm*, see *ibid.*, 286 and for the negation *ibid.*, 323.

⁴² For the word order, see GEA 292.

⁴³ For the various suggestions on the meaning of this unique construction (*šym šym šhrwhy*), see DNWSI 1129. The idea seems to be that Anani will reimburse you.

⁴⁴ A significant "deed" by one of two related parties will not/should not be hidden from the other party. For the sentence construction, see GEA 169, 304, 316; for the verb *ytkšwn*, *ibid.*, 118, 142.

⁴⁵ The *External Address* was often more expansive than the *Internal* one. Here the Jews were also addressed because they were expected to give of their property for the benefit of Ḥor. For the construction, see GEA 319.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Dion 1982; EPE; GEA; Kornfeld 1978; Lidzbarski 1915; Lindenberger 1994; Porten 1968; TAD.

REPORT OF IMPRISONMENT OF JEWISH LEADERS (3.49) (Last Decade of 5th Century BCE)

Bezalel Porten

Opening and closing with a pagan *Salutation*, a private letter (P. Berlin 13456 + Cairo J. 43476 [TAD A4.4]) from the otherwise unknown Islah, son of Nathan, to an unknown son of Gaddul reported the fateful incarceration of several men in Elephantine and the seizure and imprisonment of six Jewish women and five Jewish leaders at the gate in Thebes. The men were apparently implicated in an invasion of private property and theft therefrom. They were forced to evacuate the property, return the goods, and pay a hefty fine of 1200 shekels. Hopefully, there would be no further repercussions (lines 7-9) but there was no word on their release from prison. Was this act on the part of the Jews part of their ongoing conflict with the Khnum priesthood (see 3.48:7) which eventuated in the destruction of the Jewish Temple at their instigation (3.51:5-6)? Perhaps the priests exploited the imprisonment of the whole Jewish leadership in Thebes to consummate their plot.

<i>Internal Address</i> (Recto) ⁽¹⁾ [To my brother PN, your brother Islah. ¹	<i>Report I</i> And now, ⁴ [... ⁽²⁾ ...] PN son of PN went ⁵ to Syene and did/made ... [... ⁽³⁾ ...
<i>Salutations</i> <i>It is well for me here</i> . ² May the gods ³ seek after your welfare at all times.	<i>Report II</i> Behold, these are the names ⁶ of the men wh[o] were

¹ The writer's full name is preserved in the *External Address* but only the patronym remains of the recipient. It was not scribal practice to give the full name in the *Internal Address*.

² To fill in the missing space this *Salutation* has been restored here (see EPE 93, n. 5).

³ For the form *šthy*, see above 3.46, note 7.

⁴ See on 3.46:2.

⁵ For verbs of motion at the beginning of a letter see 3.47:2, 3.48:3, 3.51:5 and EPE 107, n. 6.

⁶ Letters often include lists of names, each usually followed by the notation *šm*, lit. "his name" = "by name," and the numeral stroke, and concluding with a numerical total (3.53:1-5; TAD A4.6:13-15; 6.3:3-5, 6.7:3-5).

imprisoned in [Ele]phantine: Berechia,⁷ Hose[a, ...
(4) ...], Pakhnum.⁸

Report III

Behold,⁹ this is¹⁰ the names of the women¹¹ who were found at the gate⁽⁵⁾ in Thebes¹² and seized¹³ as prisoners:¹⁴

Rami, wife of Hodo,
Esereshut, wife of Hosea,
Pallul, wife of Islah,
Reia, [wife/daughter of PN],
(6) Tubla, daughter of Meshullam (and) Kavla her sister.¹⁵

Report IV

Behold the names of the men who were found at the gate in Thebes and were seized¹⁶ [as prisoners]:

(7) Jedania, son of Gemariah,¹⁷

Hosea, son of Jathom,¹⁸
Hosea, son of Nattum,¹⁹
Haggai, his brother,²⁰
Ahio, son of Micai[ah].²¹

They left²² (8) the houses into which they had broken in²³ at Elephantine and the goods which they took they surely²⁴ returned²⁵ to their owners.²⁶ However, they mentioned²⁷ to [their] owners [silver], (9) 120 karsh.²⁸ May another decree no more be (delivered) to them here.²⁹

Greetings

Greetings, your house and your children until the gods³⁰ let [me] behold³¹ [your face in peace].³²

External Address

(Verso) (10) [To (sealing) my brother PN son of] Gaddul,³³ your broth[er] Islah son of Nathan.³⁴

⁷ Probably the same person as in 3.48:1.

⁸ Was he Jewish, despite his Eg. name, like all the other arrested parties? A name list of this time records one Hanan, son of Pakhnum (TAD C4.6:5).

⁹ This word (*h²*) is regularly used in contracts to introduce the list of house neighbors, both with (as here) and without (line 6) a following demonstrative pronoun (see EPE 160, n. 21; GEA 289, 329).

¹⁰ I.e. these are. The non-congruence of number in the title of lists is common (see EPE 160, n. 21; GEA 167, 284, 287-288).

¹¹ For the mismatch between form (*šm*; *ṣnth*) and grammatical gender (*šmht*; *nšy²*), see GEA 72-73, 75.

¹² See 3.47:6.

¹³ For the verbal combination *ṣsr-ṣhd*, see also TAD A4.6:16.

¹⁴ Lindenberg 1994:70 observed, "The word 'gate' may refer to a law court. If so, we may translate, '... who were tried at the court in Thebes, and were put in prison.'" Interpret perhaps, but hardly translate.

¹⁵ Of the six female names, three were Heb. (Rami, Pallul, Kavla [*<* Kavliah, "Hope in YH"]), one or two were Aram. (Reia [TAD A2.3:1, 2.4:3] and perhaps Tubla [*<* *Tubliah, "Return to YH"]), and one was Eg. (Esereshut). Only the name Reia appears among the forty or so female names in the contemporary Collection Account (TAD C3.15:89). For the construction, see GEA 249.

¹⁶ For the verb form, see GEA 16, 117-118, 124.

¹⁷ He was the head of the Jewish community and the main correspondent in these letters; see above, note 3 on 3.46:1. For the abnormal spelling of his name with final *aleph* instead of *he*, see GEA 20.

¹⁸ Appearing here second, he was listed fourth among five in the subsequent petition (3.53:4). Written Osea, he appeared as third in a list from ca. 420 BCE along with Haggai, son of Nattum, there first and in our letter fourth (TAD C4.3:1, 3). As Hoshaiiah, son of Jathom, he appeared twice as a witness, in 434 BCE (3.73:24) and 404 BCE (3.78:23-24).

¹⁹ Here third, he was fifth in the petition (3.53:5) and one of the contributors in the Collection Account (TAD C3.15:50). The scribe misspelled his patronym under the influence of the preceding name Jathom, writing Nattum instead of Nattun.

²⁰ Haggai, son of Nattun, appears in a contemporary name list (TAD C4.4:1).

²¹ A Micahiah, son of Ahio, was witness in 451 BCE (3.70:12) and 427 BCE (3.74:17).

²² If they returned the goods they had taken, then we may assume that they withdrew from the houses they had occupied and some such word as *šbq*, "leave, abandon" is needed to restore the gap.

²³ The expression *ʿll b-* (as distinct from *ʿll l-*, "enter into") has the meaning "break into" (3.51:9; TAD B7.2:4, 8 and perhaps TAD A6.7:7).

²⁴ For the particle *ṣm*, see GEA 338.

²⁵ For the *af²el* form of the verb *ṣbw*, see GEA 114-115, 131; for the word order, *ibid.*, 302.

²⁶ One of the "Arsames" letters reported a complaint entered against a steward for misappropriation of property and the threat of monetary penalty if the property not be returned (verb *hnb* as here [TAD A6.15:8-12]). For variation in the word for "owners," see GEA 24.

²⁷ For the spelling *dkrw*, see GEA 5.

²⁸ This may refer to a promise of reparations. One hundred and twenty karsh was the equivalent of twenty dowries, worth sixty shekels each.

²⁹ The meaning of this sentence is not quite certain. It seems to express the hope that the worst is over. The translation of Lindenberg 1994:61 ("There is no need for any further orders to be given here concerning them.") is off the mark.

³⁰ See above 3.46, note 7.

³¹ For the form with the energetic *nun*, see GEA 107, 146.

³² This concluding *Greeting* forms an inclusion with the opening *Salutation* and employed a term (*hzh*, "to behold") frequently used therein (see EPE 90, n. 6 and the restoration of TAD 3.5:8).

³³ Two persons have Gaddul as father at the end of the century — the well attested Islah (3.67:19; 3.76:44; TAD 4.5:2) and Menahem (3.66:17).

³⁴ He appears only here.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: EPE; GEA; Lindenberg 1994; TAD.

PETITION FOR RECONSTRUCTION OF TEMPLE(?) (DRAFT) (3.50)
(Last Decade of 5th Century BCE)

Bezalel Porten

This letter (Strasbourg Aram. 2 [TAD A4.5]) was written not in a single vertical column, like the other letters, but in two parallel horizontal columns on the recto and a single vertical column on the verso. An estimated three lines are missing at the top and bottom of each column. Writing to an unknown official, the Jews protested their loyalty at the time of the (recent or earlier?) Egyptian rebellion (lines 2-4). In the summer of 410 BCE, when Arsames left to visit the king, the Khnum priests bribed Vidranga to allow partial destruction of a royal storehouse to make way for a wall (lines 4-5), apparently the ceremonial way leading to the shrine of the god, as reported in the contracts of Anani (3.78:8-9; 3.79:4). Furthermore, the priests stopped up a well that served the forces during mobilization (lines 6-8). Inquiry undertaken by the judges, police, and intelligence officials would confirm the facts as herein reported (lines 8-10). The very fragmentary column on the verso referred to Temple sacrifices and included a three-fold petition, apparently for protection and the Temple's reconstruction (lines 11-24).

The subject-object-verb word order (lines 1, 8), a pattern typical of Akkadian, was standard in the official petitions (see 3.51:6-7, 15; 3.53:12) and in the Arsames correspondence.¹

(Recto)(Column 1)

[approximately three lines missing]

Loyalty

(1) ... we grew/increased, detachments² ^a of the Egyptians rebelled.³ We,⁴ our posts did not leave (2)(erasure: and anything of) damage⁵ ^b was not found in us.

Plot⁶

In year 14 of Darius the [ki]ng,⁷ when our lord Arsames (3)had gone to the king,⁸ this is the evil act⁹

a Num 2:2-3;
10, 17-18;
25, 31, 34
b Ezra 4:22
c 2 Kgs 23:5;
Hos 10:5;
Zeph 1:4
d Exod 34:13;
Deut 7:5;
12:3; Judg
2:2; 6:28;
30-32; 2 Kgs
10:27; 11:18;
23:7, 15; 17;
2 Chr 33:3;
34:7

which the priests¹⁰ ^c of Khnum the god¹⁰ [di]d¹² in Elephantine the fortress¹³ (4)in agreement¹⁴ with Vidranga who was Chief¹⁵ here: Silver and goods they gave him?¹⁶

Demolition and Construction

There is part (5)of the barley-house¹⁷ of the king which is in Elephantine the fortress¹⁸ — they demolished¹⁹ ^d (it) and a²⁰ wall [they] built²¹ [in] the midst²² of the fortress of Elephantine

[at least three lines missing]

¹ See Folmer 1995:525, 533-534; GEA 307-308.

² The word *dgl* was the standard term to refer to a military detachment, whether of Jews, Arameans, or Egyptians (see further EPE 152, n. 5), whether in Elephantine or Saqqarah (TAD B8.6:8-9). For the genitive construction, see GEA 222-223, 231; for word order GEA 301.

³ It is not clear whether or not these were locally stationed troops. The Arsames correspondence makes frequent reference to "troubles," "unrest," and "rebellion" (TAD A6.7:6, 6.10:1, 4, 6.11:2) and we do not know whether the account in our letter refers to the same events and whether these were recent or went back to the period after the death of Artaxerxes I in 424 BCE; Porten 1968:279. For the subject-verb word order, see GEA 299-300.

⁴ The disjunctive personal pronoun is used for contrast; GEA 157.

⁵ For the possible nuances of this word, see EPE 108, n. 21; for the construction, see GEA 172.

⁶ The same tale, in slightly different words, is repeated in the community's Petition to Bagavahya of Jerusalem (3.51:4-5). There the focus is exclusively on the destruction of the Temple; here it is on the partial destruction of the royal storehouse (line 5), the stopping up of a well (lines 6-8), and possibly the destruction of the Temple (lines 11-24).

⁷ This was prior to the summer of 410 BCE (see 3.51:4). For the date formula, see GEA 91; for the title, GEA 250.

⁸ No reason is given; perhaps to deliver a periodic report; also in 3.51:4.

⁹ Aram. *dwškr* < Old Persian **duškrta*- (Hinz 1975:90); for the sentence construction, see GEA 287-288.

¹⁰ The term for priest is *kmr*, reserved in Heb. and our texts for pagan functionaries (3.51:5), as distinct from *khn*, the Jewish priest (3.48:1, 3.51:1, 18). Note the spelling Khnum for Khnum here and in 3.51:5.

¹¹ See 3.48:7, 3.51:5.

¹² For the subordinate clause introduced by *zy*, see GEA 300.

¹³ For the word order, see GEA 249.

¹⁴ Aram. *hmwnyt* < Old Persian **ham-au-nāa*- (Shaul Shaked); also 3.51:5.

¹⁵ For title see on 3.48:3 and EPE 192, n. 9; for construction of the clause, see GEA 169, 178, 291.

¹⁶ For the construction of this sentence, see GEA 264-265, 302.

¹⁷ Aram. *ywdn* is an Old Persian loanword, probably **yau-dāna*- (Shaul Shaked). It is likely that this was part of the building known alternately as "house of the king" and "treasury of the king" (see 3.81:4, 6). Elsewhere, these two units appear to be distinct (TAD B4.3:13, 15-16, 4.4:12, 14). Perhaps one was a subdivision of the other (see EPE 258, n. 13). The "treasury of the king" lay on the eastern boundary of Anani's house (3.72:9, 3.75:6, 3.79:3-4). For the genitive construction see GEA 220.

¹⁸ For construction of this clause with double *zy*, see GEA 245.

¹⁹ The same word (*ndš*) is used for the destruction of the Elephantine Temple, which was razed to the ground (3.51:8-10; 3.52:6). It occurs in Aram. only in these texts (DNWSI 720) and is akin to Heb. *niš* a standard word for the destruction of sacred sites.

²⁰ For the indefinite article, see 3.48:3.

²¹ This was probably the "protecting (wall)" which the Egyptians built on Anani's eastern boundary to give access to the "house of the shrine of the god" which they had built earlier on his northern boundary (see on 3.78:8-9, 3.79:3-5).

²² The word *bmnsy*^c has been designated a "pseudo-preposition"; GEA 87.

(Column 2)

Report of Damage

⁽⁶⁾And now, that wall (stands) built in the midst of the fortress.²³ There is a²⁴ well²⁵ which is built²⁶ ⁽⁷⁾with[in] the f[or]tress and water it does not lack to give the troop drink²⁷ so that whenever²⁸ they would be garrisoned²⁹ (there), ⁽⁸⁾in³⁰ [th]at well the water³¹ they would drink.³² Those priests of Khnub,³³ that well they stopped up.³⁴

Confirmation

If ⁽⁹⁾it be made ⁽⁸⁾known³⁵ ⁽⁹⁾from³⁶ the judges,³⁷ overseers³⁸ and hearers³⁹ who are appointed⁴⁰ in the province of Tshetres,⁴¹ ⁽¹⁰⁾it will be [known] to our lord⁴² in accordance with this⁴³ which we say.⁴⁴

Moreover, separated are we⁴⁵ ...

ε Lev 2:8;
Isa 1:13;
Jer 17:26

f Esth 5:4, 8;
8:5; Ezra
5:17

g Dan 3:29;
4:3; 6:27;
Ezra 4:19;
5:17; 6:8,
11; 7:13, 21

[approximately three lines missing]

(Verso)

Spoliation

⁽¹¹⁾[...]d/rhpn³ which are in Elephantine [the] fo[r]tress ... ⁽¹²⁾... we grew/increased [...] ⁽¹³⁾... was not found⁴⁶ in [...] ⁽¹⁴⁾... to bring⁴⁷ meal-of-fer[ing]⁴⁸ ε ... ⁽¹⁵⁾... to make there for YHW [the] G[od]⁴⁹ ... ⁽¹⁶⁾... herein ... [...] ⁽¹⁷⁾... but a brazier⁵⁰ [...] ⁽¹⁶⁾... the fittings⁵¹ they took (and) [made (them) their] own⁵² [...].

Threefold Petition

⁽¹⁹⁾[I]f to our lord it is abundantly good ... [...], ⁽²⁰⁾... we from/of the troop [...] ⁽²¹⁾[If to] our lord it is good,⁵³ f may [an order] be issued⁵⁴ ε [...] ⁽²²⁾... we. If to [our] l[ord] it is good, ... ⁽²³⁾...

²³ Thematically, this sentence ("wall built") appears to adjoin directly the one in line 5 before the papyrus break. Papyrologically, however, as evidenced by the broken right margin on the verso, several lines intervened.

²⁴ For the indefinite article see note 20 above. The feminine adjective reveals the gender of the noun; *GEA* 72-73.

²⁵ Spelled here historically with medial *aleph* (*b²r*), it is twice written without *aleph* just below (*br²* [line 8]); *GEA* 22.

²⁶ The passive participle (*bnyh*) is used to indicate a state; *GEA* 139, 201. For discussion of the relative clause, see *GEA* 169.

²⁷ For the haph^cel infinitive *lhšgy²* see *GEA* 109, 142; for syntax of the clause, see *GEA* 208-209, 308, 323.

²⁸ For the resultative *kzy* clause, see *GEA* 332-333.

²⁹ Appearing here and elsewhere (*TAD* A6.7:6) in a military context, *hnd(y)z* is an Old Persian loanword (**handiza-*); Hinz 1975:116. It is used not only of the troop as a whole but also of an individual (3.64:4).

³⁰ I.e. from that well.

³¹ For the sequence *myn*, "water—my²" (line 7), "the water," see *GEA* 180.

³² For the object-verb word order, see *GEA* 302.

³³ For the syntactical structure of this phrase (a + b + [c]), see *GEA* 237, n. 980, 238.

³⁴ There is no indication whether this act was required by the building process of the Khnum priests or whether it was antagonistic against the Persian garrison.

³⁵ For this Old Persian loan word (**zd²* < *azda-*, pass. part. "known"), see Hinz 1975:52; *DNWSI* 25; *GEA* 33, 370.

³⁶ I.e. "by." The preposition *mn* here introduces the agent, not the object, of the inquiry; cf. the expression *mny yhyb*, "given from me" and see *GEA* 202 ("officialese"); *DNWSI* 25 (differently, 652) and the examples cited under No. 6 on p. 654; Lindenberg 1994:63 translates differently.

³⁷ "Judge" appears regularly in the contracts as one of the three parties before whom a complainant might bring a suit or register a complaint, the other two being lord and prefect (3.61:13, 24; etc.). In a case involving an inheritance they are called "judges of the king" (*TAD* B5.1:3) and in a petition seeking redress of grievances they are "judges of the province" (*TAD* A5.2:4, 7). When named, they are always Persian — Paisana (*TAD* A3.8:2); Bagadana (*TAD* A6.1:5-6), Damidata (3.60:6), Bagafarna and Nafaina (*TAD* B5.2:6) — and once Babylonian — Mannuki (*TAD* B5.2:6). They are here called upon to investigate not a private matter but one tantamount to civil disorder.

³⁸ Aram. *typty²* is an Old Persian loanword < **tipati-*; Hinz 1975:236; Porten, 1968:50; *GEA* 34, n. 165, 64, 373. They were seventh and last in a list of officials that began with the satraps (*Dan* 3:2-3).

³⁹ Aram. *gwšky²* is an Old Persian loanword < **gaušaka-*; Hinz 1975:105-106; Porten 1968:50-51. Known in classical sources as the "king's ears," they were intelligence agents.

⁴⁰ For this passive verb, see *GEA* 120.

⁴¹ Aram. *tštrs* < Eg. *P-št-rsy*, "the southern district," abbreviating *P-št-rsy-Niw.t*, "The district south of Thebes," i.e. the Thebaid (Malinine 1953: #9:6, 18:5; Porten, 1968:42-43). The Persian and Ptolemaic demotic documents call the Chief of the province "He of Tshetres" (*EPE* 311, n. 1, 375, n. 10).

⁴² The unknown recipient of the letter.

⁴³ For use of the masculine pronoun (*znh*), see *GEA* 177.

⁴⁴ Or "have said"; *GEA* 293.

⁴⁵ For the participle-pronoun word order, see *GEA* 292.

⁴⁶ For metathesis in the verb form **štkh*, see *GEA* 25-26.

⁴⁷ For the haph^cel verb *lhytyh*, see *GEA* 109, 123, 142.

⁴⁸ This extremely fragmentary section employs words that applied to the Jewish Temple or recurred in the correspondence for its reconstruction; for meal-offering, see 3.51:21, 25; 3.52:9; 3.53:11. The Heb. word for "bring" (*hby²*) is used in conjunction with meal-offering.

⁴⁹ In the subsequent correspondence, the word "make" (**bd*) is used for the sacrifices (3.51:21-22).

⁵⁰ Aram. **trwdn* is an Old Persian loanword whose first element is *ātr*, but whose second element is in dispute; see Hinz 1975:49; *GEA* 370. *DAE* saw it as the fire spot for burning all the flammable items, including the fittings (line 18), torn away during the Temple's destruction (cf. 3.51:10-12). But our fragmentary context implies that the fittings were taken as spoil.

⁵¹ For this Old Persian loanword (**šrn²*), see *EPE* 117, n. 6.

⁵² To "take and make one's own" was a recurrent idiom for appropriating stolen goods (3.51:12-13; *TAD* B7.2:6).

⁵³ "If to PN it is good" is a standard Heb. and Aram. formula introducing a petition (3.51:23; *TAD* A5.2:9; 6.3:5, 6.7:8, 6.13:2). It is striking that it occurs here three times in rapid succession. For the grammatical construction, see *GEA* 289 (where incorrectly cited as A4.5:7).

⁵⁴ For this phrase, see *EPE* 114, n. 8; for the verb form *yšym*, see *GEA* 118, 132.

they [pro]tect the things ⁵⁵ which ⁵⁶ [...] the	[build ...]. ⁵⁷
[Temp]le of ours which they demolished to	

⁵⁵ For the indefinite pronoun *mdc m*, see *GEA* 59-60, 172-174.

⁵⁶ If correctly restored, this would be a plea for "police protection."

⁵⁷ The restoration is conjectural and is based on the text in the subsequent Petition (3.51:23-25).

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: *DAE*; *DNWSI*; *EPE*; Folmer 1995; *GEA*; Hinz 1975; Lindenberg 1994; Malinine 1953; Porten 1968; *TAD*.

REQUEST FOR LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION (FIRST DRAFT) (3.51)
(25 November, 407 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

Historically, this is the most significant of all the Elephantine Aramaic texts (P. Berlin 13495 [*TAD* A4.7]). It is a well-balanced, carefully constructed bipartite petition (*Report* and *Petition*) addressed by Jedaniah, the priests, and all the Jews of Elephantine to Bagavahya, governor of Judah. It opens with a *Fourfold Salutation* (welfare, favor, longevity, happiness and strength) and concludes with a *Threefold Blessing* (sacrifice, prayer, merit). The *Report* has three parts: *Demolition* (lines 4-13), *Precedents* (lines 13-14), *Aftermath* (lines 15-22). The *Demolition* delineates the plot hatched between the Egyptian Khnum priests and the local Persian authorities, the Chief Vidranga and his son the Troop Commander Nafaina.¹ The *Precedents* were twofold: Egyptian Pharaohs authorized the Temple's construction and the Persian conqueror approved of its existence. The *Aftermath* relates the situation following the destruction: punishment of the perpetrators in response to prayer and fasting; silence of all Jerusalem authorities in the face of earlier petition; continued communal mourning; cessation of cult. The *Petition* sets forth the *Threefold Request* (take thought, regard, write) which, if successful, would lead, as indicated, to a *Threefold Blessing*. The letter concludes with a twofold *Addendum* and *Date*. The scribe was well-skilled in Aram. rhetorical style and cognizant of all the appropriate rhetorical formulae. His single-line message is that the perpetrator was "wicked" while the Jews were "men of goodness." Curiously, the first eleven lines were written by one scribe (Scribe A) while a second scribe (Scribe B) began writing in line 12 in the middle of a sentence and continued until the end of the letter. He also wrote the second draft (*TAD* A4.8), which was a distinct effort to polish the style and perfect the orthography.² The two versions were stored together and only the third dispatched to Jerusalem. A semiological analysis seeks to trace the "script" back to Neo-Assyrian complaints and petitions.³ Linguistically, the document displays features typical of Akkadian, such as subject-object-verb word order (lines 6-7, 14, 15) and its language has been designated "Official Aramaic of the Eastern type."⁴ Bare traces of the Temple itself may have been uncovered in recent excavations.⁵

Internal Address

(Recto)⁽¹⁾To our lord⁶ Bagavahya⁷ governor of Judah,⁸ "your servants Jedaniah⁹ and his colleagues the priests¹⁰ who are in Elephantine the fortress."¹¹

a Hag 1:1,
14; 2:2, 21;
Ezra 5:14

Fourfold Salutation

The welfare ⁽²⁾of our lord may the God of Heaven seek after abundantly¹² at all times,¹³ and favor may He grant you¹⁴ before Darius the king¹⁵ ⁽³⁾and the

¹ For an attempt to explain the point of view of Vidranga, see Briant 1996.

² Porten 1998.

³ Fales 1987:463-469.

⁴ Kutscher 1977:105-106; Folmer 1995:533; *GEA* 307-308.

⁵ von Pilgrim 1999:142-145.

⁶ For the sequence "lord"- "servant" see on 3.47:1.

⁷ The name is Old Persian, but the person, proximate or subsequent successor to Nehemiah, may have been Jewish and thus not identical with Bagoas, strategos of Artaxerxes II, who imposed a seven-year fine on the sacrificial cult after the high priest Johanan murdered his brother Jeshua (Jesus) in the Temple (Josephus, *Ant.* XI.7.1, 297-301).

⁸ One of 127 provinces in the Persian empire (Esth 1:1; Ezra 5:8).

⁹ See on 3.46:1.

¹⁰ For the term *khn* see 3.48:1. In the Passover Letter, Jedaniah was accompanied by "his colleagues the Jewish Troop" (3.46:1).

¹¹ A prepositional phrase which indicates location is often introduced by *zy*, "who, which"; *GEA* 244.

¹² The addition of this adverb of quantity (*GEA* 241,276) occurred only occasionally in the Jewish letters (*TAD* A3.5:1, 3.9:1; 3.48:1), modifying *šr*, but regularly in the Arsham correspondence, where it modified *hwšr* (*TAD* A6.3-7, 16).

¹³ For the word order object-subject-verb, see *GEA* 307.

¹⁴ The verb form (*yšymnk*) is indicative (imperfect with energetic nun) even though the meaning is jussive; see *GEA* 145, 198-200.

¹⁵ For this double blessing, see on 3.48:2-3.

princes¹⁶ ^b more than now¹⁷ a thousand times,¹⁸ ^c and long life¹⁹ ^d may He give you,²⁰ and happy and strong²¹ may you be²² at all times.²³

Report

^(d)Now,²⁴ your servant Jedaniah and his colleagues thus say:²⁵ ^e

Plot In the month of Tammuz, year 14 of Darius²⁶ the king,^f when Arsames ⁽⁵⁾left²⁷ and went to the king,²⁸ the priests²⁹ of Khnub the god³⁰ who (are) in Elephantine the fortress,³¹ in agreement³² with Vidranga³³ who ⁽⁶⁾was ⁽⁵⁾Chief here,³⁴ (said),³⁵ ⁽⁶⁾saying:³⁶

"The Temple³⁷ of YHW the God which is in

b Ezra 6:10;
7:23
c Deut 1:11;
Dan 3:19
d 1 Kgs 3:14
e Gen 32:4
f Neh 12:22
g Ezra 4:24;
5:2, 17;
6:12, 7:16-17
h Esth 7:6
i Gen 27:3
j Isa 21:9;
Amos 3:14;
Ps 74:7

Elephantine the fortress³⁸ ^e let them remove³⁹ from there."

Order Afterwards,⁴⁰ that⁴¹ Vidranga, ⁽⁷⁾the wicked,⁴² ^h a letter sent⁴³ to Nafaina his son, who was Troop Commander⁴⁴ in Syene the fortress,⁴⁵ saying: "The Temple which is in Elephantine ⁽⁸⁾the fortress let them demolish."⁴⁶

Demolition

Afterwards, Nafaina led the Egyptians with the other troops.⁴⁷ They came to the fortress of Elephantine with their implements,⁴⁸ ⁱ ⁽⁹⁾broke into⁴⁹ that Temple, demolished it⁵⁰ to the ground,⁵¹ ^j and the pillars of stone⁵² which were there — they

¹⁶ Monarch and princes were often associated in letters.

¹⁷ For this comparative statement, see *GEA* 187.

¹⁸ An idiomatic expression where *hd* serves as a multiplicative; *GEA* 240-241.

¹⁹ The absolute state of this noun is always spelled with a single *yod* — *hyn*; *GEA* 37.

²⁰ Longevity was a standard blessing for royalty; for the Eg. Aram. corpus see *TAD* A1.1:2-3 (Adon Letter) (*COS* 3.54 below); C2.1:72 (Bisitun). According to rule, the indirect object (*lh*) follows the verb; here the direct object precedes it; *GEA* 308.309.

²¹ This combination of happiness and strength appeared in other official letters (*TAD* A5.1:4, 5.3:2). Both adjectives are in the absolute state; *GEA* 178, 207.

²² The first three verbs in this salutation are jussive ("may DN seek after, grant, give"), while the fourth is imperative (*hw*, "be"), addressed directly to the recipient and following the predicate; *GEA* 199, 291.

²³ Not uncommon in Eg. letters (see *EPE* 57-58), such a fourfold *Salutation* in the Aram. letters was indicative of the writers' deep-felt needs.

²⁴ See on 3.46, note 9 ("And now").

²⁵ For this formula, see on 3.47:6; *GEA* 204, 293, 308.

²⁶ This would have been July 14-August 12, 410, when the weather at Elephantine was very hot.

²⁷ For the construction "temporal reference + verb of motion," see 3.47:2; 3.48:3. In a subordinate clause introduced by temporal *kzy* the word order is regularly subject-verb; *GEA* 299-300.

²⁸ See 3.50, note 10.

²⁹ For the term *kmr* see 3.50, note 8. It is they, and not Khnub/Khnum, who is in Elephantine. The construction is the same as that in line 6; *GEA* 245-246.

³⁰ The word ³*lh*², "the god," was added supralinearly; for the word order, see *GEA* 249, n. 1018. For the spelling Khnub, cf. 3.50:3.

³¹ For Khnum and his priests see 3.48, note 33; for construction of the clause, see *GEA* 245-246.

³² See 3.50, note 14.

³³ For Vidranga see on 3.48, note 8.

³⁴ See 3.48, note 8; *GEA* 178, 182, 291.

³⁵ The infelicitous formulation, omitting the verb, was corrected in the revised draft (*TAD* A4.8:5).

³⁶ For discussion of the particle *lm* as a marker of direct speech, see *GEA* 339.

³⁷ Aram. ²*gwy*² < Akk. *ekurru* < Sum. *Ē.KUR* (Porten 1968:109-110).

³⁸ "The Temple ... fortress" was the full title; cf. "The Temple of God which is in Jerusalem." This parallel and the abridged clause in line 7 eliminate the ambiguity which might take YHW and not the Temple as being in Elephantine; *GEA* 245-246.

³⁹ Aram. *h^cdy* = Heb. *hsyr*, used for the destruction of the high places in Judah (2 Kgs 18:4). The form is jussive; *GEA* 141.

⁴⁰ For this adverb, see *EPE* 174, n. 18.

⁴¹ A demonstrative pronoun (usually *zk*) is regularly added to a common or proper noun upon its repetition; *GEA* 166.

⁴² This pejorative epithet is reminiscent of that applied to the Jewish foe Haman. For alternate translations, see *GEA* 237.

⁴³ The written order, terse as it was, gave the act official sanction. For the construction, see *GEA* 270.

⁴⁴ Written as one word (*rbhyl*), as often occurs when the two words "form a close grammatical or logical whole"; for full discussion, see *GEA* 40-42, 230.

⁴⁵ Father and son shared the civil and military rule over Aswan and its environs. Following the practice of *papponymy*, Vidranga gave his son the name of the latter's grandfather (*TAD* A5.2:7; 3.67:2); see Porten 1968:235-237. The construction of this clause is the same as that identifying Vidranga in line 6; in both cases the title is in the absolute state; *GEA* 178, 182, n. 816, 291.

⁴⁶ For the verb *nds*, see 3.50, note 19.

⁴⁷ Were these the Arameans, Caspians, and Khwarezmians who were also stationed in the forts of Aswan? For a different translation and interpretation, see *GEA* 181, 272, 281 n. 1112, 284, 300 ("N. led the Egyptians [= Khnum priests] with the troop [under his command], others [as reinforcements]").

⁴⁸ Aram. *ily* appears also in an ostrakon (*TAD* D7.7:6) and some would translate the word, "ax, pickax," as if it were a tool of destruction and not a weapon to gain forced entry and stand guard during the demolition process; *DNWSI* 1216. The revised version of our document substituted an unambiguous term for weapon (*zyn* [*TAD* A4.8:8]).

⁴⁹ For the nuance ²*il b-* with the meaning of "forced entry," see *GEA* 270.

⁵⁰ The asyndesis of four verbs (led, came, broke into, demolished) highlights the speed of a military operation; *GEA* 258. Contrast the syndetic construction in lines 9-13.

⁵¹ Destruction "to the ground" of sancta, and other buildings, was a familiar biblical image.

⁵² For the grammatical construction, see *GEA* 182, 223, 231.

smashed them.⁵³ Moreover,⁵⁴ it happened (that the)
 (10) five (9) gateways (10) of stone,⁵⁵ built of hewn
 stone,⁵⁶ ^k which were in that Temple, they demol-
 ished.⁵⁷ And their standing doors,⁵⁸ and the pivots⁵⁹
 (11) of those doors, (of) bronze, and the roof⁶⁰ of
 wood of cedar⁶¹ ^m — all (of these) which, with the
 rest⁶² of the *fittings* ⁶³ ⁿ and other (things),⁶⁴ which
 (12) were (11) there — (12) all (of these) with fire⁶⁵ they
 burned.⁶⁶ ^a But the basins of gold and silver⁶⁷ ^p and
 the (other) things⁶⁸ which were in that Temple —
 all (of these) they took (13) and made their own.⁶⁹

k 1 Kgs 5:31;
 1 Chr 22:2
 m 1 Kgs 5:22;
 6:15-17, 18,
 20, 36
 n Ezra 5:3, 9
 o 2 Kgs 25:9
 p Num 7:13-
 85; 1 Kgs
 7:48-50;
 2 Kgs 25:15;
 Ezra 1:7-11,
 5:14-15, 6:5;
 Neh 7:69;
 Dan 5

Precedents

And from⁷⁰ the days of the king(s) of Egypt our
 fathers⁷¹ had built⁷² that Temple⁷³ in Elephantine the
 fortress⁷⁴ and when Cambyses entered⁷⁵ Egypt —
 (14) that Temple, built he found it.⁷⁶ And the temples
 of the gods of Egypt,⁷⁷ all (of them),⁷⁸ they over-
 threw,⁷⁹ but anything in that Temple one did not
 damage.⁸⁰

Aftermath

Mourning I (15) And when (the) like(s of) this⁸¹ had

⁵³ For the grammatical construction, see GEA 267.

⁵⁴ For this participle, see 3.47, note 17. It recurs a half-dozen times in this letter (lines 9, 17, 19, 21, 29, 30).

⁵⁵ These five gateways, outfitted with wooden doors, probably stood in an enclosure wall; see Porten 1968:110; for the grammatical construction, see GEA 182.

⁵⁶ Hewn stone was used in building the Jerusalem Temple. That the gateways alone were distinguished as being built of hewn stone may mean that the rest of the structure was of brick. For the grammatical construction, see GEA 223, 231, 272.

⁵⁷ For a derivation of *ʾndš* from Arab. *nadasa*, “to throw down, bring to the ground,” see GEA 7, n. 24.

⁵⁸ The gateways were fitted with wooden doors, as was the inner sanctum and hall of Solomon’s Temple (1 Kgs. 6:31, 34-35). For an alternate translation (“gateways they demolished while their doors were still standing”), see GEA 294, 322. For the elision of a shin in *dšyhm*, see GEA 38.

⁵⁹ Usually rendered “hinges,” this word (*šyryhm*) is best understood, with Lindenberger 1994:67, as pivots, cf. Akk. *šerru* (Kaufman 1974:96) and see Prov 26:14; Kelim 11:2; Yoma 39b (“pivots of the Temple doors”); Pesahim 36b where the term for “gatekeepers” is “pivot keepers” (reference of Sh. Safral). A communication of Cornelius Von Pilgrim (3 November, 2000), Director of the Swiss Mission at Elephantine, reads “In fact, in Egypt doorways were never mounted with hinges. All doors known to me have sockets and pivots.” For the grammatical construction (prolepsis), see GEA 233 with n. 963. My attention was first drawn to this problem by Dov Zlotnick.

⁶⁰ For retention of the third radical in *mll*, see GEA 134, n. 623.

⁶¹ Cedar was an expensive wood imported from Lebanon (see TAD C3.7Gr2:10 et al.) and was the dominant wood in the Jerusalem sanctuary. Does the expanded form *ʾqhn* (as against *ʾqn* [TAD C 1.1:88]) imply a wood of quality (Joüon 1934:53-54)? For the scribal correction, see GEA 225, n. 941.

⁶² The word “rest” implies that the doors, pivots and roof were all considered *fittings* . For the spelling of *šyry* with *yod* rather than *aleph*, see GEA 24, 69.

⁶³ Aram. *ʾšm* < Old Persian **ācarna-* was a generalized term referring to all the materials required to finish a boat (TAD A6.2:5), a house (3.72:23), or a temple. Perhaps it referred here to the internal wainscoting (cf. 1 Kgs 6:15-30).

⁶⁴ Such as the altar.

⁶⁵ The infelicitous absolute *ʾšh* was corrected in TAD A4.8:11 to the determinate *bʾšr* (GEA 182).

⁶⁶ All flammable material was burned. Nebuchadnezzar put the Jerusalem Temple to the torch.

⁶⁷ By singling out for special mention the spoliation of gold and silver basins — common bronze vessels were not even mentioned — the petitioners hoped to strike a responsive chord in the hearts of the Jerusalem officials. Such vessels played a prominent role in Israel’s cultic history, in the desert tabernacle, in the construction, destruction, and particularly the restoration of the Jerusalem Temple, and in popular lore.

⁶⁸ For the indefinite pronoun *mndʾm* in the determinate state (“something” > “thing”) and the syntax of the clause, see GEA 59-60, 101, 168, 173, n. 782, 174.

⁶⁹ For this recurrent idiom, see 3.50:18. The syndetic structure (demolished and burned but took and made [lines 9-13]) serves to heighten the petitioners’ outrage; GEA 258.

⁷⁰ I.e. during.

⁷¹ For the form *ʾbhyn*, see GEA 74.

⁷² English past perfect is simply *bnw* in Aram.; GEA 193.

⁷³ If construction of the Jewish Temple was allowed by the native Eg. Saïte rulers before the Persian conquest of 525 BCE what right did the local Eg. priests have to destroy it?

⁷⁴ For clarification of the construction, see GEA 245, n. 1006.

⁷⁵ The language of the *Petition* was structured to declare that the Egyptians, who connived with the Persian Vidranga, “entered” the Jewish Temple forcefully (*ʾhl b-* [line 9]) whereas the Persian conqueror Cambyses “entered” Egypt peacefully, as it were (*ʾhl l-* [see GEA 270]). In fact, Cambyses had conquered Egypt after a hard-fought battle at Pelusium and a siege of Memphis (Hdt. III.10-13).

⁷⁶ For the grammatical construction, see GEA 271, 314.

⁷⁷ For this phrase, see GEA 228 n. 950.

⁷⁸ An alternate rendering as adverb, “altogether” (GEA 248, 276) is less likely since this *kl* is one of four in this draft (also line 17, 22, 27) that is corrected to *klʾ* in the revised TAD A4.8:13, 16, 22, 26 (Porten 1998:234).

⁷⁹ Herodotus reported that Cambyses allegedly inflicted a mortal wound on the sacred Apis bull in Memphis after suffering military setbacks in Nubia and the oasis of Ammon (III.27-29). Modern scholars consider these atrocity tales either lies or gross exaggerations (Porten 1968:19-20). Such views, however, gained currency and evolved into the desecration reported here. For the grammatical construction, see GEA 302.

⁸⁰ If the Persian conqueror sanctioned the Jewish Temple, what right did the local Persian governor have to authorize its destruction? For the grammatical construction, see GEA 173, 266, n. 1068, 303.

⁸¹ Aram. *kznh*; see GEA 166-167, 201 (“such”), 276, n. 1097 (alternately “thus”), 312-313.

been done (to us), we,⁸² with our wives and our children, were wearing⁸³ sackcloth and fasting and praying⁸⁴ to YHW, the Lord of Heaven,⁸⁵ ^r (16) who let us gloat over⁸⁶ ^s that Vidranga, the cur.⁸⁷ They removed the fetter⁸⁸ from his feet⁸⁹ and all goods which he had acquired⁹⁰ were lost.

Punishment And all persons⁹¹ who sought evil⁹² for that Temple, all (of them),⁹² were killed and we gazed upon them?⁹³

Appeal Moreover, before this, at the time that⁹⁴ this evil⁹⁵ (Verso)⁹⁶ was done⁹⁶ to us, a letter we sent (to) our lord,⁹⁷ and to Jehohanan⁹⁸ the High Priest and his colleagues the priests⁹⁹ who are in Jerusalem, and to Avastana the brother¹⁰⁰ of Anani¹⁰⁰ and the nobles of the Jews.¹⁰¹ A¹⁰²

q Jon 3:5-9;
Neh 9:1-2
r Dan 5:23;
Tobit 10:12
s Ezek 28:17;
Mic 7:10;
Pss 22:18;
59:11; 112:8;
113:7
t Neh 12:22
u Neh 3:1
v 1 Chr 3:24
w Neh 4:8;
13:5; 7:6; 17;
7:5; 13:17
x Exod 34:28;
Dan 10:3
y cf. Lam 5:3
z 2 Sam 12:20;
14:2; Dan
10:3

letter they did not send us.

Mourning II Moreover, from the month of Tam-muz, year 14 of Darius the king¹⁰³ and until this day,¹⁰³ we have been wearing sackcloth and have been fasting;¹⁰⁴ ^x the wives of ours¹⁰⁵ like a widow have been made¹⁰⁶ ^y; (with) oil (we) have not anointed (ourselves),¹⁰⁷ and wine have not drunk.¹⁰⁷ ^z

Cessation of Cult Moreover, from that (time)¹⁰⁸ and until (this) day, year 17 of Darius the king, meal-offering and ince[n]se and burnt-offering¹⁰⁹ they did not make in that Temple.

Petition

Now, your servants Jedaniah and his colleagues

⁸² The pronoun is a mark of self-assertiveness; *GEA* 157-158, 301, 308.

⁸³ Over a continuous period of time until their prayers were answered; see *GEA* 207, 318 (participle + auxiliary *hwyn*). There is no mention in biblical sources of children wearing sackcloth.

⁸⁴ Donning sackcloth, fasting, and praying were a threefold rite designed to lead the way from disaster, anticipated or experienced, to restoration.

⁸⁵ Occurring only here in the papyri, this epithet is rare elsewhere; for grammatical construction, see *GEA* 222.

⁸⁶ Aram. *hzy/hwy b-* (here and in line 13) = Heb. and Moabite *r^h b-* is a frequently used idiom, particularly in poetic passages, to express gratification for divine assistance in bringing about the downfall of an enemy (Mesha 4, 7). The haph^cel form here (*hwyn*) is altered to the pa^cel in the parallel text (*hwyn*² [*TAD* A4.8:15; *GEA* 190, also 261]). The sentence construction has been called a "non-restrictive relative clause;" *GEA* 171-172.

⁸⁷ For this difficult word (*kby²*), see *DNWSI* 510; *GEA* 237. Some would take it with the next word, translating, "The dogs removed the fetter" or "The auxiliaries (Akk. *kallāb/pu*) took away the anklet" (Faies 1987:408-409).

⁸⁸ For this difficult word (*kby²*), see *DNWSI* 485. Some would render it "anklet." An imaginative but unsupported translation yields "May the dogs tear his guts out from between his legs" (Lindenberger 2001). Whatever the precise meaning, no doubt a pun was intended between *kby²* and *kby²*. See, further, *GEA* 195.

⁸⁹ Though Vidranga's goods were confiscated, his ultimate fate remains hidden behind the author's scathing pun.

⁹⁰ For *qnh* as past perfect, see *GEA* 193.

⁹¹ Masculine adjective *b²yš²* used as noun in a generic sense, like Heb. *r^c* (*GEA* 187), in contrast to the specific evil done to them, expressed by the feminine noun *b²yš²* at the end of the line; *GEA* 177.

⁹² For *kl* and the revised *kP* in *TAD* A4.8, see *GEA* 247-248.

⁹³ Their prayers were answered. Lindenberger's attempt (2001:144-154) to see this whole section as an actual prayer founders on the past tense of the verbs.

⁹⁴ For this construction, see *GEA* 227.

⁹⁵ The word order *z² b²yš²* may be due to the emotionally charged nature of the document; see *GEA* 235-236. An identical word order is found below in *znh ywm²* (line 20).

⁹⁶ For the disagreement between the feminine subject *b²yš²* and masculine verb *byd*, see *GEA* 279.

⁹⁷ That is, to the present addressee, Bagavahya.

⁹⁸ Known in the Bible as Johanan, he was grandson of Nehemiah's contemporary, Eliashib.

⁹⁹ The comparable Heb. title was "the High Priest and his brothers the priests."

¹⁰⁰ If this Anani was the last Davidic descendant biblically recorded, his relative ("brother") bore a Persian name, perhaps because of his quasi-official position vis-a-vis the Persian authorities.

¹⁰¹ They played a prominent role in Judah during the time of Nehemiah. The more proper title was "nobles of Judah" (Jer 27:20; Neh 6:17, 13:17) and was so written in the revised draft (*TAD* A4.8:18). As Jehohanan stood over the priests, so Avastana, or Anani, stood over the nobles; see *GEA* 318.

¹⁰² For "one" as the indefinite article, see on 3.48, note 12. Here an emphatic was intended — "not a single letter did they send us"; *GEA* 240.

¹⁰³ Though the perpetrators of the destruction had been punished, the mourning had not ceased. The pathos finds syntactic expression in the irregular word order *znh ywm²*; see *GEA* 13, 40, 236, 238.

¹⁰⁴ Moses had abstained from eating and drinking for forty days on Mt. Sinai and Daniel abstained from food, drink, and anointing for three weeks. A fast of forty-one months was probably carried out only from dawn to dusk. These three words (*šqqn lbn wšymyn*) repeat the statement in line 15, omitting the auxiliary *hwyn*; these two and the following participles have the force of the present perfect tense; *GEA* 62, 107, 203.

¹⁰⁵ Perhaps to emphasize the personal humiliation, the scribe opted for the *zyl-* construction "wives of ours" (*nšy² zyln*) in contrast to "our wives" in line 15; *GEA* 164.

¹⁰⁶ Was this a poetic image or indication that husbands refrained from sexual intercourse with their wives? The passive participle (*bydyn*) is in the masculine gender (*GEA* 73, n. 362, 119, 279, 294) and indicates a present perfect; *GEA* 201. For omission of the conjunctive *waw* before this and the following verb, see *GEA* 318-319. For the singular "widow," instead of the expected "widows," see *GEA* 280.

¹⁰⁷ Abstinence from drink and anointing were part of the fasting and mourning procedure; for the negator *P* with the participle, see *GEA* 322.

¹⁰⁸ *mn zky*, an unusual elliptical construction, revised in *TAD* A4.8:20 to [*m]n z^c [d]n²*, "[fr]om that [t]ime" (*GEA* 167, n. 762), another example of the irregular word order demonstrative + noun; see n. 95 above. See also *GEA* 58, 166-167.

¹⁰⁹ These probably referred to the daily regular offerings, such as were made in the desert Tabernacle and designed to maintain YHWH's presence; Porten 1968:113.

and the Jews,¹¹⁰ all (of them) citizens of Elephantine,¹¹¹ ^{aa} thus say:

Threefold Request ⁽²³⁾If to our lord it is good,¹¹² ^{bb} take thought¹¹³ ^{cc} of that Temple to (re)build¹¹⁴ (it) since¹¹⁵ they¹¹⁶ do not let us (re)build it.¹¹⁷ Regard¹¹⁸ ⁽²⁴⁾your ⁽²³⁾ob⁽²⁴⁾ligees¹¹⁹ ^{dd} and your friends^{ee} who are here in Egypt. May a letter from you be sent¹²⁰ to them about the Temple of YHW the God ⁽²⁵⁾to (re)build it¹²¹ in Elephantine the fortress just as it had been built formerly.¹²²

Threefold Blessing And the meal-offering and the incense and the burnt-offering they¹²³ will offer¹²⁴ ⁽²⁶⁾on the altar of YHW the God in your name¹²⁵ and we shall pray for you at all times¹²⁶ ^{ff} — we

^{aa} Josh 24:11;
Judg 9: 20:5;
1 Sam 23:11;
2 Sam 21:12
^{bb} Esth 5:4,
8, 8:5; Ezra
5:17
^{cc} Jon 1:6
^{dd} Prov 3:27
^{ee} 1 Kgs
5:15; Lam
1:2; Esth
5:10, 14,
6:13
^{ff} Eccl 9:8;
Esth 5:13
^{gg} Gen 15:6;
Deut 6:24-
25, 24:10-13; Ps 106:31; cf. Ps 24:5 ^{hh} Exod 10:25, 18:12; 2 Kgs 5:17 ⁱⁱ Ezra 4:14

and our wives and our children and the Jews,¹²⁷ ⁽²⁷⁾all (of them) who are here. If thus they did¹²⁸ until¹²⁹ that Temple be (re)built, a merit¹³⁰ ^{ss} it will be for you before YHW the God of ⁽²⁸⁾Heaven (more) than¹³¹ a person who will offer¹³² him burnt-offering and sacrifices¹³³ ^{hh} (whose) worth is as the worth of silver, 1 thousand talents,¹³⁴ and about gold.¹³⁵ About this ⁽²⁹⁾we have sent (and) informed (you).¹³⁵ ⁱⁱ

Addendum I

Moreover, all the(se) things in a letter¹³⁷ we sent in

¹¹⁰ Not just the leadership but the whole community was writing the letter.

¹¹¹ The term *b^cl* in construct plural occurs in Heb., Aram., and Phoen. in the expression "citizens of GN," e.g. Jericho, Shechem, Gibeah, Keilah, Jabesh-Gilead, Arpad and *Ktk* (Sefire 1A4 = *KAI* #222 = *COS* 2.82), and Sidon (*KAI* #60:6). For other collocations of *b^cl* in the Eg. Aram. texts, see *GEA* 230. For the expression with *kl*, see *GEA* 247-248.

¹¹² See 3.50, note 53.

¹¹³ For this term (²*f^cšr*), see 3.74:3-4 and 3.78:2. Rhetorically, the imperative is used to invoke a favorable stance (²*f^cšr*, *hzy*) while the specific request is phrased in the jussive (*yštlh* [line 24]); *GEA* 198, 210-211, 257. This is the only conditional sentence in our documents where the protasis is a nominal clause and the apodosis an imperative (*GEA* 326).

¹¹⁴ The verb *bnh* in *pe^cal* here has the meaning not of "build" but "rebuild;" *GEA* 120, n. 555. The grammatical construction leaves the subject of the infinitive undetermined; *GEA* 209, 260.

¹¹⁵ This preposition + *zy* (*bzy*) construction introducing a clause is quite common in our documents; *GEA* 332.

¹¹⁶ In this 3rd person masculine plural form, the referent is deliberately unclear (*GEA* 289, 316): the Egyptians or the Persians?

¹¹⁷ For infinitive with suffix, see *GEA* 148; as complement, *GEA* 208.

¹¹⁸ A common epistolary command (*hzy/hzw*) to call attention to a particular item (e.g. *TAD* A3.10:2).

¹¹⁹ The precise nuance of this construct phrase (*b^cly tbnk*) eludes us. The sense assumed here is that the "owner of goodness" is the beneficiary who is obligated to the benefactor. Others would render "well-wishers, allies, loyal clients" (e.g. Lindenberger 1994 #34:23-24). As a technical term, "friend" (*rhm* = Heb. ²*whb*) may refer either to a peer, as Hiram to David, an ally, or to a subordinate, as Haman's cronies. See, also, *GEA* 225.

¹²⁰ The passive construction with *nn*, "from," indicating the intended subject was characteristic of epistolary officialese; *GEA* 202; but see *GEA* 315-316. Here the jussive served as a polite substitute for the imperative. For the discord in gender between feminine subject (²*grk*) and masculine verb (*yštlh*), see *GEA* 278.

¹²¹ Since the governor of Judah had no authority over the satrap of Egypt, the requested letter would not be an order but a strong recommendation from the Jewish center on behalf of one of its Diaspora communities.

¹²² Restoration of the status quo figured prominently in Persian thought and deed (Ezra 5:11 [Jerusalem Temple]; *TAD* C2.1 III.1 = Akk. Bitun 25 [royal line]). This consideration will recur in the subsequent correspondence (3.52:8, 10; 3.53:9).

¹²³ The Elephantine Jewish priests.

¹²⁴ The *he* of a haph^cel form was erased to yield a pa^cel — *yqrbwn*; *GEA* 190, n. 852.

¹²⁵ Either as your representative (see 3.60:2) or on your behalf.

¹²⁶ This promise has its counterpart in the standard epistolary blessing/salutation, "The welfare of PN may DN seek after abundantly at all times" (see line 2). As its Heb. counterpart, the expression is in the singular, *bkl cⁿdn*.

¹²⁷ In addition to the sometime sacrifices offered by the priests, daily prayer would be offered by the whole community, men, women, and children.

¹²⁸ A scribal error for "you did," corrected in the revised draft to "you will do" (*TAD* A4.8:26). For discussion of the tense of the protasis, whether perfect or imperfect, see *GEA* 324-325.

¹²⁹ For the compound conjunction ^c*d zy* with the added nuance of "in order that," see *GEA* 333, n. 1270.

¹³⁰ The performance of a meritorious deed established the doer's merit in the eyes of the deity; *GEA* 278. The conjunction *waw* preceding *šdgh* has apodictic force, "then;" *GEA* 94, n. 439, 327.

¹³¹ The comparative is expressed simply by the preposition *mn*; *GEA* 187, 331.

¹³² For construction of the relative clause, see *GEA* 169.

¹³³ *dbh* = Heb. *zvh* was the sacrifice of well-being, divided between altar, priest, and worshipper. It was regularly paired with the burnt-offering (^c*wh* = Heb. ^c*wlh*) in biblical texts, particularly when referring to offerings by pagans.

¹³⁴ Only in this hyperbolic statement does the *knkr* = Heb. *kk^r* occur in Eg. Aram. texts (*GEA* 13, 35, 62, 221). It was the equivalent of either 3,000,000 or 3,600,000 shekels; see *EPE* 120, n. 62.

¹³⁵ These dangling words are puzzling. Perhaps "about" is a scribal error, anticipation of this word in the next sentence. The sense would then be "worth silver, 1000 talents, and gold."

¹³⁶ This may have been a formulaic ending.

¹³⁷ Aram. *h^hdh*, lit. "one" = indefinite article and here perhaps also serves as contrast to preceding plural *kl*, "all"; *GEA* 240, n. 992, 248.

our name to Delaiah and Shelemiah¹³⁸ sons of Sanballat¹³⁹ governor of Samaria.

Jl Neh 2:19-20; 3:33-4:2; 6:1-9; 13:28

of it, Arsames did not know.¹⁴⁰

Date

On the 20th of Marcheshvan, year 17 of Darius the king.¹⁴¹

Addendum II

⁽³⁰⁾Moreover, about this which was done to us, all

¹³⁸ These otherwise unknown Hebrew-named sons of Sanballat (here written Sinuballit) indicate that the official, enigmatically/derogatorily called the "Haronite," was a worshipper of YHWH.

¹³⁹ Though he had every appearance of being the governor of Samaria, Nehemiah never accorded him the same title which he, himself, held. While the aged father still bore the official title, the sons acted in his name.

¹⁴⁰ As a non-conspirator out of the country, Arsames bore no responsibility for the destruction and so did not have to reverse his own decision to authorize its reconstruction. The sentence is a striking example of object-subject-verb word order; *GEA* 307.

¹⁴¹ For location of the date at the end, see *EPE* 109, n. 31. It is not apparent why this renewed request was drawn up just at this time. Perhaps the perpetrators had just been punished and so the Jews emerged free of blame. The absence of an external address indicates that the letter was a draft.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Briant 1996; *EPE*; Fales 1987; Joüon 1934; *KAI*; Kaufman 1974; Kutscher 1977; Lindenberg 1994; 2001; Porten 1968; Porten 1998; *TAD*; von Pilgrim 1999.

RECOMMENDATION FOR RECONSTRUCTION OF TEMPLE (3.52)

(After 407 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

If a written reply to the petition was sent, as requested, it has not been found. Preserved herein (P. Berlin 13497 [*TAD* A4.9]) is a concise and precise verbal message dictated jointly by the authorities in Jerusalem and Samaria. Written on a torn piece of papyrus by the same scribe as the second draft of the petition (*TAD* A4.8), it was much amended. Its close adherence to the petition indicates an essential endorsement of Jedaniah's claim. Yet the plot by the Egyptian priests of Khnum was ignored. Only the Persians were involved — the Jews are to assert before Arsames that the Jewish Temple at Elephantine which existed before *Cambyes* and was destroyed in the fourteenth year of *Darius* by that wicked *Vidranga* was to be restored. Jedaniah's argument from precedent carried great weight; the Temple which existed *formerly* (*mn qdmn*) was to be restored as *formerly* (*lqdmn*) and meal-offering and incense were to be offered up as *formerly* (*lqdmyn*). This authorization was a clear echo of the claim of Darius I in his Bisitun inscription that he reestablished his dynasty in its place as *formerly* (*TAD* C2.1III.3-4 = Akk. line 25) — "I made it just as (it was) before me" (Akk. line 29). The Aramaic version of this inscription had only recently been recopied and may have been counted among Jedaniah's treasures.¹ But the endorsement was not without serious reservation; the requested burnt-offering was passed over in silence, implying that such offerings were limited to Jerusalem.

The clear dependence of the memorandum on the petition allows us to surmise that the Hebrew proclamation of Cyrus (Ezra 1:2-4) was formulated on the basis of a Hebrew petition from the Jews.

Title	<i>a</i> Ezra 6:2-5	Subject of Petition
(Recto) ⁽¹⁾ Memorandum. ² "What Bagavahya and Delaiah said ⁽²⁾ to me." ³		Memorandum. Saying, ⁴ "Let it be for you ⁵ in Egypt to say ⁶ (Erasure: bef) ⁷ ⁽³⁾ (Erasure: to me about) ⁸

¹ *TAD* C, p. 59; Sachau 1911:186.

² The term *zkrn* indicates literally an item to be remembered. It occurred frequently as a caption in lists (*TAD* C3.8IIB:16, 28, 34, 3.13:1, 10, 24, 34, 37, 44, 46, 48, 50, 55). Most relevant to our text is the Aram. *dkrmh* written on a papyrus scroll containing the authorization by Cyrus of the reconstruction of the Jerusalem Temple and restoration of its looted vessels.

³ This must have been the messenger who delivered the petitions (3.51) to Bagavahya and Delaiah. It is tempting to surmise that this was Jedaniah himself.

⁴ For the particle *lm* introducing direct speech, see *GEA* 339.

⁵ If this "you" was the same person as the "me" at the beginning of the line, then the scribe was no doubt Jedaniah. If the parties were different, then Jedaniah wrote neither this nor the petition.

⁶ Spelled only here with elision of the glottal stop, *lmnr* rather than the historically correct *lm²mr* (*TAD* C 1.1:163; D7.39:10); *GEA* 22, 108, 124.

⁷ Proofing his text, the scribe realized that the words of Bagavahya and Delaiah were not being said directly to Arsames but were to be recited "before" him by the Jewish leaders. He thus added a whole line between line 1 and what is now line 3. Failing to write more than the first letter of the word *qdm*, "before," he erased it and added it in the margin at the beginning of new line 3.

⁸ The scribe's original text read "What B and D said to me about." The words "to me about" were then erased and the text continued so as to read "... said (to) Arsames about ..." (see previous notes).

before Arsames about the Altar-house⁹ ^b of the God of (Erasure: Heav)¹⁰ (4)Heaven¹¹ ^c which in Elephantine the fortress built (5)it was¹² formerly before Cambyses¹³ (and) (6)which Vidranga, that wicked (man),¹⁴ demolished¹⁵ (7)in year 14 of Darius the king:

b 2 Chr 7:12
c Ezra 6:3-5
d Ezra 5:15;
6:17
e Mal 1:11

Decision

“(8)to (re)build it on its site¹⁶ ^d as it was formerly (9)and the meal-offering and the incense¹⁷ ^e they shall offer upon (10)that altar just as formerly (11)was done.”¹⁸

⁹ The response avoided the Akk. loanword ⁹gwr² and employed an expression unattested in Aram. (*byt mdbh²*) but found in Syriac and Mandaic; see Hurvitz 1995:178; GEA 230. Solomon's Temple was called a “House of sacrifice (*byt zbh²*)” by the Chronicler.

¹⁰ Only able to get three (*šmy*) of the four letters (*šmy²*) on the line, the scribe erased them and wrote the full word on the next line.

¹¹ The personal name of deity (YHW) was omitted as it was in the Memorandum of Cyrus.

¹² For the construction *bnh hwh*, with internal passive participle preceding the auxiliary, see GEA 206-207, 291.

¹³ Repeating the reference to Cambyses (3.51:13) emphasizes the Temple's legitimacy in the eyes of the Persians.

¹⁴ Alternately translate, “that wicked Vidranga” (GEA 237). Repeating the derogatory epithet of the petition (3.51:7) emphasizes the sacrifice involved.

¹⁵ The subject-verb word order is common in subordinate clauses introduced by *zy*; GEA 300.

¹⁶ This specification was included in the Memorandum of Cyrus and was certainly appropriate to counter any attempt to move the Temple elsewhere, say away from the nearby shrine of Khnum. Surprisingly, the word is not to be found in the first draft of the petition (3.51) nor can it readily be restored in the second (TAD A4.8). Perhaps it reflects the oral discussion between the messenger and the two governors.

¹⁷ As the prophet Malachi said, “My name is great among the nations, and everywhere incense and (meal-offering) are presented to My name.” The deliberate omission of reference to the burnt-offering, the third sacrificial component in the petition (3.51:21, 25), apparently indicated that such was limited to the Jerusalem Temple. Less likely is the view that it was intended to pacify either the Egyptian or the Persian authorities; see Porten 1968:291-93.

¹⁸ This periphrastic tense, with external passive and verbal sequence reversed (*hwh m^cbd*), indicates iteration or habit — “what used to be done;” GEA 205, 207.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Hurvitz 1995; Porten 1968; Sachau 1911; TAD A4.9.

OFFER OF PAYMENT FOR RECONSTRUCTION OF TEMPLE (DRAFT) (3.53)

(After 407 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

The lower, left half of the text is lost and holes affect the reading of several other crucial words. As a draft (Cairo J. 43467 [TAD A4.10]), the letter omitted the *praescriptio* but listed in column form the names of the five leaders presenting the petition. Headed by Jedaniah, they were not priests or “Jews, citizens of Elephantine” (3.51:1, 22) but “Syenians, hereditary property-holders in Elephantine” (line 6). This designation was doubtless designed to impress the recipient, identified only as “our lord,” that they were indeed capable of paying the promised silver and thousand ardabs of barley if their request to rebuild the Temple were approved. In their proposal they also committed themselves not to offer animal sacrifices but only incense and meal-offering. Inference that the Temple was indeed rebuilt may be derived from the final contract in Anani's archive (3.80:18-19; see EPE 249, n. 37). It has also been argued by von Pilgrim, who has been excavating on Elephantine.¹

Introductory Formula

(Recto)⁽¹⁾Your servants² —

Jedaniah, son of Gem[ariah],³ by name,⁴ ^a 1

(2)Mauzi, son of Nathan,⁵ by name, [1]

^a Ezra 5:14

(3)Shemaiah, son of Haggai,⁶ by name, 1

(4)Hosea, son of Jathom,⁷ by name, 1

(5)Hosea, son of Nattun,⁸ by name, 1:

¹ von Pilgrim 1999:142-145.

² The usual *External Address* and *Salutation* were omitted in this draft and the scribe began with the body of the letter which opened with the oral messenger formula, “Your servants thus say;” cf. 3.51:4, omitting the introductory/transitional “(And) now.” Unlike the petition, the names of five leaders were given and we may assume that they stood at the head of the community. Jedaniah and the two Hoseas were among the prisoners in 3.49:7.

³ See 3.46:1.

⁴ This tag was regularly attached to the name of a slave or a royal servant. Only here does it appear with names of communal leaders. See EPE 200, n. 12.

⁵ He was a professional scribe; see 3.47:1, 17; 3.48:2, 12; and EPE 194, n. 40.

⁶ Perhaps identical with Shammua son of Haggai in a list of ca. 420 BCE (TAD C4.4:5), this Shemaiah was apparently the son of the professional scribe Haggai son of Shemaiah who was active 446-400 BCE (see EPE 187, n. 41). Both he and the following Hosea son of Jathom, the latter as Osea, appeared in a list of ca. 420 BCE (TAD A4.3:3, 5).

⁷ See on 3.49, note 18. Given the name Jathom, “Orphan,” the baby's father must have died before he was born.

⁸ See on 3.49, note 19.

all (told) 5 persons,⁹ ⁽⁶⁾Syenians,¹⁰ ^(b) who in Elephantine the fortress are heredi[tary-property-holders]¹¹ — ⁽⁷⁾thus say:

Offer of Payment

If our lord¹² [...] ⁽⁸⁾and the Temple-of-YHW-the-God of ours¹⁴ be (re)built ⁽⁹⁾in Elephantine the

b1QIsa'49:12

c Lev 7:23;
17:3; 22:27;
Num 18:17

d Jer 17:26;
41:5

fortress as former[ly] it was [bu]ilt¹⁵ — ⁽¹⁰⁾and sheep,¹⁶ ox, (and) goat¹⁷ ^(c) (as) burnt-offering¹⁸ are [n]ot made there¹⁹ ⁽¹¹⁾but (only) incense (and) meal-offering²⁰ ^(d) [they offer there] — ⁽¹²⁾and should our lord a statement²¹ mak[e]²² about this, afterwards] ⁽¹³⁾we shall give²³ to the house of our lord²⁴ si[ilver ... and] ⁽¹⁴⁾barley, a thousa[nd] ardabs.²⁵

⁹ Such tallying is standard practice in documents of all sorts — letters, lists, contracts — when more than one person is mentioned; *GEA* 247.

¹⁰ From “Jews, citizens of Elephantine” in the petition (3.51:22) the writers have now become “Syenians, hereditary property-holders in Elephantine.” “Syenian” was a rare designation in the Aram. papyri and usually applied to “Arameans” (*TAD* B5.2:2; C3.14:32). Yet the prophet Deutero-Isaiah knew that Jews were settled in the “land of the Syenians.”

¹¹ Offering to make substantial payments to “our lord,” the leaders indicated here that they were freeholders, burghers, reliable men of means; see *EPE* 164, n. 5 and Szubin and Porten 1982:8.

¹² Probably Arsames himself, who was free of any taint in bringing about the destruction (3.51:30).

¹³ The text is too damaged to restore this word with any confidence.

¹⁴ For the grammatical construction, see *GEA* 226 and n. 943a.

¹⁵ Repeating the theme of the petition (3.51:24-25) and the recommendation of Bagavahya and Delaiah (3.52:8), while reversing the word order (*bnh hwh [mn] qdm[y]n* — > *qdm bnh hwh*), the Jews sought restoration of the status quo.

¹⁶ For elision of the glottal stop in *qn*, see *GEA* 22.

¹⁷ This is a well-known sacrificial triad, albeit in the order “ox, sheep, and goat.” For omission of the coordinating conjunction, see *GEA* 318.

¹⁸ Aram. *mqbw* < Akk. *maqlūtu*, occurred only here and displaced the normal Aram. *hwh*, “burnt-offering,” which was used in the petition (3.51:21, 25).

¹⁹ The implicit exclusion of animal sacrifices in the recommendation of Bagavahya and Delaiah (see 3.52, n. 17) was here spelled out explicitly; see Porten 1968:291-93.

²⁰ Regularly “meal-offering and incense” (3.51:21, 25 and 3.52:12), the traditional word pair was here reversed, as were the animals in the above triad.

²¹ Aram. *wdys* < Old Persian **avadaisa* (Hinz 1975:1).

²² The subject-object-verb word order is typical of Akk.; *GEA* 307-308.

²³ With assimilation of radical *nun* in *ntm*; *GEA* 10, 125.

²⁴ Payment was not to be made to the royal treasury but to the private estate of the recipient.

²⁵ A thousand ardabs of barley would provide a month's rations for ca. 540 men according to the scale of 100 ardabs for 54 men (*TAD* C3.14:26-31).

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: *EPE*; Hinz 1975; Porten 1968; Szubin and Porten 1982; *TAD*; von Pilgrim 1999.

APPEAL OF ADON KING OF EKRON TO PHARAOH (3.54)

(ca. 604 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

Discovered in a clay jar at Saqqarah in 1942, along with Egyptian and Greek papyri, by Zaki Saad Effendi, this light-colored papyrus fragment (7.7/8.5 cm wide x 9.6/9.8 cm tall) rests now in the Cairo Egyptian Museum (J. 86984 = papyrus number 3483). It contains the right half of a nine-line Aramaic letter, addressed to “Lord of Kings Pharaoh” from “your servant Adon King of [...]” (line 1), appealing for help against the King of Babylon whose forces had reached Aphek (lines 4, 7). The identity of Adon had long been a mystery, until Porten discovered in 1978 a demotic filing notation on the letter's verso that points to its origin in Ekron. A double salutation blesses Pharaoh in the name of Heaven and Earth and Beelshemayin and wishes him longevity like the “days of (the) heavens and (the) waters” (lines 2-3). Adon based his plea for help on his having observed his treaty obligations (*ibth*) to the King of Egypt (line 8). The appeal (lines 6-7) is couched in the third person throughout (“Pharaoh knows,” “your servant,” “let him not abandon [me],” “your servant,” “his good relations”). The last line (9) contains obscure references to a “governor” and a “letter” of a certain Sindur. The destruction of Ekron Stratum IB is dated by its excavator and others to 604 BCE, just after the failed appeal of our letter (Gitin 1998:276, n. 2; Fantalkin 2001:131-132, 144).

Internal Address

(recto)⁽¹⁾To the Lord of Kings¹ a Pharaoh,² your servant Adon³ King of E[kron].

Salutation

(2)May (1)the gods of] (2)Heaven and Earth⁴ and Beelshemayin,⁵ [the great] god⁶ [seek after (1)the welfare of my lord, Lord of Kings Pharaoh, (2)abundantly at all times,⁷ and may they lengthen the days of] (3)Pharaoh⁸ like the days of (the) heavens⁹ b and (the) waters.¹⁰

Report

[... the force]⁽¹¹⁾ (4)of the King of Babylon¹² c has come (and) reached Aphek¹³ and ...[...]⁽⁵⁾... they have seized and brought [...] in all [...]

a Dan 2:47

b Deut 11:21;
Ps 89:30

c 2 Kgs 24:1,
7, 11-12, etc.

d Jer 37:5, 7,
11, 46:2

e Hag 1:1,
14,; 2:2, 21;
Mal 1:8;
Ezra 5:14;
6:7; Neh 2:7,
9; 5:14, 18

Appeal

(6)For the Lord of Kings Pharaoh knows that your servant [...] (7)to send a force¹⁴ d to rescue me.¹⁵ Let him not abandon [me,¹⁶ for your servant did not violate the treaty of the Lord of Kings]¹⁷ (8)and your servant preserved his good relations.¹⁸

Addendum I

And (as for) this commander [...] (9)a governor^e in the land.¹⁹

Addendum II

And (as for) the letter of Sindur²⁰ ... [...].

Recipient's Notation

(verso [demotic])⁽¹⁰⁾What the Great One of Ekron gave to ...[...].²¹

¹ The Aram. *mr² mlkn* is a translation of Akk. *bēl šarrāni*, an epithet which occurs in almost forty letters, primarily in the addresses and blessings, of the Assyrian monarchs Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, who at the height of the Assyrian Empire called up "22 kings of Hatti, the seashore, and the islands" for corvée labor and military campaigns (*ANET* 291, 294). The king of Egypt took on the title when he displaced Assyria in the Transeuphrates (Fitzmyer 1979:233-235; Porten 1981:39).

² Necho II.

³ Adon is a hypocoristic of a Northwest Semitic nominal sentence name. Almost all of the more than the dozen known names of the Philistine rulers, from Abimelech in patriarchal times through Abimilki and Mitinti in 667, were Northwest Semitic (Fitzmyer 1979:235; Porten 1981:39).

⁴ Equivalent to Akk. *ilāni ša šamē u eršeti* (*DDD* [1st ed.] col. 743). The combination "heaven and earth" occurs frequently in the Bible, e.g. referring to the deity as "creator of heaven and earth" (Gen. 14:19, 22), "maker of (making) heaven and earth" (2 Kgs 19:15; Isa 37:16; Jer 32:17; Pss 115:15; 121:2; 124:8; 134:3; 146:6), "filling heaven and earth" (Jer 23:24), and "shaking heaven and earth" (Hag 2:6, 21); "heaven and earth" praising the deity (Ps 69:35) or called by the deity to witness (Deut 4:26; 30:19; 31:28).

⁵ A leading deity attested in Phoen., Aram., and Akk. inscriptions: Yahimilk of Byblos (*COS* 2.29); Azatiwada of Karatepe (*COS* 2.31, iii.18); Zakkur of Hamath (*COS* 2.35, line 2); and in the Baal-Esarhaddon treaty (Borger 1956:§69; *DDD* cols. 283-288).

⁶ See Fitzmyer 1979:237. In Eg. Aram. texts the epithet was applied to Eg. Ptah (*TAD* C 3.12:26) and Baby./Aram. Shamash (*TAD* D 22.49:2-3).

⁷ The conjectural restoration of the blessing is based upon the fifth century BCE Elephantine Aram. letters (*TAD* A3.5:1, *COS* 3.511-2).

⁸ The restoration of a blessing of longevity for a monarch is based upon *COS* 3.51:3.

⁹ The heavens are a symbol of eternity.

¹⁰ This image is otherwise unknown to me. Gen 1:2 depicts the existence of waters as present before God's creative acts. I had earlier read this word *rmyn*, "exalted" (Porten 1981:36). Were this reading to hold up it would give us the productive compound, "high/exalted heavens" (cf. *KAI* #15), reflected in Sanchuniathon's Samemroumos (Baumgarten 1981:159-163). Among Anath's epithets is *b^clt šmm rmm*, "Lady of the High Heavens" (*DDD* [1st ed.] col. 1687). Unfortunately, close palaeographical analysis does not support this reading. Moreover, the *yod* is rarely represented in Aram. plurals at this time (Porten 1998:233).

¹¹ Restoring *hyP*, a collective which would take a plural verb (cf. the following asyndetic pair *ṭw mṭ^cw*), as in *TAD* C2.1:16, 33, 37-38, 44 [Bisitun]. For the phrase "force of the King of Babylon" see Jer 32:2; 34:21; 38:3; "force of the Chaldeans" (2 Kgs 25:5, 10; Jer 35:11; 37:10; 39:5; 52:8, 14). Also suggested was *bdy^c*, "the servants" (Fitzmyer 1979:237).

¹² Nebuchadnezzar marched about in Hatti-land in the years 605/4, 604, 602, 601/600, 599/98, 598/97, 597/96, 595/94, and 594/93 (Wiseman 1956:69-75).

¹³ Tell Rosh ha-^cAyin (Ras el-^cAin), later Anūpatris, stood at a major crossroads, where the several branches of the Via Maris in the Sharon plain came together (Fitzmyer 1979:238; Porten 1981:45).

¹⁴ *GEA* 177.

¹⁵ Fitzmyer 1979:239; *GEA* 148, 274 (where read *ḫšlmy*).

¹⁶ Third person jussive was the appropriate tone in the appeal of a vassal to his overlord (Fitzmyer 1979:239).

¹⁷ The terminology of this restoration derives from the Sefire treaty (IB:27f, 37f, IIB:14, IIC:7, 9, 19f, 27; Porten 1981:39). See *COS* 2.82.

¹⁸ Aram. *ḫbh nṣr* = Akk. *rābta naṣāru*, a technical expression for preserving treaty relations with a suzerain (Fitzmyer 1979:239-240). Assyrian possessions in the Levant were taken over by Egypt, apparently in exchange for Eg. support of Assyria against Babylon.

¹⁹ Fitzmyer (1979:240-241) would see a direct link between these two half sentences — a commander of the Babylonian forces has begun the process of reorganization by setting up a "governor" in the conquered territory (cf. 1 Kgs 20:24). The title *phh* is borne by the rulers of Judah (Yehud) and Samaria in the Persian period (3.51:1, 29).

²⁰ *Sndwr*, an Akk. name, common to Assyria and Babylonia, meaning "Sin is (my) Fortress." Cf. biblical Shenazzar (1 Chr 3:18). Also possible is the Anatolian name Sanduarri and some scholars have equated the name here with the person who was king of Kundu and Sizu in Anatolia and rebelled against Assyria in the 670's. They would thus antedate the papyrus some seventy or a hundred years and weave an entirely different narrative (Krahmalkov 1981:197-198; Shea 1985:408-413). In either case the reference to a "letter" (*spr*) remains obscure.

²¹ The demotic line was first interpreted by George R. Hughes, and then by Karl-Theodor Zauzich (Porten 1981:43-45) with an alternate reading which did not favor "Ekron." I had subsequently met together with Hughes and Zauzich and discussed the line with both of them at length. Zauzich conceded that "Ekron" was indeed a possible reading. It was also accepted as such by Richard Parker and since then by other Demotists with whom I have discussed the matter, namely, Cary Martin, John Ray, and Günter Vittmann. For an earlier inscription from Ekron, see the Ekron Inscription of Akhayus (*COS* 2.42).

REFERENCES

Text: Dupont-Sommer 1948b; Fitzmyer 1965; *SSI* 2: #21; *KAI* #266; Porten 1981; *TAD* A1.1. Translations and studies: Baumgarten 1981; Borger 1956; *DDD*; Dion 1982a; 1982b; *DOTT* 251-252; Fantalkin 2001; Fitzmyer 1965; 1979; Gibson 1975; Ginsberg 1940; 1948; Gitin 1998; Horn 1968; Hug 1993:15-16; *KAI* 2:36-52; Krahmalkov 1981; Lindenberg 1994:20-22; Porten 1981; 1998; Shea 1985; *TUAT* 1:634; Wiseman 1956; Yurco 1991:41-42.

B. CONTRACTS

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1. PHOENICIAN

CEBEL IRES DAĞI (3.55)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This inscription, written in good standard (Tyro-Sidonian) Phoenician and dating approximately to 625-600 BCE, was incised on a coarse, dark limestone in the rough shape of a prism with three sides (measuring .545 m maximum in length along its base, .175 m in height and .315 m maximum in depth). The three sides (designated A, B, and C) follow an interlocking order with a colophon in C3. The inscription was found at the site of an ancient city located mid-way up the slope of a prominent mountain known as Cebel Ires Dağı (now Cebelireis Dağı; see Lebrun 1992), about 15 km east of the city of Alanya (in southern Turkey). It is now housed in the Alanya Museum.

The inscription is a record of real estate transferrals. It is chiefly concerned with an individual named Masanazamis.¹ The first part of the inscription records a number of real estate transferrals. It begins with an initial land-allotment to Masanazamis by a governor named Asulaparna. It then records a real estate transferral by this same governor to two individuals named Mutas and Kulas. Next, the text records a personal real estate transferral made by Mutas to Kulas. This apparently included the giving of Mutas' daughter MSD to Kulas.² This personal transaction is certified and notarized by both the installation of a deity (Ba'al of the "furnace") and the utterance of a curse against anyone who might misappropriate this personal real estate given by Mutas to Kulas.

At this point, the inscription relates an incident occurring under another governor (Aziwasis) in which Masanazamis was exiled (apparently by Kulas). But a royal reinstatement of Masanazamis by King Awariku (see note 25) is registered which entitles Masanazamis to all of Kulas' real estate. Finally, a royal codicil reports the transferral of Kulas' wife (the daughter of Mutas, i.e. MSD) to Masanazamis.

Gubernatorial transfer of real estate by Asulaparna to Masanazamis (1a-3a1)

Asulaparna,³ the governor of YLBŠ,⁴ gave⁵ a land-allotment^{6a} to Masanazamis,⁷ his servant, in TMRS.⁸ He (Masanazamis) planted plants in the field of

a Num 26:52-56; 33:54; Isa 17:14; Nahum 3:10

the First-born⁹ during the term of office (lit. "days") of Asulaparna. He (Asulaparna) gave him another vineyard in Adrassus¹⁰ as well as a vineyard in KW.¹¹

¹ All the vocalizations are tentative. However, vocalizations are utilized where reasonable guesses are possible in order to make the text easier for the reader to follow.

² Cf. the Levantine example of such land/wife linkage which is described in Josh 15:13-19 | Judg 1:10-15, 20. See also 1 Sam 18:20-27; 25:44; 2 Sam 3:12-16; Jer 6:12. Cf. the pledge of wife in COS 3.116.

³ *šlprn* is clearly a non-Semitic name, apparently composed of two elements *aššul* "goodness, kindness, favor" and *parna* "house." See Lemaire (1989:124) who vocalizes "Asulaparna." Note that Mosca and Russell (1987:6, n. 16) find the *aššul* element in the Aram. name *šwtkrty* from a Persian period inscription, and also (n. 17) the name *šlthy* on a Phoen. seal.

⁴ Uncertain place name.

⁵ In such a legal context *nm* may connote the idea of "transfer." See Westbrook 1991a:25, 28.

⁶ *grl* "an allotment of land." The word was previously unattested in Phoen., but is clearly cognate with Heb. *gōrāl*. In ancient Israel, casting lots was a common method of distributing the spoils of war, whether booty or conquered territory (cf. Num 26:52-56; 33:54; Isa 17:14; Nah 3:10) (Kitz 2000). Perhaps this allotment to Masanazamis is a reward for some successful military venture. See Mosca and Russell 1987:8; Greenfield 1990:157.

⁷ *msn* (*ʿ*) *zmš* is clearly Anatolian (Mosca and Russell 1987:8). There is good reason to assume an equation of *msnzmš* (lines 1b, 7b) and *msnʿzmš* (lines 8b, c2). See Lemaire (1989:124) who vocalizes the name as Mas(š)anazēmis. Compare the Hieroglyphic Luwian name of a scribe in Karatepe 4 §2: 'DEUS-na-(OCULUS)d-za-mi-sā-hā "Masanazamis" (Hawkins CHLI 1/1:69). See also Laroche 1966:115 (#773), 284, 318. On the Luwian element *massani-*, see Laroche 1966:284, 318. On *zmš*, see Zgusta 1964b:160 (§22) *zēmīs*.

⁸ Uncertain place name.

⁹ For the phrase *šd bkr*, see Mosca and Russell (1987:9) who point out the parallel with the phrase *šd zbl* "the field of the Prince" (line 4b). Long and Pardee (1989:213) translate "in the *bkr*-field." See also DNWSI 164 s.v. *bkr* "first-born."

¹⁰ For the possible identification of this place name (*ʿDRWZ*) with Adrassus, see Mosca and Russell 1987:11; Lebrun 1992.

¹¹ Perhaps "a later, var. spelling of Que, the Neo-Hittite territory in the Cilician Plain?" (Mosca and Russell 1987:11 and n. 42; see also Lebrun 1992). A Hieroglyphic Luwian city named *ka-wa/i-za-na*(URBS) "the city Kawa" (= Que?) occurs in an inscription from Carchemish (Karkamiš A11b, §7, dated to the 10th or early 9th century; see Hawkins CHLI 1/1:103, discussion: p. 105). If Kawa equals Que, then the variant spelling does not necessarily need to be regarded as late. All spellings in Neo-Assyrian begin with either the QA sign or the QU sign (see Parpola 1970:288-289). But the Neo-Babylonian spelling is *Hu-me-e* (Hūmē). See Zadok 1985:166 and Hawkins 1972-75.

Gubernatorial transfer of real estate by Asulaparna to Mutas and Kulas (3a1-3b)

And furthermore, he (Asulaparna) gave WLWY¹² in WRYKLY¹³ to Mutas¹⁴ and Kulas.¹⁵

Personal real estate transferral by Mutas to Kulas (4a-7a)

The transferral (4a-5a)

And furthermore, Mutas gave to Kulas the field of the Prince¹⁶ and the vineyards within the field of the Prince below the town as well as the vineyards below ML.¹⁷

The installation of the deity (5b1)

And furthermore, he (Mutas) settled Ba'al Kura¹⁸ in it,

b Num 22-24

c 1 Chr 10:14; 12:24

d 1 Chr 29:17; 2 Chr 5:11; etc.

The curse (5b2-7a1)

and Mutas pronounced a mighty curse¹⁹ b so that no one should illegitimately seize²⁰ it — field or vineyard — from the possession of the family²¹ of Kulas among everything which Mutas had given to him.

The exile of Masanazamis (7a2-7b)

But when he (Kulas) exiled²² Masanazamis²³ during the term of office (lit. "days") of Aziwasis,²⁴

Royal reinstatement of Masanazamis (8a-8b)

then King Awariku²⁵ handed over²⁶ c to Masanazamis all these fields (of Kulas).

Witnesses (9a-c1a)

And present^d before him were: Pihalas,²⁷ the

¹² This term might be understood as either a place name or a personal name with the former being the more probable understanding.

¹³ A place name perhaps linked to wryk in line 8? i.e. wryk + ly?

¹⁴ Clearly Anatolian. The name *mutš* is perhaps comparable to Mita/Miḏač, perhaps Mutta. See Mosca and Russell 1987:12.

¹⁵ The name *kūš* is perhaps comparable to Kula/Kouλας. See Mosca and Russell 1987:12. Cf. the *kula*-element in the name Kulamuwa (see COS 2.30, note 1). Cf. also Hiero. Luwian Kulis (*ku-li-ia*), Kululu Lead Strip 1, §3, 8; §9, 52; Lead Strip 2, §1, 6 (Hawkins CHLI 1/2:506-510).

¹⁶ The phrase *šd zbl* "the field of the Prince" parallels *šd bkr* (note 9). *Zbl* is used as a divine title or epithet (Mosca and Russell 1987:13) and thus may be used in this way here, possibly of Baal or his Anatolian counterpart. Krahmalkov (2000:456, s.v. *šd*) sees *zbl* as the name of a city.

¹⁷ Place name. Possibly a mountain. See Mosca and Russell 1987:14.

¹⁸ The deity *B^al kr* is found on a small four-sided gray marble bowl or mortar from Sidon (formerly in Berlin, VA 569, now lost). It measured 15 cm high, carved with bull-head handles, from whose mouths rings hang. The depression in the center of the top is encircled by a snake in relief. On the sides (their starting point is uncertain) are incised ritual scenes each in a rectangular panel, with other details below. See Barnett 1969 and Elayi 1990:63-64 (drawing p. 298). Three different interpretations have been proposed for the term *kr*: (1) some scholars understand *kr* as "pasturage" deriving the term from a root *kr* (Barnett 1969; Tomback 1978:149 s.v. *kr*); (2) other scholars connect the term to Heb. *kūr* "furnace" (Lipiński 1970:43; Mosca and Russell 1987:14; DNWSI 534 s.v. *kr*; Elayi 1990:64), hence Ba'al of the "furnace" — one scene on the bowl appears to depict a large seething cauldron, and another a figure (representing Melqart?) bathed in flames. Elayi also notes the form of the bowl and its apparent intent for use in an oven or furnace (1990:64; see also Bonnet 1992; 1988:78-80); (3) some scholars connect *kr* with a West Semitic deity Kura, a deity attested at Ebla (Pettinato 1979:106; Mander 1990:235b; Pomponio and Xella 1997:223-248) as well as in first millennium contexts (Lipiński 1995:239-240; Dalley and Postgate 1984:100). There was a temple of the god **Kur-a* in the Neo-Assyrian period (ADD 1252:13) (see Postgate 1976:117 (no. 19:13). Kura is also attested in personal names (e.g. Abdi-Kurra, see PNA 1/1:6; Amat-Kurra, see PNA 1/1:99). Ba'al Kura may have been a deity of agriculture and harvest (Lipiński 1995:240) which nicely fits this context here of field and vineyards.

¹⁹ Clear attestation of verb and noun from the root *qbb*. Greenfield (1990:157) argues that all the sure examples of *qbb* in BH are from the Balaam pericope (Num 22-24). But see COS 2.27 note *t*. The mention of Mutas' oath underscores his full surrender of any claim to the property in question and that it is fully and solely in Kulas's possession. This also paves the way for the transfer of ownership to Masanazamis (see below).

²⁰ *gzly* is a Qal inf. const. of *gzl* "to seize by force, acquire illegitimately" (DNWSI 219 s.v. *gzl*) + 3ms suf. The meaning of *gzl* here is clear—"to illegitimately seize and take as one's own," fitting the use in Heb. (Greenfield 1990:156). The use of the suffix is not as clear. Mosca and Russell (1987:15) argue that the suffix *-y* is a prospective object suffix to be resumed by *šd m krm*. They translate: "so that no one might illegitimately seize it — field or vineyard ..." (see also Greenfield 1990:156). Long and Pardee (1989:213, n. 31) argue that the suffix *-y* is a proleptic 3ms possessive pronoun representing the subject, i.e., *-y* is proleptic to *dm*. They translate: "so that no person should seize a field or vineyard ..." The difference is simply a matter of emphasis: does the emphasis fall on the subject or on the object.

²¹ *šph* "clan, family" (DNWSI 1181 s.v. *šph*).

²² Lemaire (1989:125-127) has suggested that the verbal form *ygł* is from the root *g²l* and is hence connected to the *g²l* "kinsman-redeemer" in the book of Ruth. Long (1991) has convincingly argued that the verb is derived from *gly* "(drive into) exile."

²³ This is the crux of the inscription. The sentence (*wkm² š ygl² yr msnzmš bym² zwšš*) was translated by Mosca and Russell (1987:17-18) "And when MSN²ZMŠ drove him (i.e. KLŠ) into exile in the days of ²ZWŠŠ." Thus *msn²zmš* is the subject of the verb *ygł* and *yr* is an independent object pronoun (a usage unattested in Phoen. proper for *yr*). However, Long and Pardee (1989) suggest an interpretation that is more consistent with the grammar of the sentence. Surveying the *nota accusativi* (*yr*) in Phoen., they demonstrate that Masanazamis must be the object of the *nota accusativi*, and not the subject, and that the most likely subject of the verb *ygł* within the context of the inscription is Kulas. As Long and Pardee comment: "It seems that this sentence describes the action of one who deposed MSN²ZMŠ from his rightful land but that a certain King WRYK intervened by giving to MSN²ZMŠ all the aforementioned fields — an action that, on the one hand, righted an injustice and, on the other, served as punishment for the initial deposer" (1989:210). This understanding best explains the award of fields to Masanazamis upon his royal reinstatement by Awariku and the punishment of Kulas both in terms of the real estate and his wife, since both are transferred to Masanazamis.

²⁴ For *zwšš* see Lemaire (1989:124, 128, n. 8). Mosca and Russell (1987:19) note: *z* = *aza-*; *asi(ya)* "to love" + *wšš* = *wasu-* "good." (n. 4)

²⁵ The name written in Phoen. *wryk* (Awariku) in the Luwian source [COS 2.21, n. 11]; Urikki in the Assyrian sources, [COS 2.117A, n. 4] is attested at Karatepe and Hassan-Beyli where the references are to a king of the Danunians (Que). For Karatepe, see COS 2.21 and 31; Younger 1998a and Röllig 1999. For Hassan-Beyli, see Lemaire 1983b. While this is the same name in the Cebel Ires Dağı inscription, it is not the same person (based on the dates of the inscriptions).

²⁶ *ysb* is a yiphil perf. 3ms of *sb*. See DNWSI 773 s.v. *sb* and Greenfield 1990:157. Mosca and Russell (1987:19) define as "transfer, hand over (the ownership of something)." This legal dimension is well documented for the Heb. verb in epigraphic, biblical and post-biblical texts. Cf. 1 Chr 10:14; 12:24 (transferring the kingdom). See also Sasson 1982. The use of the verb *ysb* in this inscription verbalizes Masanazamis' claim to have received the lands of Kulas by royal decree rather than by brute force (*gzl*). Therefore Masanazamis is not under the curse of Mutas with regard to the fields that Mutas had given to Kulas.

²⁷ The name *phlš* is clearly Anatolian. For the element *piḥa-* "glanzen, blitzen" in Luwian names, see Starke 1990:314-316.

envoy, and Logbasis(?),²⁸ the brother of Las²⁹ and Nanimutas.³⁰

Royal codicil (c1a-c2)

And furthermore, Mutas had given MSD,³¹ his daughter, to Kulas; but during the term of office

²⁸ Josh 15:13-19 = Judg 1:10-15, 20; 1 Sam 18:20-27; 25:44; 2 Sam 3:12-16; Jer 6:12

(lit. "days") of Aziwasis, he (Awariku) handed her over to Masanazamis.³¹ ^e

Colophon (c3)

Pihalas, the scribe, set down this inscription.

²⁸ Based on the names *λογβαισις*, *λογβαισις*, *Ιδαλογβαισις*. See Mosca and Russell 1987:22.

²⁹ The name Las (*la-sá/la-ia*) occurs in a number of Hiero. Luwian texts (Cekke Inscription 2, §17h [Hawkins *CHLI* 1/1:146]; Kürtül Inscription §1 [Hawkins *CHLI* 1/1:272]; Topada Inscription, §39 [Hawkins *CHLI* 1/2:454]; Kullulu Lead Strip 1, §4, 18 and 21 §9, 59 [Hawkins *CHLI* 1/2:506-509]). Mosca and Russell (1987:22) note the names *λας*, *λαας*.

³⁰ Clearly Anatolian with the elements *nani/a* "brother" + *mutas*. See Mosca and Russell 1987:22.

³¹ It is likely that the giving of MSD to Kulas by Mutas was linked with the transferral of real estate from Mutas to Kulas. Compare the giving of Achsah to Othniel by Caleb (Josh 15:13-19 = Judg 1:10-15, 20). The giving of a daughter to one husband and then to another is paralleled by Saul giving Michal to David, but then, because of David's treason (in Saul's eyes), to Palti. After the death of Saul, David recovers Michal (1 Sam 18:20-27; 25:44; 2 Sam 3:12-16). Jer 6:12 is a general parallel. It speaks of the transfer of wives as one consequence of exile: "Their houses shall be turned over (*w'nāsabbū*) to others, their fields (*šādōt*) and wives (*nāšim*) together" (NRSV). Mosca and Russell (1987:23, n. 113) point out "In the bicolon from Jeremiah, the 'fields' and 'wives' of the B-line form a sort of merismus when placed in explanatory parallelism with the 'houses' of the A-line; i.e., houses = fields (and other property) + wives (and other family members). In our inscription, the 'fields' have already been dealt with in detail, and the sense of 'house' would thus be quite different."

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Mosca and Russell 1983; 1987; Lemaire 1989; Long and Pardee 1989; Long 1991; Greenfield 1990.

2. ASSYRIAN ARAMAIC

A BARLEY LOAN FROM ASSUR (3.56)

(VA 7499; AECT 47)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Discovered in excavations at Assur, this Assyrian Aramaic inscription recording a loan of barley is written on a triangular clay docket. It dates to the mid-7th century BCE based on its archival context.¹

(Five fingernail marks on the top of the tablet)

(lines 1-reverse 1)

Barley belonging to Aššur-šallim-aḥḥē,²

(debited) against Akkadayu.³

3 (*emāru* "homers"), 3 (*sūtu* "seahs");

one harvester (as interest).⁴ ^e

^a Exod 22:24;
Lev 25:36-37; Deut
15:2; 23:20-21

(lines reverse 2-left edge 1)

Witnesses:

Bēl-iddina⁵

Bēl-šar-ušur⁶

Mannu-kī-Aššur⁷

Taqquni

Dādi-ibni⁸

Mannu-kī-Aššur.⁷

¹ Pedersén's analysis indicates that the Aram. tablets from Assur all come from archives comprising Assyrian dated tablets of the 7th century, and mainly from the post-648 period (Pedersén 1986:104-107, 119-120).

² Fales (1986:227-228) states: "The writing of the name in Obv. 2, *sršlmh*, is at variance with nos. 46 and 48 for the same individual: such a writing may be quoted as a case of elision of the initial *aleph*, but reservations on the present case as an actual linguistic marker have been expressed." Kaufman (1977:121) states: "The first letter is rather severely abraded, and shows traces of a diagonal that can only belong to an *aleph*. One suspects an error, or even one letter inscribed upon another." See PNA 1/1:216-217, #11; Pedersén 1986:119f; Hug 1993:21ff.

³ For the name *ʔkdy*, see PNA 1/1:95, #2.

⁴ The so-called "harvester clauses" are known from Assyrian contracts; see Postgate 1976:44-45 who states: "the debtor should provide a given number of harvesters to assist at the harvest of the creditor's field." See also Lipiński 1975a:90-91. Regarding interest in the Israelite context, see Frymer-Kensky 2001.

⁵ PNA 1/2:311-313, #23.

⁶ For the Aram. spellings, see Lipiński 1975a:90. For this individual, see PNA 1/2:328-330, #15.

⁷ See PNA 2/2:688-690, #23.

⁸ See Kaufman 1977:121 contra Lipiński 1975a:89; PNA 1/2:363, #6.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Lidzbarski 1921 #2; KAI #234; Vattioni 1979 #144; Lipiński 1975a:90-91; Fales 1986:226-228, #47; Hug 1993:22-23.

A LOAN OF SILVER FROM ASSUR (3.57)
(VA 5831; AECT 50)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Discovered in excavations at Assur, this Assyrian Aramaic inscription recording a loan of silver is written on a triangular clay docket. While the text contains no date, it can be dated on the basis of its archival context to the reign of Assurbanipal or later.¹

(Five fingernail marks on the top of the tablet)

(lines 1-5a)

8 shekels of silver belonging to Balasī²

(debited) against Bēl-zēri.³

It will increase by a quarter.⁴ ^a

The eighth month.⁵ ^b

^a Exod 22:24;
Lev 25:36-
37; Deut
15:2; 23:20-
21
^b 1 Kgs 6:38;
12:32, 33;
Zech 1:1;
1 Chr 27:11

(lines 5b-r.4)

Witnesses:⁶

and Aplu-iddina⁷

and Apladad-erība(?)⁸

and Yadrī^c-il⁹

and Sagīb.¹⁰

¹ See COS 3.56, note 1 above.

² PNA 1/2:254-256, #9. See Pedersén 1986:106; N 17 (13).

³ Radner (PNA 1/2:288, #3) vocalizes *blzr* as "Bēl-azūri," envisioned by the aphesis of two *ayins* from the name *b^cl^cz^cr*. See Pedersén 1986:106, N 17 (13). However, it seems more likely that *blzr* is the vocalization of the name "Bēl-zēri" (Fales 1986:234; Lipiński 1975a:104; Hug 1993:24; PNA 1/2:339-340).

⁴ Lit. "it will increase by its quarter." For the reading, see Kaufman 1989:100. Thus the interest rate was 25% for a one year period (Lipiński 1975a:103). The formula *brb^ch yrbb* is "a loan-translation of Neo-Assyrian (*kaspu*) *ana rabutti/u-šu irabbi*" (Fales 1986:234). See also Postgate 1976:40-41.

⁵ Fales states: "As for *yrh² smnh*, it is of course not the month Simānu, but indicates, with Lipiński, the month VIII; and, while it is true that no 'Neo-Assyrian pronunciation' is attested for the eighth month of the calendar, ¹⁷APIN, it may be surmised that what we have here is nothing other than a rendering of Neo-Assyrian **šamaniū* 'eighth' — whether this was in fact the month name or simply used as an ordinal number" (Fales 1986:234-235).

⁶ In the list of witnesses there is a multiple use of *w*'s, as in Fales 1986 #313, but here the *w* even precedes the first name.

⁷ PNA 1/1:120, #2.

⁸ PNA 1/1:113. The reading, however, is not certain. For Apladad as DN, cf. COS 2.115B, n. 5, and 2.125, n. 3.

⁹ PNA 2/1:486-487, #9.

¹⁰ This name is attested in roughly contemporaneous documents from Guzāna.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Lidzbarski 1921 #5; Lipiński 1975a:103-108; Vartioni 1979 #147; Fales 1986:233-235, #50; Hug 1993:24.

A BARLEY LOAN FROM GUZĀNA (3.58)
(TH 2; AECT 54)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This triangular barley loan docket was discovered in excavations at Guzāna (Tell Halaf) (biblical Gozan). It dates to the period after the reign of Assurbanipal. The tablet contains a stamp seal impression which possibly features an incense stand.

(Stamp seal on top of tablet)

(lines 1-4)

Barley belonging to Il-manāni,¹

^a Ezek 18:8,
13, 17;
22:12;
Prov 28:8

(debited) against Mattī.²

The in¹tere¹st³ is: 2 (*emāru* "homers") into 4 (*emāru* "homers")⁴ ^a in the seventh month.⁵

¹ PNA 2/1:521-522. This individual is attested as the lender in a number of Assyrian and Aram. contracts from Tell Halaf. See Lipiński 1975a:125-132.

² For this name, see Lipiński 1975a:126-129; PNA 2/2:746, #2.

³ The reading of *h¹bl¹n* follows Fales 1986:244-245. This would be the earliest attestation of the loanword from Akk. *hubullu* to Aram. *hbw¹* "interest, obligation." For this loanword, see Kaufman 1974:56. Here the plural may refer back to the Neo-Assyrian rendering of the word, *ḥabullu*, which is often given in the plural form (Fales 1986:245). Friedrich (1940:74) suggested a reading of *h¹šd¹* "reaper, harvester." See also Lipiński 1975a:129 and DNWSI 398, s.v. *ḥšd*. Hence the translation would be "harvesters, 2 into 4 in the seventh month."

⁴ Lipiński (1975a:125) states: "The interest here appears unconditional and amounts to 100%, a rate which is very high indeed, but which might be justified by the historical circumstances of unrest and war."

⁵ See Fales 1986:245.

(lines reverse 1-4)

Witness: Paḏi⁶Witness: []DLR⁷N⁷Witnesses:⁸ Mate^c- <S>ē⁹
and 'Ad¹da-ḥāri.¹⁰

⁶ A well-attested West Semitic name (Lipiński 1975a:129-131; Renz 1995 2/1:80-81; and *AHI* 469-470). The name *paḏy* is attested in two recently discovered inscriptions from Tel Miqnē/Ekron (see *COS* 2.42 and n. 3). It also occurs in the inscriptions of Sennacherib (*COS* 2.119B), as well as in a docket for some silver from Nineveh (presumably attached as a label to the silver) (see Fales and Postgate 1995:42, #50).

⁷ See Lipiński 1975a:129-131; Kaufman 1989:101.

⁸ The last two witnesses are unified under the heading *šhdn PN₁ w PN₂*, since they were the witnesses on Il-manāni's side (Fales 1986:246). On the other hand, Lipiński (1975a:126) argues that this was a matter of space considerations on the triangular tablet (i.e. this was the only way to list the names, since there was not enough space to include the word *šhd* "witness" before each personal name).

⁹ Following Fales' suggested emendation. Mate^c-Sē occurs as a witness in all of Il-manāni's contracts in cuneiform. For a discussion of this name, esp. with regard to the theophoric element, see Lipiński 1994:175, nn. 30-31; *PNA* 2/2:754, #3; Lemaire 2001:132 (line 7).

¹⁰ While Hug 1993:26 reads *ḏ^cd* (following Friedrich 1940:74-75), the reading *ḏ^cr* seems more probable (Fales 1986:244; Kaufman 1989:101). He is very likely the same person from the Guḏāna area attested in cuneiform documents from Tell Halaf as *ḥ10-ḥa-ri* and who serves numerous times as a witness for Il-manani. See *PNA* 1/1:45, #5.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Fales 1986:244-246; Friedrich 1940:74-75, taf. 30, #2; Degen 1:53-54, Taf. v (Abb. 11-14); Vattioni 1979 #150; Lipiński 1975a:125-132; Hug 1993:25-26.

3. EGYPTIAN ARAMAIC

THE MIBTAHIAH ARCHIVE (471-410 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

In 1904, eleven Aramaic papyri were acquired from a dealer in Aswan by the British benefactors Lady William Cecil (*COS* 3.60, 3.64, 3.68, and half of 3.63) and Mr. (later Sir) Robert Mond (3.61-62, 3.65-67, and half of 3.63) and by the Bodleian Library in Oxford (3.59). The Cecil-Mond papyri are housed in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and all were published in large format in 1906 by Archibald Henry Sayce and Arthur Ernest Cowley.¹ Believed at the time to have been discovered at Assuan, they actually came from the island of Elephantine and constituted ten contracts from the Mibtahiah family archive. Prosopographical study suggests that Mib/ptahiah daughter of Mahseiah son of Jedaniah was the aunt of the Jewish leader Jedaniah (see his archive in 3.46-53). Her archive of eleven documents (including one discovered in the Rubensohn excavations [*TAD* B2.5]) spans a period of just over sixty years and covers three generations. Opening in 471 BCE, it closed just months before the destruction of the Jewish Temple in 410. Mibtahiah was a woman of means, receiving property from her father and passing it on to her children, who bore the names of her father and grandfather, respectively. Her father held a piece of undeveloped property, whose neighbors included an Egyptian cataract boatman, one Khwarezmian and two Jewish soldiers. In 471 Mahseiah granted building rights on an outer wall to the Jew Konaiah (3.59), warded off by a family oath challenge to the property in 464 by Dargamana (3.60), and in a bequest of 459 bestowed the house upon Mibtahiah (3.61) with rights of usufruct for her husband, Jezaniah, the other neighbor, whose house lay opposite the Jewish Temple (3.62). Jezaniah soon disappeared, his house fell into Mibtahiah's possession, and in 449 she married the Egyptian Ešhor son of Djeḥo (3.63), who later became known as Nathan. Shortly thereafter (446 BCE), her father gave her a second house, also across from the Jewish Temple, in exchange for fifty shekels worth of goods she had given him earlier (3.64), and in 440 she emerged victorious in litigation with the Egyptian Peu about an array of goods, including a marriage contract (3.65). By 420 Ešhor was dead and his children were sued for goods allegedly deposited with their father but never returned (3.66). After their mother passed away, they came into possession, in 416 BCE, of the house that belonged to her first husband Jezaniah son of Uriah (3.67). Finally, in February 410, barely six months before the destruction of the Jewish Temple, the brothers Jedaniah and Mahseiah divided between them two Egyptian slaves of their mother, retaining two others in joint possession (3.68). Mibtahiah had had two or three husbands, three houses, and four slaves. The initial publication of her archive created a sensation in the scholarly world.

¹ A. H. Sayce and A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri Discovered at Assuan* (London: A. Moring, 1906).

GRANT OF A BUILT WALL (3.59)

(12 September, 471 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

Mahseiah had a run-down house plot (3.61:3; 3.62:3-5) in the midst of well-established neighbors, who inherited their property from their fathers and passed it on to their children (the Egyptian Pefuauneit to his son Espmet [line 13; 3.61:7] and the brothers Jezaniah and Hosea from their father Uriah [3.61:6-7; 3.67:5]). He was apparently saving it for his daughter on the occasion of her marriage, some twelve years away (3.63; 3.66). Meanwhile, the house became involved in two legal transactions. The first resulted in a "document of a built wall." This contract is unique, but most of its formulae are familiar. Konaiah approached Mahseiah in the manner of a groom imploring the father of the bride or a borrower beseeching a creditor, and was given access to Mahseiah's gateway to build there a wall which would continue all along the common wall between their two properties (lines 3-4). As Mahseiah's property was unimproved, Konaiah may have needed the double wall thickness provided by the new construction to improve his own property with a roof or second story. The point of the document was to assert that the wall was the property of Mahseiah (lines 4-5) and neither Konaiah nor his heirs could subsequently restrain Mahseiah from building on that wall or deny him free access through the gateway. To do so would incur a penalty of five *karsh*, many times the value of the wall (lines 6-14). Eight witnesses, and not merely four, were present because the transaction was probably considered tantamount to a bequest where there was no consideration. Only three of the witnesses were Jews; the others reflect a mixed onomasticon (Persian, Caspian, Babylonian, and Egyptian) that illustrates the cosmopolitan nature of the Elephantine community (lines 16-19). Practically, bringing in witnesses from the non-Semitic settlers would ultimately strengthen Mahseiah's claim to a piece of property whose one problematic border was a house to be occupied by a Khwarezmian (3.60:2, 8).

Date

(Recto)⁽¹⁾ On the 18th of Elul, that is day 28 of Pachons, year 15 of Xerxes the king,¹

Parties

said ⁽²⁾Konaiah² son of Zadak, an Aramean of Syene³ of the detachment of Varyazata,⁴ ⁽²⁾to Mahseiah son of Jenadiah,⁵ an Aramean of Syene ⁽³⁾of the detachment of Varyazata, saying:

Building rights

I came to you⁶ and you gave me the gateway of the house of yours to build ⁽⁴⁾a⁷ wall there.

Investiture

That wall is yours⁸ — (the wall) which adjoins⁹ the house of mine at its corner which is above.¹⁰ ⁽⁵⁾That wall shall adjoin the side of my house from the ground upwards, from the corner of my house which is above to the house of Zechariah.¹¹

¹ Virtually every contract bore a double date, the first usually being the Babyl. date and the second the Eg. one. Only occasionally, as here (also 3.67; 3.73; 3.74; 3.79), do the two correspond exactly. Often the Babyl. date was one day ahead of the Eg. one, indicating that the document was written at night. For full discussion, see Porten 1990; TAD B 185-187.

² The tense of the verb in this theophorous name, "Yah Creates" (ptc. plus DN), is unusual. Verbs in names are usually in the perf. or imperf. tense.

³ Though Jews with property in Elephantine, both Konaiah and Mahseiah were here designated "Aramean of Syene." This was a common designation applied originally to ethnic Arameans settled on the mainland (cf., e.g. 3.81:2) in contrast to "Jew of Elephantine" (3.60:3; 3.62:2) applied to the migrants from Judah who settled on the island. But more often than not the former designation was applied to Jews (3.64:2; 3.65:2-3; 3.66:3; 3.69:2; 3.71:2; 3.77:2-3; TAD 4.5:2; 7.1:2, 7.2:2, simply "Aramean") and one and the same person (Mahseiah) might be called either "Aramean of Syene" (as here and in 3.64:2; 3.65:2), "Jew of Elephantine" (3.60:3; 3.62:2), or "Jew, hereditary property holder in Elephantine" (3.61:2). Often the formula was expanded to "Jew of Elephantine the fortress," "Jew who is in Elephantine the fortress," or altered to "Aramean of Elephantine the fortress." Also found was the designation "Caspian of Elephantine the fortress" (3.73:4). Women were similarly designated — "Aramean of Syene" (3.66:3), "lady of Elephantine the fortress" (3.69:2), and possibly "Jewess of Elephantine the fortress" (TAD B5.5:1-2).

⁴ Detachment commanders were Iranian, as here, or Babylonian, never Jewish or Aramean; four such Iranian commanders were attested for the years of Mahseiah's activity: Varyazata (also 3.64-66), Artabanu and Atrofarnah (3.60), and Haumadata (3.61-62). Six and one-half years later Konaiah would be in the detachment of Atrofarnah (3.60:8-9). See Porten 1968:30-31.

⁵ A scribal error for Jedaniah. Mahseiah son of Jedaniah first appeared in our documents as a witness ca. 487 BCE (TAD B4.2:14).

⁶ This expression, in variant forms ("I came to your house" or "I came to you in your house"), occurs regularly in documents of wifehood (3.64:3; 3.71:3; 3.76:3; TAD 6.1:3) and in a loan contract (3.81:2). It is followed by a verb of "giving" (with the second party as subject), whether a wife, grain, or, as here, a gateway.

⁷ Aram. "one," written as a word (*hd*) or, as here, as the cipher "1," was often used for the indefinite article (e.g. 3.61:3, 23; 3.62:3).

⁸ "It is yours (*zylk hw*)" was one of the two standard expressions recurring in the *Investiture* clause (3.61:19; 3.68:8; 3.73:4; 3.78:11) and repeated in the *Reaffirmation* (of *Investiture*) clause (line 11; 3.60:15; 3.68:16; 3.69:12; 3.73:16; 3.80:30; TAD 5.1:7). The other was *štyr*, "empowered, have right to" (see 3.61, n. 28). The former formula would bestow full title while the latter might only convey right of possession; Porten and Szubin 1987a:185-86; EPE 153, n. 9.

⁹ On the mound at Elephantine it is possible to discern house walls built one against the other.

¹⁰ Aram. *l'byh*, meaning either "south," i.e. the direction of Upper Egypt, or more likely "north." The directional terms "above" and "below" occur regularly in our documents to indicate, respectively "north" and "south;" see 3.60, n. 25.

¹¹ Line 5 was a subsequent supralinear addition to explicate and elaborate on the location of the wall, which ran all along the western side of Mahseiah's house until it reached the house of Zechariah, who was son of Nathan (see 3.61:7) and father of Hazzul, heir to the house (3.68:5).

Restraint waiver I

⁶⁹Tomorrow or the next day,¹² I shall not be able¹³ ^a to restrain¹⁴ you from building upon that wall of yours.

Penalty I

⁷⁰If I restrain you, I shall give you silver, 5 *karsh*¹⁵ by the stone(-weight)s of the king,¹⁶ ^b pure silver,¹⁷

Reaffirmation I

and that wall ⁽⁸⁾is likewise¹⁸ (yours).¹⁹

Restraint waiver II

And if Konaiah dies²⁰ tomorrow or the next day, son or daughter, brother or sister,²¹ ⁽⁹⁾near or far,²² member of a detachment or town²³ ⁽⁸⁾shall not be

^aExod 32:20;
Deut 12:17;
16:5; 17:15;
21:16; 22:3,
19, 29; 24:4

^b2 Sam 14:26

able ⁽⁹⁾to restrain Mahsah²⁴ or a son of his from building upon ⁽¹⁰⁾that wall of his.

Penalty II

Whoever of them²⁵ shall restrain, shall give him the silver which is written above,²⁶

Reaffirmation II

and the wall ⁽¹¹⁾is yours likewise and you have the right to²⁷ build upon it upwards.

Restraint waiver III

And I, Konaiah, shall not be able ⁽¹²⁾to say²⁸ to Mahsah,²⁹ saying:

"(ERASURE: Not) That gateway is not yours and you shall not go out into the street which is ⁽¹³⁾between us and between the house of Peftuau-

As neighbor, he would later witness the bequest of the house to Mahseiah's daughter (3.61:29) with rights of usufruct to her husband, Jezaniah (3.62:17).

¹² This was a frequent formula in the *Waiver* clauses in conveyances (3.61:18, 20, 26; 3.62:8, 13; *TAD* 5.1:4) and appeared regularly in the *Death and Repudiation* clauses in the wifehood documents (3.64:17, 20, 22, 26; 3.71:7, 9, 10, 12, 13; 3.76:21) with the meaning "any time in the future"; for detailed discussion and references, see Fitzmyer 1979:261.

¹³ The verbs *khl* (line 11; 3.60:12; 6.61:15; 3.66:7; 3.67:10-11; 3.68:9-10; 3.69:7; 3.70:4; 3.71:13; 3.72:13, 17; 3.73:12-13; 3.75:14-15; 3.76:36-37, 39, 41; 3.77:4, 6; 3.78:18, 21; 3.79:9, 12; 3.80:25-27; *TAD* 5.5:4-5, 8; 6.4:5-6) and the less frequently attested *ykl* (3.64:31, 35; 3.65:8, 11; 3.69:11-12, 18; 3.72:12; 3.79:15; *TAD* 4.1:1, 3; 5.1:5; 5.4:2-4) bear the legal connotation of "entitled to" and their negative formulation regularly introduces the *Waiver* clause. Heb. *ykl* often bore the same judicial meaning.

¹⁴ This act is mentioned only here. Was it by physical force or legal action?

¹⁵ Penalties in the contracts were multiples of five, with most penalties being ten *karsh*: "five" (3.66:10; 3.70:8; 3.71:14; 3.73:15; *TAD* 5.1:7); "ten" (3.61:14, 21; 3.62:15; 3.64:11; 3.66:15; 3.67:15; 3.68:10-11; 3.73:21; 3.75:17); "twenty" (3.60:14; 3.64:30-31, 34, 36; 3.72:15, 18; 3.73:16; 3.76:31-32; 3.80:30); "thirty" (3.78:20; 3.79:10); and "fifty" (3.74:8, 15). A loan contract laid down a one *karsh* penalty (3.81:6) and a quitclaim a two *karsh* penalty (*TAD* B5.5:6). Usually they were many times the value of the object and were meant to be prohibitive.

¹⁶ Silver was weighed, not paid out in coin. In a single, early document (ca. 487 BCE), the standard was "the stones of Ptah" (*TAD* B4.2:2), comparable to the "treasury of Ptah" in Demotic documents beginning in the Persian period (*P. Wien D 10150.5* [*EPE* C28]; *P. Wien D 10151.4* [*EPE* C29]). All other Aram. documents weighed silver according to the "stones of the king" whereas the "weight of Syene" was employed in Byzantine Greek documents (*P. Münch.* 1.53 [*EPE* D29], et al.). See Porten 1968:62-69, though correcting the date of Cowley 11 according to B4.2; Kletter 1998:128-131 and passim.

¹⁷ Aside from this one early occurrence, reference to pure silver (*ksp sryp*) in the monetary notations occurred only at the end of the century, and always in the contracts of Haggai son of Shemaiah (3.74:15; 3.78:20; 3.79:11; 3.80:30; also 3.69:1; 3.81:6). For the usual expression, see on 3.60, n. 37.

¹⁸ The word ^{pm} was the main component in the *Reaffirmation* clause (3.60:15; 3.61:15, 22; 3.67:15; 3.68:16; 3.73:16, 22; 3.77:8; 3.81:22; *TAD* B5.5:6; see also 3.81:2) and alternated with the less frequent ^m (3.65:11; 3.72:16, 19; 3.78:21; 3.79:11, 14). Its nuance may be grasped from two non-legal passages in the papyri: "PN of the detachment of so-and-so to PN of that detachment ^{pm}" (3.81:2) and, "If you find silver, come down immediately and if you do not find ^{pm} come down immediately" (*TAD* A3.8:7-8). In the first passage it has the sense of "also, likewise," in the second, of "still, nevertheless." Though the precise translation in the legal context eludes us, the thrust of the term is that despite the penalty the claimant would fail in his goal and the challenged property would remain in the possession of the alienee and new owner.

¹⁹ The scribe omitted the word *zyk* in error, probably because of its similarity to the preceding *zk*.

²⁰ This specification was found only here in the contracts but it applied generally — heirs would sue only after the death of the alienor; see Porten and Szubin 1987b:51-52, also for the following notes. With apparent aversion to a direct statement of death ("And if I, Konaiah, die") the scribe switched to the third person; see further on 3.73, n. 32 (*EPE* B38).

²¹ The order of persons in the *Waiver* clauses usually adhered to a descending order of inheritance.

²² This was a locus designation referring to the relatives and occurred in documents between 495 and 420 BCE (3.60:13; 3.65:10; 3.67:10 [truncated]; 3.70:9; 3.74:5; *TAD* B5.1:5-6); see also next note.

²³ This was a status designation referring to the relatives and occurred between 471 and 420 BCE, though less frequently than the preceding phrase (3.65:10; 3.67:10 [truncated]; *TAD* B6.3:7). In this and other early documents between 495 and 440 the potential litigants covered in the warranty clauses were limited to blood relatives (3.60; 3.66; 3.70; *TAD* B5.1).

²⁴ Mention of Konaiah by name at the beginning of the sentence led to the corresponding reference to Mahseiah, here and below in lines 12 and 20 abbreviated by omitting the theophorous element at the end.

²⁵ I.e. whichever one of the heirs mentioned in the preceding clause.

²⁶ This was a standard expression referring to previously mentioned fines (line 13; 3.63:1; 3.81:7), boundaries (3.68:8; 3.72:17-18; 3.79:11, 15; 3.80:29), or other items (*TAD* A4.6:15; 3.69:8; 3.81:5, 8-12; *TAD* B4.3:20, 4.4:11; 5.5:10). Often the word "above" was omitted (3.73:12; 3.76:23, 28; 3.78:12, 16; 3.79:15; 3.80:22; *TAD* B6.4:7). Some scribes preferred the expression "written in this document."

²⁷ The expression *šlyr l-* was one of empowerment or entitlement to specific rights; see on 3.61, n. 28.

²⁸ This self-denial ("I shall not be able to say") was a frequent mode of expression in the contracts (3.64:31; 3.69:11; 3.79:9; *TAD* B4.1:2; 5.4:3).

²⁹ It was common practice to add the name of either party to first and second person affirmations (3.61:18; 3.62:5; 3.66:9, 18; 3.67:9; 3.68:8-9, 12; 3.69:3, 6, 8-9; etc.). If the name were also added to the second part of the sentence, the proper form would have required the addition of the conjunctive personal pronoun, thus "And I, Konaiah ... to you, Mahsah" (see 3.73, n. 9). But as here, the scribe usually omitted the pronoun (3.66:9-10; 3.78:5-6, 8).

neit the boatman."³⁰ <i>Penalty III</i> If I restrain you, I shall give you the silver which is written above <i>Reaffirmation III</i> ⁽¹⁴⁾and you have the right to open that gateway and to go out into the street which is between us (and Peftuauneit). <i>Scribe</i>³¹ ⁽¹⁵⁾Pelatiah son of Ahio³² wrote this document at the instruction of³³ Konaiah. <i>Witnesses</i> The witnesses herein³⁴:	⁽¹⁶⁾(2nd hand) witness Mahsah son of Isaiah³⁵; (3rd hand) witness Shatibarzana son of ³⁶<i>trly</i>; ⁽¹⁷⁾(4th hand) witness Shemaiah son of Hosea³⁷; (5th hand) witness Phrathanjana son of Artakarna³⁸; (6th hand) ⁽¹⁸⁾witness Bagadata son of Nabukudurri³⁹; (7th hand) <i>Ynbwly</i> son of Darga⁴⁰; (8th hand) ⁽¹⁹⁾witness Baniteresh son of Wahpre⁴¹; (9th hand) witness Shillem son of Hoshai⁴². <i>Endorsement</i> (Verso)⁽²⁰⁾Document⁴³ (<i>sealing</i>) of the wall which is built⁴⁴ which Konaiah wrote for Mahsah.
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³⁰ He was a special cataract boatman, a job also followed by his son (see 3.60:10-11).

³¹ Most Jewish scribes omitted the site of composition. The only ones to include it regularly, but not consistently, were Haggai son of Shemaiah (3.74:15-16; 3.78:22-23; 3.79:17; 3.80:32) and the Aramean scribes who drew up their documents in Syene (see 3.60, n. 41). Mauziah once recorded it when he wrote a document in Syene (*TAD* B7.1:8-9).

³² This was the only document written by Pelatiah. The professional script, however, suggests that he came from a scribal family and was the brother of the scribe (*TAD* B4.2:1, 16) and witness (3.60:18) Gemariah son of Ahio and the father of the witness Ahio son of Pelatiah (3.69:22; [456 BCE]); Porten 2001:337. Both Aram. and Demotic contracts position the verb before the subject in this slot.

³³ Aram. *kpm* = Heb. *kpy*, lit., "according to the mouth of," is not the term for dictation, which, on the basis of Heb. analogy (cf. Jer 36:4, 17-18, 32), would be *mn pm*. Konaiah did not "dictate" the text to Pelatiah since he was presumably not familiar with all the technical terminology, but he did instruct him in what he wanted to say. Two early documents have the term ³⁴*l pm*, "upon the instruction of" (*TAD* B4.2:16, 4.4:18).

³⁴ Aram. *bgw*, lit. "within," is the standard expression in almost every witness formula and has been taken to mean that the witness signed on the "inside" (*recto*) of the document and not on the "outside" (*verso*), as they did in the Demotic documents (*P. Berlin* 13614.4-10 [*EPE* C27]; *P. Wien* D 10150.8-15 [*EPE* C28]; D 10151.9-24 [*EPE* C29]; *P. Berlin* 13554.13-28 [*EPE* C31], 13593.10-25 [*EPE* C33]; Porten 1968:198. The witnesses here signed in orderly fashion, two on each line. In three documents, Mahseiah called in several non-Jewish witnesses (lines 16-19; 3.60:19-21; 3.61:18-19). The number of witnesses was usually a multiple of four (3.63; 3.65-66; 3.68-69; 3.72-74; 3.80-81; *TAD* B4.2, 4.6; 5.5; 6.4), with eight witnesses present at deeds of withdrawal from realty (3.60; 3.68; 3.70), at certain bequests (3.78-79), and at a deed of adoption (3.77). Extraordinarily, there would be twelve witnesses (3.61-62). In an early Byzantine document from Syene the alienor stated at the beginning of the contract that he was providing the witnesses (*P. Lond.* V 1722.5-6 [*EPE* D22]).

³⁵ He witnessed two more documents for Mahseiah in 459 BCE (3.61:33; 3.62:21) and had one (now fragmentary) drawn up himself (*TAD* B5.3:6).

³⁶ A different son of ³⁷*trly* appeared as witness to another contract of Mahseiah and was there designated "Caspian" (3.65:18) as was a third son, *Hyh/Hyrw* (3.72:23).

³⁷ Appears only here.

³⁸ Both names are Iranian.

³⁹ Iranian son of a Babylonian.

⁴⁰ He was the only one not to preface his name with the word "witness." A *Ynbwly* son of Misday(a) was called "Caspian"; his abandoned house, sold by his neighbor Shatibara's son-in-law Bagazushta to Ananiah son of Azariah, lay on the other side of the Jewish Temple (3.72:9-10; 3.80:4). In the next document a neighbor of Mahseiah, Dargamana son of Khvarshaina, a Khwarezmian, withdrew his claim to Mahseiah's property (3.60:2). One of the witnesses to a third document of Mahseiah was Barbari son of Dargi(ya), a Caspian (3.65:19).

⁴¹ The praenomen is Akk. and the patronym is Eg. For the divine name Banitu, see *COS* 2.60, n. 3.

⁴² Appears only here.

⁴³ A space was left after the word "document" to allow for the cord and bulla sealing the document; see Kraeling 1953 pl. xxi.

⁴⁴ The endorsement usually contained a single noun which described the object conveyed, e.g. "house" (3.61:35-36; 3.65:21; 3.73:25; 3.79:21), or action undertaken, e.g. "withdrawal" (3.60:22; 3.66:14; 3.67:19; 3.68:20; 3.74:18). Occasionally it included an additional word or phrase (3.67:20; 3.68:17; 3.69:23; 3.72:25) or a title (3.72:25; 3.78:27). The operative verb was usually "wrote" but deeds of sale had "sold" (3.72:25; 3.80:35).

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: *TAD* B2.1; *EPE* B23; *EPE*; Kletter 1998; Kraeling 1953; Porten 1968; 1990; 2001; Porten and Szubin 1987a; 1987b; *TAD*.

WITHDRAWAL FROM LAND (3.60)
(2 January, 464 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

Six and one-half years after Mahseiah had allowed Konaiah to add a wall to his house (3.59), the Khwarezmian Dargamana showed up on Mahseiah's eastern border and complained that Mahseiah had taken his property. It was in evident disrepair and apparently neither party could produce a document of title. The court, headed by the Persian Damidata, settled the dispute by imposing an oath on Mahseiah, who with his wife and son swore by YHW, perhaps in the Elephantine Jewish Temple, that the plot did not belong to Dargamana (lines 4-7). The claimant was satisfied by the oath (lines 11-12) and drew up the present document of withdrawal, imposing a stiff twenty *karsh* penalty should he or any child or sibling in his name dispute the decision (lines 12-16). The scribe was Aramean, known only here, and so the document was drawn up in Syene. Only five of the eight witnesses were Jews; the others were Babylonian and Persian (lines 19, 21).

Date

(Recto)⁽¹⁾On the 18th of Kislev, that is d[ay 13¹+]4 (= 17) of Thoth, year 21 (of Xerxes the king), the beginning of the reign when ⁽²⁾Artaxerxes the king sat on his throne,²

Parties

said Dargamana son of Khvarshaina, a Khwarezmian³ whose place ⁽³⁾is made⁴ in Elephantine the fortress of the detachment of Artabanu, ⁽³⁾to Mahseiah son of Jedaniah, a Jew who is in the fortress of Elephantine⁵ ⁽⁴⁾of the detachment of Varyazata,⁶

saying:

Complaint

You swore to me by YHW the God in Elephantine the fortress,⁷ you and your wife ⁽⁵⁾and your son,⁸ all (told) 3,⁹ about the land¹⁰ of mine which I complained¹¹ against you on account of it¹² before ⁽⁶⁾Damidata and his colleagues¹³ the judges,¹⁴

Oath I

and they imposed upon you for me the oath¹⁵ to swear¹⁶ by YHW on account of ⁽⁷⁾that ⁽⁶⁾land,

¹ The gap allows the restoration of the cipher for "10" and three unit strokes. The document was written at night; see Porten 1990:21.

² Reported cuneiform evidence for the death of Xerxes points to August 4-8, 465 BCE. The earliest dated Akk. tablet for Artaxerxes I was sometime after June 11, 464 (Parker and Dubberstein 1956:17). The Babylonians, and after them the Persians, followed a post-dating system whereby the first regnal year was counted from 1 Nisan following the accession.

³ Dargamana is the only person in our documents with this ethnicon. The name is Iranian and appears abbreviated as Darga (3.59:18) and Dargi(ya), father of Barbari, a Caspian (3.65:19).

⁴ I.e. whose station was fixed. This and similar designations ("of the place [...]") (3.65:19)) were attached only to soldiers of distant origin, such as Bactrians (Barznavara son of Artabazana [TAD D2.12]), Caspians (Barbari son of Dargi(ya)), and Khwarezmians. A. D. H. Bivar (orally) suggested that they were recently assigned to the garrison after Xerxes' unsuccessful Greek campaign. But the Bactrian is still so designated at the end of the century.

⁵ The formulation here was unique. For the usual formulation, see 3.59, note 3.

⁶ The same detachment to which Mahseiah belonged in 471 BCE (3.59:3).

⁷ The focus might refer either to the deity or to Mahseiah but the numerous references to the title of Anani son of Azariah argue for assigning it to deity, i.e. "YHW the God who is in Elephantine" (see 3.70, n. 5).

⁸ Did wife and son swear as oath supporters or as parties with rights to the property?

⁹ It was standard practice in Aram. documents, whenever mentioning more than one person, to total up the number with the word *kl*, "all (told)," e.g. "all (told) 2" (3.66:2, 3, 16, 19, 20; 3.67:8, 21; 3.68:2; 3.72:3, 10; 3.80:3, 11, 33; TAD B4.3:2).

¹⁰ In the previous document this property was called "house" (3.59:3-5). It was evidently a plot with a run-down house on it. See 3.62, nn. 11, 12.

¹¹ Aram. *qbl* was the standard word for registering a complaint before prefect, lord or judge (3.61:13; 3.69:12, 18; 3.70:5-6; 3.78:19-20; 3.79:12; 3.80:28; TAD B5.4:2) in a judicial matter, or a complaint in a criminal case (TAD B7.2:4). The same term applied to registering complaints with the satrap or other government officials in matters of salary, property, and administration (TAD A2.2:10; 3.3:3-4; 4.2:3, 6.3:1, 6.14:1). On the model of a complaint in a loan contract ("You took from me a security" [3.69:13]), we may suppose that Dargamana's complaint was "You took from me my land." The complaint was basically different from "suit or process" but occasionally the scribe seemed to blend the two (see 3.70:4-6).

¹² The compound preposition *ldbr.* lit., "in the matter of" is used regularly in judicial contexts to designate an item in dispute, e.g. land, as here (also lines 6, 8, 16), a room given in bequest (3.73:13), a slave (3.69:8, 10, 11; TAD 5.6:6), and fish (TAD B7.1:3).

¹³ Aram. **knt*, a loanword from Akk. *kinattu*, designates colleague(s) who accompanied officials at all levels, among the Jews (TAD A4.1:1, 10; COS 3.51:1, 4, 18, 22) as well as among the Persians (TAD A6.1:1, 5-7, 6.2:8; B8.5:16; cf. also A5.4:2). See Porten 1968:46-49.

¹⁴ "Judge" appears regularly in the contracts as one of the three parties before whom a complainant might bring suit or register a complaint, the other two being lord and prefect (3.61:13, 24; 3.69:13, 19; 3.70:6; 3.80:28; TAD B4.6:14; 7.1:3). In a case involving an inheritance they are called "judges of the king" (TAD B5.1:3) and in a petition seeking redress of grievances they are "judges of the province" (TAD A5.2:4, 7). When named, they were always Persian — Paisana (TAD A3.8:2); Bagadana (TAD A6.1:5-6); Bagafarna and Nafaina (TAD A5.2:6); and, as here, Damidata — and once Babylonian — Mannuki (TAD A5.2:6).

¹⁵ Aram. *mwm^h* is the definite form of the noun *mwm^h/mwmh* (3.61:4, 24; 3.66:4, 9; TAD 7.1:4, 5 [where restore *mwm^h*], 7.3:1; 8.9:5); GEA 72-73 and n. 360.

¹⁶ Since Mahseiah held possession of a piece of disputed, perhaps abandoned, property for which he could not produce any documentary evidence supporting title, the Persian judges decided that he should support his claim by judicial oath taken in the name of the deity.

¹⁷that it was not land of Dargamana, mine, behold I.¹⁷

Boundaries¹⁸

Moreover, behold the boundaries¹⁹ of that land ⁽⁸⁾which you swore to me on account of it²⁰:

my house, Dargamana, I, is to the east²¹ of it; and the house of Konaiah son of Zadak, ⁽⁹⁾a Jew of the detachment of Atrofarnah,²² is to the west²³ of it;

and the house of [Jeza]niah son of Uriah,²⁴ ⁽¹⁰⁾a Jew of the detachment of Varyazata, is below²⁵ it;

and the house of Espmet son of Peftuauneit,²⁶ ⁽¹¹⁾a boatman of the rough waters,²⁷ is above it.

Oath II

You swore to me by YHW

Satisfaction

and satisfied ⁽¹²⁾my heart²⁸ about that land.

α Prov 15:18;
28:25; 29:22

Waiver of suit

I shall not be able²⁹ to institute against you suit or process³⁰ — I, or son of mine³¹ or daughter ⁽¹³⁾of mine about that land, brother or sister of mine, near or far³² — (against) you, or son of yours or daughter of yours, brother or sister of yours, near or far.³³

Penalty

⁽¹⁴⁾Whoever shall institute against you (suit) in my name³⁴ about that land shall give you silver, 20,³⁵ that is twenty,³⁶ *karsh* by the stone(-weight)s of ⁽¹⁵⁾the king, silver 2 q(arters) to the ten,³⁷

Affirmation of investiture

and that land is likewise³⁸ yours and you are withdrawn³⁹ from ⁽¹⁶⁾any suit (in) which they shall

¹⁷ Dargamana had claimed ownership, title and all (Szubin and Porten 1983b:282-83). The oath did not state that the land belonged to Mahseiah but merely denied the claim of Dargamana. Double emphasis of a name in a claim or in an affirmation of possession, as here and again in line 8 (with "I" added supralinearly), was not unusual, though the word order and the addition of the interjection "behold," are unique; cf. such expressions as "yours, you, Jedaniah and Mahseiah ..., in my name, I, Jedaniah" (3.67:8, 12), "to you ... you, Jedaniah ... to me ... I, Mahseiah" (3.68:3, 5), "the portion of mine, I, Anani ..." "my other portion, I, Anani" (3.73:9, 19).

¹⁸ There was no fixed order for the boundary description. It ordinarily began with the adjoining property of a party to the transaction or of one related to or associated with that party; see note ad loc. in *EPE* B24.

¹⁹ See note ad loc. in *EPE* B24.

²⁰ The *Boundaries* caption was often the opportunity for the scribe to repeat the operative verb(s) of the transaction — "which you swore" (here), "which I gave" (3.73:8; 3.78:8), which we sold (3.72:7), "which we sold and gave" (3.80:9, 17).

²¹ Aram. *mw' šmš*, lit., "going out of the sun" was the regular term for "east," usually written *mw' h šmš* (3.67:6, etc.); see note ad loc. in *EPE* B24). Only in this document did the boundary notations follow the house and not precede it.

²² Six years earlier he was, with Mahseiah, in the detachment of Varyazata (3.59:2). It was unusual to add the affiliation of *all* the neighbors in the boundary description (as here and in lines 9-11); see further note ad loc. in *EPE* B24.

²³ Aram. *m'rb šmš*, lit., "going in of the sun" was the regular term for west (3.64:15; 3.67:7; etc.); see further note ad loc. in *EPE* B24.

²⁴ Five years later he will become Mahseiah's son-in-law (3.62:2-4).

²⁵ "Below" and "above" were the normal terms for the longitudinal directions, written *thryh/thry' /tlt* and *lyh' /lyh' /ly*, respectively (3.59:4-5; 3.61:4-5; 3.65:13; 3.67:5, etc.); see further note ad loc. in *EPE* B24). Topographical arguments weigh in favor of the equation "above" = "north" and "below" = south; see Porten 1968:308-310; *TAD* B:177-182; von Pilgrim 1998:486-487.

²⁶ Six years earlier the house had belonged to the father (3.59:13). Had he since died?

²⁷ This was the title of the skilled pilots who navigated the rapids of the first Nile cataract and it corresponded to Eg. "boatman of the bad water" (*P. Berlin* 13614.1 [*EPE* C27]).

²⁸ *yb lbb*, "(my/your/our) heart is good" (see 3.63, n. 14) were the regular terms of satisfaction recited by the party drawing up the contract after he had received goods, payment, or some other consideration (in our case an oath). In suits it was usually followed by a statement of withdrawal (see 3.66, n. 26), missing here.

²⁹ For this expression see 3.59, n. 13.

³⁰ The phrase *grh dyn wdbb* was one of the two standard expressions for taking legal action against someone (3.64:10; 3.65:7-8; 3.77:10, etc.; see further note ad loc. in *EPE* B24). The more frequently used expression was *rsh dyn wdbb*, rendered freely "bring suit or process" (see 3.61, n. 35). On the model of Mahseiah's potential suit ("I did not give [the land] to you" [3.61:20; 3.62:14]), the suit would presumably have stated, "You did not swear to me."

³¹ For discussion of the potential litigants, see 3.59, nn. 21-23.

³² The words "brother ... far" were added supralinearly.

³³ The protected parties correspond exactly to the potential litigants — children and siblings, at home or away; see 3.59, n. 23.

³⁴ The scribe originally wrote "in the name of that land," the regular expression for designating an object in suit (3.61:12; 3.64:9; 3.65:8; 3.66:12; 3.70:5; 3.72:13, 17; 3.73:14; 3.80:25; *TAD* B5.4:7, 5.5:4, 10) and one familiar from Demotic legal texts (e.g. *P. Berlin* 13554.4 [*EPE* C31]), but then corrected it to read "in my name about that land" (see 3.67:12-13). The correction made explicit what was everywhere else implicit, namely that the *Penalty* clauses applied only to someone suing in the name of the alienor, i.e. the person issuing the warranty, in this case Dargamana (Porten and Szubin 1987b:50).

³⁵ This was a high penalty, found only in deeds of sale (3.72:15, 18; 3.80:30) and in one bequest (3.73:16); see further 3.59, n. 15.

³⁶ Repetition of numerical notations was frequent, both word repeating cipher, as here (3.61:14, etc.), and cipher repeating word (3.67:15, etc.).

³⁷ This monetary notation (also 3.61:14, 21; 3.62:15; 3.75:17) occurred in many variations — see further note ad loc. in *EPE* B24. It probably meant that a half shekel (= a zuz) had to be added to every Persian *karsh* (= 10 shekels) to bring its weight of 83.33 grams up to the weight of 87.6 grams (= 10 x 8.76 grams, the weight of the Eg. shekel); Porten 1968:305-307.

³⁸ See 3.59, n. 18.

³⁹ The promise to be removed from any further suit is reinforcement of the "likewise" (*pm*) clause and occurs elsewhere in combination with that clause ("and he is likewise withdrawn from these goods" [3.66:15]) or in place of it. The failed claimant is removed from the object (3.66:15), from further suit (3.65:11), or from the other party and from further suit (3.68:11). The Aram. term *rhq*, "be far, removed, with-

complain⁴⁰ against you on account of that land.

Scribe and place

Itu son of Abah wrote ⁽¹⁷⁾this ⁽¹⁶⁾document ⁽¹⁷⁾in Syene⁴¹ ^b the fortress at the instruction of Dargamana.

*Witnesses*⁴²

- (2nd hand) Witness Hosea son of Petekhnun⁴³;
- (3rd hand) witness ⁽¹⁸⁾Gaddul son of Igda⁴⁴;
- (4th hand) witness Gemariah son of Ahio⁴⁵;
- (5th hand) Meshullam son of Hosea⁴⁶;

^b Ezek 29:10;
30:6;
Isa 49:12 in
1QIsa'

- (6th hand) ⁽¹⁹⁾Sinkishir son of Nabusumiskun⁴⁷;
- (7th hand) witness Hadadnuri the Babylonian⁴⁸;
- (8th hand) ⁽²⁰⁾witness Gedaliah son of Ananiah⁴⁹;
- (9th hand) ⁽²¹⁾witness Aryaicha son of Arvastah-mara.⁵⁰

Endorsement

(Verso)⁽²²⁾Document (*sealing*) of withdrawal⁵¹ which [Dargama]na son of Khvarshaina wrote for Mahseiah.

drawn" had its Demotic equivalent *wy* (P. Berlin 13554.3 [EPE C31]).

⁴⁰ The scribe has blended his legal terms; "suit" (*dyn*) was always associated with the verbs *grh* and *rsh*, never with "complain" (*qbf*); see above on lines 5 and 12.

⁴¹ Aram. scribes, such as Itu son of Abah, normally drew up their documents in their place of residence, Syene, even when the transaction, as here, involved property in Elephantine. See EPE 162, n. 43.

⁴² The scribe omitted the usual caption "The witnesses herein." For the number, see 3.59, n. 34.

⁴³ With an Eg. name, was the father of Hosea a native Eg, married to a Jewess (as Eshor to Mibtahiah [3.63 below]) or a Jew who was given an Eg. name? Unlike the Arameans of Syene, as attested by the Makkibanit letters (TAD A2.1-7), the Jews rarely gave their children Eg. names. This witness appears only here.

⁴⁴ A certain playfulness was at work in the giving of the praenomen since it derived from the same root as the patronym (*gd* "be great"). The witness appears only here.

⁴⁵ He drew up his own loan contract ca. 487 BCE (TAD B4.2) and appears in an ostrakon found along with that document (COS 3.871:2).

⁴⁶ Both Meshullam and the following witness, who appeared only here, failed to preface their signatures with the word "witness."

⁴⁷ Both names are Babyl.

⁴⁸ Though he bears an Aram. name, this witness, lacking patronymic, was called "the Babylonian." At the end of the century a person with the same name was father of Jathom ("Orphan") and grandfather of Malchiah (TAD C3.15:23). Chronologically, he could have been the same person as our witness.

⁴⁹ Appears only here.

⁵⁰ Both names are Iranian.

⁵¹ The title of a document drawn up in settlement of a dispute (3.66:14; 3.67:19), in a case of probate (3.67:20), or for emancipation (3.74:18).

REFERENCES

Text and translation: TAD B2.2; EPE B24. EPE; GEA; Kraeling 1953; Parker and Dubberstein 1956; Porten 1968; 1990; Szubin and Porten 1983; TAD; von Pilgrim 1998.

BEQUEST OF HOUSE TO DAUGHTER (3.61)

(1 December, 459 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

On the occasion of Mibtahiah's marriage in 459 BCE to Jezaniah, one of Mahseiah's neighbors, her father gave her the plot which in 464 had been disputed by another neighbor Dargamana (3.60). In 471 he had allowed a third neighbor, Konaiah, to build a wall along the property (3.59). The fourth neighbor was an Egyptian boatman Pefituauneit who lived across the street (3.59:13) and had since passed his house on to his son Espmet (line 7). Mahseiah's bequest was a gift in contemplation of death with possession (line 9) and title (line 19) granted already *inter vivos* (line 3). It was to be treated as an estate perpetuated within the family or among designated heirs (lines 9-10), without any right to sell being granted. The guarantees were arranged in descending order of concern — challenge to the bequest: (1) from other beneficiaries claiming prior rights supported by a document (lines 9-18); (2) from Mahseiah himself (lines 18-22); (3) and from Dargamana (lines 23-27). In each case, it was a "document," the present one and the one written for Mahseiah by Dargamana (3.60), which was expected to turn back the challenge, while the standard ten *karsh* penalty was imposed on any suit by Mahseiah, his heirs, and beneficiaries (lines 11-14, 20-22). There was no penalty for attempted reclamation by Mahseiah (lines 18-19). The elaborate guarantees made this the longest bequest known (34+2 lines) with the largest number of witnesses (twelve). The normal eight were, topped off by two sons, a brother, and a neighbor (see notes to lines 29-31). Unlike Mahseiah's two earlier documents, all the witnesses were Jewish, though the scribe was Aramean and the document was drawn up in Syene (lines 27-28).

A contemporary Demotic conveyance (15 January-13 February, 460 BCE [P. Wien D 10151; EPE C29]) bears many structural and verbal parallels to this document.

Scribal note

(Recto)⁽⁶⁾Length, 13 and a handbreadth.¹

Date

⁽¹⁾On the 21st of Kislev, that is day 20 + 1 (= 21)² of Mesore, year 6 of Artaxerxes the king,³

Parties

said Mahseiah ⁽²⁾son of Jedaniah, a Jew,⁴ hereditary-property-holder⁵ in Elephantine the fortress of the detachment of Haumadata,⁶ to lady⁷ Mibtahiah ⁽³⁾his daughter,⁸ saying:

Transfer I

I gave¹⁰ you in my lifetime and at my death¹¹

Object

a¹² house, land,¹³ of mine.

Measurements

⁽⁴⁾Its measurements ⁽³⁾was:¹⁴

⁽⁴⁾its length from below to above, 13 cubits and 1 handbreadth;¹⁵ (its) width from east¹⁶ ⁽⁵⁾to west, 11 cubits¹⁷ by the measuring rod.¹⁸

Boundaries

Its boundaries:¹⁹

above it the house of Dargamana son of Khvarshaina ⁽⁶⁾adjoins;²⁰ below it is the house of Konaiah son of Zadak;²¹ east²² of it is the house of Jezaiah²³ son of ⁽⁷⁾Uriah your husband²⁴ and the house of Zechariah son of Nathan;²⁵ west of it is the house of Espmet²⁶ son of Peftuauneit, ⁽⁸⁾a boatman of the rough waters.

Transfer II

That²⁷ house, land — I gave it to you in my lifetime and at my death.

Investiture I

⁽⁹⁾You have the right²⁸ to it from this day and for-

¹ This is a scribal note, written at the very top of the document, to serve as a memory aid for the length of the house recorded in line 4.

² The "20" mark is partially hidden in the papyrus crease.

³ The two dates are a month off. For reconciliation see *EPE* 164, n. 3.

⁴ Elsewhere he was called "Aramean"; see 3.59, n. 3.

⁵ This technical term (*mḥsn*) occurs four times in the contracts, once again, as here, with the intention of bolstering the status of someone whose title to a piece of property could not be established by written document (3.80:4-5); and once with the intent to bolster the reputation of a person accused of forced entry, theft and assault (*TAD* B7.2:2). The fourth text is fragmentary (*TAD* D2.12). For full discussion, see Szubin and Porten 1982:3-9; 1983a:40; *EPE* 164, n. 5.

⁶ A Persian mentioned only here and in the companion document (3.62:2). In 471 and 464 BCE, Mahseiah had been in the detachment of Varyazata (3.59:3 [see note there]; 3.60:4) and would be there again in 449 and 446 (3.63:2-3; 3.64:2).

⁷ The term *nšn* is often used to designate a female party to a contract, whether free, as here, slave or emancipated; *EPE* 164, n. 8.

⁸ Here and again in the grant of 3.64:3, Mibtahiah was merely designated as Mahseiah's daughter. When she appeared opposite Peu son of Pahe/Pakhoi, she was given a full affiliation — "of the detachment of Varyazata" (3.65:2-3).

⁹ The *Transfer* clauses formed a symmetric inclusion (gave — lifetime/death — house/land; house/land — gave — lifetime/death) around the *Measurements* and *Boundaries* clauses (lines 3-8).

¹⁰ This was the common term of conveyance, whether gift (as here), sale, or exchange; *EPE* 164, n. 11.

¹¹ Szubin and Porten 1983a:39.

¹² For the cipher "1" as indefinite article see 3.59, n. 7.

¹³ The property which was called "house" in 471 (3.59:3-5) and "land" in 464 (3.60:5-8, 12-16) was now in 459 called, in apposition, "house, land" (lines 3, 8), or "land, house" (3.62:3), and then alternately "land" (lines 11-12, 16, 19, 24; 3.62:5, 8, 14) and "house" (lines 15, 22, 27, 35; 3.62:4, 6, 11), as interchangeable synonyms or as appropriate to the context (thus in 3.62). The plot had a gateway in 471 (3.59:3), but was run-down, as the advice to daughter and son-in-law "to renovate" clearly indicated (line 19; 3.62:5, 8, 12, 14).

¹⁴ Sing. instead of plural verb; *EPE* 165, n. 15.

¹⁵ The royal cubit measured 52.5 cm and the handbreadth 7.5 cm (Vleeming 1985:208, 214-215). The length was thus 6.9 m.

¹⁶ For the term, see 3.60, n. 21.

¹⁷ This would equal 5.78 m. The house would thus measure 39.88 sq m. Presumably, these were the external measurements.

¹⁸ As silver was weighed by the stones of the king so property was always measured by the "measuring-rod" (*šr*) (3.62:5; etc.).

¹⁹ This terse, one-word caption (*ḥmwwhy*) is unique. For the fuller formulae, see *EPE* 160, n. 21. The location of the neighbors had been shifted 90°. In the previous document we found Dargamana-Konaiah-Jezaniah-Espmet in the order east-west-below-above (3.60:8-11); here they were above-below-east-west. True location must have been midpoint: above-east, below-west, east-below, west-above (NE, SW, SE, NW). See *TAD* B:177 and fig. 2.

²⁰ The houses of Dargamana and Mahseiah had a common wall.

²¹ He was earlier given permission to build a wall on Mahseiah's property (3.59).

²² For the spelling, see on *EPE* 160, n. 24.

²³ Abbreviated form of his name (Jezaniah), by which he was known also in later years (3.67:17 [416 BCE]). In the endorsement (line 35) the scribe would also abbreviate the name of his wife (Mibtah < Mibtahiah) and of his father-in-law, (Mahsah < Mahseiah). Jezaniah must have inherited the property from his father Uriah since "above" it in the year 416 lay the house of his brother Hosea (3.67:5).

²⁴ Apparently the couple had just been married and the plot was given to Mibtahiah, with rights of usufruct for Jezaniah (3.62), at the time of the wedding.

²⁵ As stated earlier, the new wall of Konaiah extended to the house of Zechariah (3.59:5), which later passed to his son Hazzul (3.67:5).

²⁶ He inherited the house and continued the occupation of his father (3.59:13; 3.60:10-11).

²⁷ This form of the demonstrative (*znk*) occurs only here and in the companion document (3.62:6).

²⁸ This term of empowerment (*šlyr*) was one of the two standard expressions, recurring in the *Investiture* clause — be it for realty (line 11), chattel (3.68:6), or goods (3.63:18) — and repeated in the *Reaffirmation* (of *Investiture*) clause (3.59:11, 14, etc.). It alternated in the conveyance documents with the expression "it is yours." In contrast to the latter expression which granted full title, this one may only have granted right of possession (see 3.59, n. 8). Full title, however, was granted in our document in a second *Investiture* clause (line 19); *EPE* 166, n. 30.

ever²⁹ ^a and (so do) your children after you.³⁰ ^b To whomever¹⁰ you love³¹ you may give (it). I have no other³² son or daughter, brother or sister, or woman¹¹ or other man³³ (who) has right to that land but you and your children forever.

Penalty I

Whoever³⁴ ⁽¹²⁾ shall bring against you suit or process,³⁵ (against) you, or son or daughter of yours, or man of yours,³⁶ in the name of³⁷ ⁽¹³⁾ that ⁽¹²⁾ land ⁽¹³⁾ which I gave you or shall complain³⁸ against you (to) prefect or judge shall give you or your children¹⁴ silver, 10, that is ten,³⁹ *karsh* by the stone(-weight)s of the king, silver 2 q(arters) to the ten, without suit and without process,⁴⁰

^a Isa 9:5-6;
Mic 4:7;
Pss 113:2;
115:17, 18;
121:8; 125:2;
131:3

^b Gen 17:8;
cf. Gen
35:12

^c Gen 31:9;
Hos 2:11

Reaffirmation I

⁽¹⁵⁾ and the house is your house likewise and your children's after you.⁴¹

Document validity I

And they shall not be able to take out⁴² against you ⁽¹⁶⁾ a new or old document in my name⁴³ about that land to give (it) to another man. That document ⁽¹⁷⁾ which they shall take out against you will be false.⁴⁴ I did not write it⁴⁵ and it shall not be taken⁴⁶ in suit⁴⁷ ⁽¹⁸⁾ while this document is in your hand.⁴⁸

Waiver of reclamation

And moreover, I, Mahseiah, tomorrow or the next day,⁴⁹ shall not reclaim (it)⁵⁰ ⁽¹⁹⁾ from you to give

²⁹ This phrase occurs commonly in the *Investiture* clause in conveyances and manumissions (3.61:9; 3.68:7; 3.72:11; 3.73:4-5; 3.79:8; 3.80:23), in the *Withdrawal* clause in settlements (3.65:6-7; 3.66:9-10), in the satisfaction statement (3.66:9), and in the *Marriage* clause in documents of wifehood (3.63:4; 3.76:4; *TAD* B6.1:4). An abbreviated form (simply "forever") appears in two documents (3.64:16; 3.67:9, 16; also here, line 11). It is generally understood to indicate that the newly established legal relationship was not *a priori* limited in time (see Yaron 1958:4), but it must have been limited to the donor's lifetime since it was regularly followed by the phrase "and your children after you" (see next note). This temporal meaning is evident in the lines of Ps 115:17-18, "The dead cannot praise the Lord ..., but we will praise the Lord from now and forever."

³⁰ The addition "after you" (i.e. as your natural heirs) was regularly appended to the word "children" in the *Investiture* clause (3.64:8; 3.67:9; 3.68:7; 3.72:12; cf. 3.62:8; 3.73:5; 3.79:9; 3.80:23), in its *Reaffirmation* (line 15; 3.67:16; 3.68:12; 3.72:16, 19; cf. 3.78:21), and in the *Waiver* clause (3.78:19). It indicated that the conveyance was not limited to the lifetime of the recipient. See Szubin and Porten 1988:38; see also for next note.

³¹ Mahseiah intended the bequest to be treated as an estate in fee tail, perpetuated within the family, and so gave Mibtahiah right to transfer it to a preferred, designated heir; for this meaning with parallels, see Szubin and Porten 1988:37-38; *EPE* 166, n. 33.

³² The denial of any other heirs or beneficiaries occurred only here in our Aram. documents but is well paralleled in the Demotic contracts (*P. Wien* D 10150.2-3 [*EPE* C28]); *EPE* 166, n. 34.

³³ The addition of "another man (line 16), "another person" (3.65:9, 11, etc.), or "another whirlwind" (3.77:5) expanded the list of potential claimants beyond the circle of blood relatives. As is clear from the language of the clause, he was not an outsider but a possible beneficiary. "Another man" is next in line, one who comes "after" the natural heirs or in their stead if so designated by the testator. By including "woman" the scribe of our document preserved the male-female balance of the clause.

³⁴ Of the above heirs and beneficiaries in my name (see 3.59, nn. 21-23; 3.60:14). The scribe has deftly assimilated the *Penalty* clause (which was regularly preceded by a *Waiver* clause) to the *Investiture* clause.

³⁵ The phrase *rsh dyn wdbb* was the most frequently used expression for taking legal action against someone (line 20; 3.62:13; 3.64:9; 3.66:11; 3.78:18-19; 3.79:12; 3.80:25; *TAD* B5.5:4). It may be abbreviated to *rsh dyn* (3.66:14; 3.67:15; 3.68:9; 3.73:13; 3.80:27) or simply to *rsh* (lines 24, 26; 3.66:7, 11, 13-14, 16; 3.67:10, 12, 14, 17; 3.68:8-9; 3.78:19; 3.80:26-27).

³⁶ As the list of potential claimants was expanded to include beneficiaries, so the list of protected parties was expanded to include representatives.

³⁷ I.e. regarding; see 3.60, n. 34.

³⁸ The sequence of verbs in this sentence indicates that "sue" (represented by the verbs *rsh* and *grh* and their complements) and "complain" (*qbl*) are distinct and not synonymous legal acts; see further on line 20; *EPE* 167, n. 37.

³⁹ This was the most frequently imposed penalty (see 3.59, n. 15); for the numerical repetition, see 3.60:14.

⁴⁰ Aram. *wl' dyn wl' dbb*. This expression (lines 21-22; 3.62:15; 3.63:26 [mistakenly written *dyn*], 29, 3.65:10, etc.) or the abbreviated "without suit" (3.67:17; 3.68:12, 14; 3.73:15; 3.76:32; 3.81:8) occurs regularly after the penalty or dowry sums to indicate that the affected party did not have to undertake any further legal action to realize payment; *EPE* 167, n. 42.

⁴¹ For the *clausula salvatoria*, see 3.59, n. 18.

⁴² I.e. to produce.

⁴³ Wills and testamentary bequests were customarily amended and periodically rewritten. The "new or old document" expression has its Demotic parallel at Elephantine (*P. Wien* D10151.7 [*EPE* C29]) and elsewhere, whence it is clear that "new" means recent and not future (Malinine 1953 #18:13-14). The clause also occurs in 3.65:12 and elsewhere, but only here did the scribe add explicitly "in my name," which was implicit from the continuation of the document, namely "I did not write it" (line 17).

⁴⁴ So too in 3.79:16; for parallels, see Szubin and Porten 1983a:40.

⁴⁵ This declarative statement was a known defense (3.64:12).

⁴⁶ I.e. shall not be accepted.

⁴⁷ I.e. admissible as evidence. The phrase *wl' ytlqh bdyn* occurs only here in our Aram. documents; *EPE* 168, n. 49.

⁴⁸ The two declarative statements are followed by an advisory one — hold on to this document! Here and elsewhere "this document in your hand" was designed to ward off future claims (line 22 [cf. line 27]; 3.69:12-13, 19-20).

⁴⁹ See 3.59, n. 12.

⁵⁰ The danger of reclamation (*hnsf*) loomed large in bequests made "in love, affection" (*brhnm* [3.67:11, 14; 3.73:4, 12; 3.76:41; 3.78:5, 12, 17; 3.79:9] *inter familiam*, whether of realty, as here (3.62:10; 3.73:20; 3.75:15; 3.79:10), or of dowry (3.76:42), or of related chattel (3.71:13-14), and specific renunciation of such intentions was common (3.62:10 [wife from husband]; 3.71:13-14 [master of handmaiden bride from groom]; 3.73:20 [other heirs from daughter]; 3.75:15; 3.79:10 [father from daughter]; 3.76:42 ["brother" from sister]; *TAD* 6.4:8 [mother from daughter]). Monetary penalty was imposed only when ultimate ownership and unabridged dominion were granted (3.73:20-22; 3.79:9-11). In the present case, Mibtahiah's rights were limited by the parallel grant of a life estate of usufruct to her husband (3.62). See Szubin and Porten

to others.⁵¹

Investiture II

That land of yours⁵² build up⁵³ and/or give (it) to whomever you love.

Penalty II

⁽²⁰⁾If tomorrow or the next day I bring against you suit or process and say:⁵⁴

"I did not give (it) to you,"⁵⁵

⁽²¹⁾I shall give you silver, 10 *karsh* by the stone(-weight)s of the king, silver 2 q(arters) to the ten, without suit ⁽²²⁾and without process,

Reaffirmation II

and the house is your house likewise.

Document validity II

And should I go into a suit,⁵⁶ I shall not prevail⁵⁷ while this document is in your hand.⁵⁸

Document transfer

⁽²³⁾Moreover, there is a⁵⁹ document of withdrawal⁶⁰ which Dargamana son of Khvarshaina, the Khwarezmian, wrote for me about ⁽²⁴⁾that land when he brought (suit)⁶¹ about it before the judges and an

oath⁶² was imposed (upon me) for him and I swore to him ⁽²⁵⁾that it was mine,⁶³ and he wrote a document of withdrawal and gave (it) to me. That document — I gave it to you.⁶⁴ ⁽²⁶⁾You, hold-it-as-heir.⁶⁵ If tomorrow or the next day Dargamana or son of his bring (suit) ⁽²⁷⁾about that house, that document take out and in accordance with it make suit⁶⁶ with him.

Scribe and place

Attarshuri ⁽²⁸⁾son of Nabuzeribni⁶⁷ wrote ⁽²⁹⁾this document in Syene⁶⁸ the fortress at the instruction of Mahseiah.

Witnesses

The witnesses herein:⁶⁹

⁽²⁹⁾(2nd hand) witness Gemariah son of Mahseiah⁷⁰;

(3rd hand) witness Zechariah son of Nathan⁷¹;

⁽³⁰⁾(4th hand) witness Hosea son of Pelaliah⁷²;

(5th hand) witness Zechariah son of Meshullam⁷³;

(6th hand) witness Maaziah son of ⁽³¹⁾Malchiah⁷⁴;

(7th hand) witness Shemaiah son of Jedaniah⁷⁵;

1988:38-39; *EPE* 168 n. 52.

⁵¹ I.e., other heirs or beneficiaries.

⁵² The Aram. form (*zylyky*) is emphatic; cf. a comparable form in 1QGenAp 19:20. For a different rendition, see *GEA* 55-56, 214-215.

⁵³ Is the form of the verb *peal* (as in 3.73:8 [scribe unknown]) or *paal*, as in *mbny*, "renovated, restored, improved," in three documents written by Haggai (3.78:12; 3.79:2-3; 3.80:12-13)?

⁵⁴ Here too, the second *Penalty* clause followed directly on the second *Investiture* clause without any intervening *Waiver* clause.

⁵⁵ Only rarely (3.62:14; *TAD* B5.i:5) was the nature of such a suit regarding a conveyance spelled out, but we may assume that this was the normal claim, namely, that the defendant possessed neither title nor ownership. Loss of suit would mean that loss of property was retroactive. See Porten and Szubin 1987c:237.

⁵⁶ I.e. take legal action.

⁵⁷ This whole clause ("go to suit ... not prevail") recurs twice elsewhere (3.69:19; 3.79:15).

⁵⁸ This document shall prevail against my suit as well as against that of my heirs and beneficiaries (lines 15-18).

⁵⁹ For the numeral "1" as indication of the indefinite article, see 3.59, n. 7.

⁶⁰ This was 3.60.

⁶¹ Strictly speaking, Dargamana did not bring suit but complained (3.60:5).

⁶² See on 3.60:6.

⁶³ In fact, Mahseiah only swore that the plot was not Dargamana's (3.60:7).

⁶⁴ It was standard procedure in sales and other conveyances in Egypt to transfer to the alienee previous documents attesting the right of the alienor to the property. See 3.80:31-32 and *P. Wien* D 10151.7 (*EPE* C29); Porten and Szubin 1982a:124-126.

⁶⁵ Make it part of your ancestral estate. The advisory statement (*hshnhy*) harked back to Mahseiah's designation as a "hereditary-property-holder" at the beginning of the document (line 2). The verb also occurs with the meaning "to take hereditary possession" in a document apportioning slaves between two heirs (3.68:14).

⁶⁶ The expression *bd dyn* with the meaning to "engage in a suit" occurs once more (3.65:3); for its other meanings see the documents of wifehood (3.63:31, etc.). The terms *grh* and *rsh* had the meaning of "initiating a suit" (see 3.60:12 and line 12 above) whereas the present phrase is used to describe the response to such initiation or the conduct of a suit.

⁶⁷ The praenomen is Aramean and the patronym, Babylonian.

⁶⁸ The Aram. scribe drew up the document at the site of his residence (see 3.60:16-17).

⁶⁹ There was not room on the *recto* for all twelve witness to sign their names and the last five had to sign on the *verso*, a rare occurrence (see *TAD* B4.4:19-21 where all the witness signed on the *verso*). Only four of the twelve Jewish witnesses are known elsewhere (Gemariah, Zechariah son of Nathan [line 29], Nathan [line 32], and Mahsah [line 33]).

⁷⁰ Probably Mahseiah's son whose signature gave added weight to Mahseiah's renunciation of all other heirs' rights to the property (lines 10-11). He also witnessed two documents in the Anani archive (3.71:15; 3.73:23) and his daughter, Meshullemeth, was the first contributor on the Collection Account recorded by the communal leader Jedaniah son of Gemariah, probably her brother (*TAD* C3.15:2); Porten 2001:334-335. In a Demotic bequest to a daughter, her male siblings and perhaps nephew signed as witnesses (*P. Wien* 10150.8-11 [*EPE* C28]).

⁷¹ Mahseiah's eastern neighbor (line 7) acknowledged the new owner.

⁷² Only here and in the companion document (3.62:17), where he signed first.

⁷³ Only here and in the companion document (3.62:18).

⁷⁴ Only here and in the companion document (3.62:19). Is this a unique defective spelling for Mauziah or a true variant (cf. Neh 10:9; 1 Chr 24:18)?

⁷⁵ Probably the brother of Mahseiah son of Jedaniah rather than the son of Jedaniah, the following witness, he appears only here and in the companion document (3.62:19); Porten 2001:334-335.

(8th hand) witness Jedaniah son of Mahseiah⁷⁶;
 (Verso) ⁽³²⁾(9th hand) witness Nathan son of Ananiah⁷⁷;
 (10th hand) Zaccur son of Zephaniah⁷⁸;
⁽³³⁾(11th hand) witness Hosea son of Deuijah/Reuijah⁷⁹;
 (12th hand) witness Mahsah son of Isaiah⁸⁰;

⁽³⁴⁾(13th hand) witness Hosea son of Igdal.⁸¹

Endorsement

⁽³⁵⁾Document (*sealing*) of a house [which] Mahsah son of Jedaniah wrote ⁽³⁶⁾for Mibtah⁸² daughter of Mahsah.⁸³

⁷⁶ Son of Mahseiah named after his grandfather (see on line 29), he appears only here and in the companion document (3.62:20). The Mahseiah son of Jedaniah who appears as a witness forty-three years later was probably his son (3.67:18); Porten 2001:334-335.

⁷⁷ Professional scribe who wrote two and perhaps three more documents for the Mahseiah archive (3.63:37; 3.64:17 and probably *TAD* B2.5), two documents for the Anani archive (3.69:20; 3.71:14), and two more (*TAD* B5.4; D2.22:1-2).

⁷⁸ Appears only here and in the companion document (3.62:20). He alone failed to preface his name with the designation "witness."

⁷⁹ Appears only here and in the companion document (3.62:21). The father's name would mean either "Know Yah" or "Yah is Friend." The letters *daleth* and *resh* are indistinguishable in this script.

⁸⁰ The first witness for Mahseiah in 471 BCE (3.59:16).

⁸¹ Appears only here and in the companion document (3.62:22).

⁸² In the endorsement the scribe abbreviated both Mahseiah (> Mahsah) and Mibtahiah (> Mibtah).

⁸³ Three documents contains two-line endorsements. The second line always begins with the name of the party for whom the document was written, preceded by the preposition "for" (3.66:19-20; 3.67:20-21).

REFERENCES

Text and translation: *TAD* B2.3; *EPE* B25. *EPE*; Malinine 1953; Porten 2001; Porten and Szubin 1982; 1987c; Szubin and Porten 1982; 1983a; *TAD*; Vleeming 1985.

GRANT OF USUFRUCT TO SON-IN-LAW (3.62)

(1 December, 459 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

At the same time that he gave Mibtahiah a bequest of a house plot, Mahseiah extended to her husband lifetime usufruct in that house. Typologically this document is unique among our texts. It was intentionally written on both sides of papyrus sheets cut from the same scroll as the previous document. The date is damaged and the endorsement is missing. Instead of an *Investiture* clause it presented a *Restriction on alienation*. Granted rights to renovate the house and advised to live there with his wife, Jezaniah was denied the right to sell or bequeath it to anyone other than his children from Mibtahiah (lines 3-7). Should Mibtahiah repudiate and leave Jezaniah after he had improved the house, she could not remove it from him to give to others. Should she wish to reclaim it, half would remain with Jezaniah as reward for his labor. In any case, the document thrice emphasized, it was only their joint children who had right to the house after their parents' death (lines 6-13). Attempted suit by Mahseiah, denying ever having granted building rights, would result in the standard ten *karsh* penalty (lines 13-16). The document treated the property as an estate to be passed on in perpetuity within a limited family circle. Scribe, witnesses, and site of redaction were identical with those in the previous document (3.61).

Date

(Recto)⁽¹⁾On the 20[+1] (= 21st) of [Kis]le[v], that is dajy [20+]1 (= 21) of [Mes]ore, year 6 of Artaxerxes the king.¹

Parties

said Mahseiah ⁽²⁾son of Jedaniah, a Je[w o]f Ele-

phantine of the detachment of Haumadata, ⁽²⁾to Jezaniah son of Uriah in the same detachment,²
⁽³⁾saying:

Object

There is³ land of a⁴ house of mine,⁵ west of the

¹ This document was drawn up the same day as the previous one; unfortunately the date formula is damaged. See on 3.61:1.

² The expression occurs also in 3.67:4.

³ Documents regularly begin with some action — "I came" (3.59:3; 5:3; 13:3; 18:3; 23:3); "I gave" (3.61:3; 3.64:2; 3.73:2; 3.75:3; 3.78:2; 3.79:2); "I sued" (*TAD* B5.2:3); "You swore" (3.60:2); "We sued" (3.66:4); "We withdrew" (3.67:4); "... we divided" (3.68:3); etc. The opening here resembles that in the official bipartite letter which begins with a statement of the situation introduced by the stative ²yty, and then proceeded with the instruction introduced by *k^cn*. "Now" (line 5; *TAD* A6.7:2, 8, see also 5.5:11; 6.3:5; 6.10:5). Elsewhere in the contracts the stative appears at the beginning of a quotation of a suit (3.66:5). For another irregular beginning see 3.65:3-4. See *EPE* 173, n. 3.

⁴ The cipher "1" was written for the indefinite article; see 3.59, n. 7.

⁵ I.e., a house-plot.

house of yours,⁶ which I gave to Mibtahiah⁽⁴⁾ my daughter, your wife, and a document I wrote for her concerning it.⁷

Measurements

The measurements of that house:⁸

13 cubits and a handbreadth⁽⁵⁾ by 11 by the measuring rod.⁹

Building rights

Now,¹⁰ I, Mahseiah, said to you: That land build (up)¹¹ and ENRICH IT (or: PREPARE IN IT HER HOUSE)¹² and dwell¹³ herein with your wife.

Restriction on alienation

But that house — you do not have right to¹⁴ sell it¹⁵ or to give (it) lovingly to others¹⁶ but it is your children from Mibtahiah my daughter (who) have right to it⁽⁸⁾ after you (both).¹⁷

Repudiation

If tomorrow or the next day you build that land (up and) afterwards¹⁸ my daughter hate you¹⁹ and go out from you, she does not have the right to take it and give it to others²⁰ but it⁽¹⁰⁾ is your children from Mibtahiah (who) have the right to it in exchange for the work which you did.²¹

Reclamation

If she shall reclaim²² from you, half the house

a Jer 29:5

[s]h[al] be hers to take but the other half — you have the right to it in exchange for (Verso)⁽¹²⁾ the building (improvement)s which you have built into that house. And furthermore, that half —⁽¹³⁾ it is your children from Mibtahiah⁽¹³⁾ (who) have the right to it after you.²³

Penalty

If tomorrow or the next day I bring against you suit or process²⁴ and say:

"I did not give you that land to build (up) and I did not write for you this document,"²⁵

I⁽¹⁵⁾ shall give you silver, 10 *karsh* by the stone(-weight)s of the king, silver 2 q(quarters) to the ten, without suit and without process.²⁶

Scribe and place

⁽¹⁶⁾ Attarshuri son of Nabuzeribni²⁷ wrote this document in Syene²⁸ the fortress at the instruction of Mahseiah.

Witnesses

The witnesses⁽¹⁷⁾ herein:²⁹

(2nd hand) witness Hosea son of Pelaliah;³⁰

(3rd hand) witness Zechariah son of Nathan;

⁽¹⁸⁾ (4th hand) witness Gemariah son of Mahseiah³¹;

(5th hand) witness Zechariah son of Meshullam;

⁽¹⁹⁾ (6th hand) witness Maaziah son of Malchiah;

⁶ See on 3.61:6-7.

⁷ That was 3.61. The current document was cut from the same scroll. The peculiar preposition ²*hrwhy* in this clause (see also 3.64:7) alternates with the more regular ^c*P* (3.64:3, 10, etc.).

⁸ For the formula, see 3.61:4.

⁹ The usual indications of "length" and "width" were omitted. The house measured 9 x 5.78 m = 39.88 sq. m. See 3.61, n. 15.

¹⁰ This word (^k*n*) is otherwise absent from the contracts; for its use here see n. 3.

¹¹ The run-down house given to Mibtahiah was meant to be the residence of the newly-married couple and needed to be built up and made inhabitable. See 3.61:19 and following notes.

¹² The reading and meaning elude us. Because of the *daleth-resh* similarity the word may be read either ^c*tr*, "wealth, enrich" or ^c*td*, "prepare." The following vocable (*bhmyth*) runs into the end of the line and may be two words, but no separation yields a clear meaning; see Porten 1968:242, n. 14. One suggestion would view *myth* as scribal error for *byth*, "her house" (Stephen A. Kaufman).

¹³ The double command to "build and dwell" was uttered by the prophet Jeremiah to the first Babylonian exiles.

¹⁴ For this term see 3.61, n. 28.

¹⁵ Right of sale was omitted from the deed for Mibtahiah (3.61) and is here explicitly denied.

¹⁶ Nor may Jezaniah assign it to any one of his children from another marriage or to a beneficiary.

¹⁷ The document is thus akin to the establishment of a trust for the benefit of Mahseiah's grandchildren.

¹⁸ Frequent in narrative (*TAD* C1.1:8, et al; 1.2:2), historical inscriptions (*TAD* C2.1:12, et al) and letters (*COS* 3.51:6, 8; *TAD* A4.8:6 [added supralinearly], 7; 6.7:6), this adverb (²*hr*) rarely occurs in contracts because these provided little occasion to describe events in sequence. While it usually begins an independent sentence (3.64:5; 3.66:8; 3.81:3), it is used by two Aramean scribes to introduce the subordinate penalty clauses (3.68:10; 3.81:6-8, 10 [repeatedly]).

¹⁹ I.e., repudiate you. See Porten and Szubin 1995:54-57.

²⁰ I.e., children from another marriage or other beneficiaries.

²¹ Jezaniah had only right of usufruct in the house but the work he would put into it would guarantee that it went to his children from Mibtahiah.

²² For this act see 3.61, n. 50. The house, after all, belonged to Mibtahiah but Mahseiah denied her the right to reclaim more than half should her husband put in improvements.

²³ Even the half he was entitled to hold onto after Mibtahiah's act of reclamation was to go only to their joint children.

²⁴ For this phrase see 3.61, n. 35.

²⁵ A similar statement was posited for the potential suit of Mahseiah against Mibtahiah — "I did not give you" (3.61:20).

²⁶ The same penalty as in the potential suit against Mibtahiah (3.61:21-22), except that here there is no following *clausula salvatoria* (for which see 3.59, n. 18).

²⁷ He is the same scribe who drew up the document for Mibtahiah (3.61:27-28).

²⁸ See 3.60, n. 41.

²⁹ Except for the first and third witnesses, who exchanged slots, all the others signed in the same order here as in the previous document (3.61:29-34).

³⁰ He was the third witness in the companion document (3.61:30).

³¹ He was the first witness in the previous document (3.61:29).

(7th hand) witness Shemaiah son of Jedaniah;	(21)(11th hand) witness Hosea so[n of] Deuiah/Re- uiah;
(20)(8th hand) witness Jedaniah son of Mahseiah;	(12th hand) witness Mahsah son of Isaiah;
(9th hand) witness Nathan son of Ananiah;	(22)(13th hand) witness Hose[a son of I]gdal.
(10th hand) witness Zaccur son of Zephaniah ³² ;	

³² The signature ran to the very end of the line and the final *he* was written supralinearly.

REFERENCES

Text and translation: *TAD* B2.4; *EPE* B26. Porten 1968; Porten and Szubin 1995; *TAD*.

DOCUMENT OF WIFEHOOD (3.63)

(14 October, 449 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

Although widowed, Mibtahiah may not be courted directly but only through her father. As a suppliant for a loan or for building rights approached his prospective lender or neighbor, the Egyptian royal builder Eshor approached the father of his desired bride. Granted his request in exchange for a ten-shekel *mohar*, he invested her in her new status (lines 3-6), again like a petitioner, but with a statement echoing a biblical formula (see notes). The thrust of this and similar wifehood documents was the guarantee of the bride's pecuniary rights during the marriage and in case of repudiation by, or the death of, her spouse. Much space was devoted to detailed enumeration of the items of her dowry (totaling 65.5 shekels, including the *mohar*) and several supralinear additions and corrections suggest last minute changes (lines 6, 8, 16). All these personal items, garments, vessels, and toiletries, reverted to her in case of repudiation (lines 6-16, 24-25, 27-28). But the repudiating party lost the *mohar* and was obliged to pay a 7½ shekel compensation. Like Mibtahiah, Eshor was probably married before and special clauses were required to guarantee Mibtahiah's rights and status. He could not alienate his property without her consent, could not bequeath it to a previous wife or children, and no one could evict her from his house after his death (a provision also in Jehoishma's contract [3.76:31-32] — all subject to twenty *karsh* penalty for violation (lines 29-36). The major clauses (*Repudiation* and *Death*), the ones recurring in the other wifehood documents, were reciprocally formulated, guaranteeing the rights of the husband as well as the wife (lines 17-29).

Date (Recto) ⁽¹⁾ On the 24th [of] Tishri, [that is day] 6 of the month of Epeiph, [y]ear [16 of Artaxerx]es [the] king, ¹	to Mah[seiah], ⁴ an A[r]amean of Syene of the de- tachment of ⁽³⁾ Varyazata, ⁵ saying:
Parties ⁽²⁾ said Eshor son of Dje[h]o, ² a builder of the king ³	Marriage⁶ I [c]ame to your house (and asked you) to give me ⁷ your daughter Mipta(h)iah ⁸ for wifehood. ⁹

¹ This date has been much scrutinized. Repeated examination of the papyrus revealed that we must read 24 Tishri = 6 Epeiph which will synchronize in 16 Artaxerxes I, yielding October 14, 449 BCE. See Porten 1990:21-22.

² His name and occupation indicate that he was Eg. but later documents for his sons designated them "sons of Nathan" (see 3.67, n. 6). Had he "converted?"

³ An unpublished wooden tag found in the Aramean house M room 1, associated with Dayamana, adjacent to Mibtahiah (von Pilgrim 1995:491, Abb. 3 and oral communication). It reads *l' shwr br sh' ʾrdykt* "[Belonging) to Eshor son of Dje[h]o, the builder." It is now in the Elephantine Museum. See further 3.65, n. 3.

⁴ Quite uniquely, Mahseiah son of Jedaniah was recorded here without patronymic.

⁵ This was the same designation he bore in 471 BCE (3.59:2-3).

⁶ As at Elephantine, so in most Neo-Babylonian documents and in the early Eg. documents down through the end of the 26th Dynasty, the groom did not approach the bride but someone responsible for her. The statements in the *Marriage* clause were a narrative introduction and not "creative" of the matrimonial "relationship." They were declarative and not constitutive. See Porten and Szubin 1995:48-49.

⁷ For this "suppliant" terminology see 3.59, n. 6.

⁸ For the spelling of her name see 3.64, n. 3.

⁹ The expression "give for wifehood" (*ntn l' ntw*) has its Akk. forerunner in *nadānu ana aššūti*. See Kraeling 1953:146.

<i>Affirmation of status</i> ⁽⁴⁾She is my wife and I am her husband¹⁰ ^a from this day and forever,¹¹	^a Hos 2:4 ^b Gen 34:12; Exod 22:15-16; 1 Sam 18:25 ^c Ruth 3:7	She brought in to me in her hand:¹⁷ 28.0 shekels 1 new garment of wool,¹⁸ striped ⁽⁸⁾with dye doubly-well¹⁹ it was²⁰ (in) length 8 cubits by 5 (in width),²¹ worth (in) silver 2 <i>karsh</i> 8 shekels ⁽⁹⁾by the stone(-weight)s of the king;²² 8.0 shekels 1 new SHAWL;²³ it was (in) length 8 cubits by 5 (in width), worth ⁽¹⁰⁾(in) silver 8 shekels by the stone(-weight)s of the king; 7.0 shekels another garment of wool, FINELY-WOVEN;²⁴ it was ⁽¹¹⁾(in) length 6 cubits by 4 (in width),²⁵ worth (in) silver 7 shekels; 1.5 shekels 1 mirror of bronze,²⁶ worth ⁽¹²⁾(in) silver 1 shekel, 2 q(arters); 1.5 shekels 1 bowl of bronze, worth (in) silver 1 shekel, 2 q(arters)²⁷;
<i>Mohar</i> I gave you (as) <i>mohar</i>¹² ^b for ⁽⁵⁾your daughter Miptahiah: 5.0 shekels [silver], 5 shekels¹³ by the stone(-weight)s of [the] king.		
<i>Satisfaction I</i> It came into you and your heart was satisfied¹⁴ ^c ⁽⁶⁾herein.		
<i>Dowry</i> [Your daughter] Miptahiah brought in to me in 12.0 shekels (ERASURE: your) her hand: silver money¹⁵ 1 <i>karsh</i>, 2 shekels by the stone(-weight)s of the king, ⁽⁷⁾silver 2 q(arters) to the 10.¹⁶		

¹⁰ This affirmative formula (also in 3.63:4; 3.76:4; TAD B6.1:3-4) echoes the negative biblical formulation, "She is not my wife and I am not her husband." As an oral formula at Elephantine it may have constituted the *verba solennia* pronounced in contemplation of marriage, but in our documents it functioned as an *investiture* clause affirming status. Such sequence appears in a building grant — "I came to you and you gave me the gateway of your house to build a wall there. That wall is yours" (3.59:3-4). Its main thrust was to introduce the events that precipitated the contractual obligations of the respective parties. See Porten and Szubin 1995:44-45; Szubin and Porten forthcoming. Similar declarations were to be found in cuneiform texts throughout the ages; Hugenberger 1994:216-239.

¹¹ The phrase occurred commonly in the *investiture* clause in conveyances and manumissions (see 3.61, n. 29) and in documents of wifehood (3.76:4; TAD B6.1:4), where its legal thrust was of limited, though unspecified duration, hence ultimately finite. Precluding voluntary dissolution, the matrimonial status was binding only "until death do them part."

¹² Biblical law had a stock phrase "*mohar* of the virgins/maidens" (Exod 22:15-16). It was a gift (Gen 34:12) by the groom to the father of the bride, effecting betrothal (2 Sam 3:14). It might be paid in labor (Gen 29:18) or in kind (1 Sam 18:25) and its value was normally returned to the young couple — witness the righteous indignation of Jacob's wives that their father Laban "sold us and indeed consumed our money" (Gen 31:15). Similar payments and practice of return were found throughout the ancient Near East — Akk. *terhatum* (CH §§138-139, 159-161, 163-164, 166) Eg. *šp n s-ḥm.t* (P. Berlin 13593.3 [EPE C33]), and Arab. *ṣadāq* (P. Or. Inst. 10552r.3 [EPE F2]); Hugenberger 1994:240-247. For its disposition, see notes 17, 28, and 53.

¹³ The *mohar* for the unwed maiden Jehoishma was 1 *karsh* (= 10 shekels), but none was paid for the handmaiden Tamet (3.76:4-5; 3.71:3).

¹⁴ This term of satisfaction was used to receipt a *mohar* and dowry, as here and in line 15 (also 3.76:5; TAD B 6.1:5), the purchase price for a house (3.72:6; 3.80:6, 14, 26), payment (3.70:4) or oath (3.65:5) in settlement of a suit, or any sort of payment or transfer of goods (TAD B4 4:9; 5.5:7). Once it is preceded by the statement "you have satisfied our heart" (3.66:9).

¹⁵ This was cash and Jehoishma had almost twice as much — 22.125 shekels (3.76:5-6). We find a similar payment in the Elephantine Demotic contract — "money as money, 1 (deben)" (P. Berlin 13593.5 [EPE C33]). After much haggling, Tamet secured 15 shekels cash and the amount was recorded in a separate statement on the verso of her contract after it had been all but tied and sealed. The language was similar to that here — "Tamet brought in to Anani in her hand silver, 1 *karsh*, 5 shekels" (3.71:16).

¹⁶ The two shekels were added supralinearly, as an addition made after the document had already been completed (see note 29).

¹⁷ See also 3.71:4. A var. formula was "Jehoishma your sister brought in to me in(to) my house" (3.76:5). Aram., unlike Demotic, had no single term for "dowry." The Demotic contract read "Here is the inventory of the woman's possessions (*nkt.w n s-ḥm.t*) which you brought to my house with you" (P. Berlin 13593.4 [EPE C33]). Marriage normally entailed in *domum deductio*. The *mohar* was not included in the following list though it was factored into the total (lines 13-15). Strictly speaking, it was not "brought in" by Mibtahiah, but probably given directly by Mahseiah.

¹⁸ For discussion of these garments, see Porten 1968:88-89. The objects were listed in descending order of value.

¹⁹ Alternately, two-toned.

²⁰ This singular verb (*hwh*) is repeated for the next two items and occurs elsewhere in the measurement formula for houses (3.61:2-3; 3.73:5-6; 3.75:4). Here it seems to be elliptical for "its measurements was (= were)."

²¹ The 8 x 5 cubit size was apparently standard. Jehoishma's large new woolen garment measured just slightly less — 7 x 4 (3.76:6-7). The garments in the Eg. contract bore no measurements.

²² Reaching the end of the line the scribe wrote six numerical strokes supralinearly. He later increased the amount by adding two more (see note 29 below).

²³ The same garment is found in Tshenese's dowry, but the precise meaning is no more certain there than here (P. Berlin 13593.5 [EPE C33]). It also appears in a fragmentary Aram. contract, where it measured 7 x 4 cubits and was valued at 4½ shekels (TAD B6.2:5-6), a little over half Mibtahiah's SHAWL worth 8 shekels.

²⁴ For inconclusive discussion of this *niphāl* loanword (*nšḥt*), as well as the following bronze items (lines 11-13), see Fitzmyer 1979:257-258.

²⁵ The 6 x 4 cubit size was standard for the smaller garment. Jehoishma had five such small garments, both woolen and linen, with these, or approximately these, measurements (3.76:7-12; also fragment TAD B6.2:4-5).

²⁶ This and the following are literal translations of what concise English would designate "bronze mirror," "reed bed," "palm-leaf box." Jehoishma had the same five bronze vessels (mirror, bowl, 2 cups, and jug) and the values varied but slightly (3.76:13-15). In her contract, however, they were separately captioned and tallied, much as the copper objects in Tshenese's contract were grouped together (see note 28 below).

²⁷ The letter looks much more like a *kaph*, abbreviating *kp*, "hand" (= ¼) than a *resh*, abbreviating *rb^c*, "quarter." See 3.73, n. 13 [EPE B38].

2.0 shekels 2 cups of bronze, ⁽¹³⁾worth (in) silver 2 shekels;
 .5 shekels 1 jug of bronze, worth (in) silver 2 q(uarters).
Total All the silver ⁽¹⁴⁾and the value of the goods;²⁸
 65.5 shekels (in) silver 6 *karsh*, 5 shekel²⁹ 20 hallurs by the stone(-weight)s of the ⁽¹⁵⁾king, silver 2 q(uarters) to the 10.

Satisfaction II

It came into me and my heart was satisfied herein.³⁰

6 Unpriced 1 bed of papyrus-reed on which are
 items ⁽¹⁶⁾4 ⁽¹⁵⁾INLAYS³¹ ⁽¹⁶⁾of stone;³²
 1 TRAY of *slq*;
 2 ladles;
 1 new BOX of palm-leaf;
 5 handfuls of castor oil;³³

d Gen 26:27;
 29:31, 33;
 Deut 21:15-17; 22:13, 16; Judg 11:7; 15:2; Isa 60:15; Jer 12:7-8; Hos 9:15; Mal 1:3; 2:16; Prov 5:14; 30:23

1 PAIR of sandals.³⁴

Death of husband

⁽¹⁷⁾Tomorrow or (the) n[ex]t day,³⁵ should Ešor die not ⁽¹⁸⁾having ⁽¹⁷⁾a child, male or female, ⁽¹⁸⁾from Mipta[h]iah his wife, it is Miptahiah (who) has right to the house³⁶ ⁽¹⁹⁾of Ešor and [hi]s goods and his property and all that he has on the face of the earth,³⁷ ⁽²⁰⁾all of it.³⁸

Death of wife

Tomorrow or (the next) day, should Miptahiah die not ⁽²¹⁾having ⁽²⁰⁾a child, male or female, ⁽²¹⁾from Ešor her husband, it is Ešor (who) shall inherit³⁹ from her her goods ⁽²²⁾and her property.

Repudiation by wife⁴⁰

Tomorrow o[r] (the) next day, should Miptahiah stand up in an assembly⁴¹ d ⁽²³⁾and say:

"I hated⁴² Ešor my husband,"⁴³

²⁸ Jehoishma's contract specified the items — garments, bronze vessels, money, and *mohar*. Mibtahiah had a *mohar*, three woolen garments of considerable value, and five vessels of small value. Jehoishma likewise had a *mohar* and the same five bronze vessels but a larger wardrobe, including four woolen and four linen garments (3.76:5-15). The Eg. Tshenese had a woman's gift, five or six garments of considerable value, and at least four vessels of nominal value (P. Berlin 13593.5 [EPE C3]). In all cases these were precisely appraised because they were to be returned in case of divorce. The Jewish woman had additional, unappraised items made of organic, non-metallic material — Mibtahiah, six such (lines 15-16) and Jehoishma, almost treble that amount (3.76:17-21). The Eg. woman, on the other hand, also had several pieces of gold jewelry and copper objects measured by weight, each group being evaluated separately (P. Berlin 13593.4-7 [EPE C33]). None of the documents included realty or chattel.

²⁹ The scribe had originally written "1 shekel" in the singular, added two strokes on either side of the single numerical stroke after he made the double 2-shekel additions in lines 6 and 8, but failed to emend the singular "shekel" to plural "shekels."

³⁰ The Demotic contract read "I received them from you; they are complete without any remainder; my heart is satisfied with them" (P. Berlin 13593.7 [EPE C33]); see further 3.80, n. 15 (EPE B45). There was no similar statement of receipt and satisfaction in the documents of Tamet (3.71:6-7) and her daughter Jehoishma (3.76:15-17).

³¹ A second elusive *niphal* loanword (*n^cbⁿ*) in this document.

³² The six items of toilette listed below carried no caption, evaluation, or summation and must have been of known, standard value. Jehoishma had eleven such items; in addition to the six listed here there were jugs, a wooden chest, and three different kinds of oil and some of the items were held in greater quantity or enhanced value, viz. 2 TRAYS, 5 ladles, and *Persian* sandals (3.76:17-21). See Porten 1968:90-94. The precise meaning of several of the words still eludes us. For discussion, see Fitzmyer 1979:257-259.

³³ A standard item in each of the dowries, this oil was frequently requested by relatives of Elephantine-Syene residents away from home; see on TAD A2.1:7 (EPE B1).

³⁴ The last two items were added supralinearly.

³⁵ See 3.59, n. 12.

³⁶ There was a double imbalance in these reciprocal clauses, one in favor of the surviving wife and one in favor of the surviving husband. Mibtahiah was granted rights to her deceased husband's house while no stipulation provided for the rights of Ešor, should he survive, to Mibtahiah's house, even though she owned one (3.61). The same situation existed for Jehoishma vis-à-vis her husband, Anani (3.76:28-30, 34-36). On the other hand, Mibtahiah only "controlled" i.e. she had "right to" (*šlyth b-*) the "house, goods and property" of Ešor while he "inherited" (*yrr*) her "goods and property" (line 21). Similarly, Jehoishma could only [HOL]D ON TO IT (*[^c]h^cdh*), namely, his property, but Anani like Ešor "inherited" her (3.76:29, 35). In an early Greek will the surviving spouse "controls" the deceased's property but does not inherit it (P. Eleph. 2.3-4 [EPE D3]).

³⁷ This unique expansion was probably due to Ešor's presumed prior marital status and conceivable encumbrances therefrom. The phrase emphasized that nothing whatsoever was to be excluded from Mibtahiah's possession.

³⁸ Theoretically, the Aram. word "all of it" (*klh*) could refer to the property or the earth. But the Demotic parallel (*ut nb [n nk.w] n p^c t^c [d^cr.f]*, lit. "every which [of property] in the world [to its limit]" ≈ "every kind of property in the whole world") argues for interpreting our phrase as "on the face of the whole earth." See Porten 1992:260.

³⁹ See note 36 above.

⁴⁰ Like the *Death* clauses so the *Repudiation* clauses were reciprocal and affected both parties. The opening statement was identical with chiasmic reversal of the parties and titles — "Ešor my husband" but "my wife Miptahiah." Similar chiasmic reversal occurs in Tamet's contract, also written by the scribe Nathan — "Tamet my wife" vis-à-vis "my husband Anani" (3.71:7, 9).

⁴¹ Demotion of matrimonial status required public notice, e.g. formal declaration in an assembly (*b^cdh* [apparently a Heb. loanword]).

⁴² Pronounced by both the husband and the wife, this word (*šr^c*) has been taken as a technical term for divorce. But neither the biblical homonym, nor the Akk. synonym *zēru* and the Eg. synonym *mst*, both of which occur in marriage contexts, means "divorce." All three terms signify repudiation or rejection, the effect of which is a breach of contract and demotion in status. The presence in the Bible of the "hated wife" (e.g. Leah vis-à-vis Rachel [Gen 29:31-33]) and the law concerning the rights of the first-born by such a wife (Deut 21:15-17) are decisive for our understanding that in a polygamous society one wife would be primary, "beloved," and the other secondary, "hated." To "hate" a wife was to demote her to the status of a secondary wife, "a hated wife." To "hate" a husband meant negating her own status as primary wife and may have entailed denial of conjugal rights (cf. CH §142 and commentaries thereto). See Porten and Szubin 1995:55-56; Szubin and Porten forthcoming.

⁴³ Occurring also in Tamet's contract, this terse statement was expanded and varied in Jehoishma's document — "I hated my wife Jehoishma; she shall not be my wife" and "I hated you; I will not be your wife" (3.76:21-22, 25).

⁴⁴ The pecuniary consequence of demotion was the imposition of a fixed monetary compensation (7½ shekels [see also 3.71:8, 10; 3.76:22,

silver of hatred⁴⁴ is on her head.⁴⁵ She shall PLACE UPON⁴⁶ (24) the balance-scale and weigh out to Ešor silver, 6[+1] (= 7) shekels, 2 q(uar- ters), and all that she brought in⁴⁷ (25) in her hand she shall take out,⁴⁸ from straw to string,⁴⁹ and go away wherever she desires,⁵⁰ without (26) suit⁵¹ and without process.⁵²

Repudiation by husband

Tomorrow or (the) next day, should Ešor stand up in an assembly (27) and say:

"I hated my [wife] Miptahiah,"

her *mohar* [will be] lost⁵³ and all that she brought in (28) in her hand she shall take out, from straw to string, on one day in one stroke,⁵⁴ and go (29) away wherever she desires, without suit and without process.

Expulsion + Penalty I⁵⁵

And [who]ever shall stand up against⁵⁶ Miptahiah (30) to expel her⁵⁷ from the house of Ešor and his goods and his property, shall give her (31) silver, 20 *karsh*,⁵⁸

Reaffirmation of rights

and do to her the law of this document.⁵⁹

Exclusion of other heirs

And I shall not be able to say:

(32) "I have another wife besides Mipta(h)iah and other children besides the children whom (33) Miptahiah shall bear to me."⁶⁰

Penalty II

If I say: "I have other chi[ldren] and wife besides (34) Miptahiah and her children," I shall give to Miptahiah silver, 20 *karsh* by the stone(-weight)s of (35) the king.

Non-removal of property

And I shall not be able to RE[LEASE]⁶¹ my goods and my property from Miptahiah.

Penalty III

And should I remove⁶² them (36) from her (ERASURE: in accordance with [this] document but), I shall give to Miptahiah [silve]r, 20 *karsh* by the stone(-weight)s of the king.⁶³

Scribe

(37) Nathan son of Ananiah⁶⁴ wrote [this document at the instruction of Ešor].

25]) paid to the repudiated spouse whose status was diminished. It was not a fine or a penalty imposed on a party bearing the blame, but a contractually imposed compensation regardless of fault.

⁴⁵ An idiom denoting responsibility; see Fitzmyer 1979:263-264.

⁴⁶ This requirement, stipulated also for Jehoishma (3.76:26), was not laid down for the handmaiden Tamet (3.71:10). The meaning of the word is uncertain and has caused scholars much consternation; for a different translation ("sit by the scale"), see Fitzmyer 1979:264, *GEA* 85-86, n. 397, 121.

⁴⁷ This provision makes it clear why the dowry items were enumerated and evaluated. Since strictly speaking *she* did not "bring in" the *mohar* (see n. 17 above), she would not take it out in case of repudiation by her just as she lost it in case of repudiation by him (line 27) and just as Jehoishma lost it if she repudiated Anani (3.76:24-25).

⁴⁸ The formula in Jehoishma's contract varied noticeably — "All that she brought in in(to) his house he shall give her," adding the amount to be paid (3.76:22-23).

⁴⁹ "An alliterative phrase, expressing figuratively a totality by the use of extremely small samples" (Fitzmyer 1979:264).

⁵⁰ The other option, offered Jehoishma, was to "go to her father's house" (3.76:28). No option was offered the handmaiden Tamet (3.71:10).

⁵¹ The scribe mistakenly wrote *ydyn* for *dyn*.

⁵² See 3.61, n. 40.

⁵³ I.e. forfeit. Was this payment in lieu of the "silver of hatred" or had the scribe omitted that payment by oversight or as an ellipsis? Jehoishma's contract specified loss of *mohar*, as well as payment of silver of hatred, in case of repudiation by the wife, not, as here, by the husband. But its loss was implicit in case of repudiation by the husband because the contract recorded the amount she was entitled to receive, and this included the *mohar* (3.76:23, 25).

⁵⁴ The property was not to be returned in installments nor the severance phased in time, thereby punctuating sharply the change of status. Presumably the same procedure followed in case of repudiation by the wife, as it did in the contract of Jehoishma (3.76:28). The clause was not included in Tamet's contract since she hardly had any property to begin with (3.71:9-10). The Demotic contract had the phrase "compulsorily, without delay" (*P. Berlin* 13593.7 [EPE C33]).

⁵⁵ In Jehoishma's contract this clause followed directly upon the *Death of husband* clause (see 3.76:28-32) and so here, too, it must have pertained to expulsion from Ešor's house after his death. But the scribe placed the clause at the end because he wished to group together three clauses protecting Miptahiah's pecuniary rights, each under a twenty *karsh* penalty (lines 29-36). The "expel" and "remove" prohibitions, here separated (see line 35), were combined in Tshenese's Demotic contract (*P. Berlin* 13593.7-8 [EPE C33]).

⁵⁶ See 3.74, n. 17 (EPE B39).

⁵⁷ See 3.75, n. 30 (EPE B40).

⁵⁸ The same penalty for eviction was levied in Jehoishma's contract (3.76:32); see on 3.59:7.

⁵⁹ The clause stipulated specific performance, i.e. guarantee of her right to Ešor's property which the document stipulated (lines 17-20); similarly in 3.76:32. Identical language was employed in the Demotic contract of Tshenese against someone "throwing her out" of her husband's house or "removing" his possessions from her (see below lines 35-36 [*P. Berlin* 13593.7-8 [EPE C33]]).

⁶⁰ This provision asserts that there was no wife or children from a previous marriage who might lay claim to Ešor's estate; Porten 1968:253-254. The early Greek marriage document stated, "Let it not be permitted to Herakleides to bring in another woman as an outrage to Demetria, nor to have children by another woman ..." (*P. Eleph.* 1.8-9 [EPE D2]).

⁶¹ For restoration of the word [ʔhn]tr, see Fitzmyer 1979:267.

⁶² See on lines 29-30 and 3.79:31 (EPE B44).

⁶³ Alienation of his property without Miptahiah's consent would cost Ešor heavily.

⁶⁴ See 3.61, n. 77.

Witnesses

And the witnesses herein:⁶⁵⁽³⁸⁾(1st hand) Penuliah son of Jezaniah;⁶⁶(2nd hand) [...]iah⁶⁷ son of Ahio;(3rd hand) Menahem son of [Za]ccur⁶⁸;⁽³⁹⁾(4th hand) witness: Wyzbtw⁶⁹ [

[bottom middle band and endorsement missing]

⁶⁵ One or two more witnesses may have signed in the missing band, possibly bringing the number up to six, a multiple of three, as in Tamer's contract (3.71:15). Six witnesses were present in Jehoishma's contract but the last band was lost and there may have been two more (3.76:43-44). Only four witnesses signed the fragmentary document of Abihi (*TAD* B6.4:9-10).

⁶⁶ Appears only here; probably the father of the witness Jezaniah son of Penuliah in 416 BCE (3.67:19); Porten 2001:348.

⁶⁷ Among the candidates for this name are the scribes Gemariah son of Ahio (3.60:18 [464]; *TAD* 4.2:16 [ca. 487]), who would be quite senior in 449, and (his brother?) Pelatiah son of Ahio (3.59:15 [471]; Porten 2001:337), but comparison of the handwriting is inconclusive due to the fragmentary nature of the signature here.

⁶⁸ He also witnessed the wifehood document of Tamer drawn up by the same scribe two months earlier (3.71:15).

⁶⁹ The name, or a var. thereof, appears twice again and each time is difficult to decipher. Once, as witness to another document of Mahseiah, it is partly restored, with the final *waw* uncertain, as son of *ʾtrly*, (3.64:18) and the second time it is prefaced by the word "house" (3.72:24). In both cases the party is designated "Caspian."

REFERENCES

Text and translation: *TAD* B2.6; *EPE* B28. *EPE*; Fitzmyer 1979; *GEA*; Hugenberger 1994; Kraeling 1953; Porten 1968; Porten 1992; Porten 2001; Porten and Szubin 1995; *TAD*.

GRANT OF HOUSE TO DAUGHTER (3.64)

(17 November, 446 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

Much as this document is compositionally rife with spelling errors and inconsistencies, it is nonetheless aesthetically structured. The *Transfer* clauses (lines 2-7) are chiasmatically arranged with the key word "gave" (*yhb*) recurring seven times:

- a I gave you the house which Meshullam son of Zaccur son of Ater, Aramean of Syene, gave me
- b and a document he wrote for me about it.
- c And I gave it to Miptahiah in exchange for her goods which she gave me.
- d I consumed them but did not find silver or goods to repay you.
- c I gave you this house in exchange for your goods worth 5 *karsh*.
- b And I gave you the old document which that Meshullam wrote for me.
- a This house — I gave it to you and withdrew from it.

Wanting to maintain this tight structure intact, the professional scribe Nathan shifted the *Boundaries* clause to the end of the document (lines 13-15). This shift also gave him the opportunity to duplicate the *Investiture* clauses, granting Miptahiah limited rights of alienation the first time (line 7) and unlimited rights the second time (line 16). Any suit by Mahseiah or his related parties would be penalized by the standard ten *karsh* penalty (lines 8-11). He transferred to her Meshullam's deed of sale and affirmed that no alleged prior document by him would invalidate the present one (lines 6-7, 11-12). Uniquely, he signed his name as a witness; two of the remaining five were Caspians and one was Iranian (lines 17-20).

Date

(Recto)⁽¹⁾On the 2nd of Kislev, that is day 10 of the month of Mesore, year 19 of Artaxerxes the king.¹

Parties

said Mahseiah son of ⁽²⁾Jedaniah, an Aramean of Syene of the detachment of Varyazata,² to

¹ In 19 Artaxerxes I (= 446 BCE), 2 Kislev = November 19 while 10 Mesore = November 17. Even if this document were written at night, the scribe Nathan son of Anani ran ahead of himself by one day, as he did in other contracts (3.69 [four day gap], 3.71); see Porten 1990:22-23, 25 and Figure 8 in *TAD* B.

² The same designation he had in 471 and 449 (3.59:2; 3.63:2-3). In 464 he was called a "Jew of Elephantine" but still with the detachment of Varyazata (3.60:3-4). Only in 459 was he uniquely designated "Jew, hereditary-property-holder in Elephantine of the detachment of Haumadata" (3.61:2).

Miptahiah³ his daughter,⁴ saying:

Transfer I

I gave⁵ you

Object

the house

Pedigree⁶

⁽³⁾which Meshullam son of Zaccur son of Ater,⁷ an Aramean of Syene,⁸ gave me for its value⁹ and a document he wrote for me about it.¹⁰

Transfer II

⁽⁴⁾And I gave it¹¹ to Miptahiah¹² my daughter

Consideration I

in exchange for her goods which she gave me. When I was GARRISONED¹³ in (the) fortress, I consumed ⁽⁵⁾them¹⁴ but did not find silver or goods to (re)pay you.

Transfer III

Afterwards,¹⁵ I gave you this house

Consideration II

⁽⁶⁾in exchange for those, your goods valued in silver (at) 5 *karsh*.

Document transfer

And I gave you the old document which ⁽⁷⁾that Meshullam ⁽⁶⁾wrote ⁽⁷⁾for me concerning it.¹⁶

Transfer IV

This house — I gave it to you

Withdrawal I

and withdrew¹⁷ from it.

Investiture I

Yours it is and your children's ⁽⁸⁾after you and to whomever you love¹⁸ you may give it.

Waiver of suit

I shall not be able¹⁹ — I, or my children, or seed²⁰ of mine, or ⁽⁹⁾another ⁽⁸⁾person²¹ — ⁽⁹⁾to bring against you suit or process in the name of²² that house which I gave you and ⁽¹⁰⁾about which ⁽⁹⁾the document I wrote for you.

Penalty

⁽¹⁰⁾Whoever shall institute against you suit or (pro)cess — I, or brother or sister, near or far, member of a detachment or member of a town²³ — ⁽¹¹⁾shall give you silver, 10 *karsh*,²⁴

³ In a /b/ > /p/ phonetic shift the name Mibtahiah ("Yah is Trust") often appeared as Miptahiah (lines 4, 21; 3.63 throughout, both drawn up by Nathan son of Anani; 3.65:14 [in alternation with Mibtahiah [line 2]]; TAD B5.5:3, 11, 13).

⁴ See 3.61, n. 8.

⁵ For the term, see on 3.61, n. 10.

⁶ It was standard procedure in a bona fide conveyance to include a pedigree (see 3.73:3-4; P. Wien D 10150.2 [C28]; P. Paris 17.6-7 [EPE D14]; P. Münch 16.10-15 [EPE D21]; P. Lond. V 1722.14-17 [EPE D22]; P. Münch 8.15-20 [EPE D23]; et al.; and Eg. documents cited in Porien and Szubin 1982a:124-126).

⁷ A prominent figure in the Aram. papyri, Meshullam appeared as creditor (3.69:2-3) and slave-owner, who gave away his Eg. handmaiden in marriage (3.71) and before his death emancipated and adopted her and her daughter (3.74). He was variously designated "Jew of Elephantine the fortress" (3.69:3 [456 BCE]), "Aramean of Syene of the detachment of Varyazata (3.71:2-3 [449 BCE]), "Aramean of Syene" (here [446 BCE]), and "Jew of Elephantine the fortress of the detachment of Iddinnabu (3.74:2 [427 BCE]) and was the link between the Mibtahiah and Anani family archives. It was not unusual for a party or a witness to display a three- or four-generation genealogy (witnesses [3.66:18; 3.67:18]; mother of alienee [3.79:8; 3.80:2]). In two cases the identity of the grandfather was pertinent to the transaction (3.66:2, 18-19; 3.67:2).

⁸ See previous note.

⁹ Mahseiah deliberately omitted the price, perhaps to avoid invidious comparison between the high value of the goods received earlier in exchange (fifty shekels) and the assuredly lower value of the house. A much larger piece of property, albeit abandoned and run-down, cost Anani fourteen shekels (3.72:6) and many years later part of that, rebuilt and refurbished, went for thirteen shekels (3.80:5).

¹⁰ This preposition (also line 10) alternates here with "concerning" (line 7); see 3.62, n. 7.

¹¹ But it did not turn up in our archive.

¹² The alternation between direct speech and third person address by name occurs not infrequently in the contracts (3.65:10; 3.75:16; 3.78:5-6, 8, 15-18; 3.79:10; TAD B2.5:0-3).

¹³ For the Old Persian loanword *hndyz/hndz*, see on TAD A4.5:7 (EPE B 17).

¹⁴ The goods were unspecified perishables.

¹⁵ For this term, see 3.62, n. 18.

¹⁶ Previous documents were the best evidence of pedigree and it was standard procedure to pass them on to the new owner; 3.80:31-32; P. Wien D 10151 4-6 (EPE C29); P. Moscow 135.4 (EPE C30); P. Münch. 16.13-14 (EPE D21); P. Lond. V 1722.26-28 (EPE D22); P. Münch. 4.18-19 (EPE D34); P. Münch. 9.61 (EPE D40).

¹⁷ The technical term *rhq* indicates that the alienor had relinquished all rights to the object. Withdrawal regularly followed upon conveyance, whether motivated (line 16; cf. 3.72:11, 13; TAD 5.5:4, 8) or not (3.67:4); or upon a loss of suit (3.65:6; 3.66:9; 3.70:7). In the latter instance, it was preceded by a statement of satisfaction. Occasionally the scribe added "from this day and forever" (3.65:6; 3.66:9; 3.72:11; TAD B5.5:4). Withdrawal was either from the alienee (3.65:6; 3.66:9; 3.70:7; TAD B5.5:4), from the object, as here (line 16; 3.72:11, 13), or from both (3.67:4; TAD B5 5:8).

¹⁸ This clause would seem to limit further alienation to heirs and beneficiaries (see 3.61, n. 31), but was expanded in line 16.

¹⁹ I.e. I am not entitled.

²⁰ The reference to grandchildren occurs only here in our documents.

²¹ A beneficiary (see 3.61, n. 33).

²² I.e. "regarding." See 3.60, n. 34.

²³ These three pairs are familiar from the first document in our archive (3.59:8-10). Here they supplement and do not repeat the three parties listed singly in the Waiver clause; thus the penalty would also cover "another person."

²⁴ This was the usual penalty; see 3.59, n. 15.

Reaffirmation

and (the) house is likewise yours.²⁵

Document validity

Moreover, another person shall not be able to take out against you ⁽¹²⁾a new or old ⁽¹¹⁾document ⁽¹²⁾but (only) this document which I wrote and gave you. Whoever shall take out against you a docu(ment), I did not wri[te it].²⁶

Boundaries

⁽¹³⁾Moreover, behold these are the boundaries of that house:²⁷ above it is the house of Jaush son of Penuliah;²⁸ below it ⁽¹⁴⁾is the Temple²⁹ of YHH³⁰ (the) God; east of it is the house of Gaddul son of Osea³¹ and the street is between them; ⁽¹⁵⁾west of it is the house of Harwodj son of Palṭu, priest of H•[•]• the god.³²

Transfer V

That house — ⁽¹⁶⁾I gave it to you

Withdrawal II

and withdrew from it.

Investiture II

Yours it is forever³³ and to whomever you desire,³⁴ give it.

Scribe

⁽¹⁷⁾Nathan son of Ananiah³⁵ wrote ⁽¹⁷⁾this document at the instruction of Mahseiah.

Witnesses

And the witnesses herein:³⁶

(2nd hand) Mahseiah wrote with ⁽¹⁸⁾his own ⁽¹⁷⁾hands³⁷;

⁽¹⁸⁾(3rd hand) Mithrasarah son of Mithrasarah³⁸;

(4th hand) Wyzb[*l(w)*] son of ^ṛtrly, a Caspian³⁹;

⁽¹⁹⁾(5th hand) witness Barbari son of Dargi(ya), a Caspian of the place ...⁴⁰;

(6th hand) Haggai son of Shemaiah⁴¹;

⁽²⁰⁾(7th hand) Zaccur son of Shillem.⁴²

Endorsement

(Verso)⁽²¹⁾Document (*sealing*) of a house [which] Ma[h]seiah son of Jedaniah [wrote for Miptahia]h his daughter.⁴³

²⁵ See 3.59, n. 18.

²⁶ This is a common clause in house transfers; for a fuller version, see 3.61:15-18 and notes there.

²⁷ This section usually comes toward the beginning of the document (3.60:7-11; 3.61:5-8; 3.67:4-8; 3.72:7-10; 3.73:8-11; 3.75:5; 3.78:8-11; 3.79:3-6; 3.80:8-9a, 16-21). Putting it at the end provided the opportunity to reconfirm the *Transfer* and *Withdrawal* clauses and expand the *Investiture* clause to include parties beyond the circle of blood relatives and beneficiaries. For the boundaries formula, see 3.60, n. 18. For the orientation of the building, see plan in *TAD* B, Figure 3.

²⁸ Appears only here in our documents.

²⁹ For the term, see on *COS* 3.51, n. 37 (*EPE* B19).

³⁰ This earlier spelling of the name YHW occurs only in 3.71:2, by the same scribe as here, and regularly in the ostraca *COS* 3.87C:3; 3.87J:3; *TAD* D7.16:3, 7, 35:1; see Porten 1968:105-106.

³¹ Appears only here.

³² The Egyptian-West Semitic name combination is reminiscent of the names in the Makkibanit correspondence, e.g. Psami son of Nabunathan (*TAD* A2.3:14) and in the Saqqarah funerary inscriptions (*TAD* D18.4-6, 9-10, 13-14, 19.4-6). The Aramean soldiers had temples in Syene to Banit, Bethel, Nabu, and the Queen of Heaven, but the name of the deity here is unrecoverable. Less likely, the praenomen might be West Semitic, the same name as in 2 Kgs 21:19 (Haruz = "Diligent, Sharp").

³³ This abridged formula appears also in 3.67:9, 16; for the full formula, see 3.61, n. 30.

³⁴ Though occurring in the *Investiture* clause in the same construction as *rh*m, "love," this word (*šby*) had a more expansive meaning and authorized alienation of the house as an estate in fee simple even to one outside the family circle of "loved ones," see Szubin and Porten 1983a:38; 1988:38.

³⁵ Appearing as witness for Mahseiah in 459 BCE (3.61:32; 3.62:20), Nathan was a professional scribe who drew up one or two more documents for his family (3.63:37 [449 BCE]; *TAD* B2.5[?]), two more found in the Anani archive (3.69:20 [456 BCE]; 3.71:14 [449 BCE]) and perhaps another two more (*TAD* B5.4; D2.22).

³⁶ Here and perhaps in 3.76:43-44 there were only six witnesses, not the expected four or eight (see 3.59, n. 34). Was there also a system based on a multiple of three (as in 3.71:15), extending to nine (*TAD* B4.3:22-24, 4.4:19-21)?

³⁷ Only in one other case did a party to the contract (Mica son of Ahio) possibly sign as (third) witness (Micaiah son of Ahio [3.70:2, 10, 12]); see Demotic *P. Wien* D 10150.7 (*EPE* C28), *P. Wien* 10151.8 (*EPE* C29). The practice occurs regularly in contracts from the Judean desert (*DJD* 18:9; 19:26; 21:21; 23:827:6; 28:11-12; 33:4; et al.).

³⁸ The Persian son bore the same name as his father. Present in one of the Ptolemaic Greek documents from Elephantine (Neoptolemos son of Neoptolemos [*BGU* VI 1247.3 (*EPE* D8)]), the practice was otherwise unknown in the documents of the Achaemenid period. Was this witness the same as Mithrasarah the Magian who witnessed a contract of Anani in 434 BCE (3.73:24)?

³⁹ So far both names defy persuasive explanation. In 3.72:24, we have the strange witness signature "house of Wyzb[*l*], a Caspian."

⁴⁰ See on 3.59:18; 3.60:7. He is the only one here to preface his name with the designation "witness."

⁴¹ The praenomen is almost completely restored but the signature resembles the script of the professional scribe who was known to have written five or six contracts between 437 and 400 BCE (3.72:23; 3.74:15; 3.78:22; 3.79:17; 3.80:32; and probably *TAD* B4.6:18) and to have signed as the first witness to a seventh (3.76:43 [427 BCE]) and possibly, without patronymic, as the second witness to an eighth (3.81:13).

⁴² With the same large, elementary script he was the second witness in a contract drawn up by the preceding witness Haggai for Anani son of Azariah in 402 BCE (3.78:24). If the order of witnesses was by age, he and Haggai were young here in 449 and elderly in 402.

⁴³ In the endorsement of an earlier document, the scribe wrote the name in full ("Mibtah daughter of Mahsah" [3.61:35]).

REFERENCES

Text and translation: *TAD* B2.7; *EPE* B29b. Porten 1968; 1990; Porten and Szubin 1982; Szubin and Porten 1983a; 1988; *TAD*.

WITHDRAWAL FROM GOODS (3.65)

(26 August, 440 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

Mibtahiah (here called Miptahiah) and the Egyptian builder Peu engaged in litigation in Syene regarding silver, grain, clothing, vessels, and a document of wifhood. Mibtahiah won her claim through an oath by the Egyptian goddess Sati and Peu drew up this document of withdrawal, supporting his waiver of all future suit by a standard five *karsh* penalty. We may conjecture that the dispute involved goods left on deposit. The document was drawn up by an Aramean scribe in Syene and attested by four non-Jewish witnesses.

Date

(Recto)⁽¹⁾On the 14th of Ab, that is day 19 of Pachons, year 25 of Artaxerxes the king,¹

Parties

said Peu ⁽²⁾son of Pahe/Pakhoi,² a builder³ of Syene the fortress, to Mibtahiah daughter of Mahseiah son of Jedania,⁴ ⁽³⁾an Aramean of Syene of the detachment of Varyazata,⁵

Suit

about⁶ the suit which we made⁷ in Syene,⁸ a LITIGATION⁹ about silver ⁽⁴⁾and grain and clothing and bronze and iron — all goods and property — and (the) wifhood document.¹⁰

Oath

Then,¹¹ the oath¹² ⁽⁵⁾came¹³ upon you and you swore¹⁴ for me about them by Sati the goddess.¹⁵

Satisfaction

And my heart was satisfied ⁽⁶⁾with that oath¹⁶ which you made¹⁷ for me about those goods

Withdrawal

and I withdrew¹⁸ from you from ⁽⁷⁾this day and forever.¹⁹

Waiver of suit

I shall not be able to institute against you suit or process — (against) you or son ⁽⁸⁾or daughter of yours — in the name of²⁰ those goods about which you swore for me.

Penalty

If I institute against you ⁽⁹⁾suit or process, or a son of mine or a daughter of mine²¹ institute against you (suit) in the name of that oath, I, Peu — or my children — ⁽¹⁰⁾shall give to Mi(b)tah-

¹ Since 14 Ab = August 27 in 25 Artaxerxes II and 19 Pachons = August 26 in that year, we must assume that this contract was written at night; see Porten 1990:21 and Figure 8 in TAD B.

² Both names are Eg.

³ Mibtahiah's second husband Eshor bore the title "builder of the king." We do not know what either of these tasks encompassed; see 3.63, n. 3. The Aram. word ²rdykl derives from the Akk. *arad ekalli*, lit. "palace slave" which evolved into the specialized meaning "builder"; see Fitzmyer 1979:250.

⁴ His name was spelled here with final *aleph* rather than *he*.

⁵ This designation, the same as that frequently borne by Mahseiah, would here seem to apply to his daughter Mibtahiah (see 3.59, nn. 3-4). Father and daughter later belonged to the same detachment, as elsewhere husband and wife did (3.72:2-3).

⁶ It was unusual for the body of a document to begin with a prepositional clause and not with a verb (see 3.62, n. 3).

⁷ For this rare expression "make a suit" (= "undertake a suit"), see 3.61, n. 66.

⁸ The litigation was undertaken where Peu was located.

⁹ The word *npri* may be related to Old Persian *parft*, "fight, contend, curse" (GEA 372.53 and reference there to Shaked). For an earlier explanation of this word see Porten 1968:247.

¹⁰ This was a kind of all-inclusive list of goods serving as security for loans (3.69:9-10; 3.81:11; TAD B4.6:12) or placed on deposit for safekeeping (3.66:5-7). Every item is singular, collective and "document" must have been similarly intended to designate a number of such. Subsequent supralinear addition of the word ²mw, "wifhood," limited this to a single document. It had long been assumed that this referred to a marriage with Peu which was now dissolving (Porten 1968:245-247), but the new date proposed for 3.63 would mean that Mibtahiah was married at the time to Eshor. It is, therefore, best to take these goods, including what must have been the document of wifhood with Eshor, as having been placed on deposit with Peu.

¹¹ Only here in our documents does this introductory adverb (²dyn) occur in the body of the contract. For its regular usage, see 3.66, n. 2.

¹² Aram. *mwv²h*; see 3.60, n. 15.

¹³ Aram. *mq²h*, also in TAD B7.2:7, with the meaning "was imposed."

¹⁴ Probably in a shrine.

¹⁵ Exculpatory oath was a known procedure for resolving a dispute between bailor and bailee in a case of deposit (cf. Exod 22:8; 1 Kgs 8:31-32). Similar disputes at Elephantine were resolved by this type of oath in Byzantine times (P. Münch. 1.25-26 [EPE D29]; 6.7-8, 54-58 [D35]). Sati was the Eg. goddess at Elephantine and an oath by her would certainly have satisfied the Eg. Peu. It is not clear why the Jewess Mibtahiah would have agreed to take an oath by this pagan deity when her father, mother, and brother had earlier sworn to the Khwarezmian Dargamana by the Jewish God YHW (3.60:4-5). See Porten 1968:151-154.

¹⁶ Just as had been the heart of Dargamana with the oath of Mahseiah (3.60:11-12). For the phrase see 3.63, n. 14.

¹⁷ I.e. the oath which you took for me.

¹⁸ Withdrawal (*rhq*) followed satisfaction in a loss of suit (see 3.64, n. 17).

¹⁹ A standard expression; see 3.61, n. 29.

²⁰ See 3.60, n. 34.

²¹ The Waiver and Penalty clauses have been composed with intentional ellipsis. The scribe omitted reference to suit by "son or daughter" in the Waiver clause (line 7) because he included it in the Penalty clause (lines 7-8) and conversely omitted suit against "son or daughter" in the

iah ²² silver, 5 <i>karsh</i> ²³ by the stone(-weight)s of the king, without suit and without process,	Witnesses The witnesses herein: ²⁶ (2nd hand) Naburai son of Nabunathan ²⁷ ; (13)(3rd hand) Luḥi son of Mannuki ²⁸ ; (4th hand) Ausnahar son of Duma/Ruma ²⁹ ; (5th hand) Naburai son of Vishtana. ³⁰
Reaffirmation (11)and I am withdrawn from every suit or process. ²⁴	Endorsement (Verso) ⁽¹⁴⁾ Document (<i>sealing</i>) of withdrawal which Peu wrote for Miptah[ia]h.
Scribe and place Peteese son of Nabunathan wrote this document (12)in Syene ²⁵ the fortress at the instruction of Peu son of Pahe/Pakhoi.	

Penalty clause (line 9) because he included it in the *Waiver* clause (lines 7-8). The clauses limited potential claimants and protected parties to heirs; see Porten and Szubin 1987b:48-51.

²² The scribe shifted from first to third person, addressed by name (see 3.64, n. 12). Writing "I, Peu," he should have followed up with "you, Mib/ptahiah" (cf. 3.73:5-6). He also omitted the "p/b" in her name.

²³ This penalty lay at the lower end of the scale (see 3.59, n. 15).

²⁴ See 3.60, n. 39.

²⁵ The document was written at the site of the litigation by an Aramean scribe whose praenomen was Eg.; see 3.60, n. 41. A mixed Eg.-Aramean onomasticon was characteristic of the Makkibanit letters addressed to Syene and Luxor *TAD* A2.1-7) and the Saqqarah funerary inscriptions (*COS* 2.61-62).

²⁶ All the witnesses were non-Jews, probably residents of Syene, who appear only here. None prefaced his name with the word "witness." Only four witnesses were required in documents concerning movables, including chattel (3.66:17-18; 3.68:15-16; 3.69:21-22; 3.74:16-17; 3.81:13-14; *TAD* B4.2:12-15; 5.5:12).

²⁷ Both names are Aram. Might Naburai, the same name as the fourth witness, be a brother of the scribe?

²⁸ Both names are Akk.

²⁹ Both names are Arab., a rare phenomenon in the Elephantine onomasticon.

³⁰ The praenomen is Aram. and the patronym is Persian.

REFERENCES

Text and translation: *TAD* B2.8; *EPE* B30. Fitzmyer 1979; *GEA*; Porten 1968; 1990; Porten and Szubin 1987b; *TAD*.

WITHDRAWAL FROM GOODS (3.66) (2-30 September, 420 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

It must have been shortly after the death of Eshor that the brothers Menahem and Ananiah, grandsons of Shelomam, sued Jedaniah and Mahseiah before the Chief and the Troop Commander, claiming that Shelomam had deposited assorted goods with Eshor, who never returned them. The brothers were interrogated and satisfied the claimants by returning the goods. They then drew up the present document of withdrawal which contains an expanded *Waiver* clause (adding representatives), backed by the standard ten *karsh* penalty.

Date (recto) (1)In the month of Elul, that is Pay[ni], year 4 of Darius the king, ¹	Parties said (2)Menahem and Ananiah, all (told) two, ³ sons of Meshullam son of Shelomam, ⁴ Jews of Elephantine the fortress of the detachment of Iddinnabu, ⁵ (3)to Jedaniah and Mahseiah, ⁶ all (told) two, sons of
Place then in Elephantine the fortress, ²	

¹ There are two documents in our collection, both written by Mauziah son of Nathan in successive months, which lack day dates, but the month dates correspond exactly (3.76:1); Porten 1990:20-21.

² It was first in 427 BCE that we find the body of the document opening with the word *ḏdyn* (3.74:1; 3.78:1; 3.79:1; 3.80:1; *TAD* B4.6:1), usually followed by the *Place*, as here (3.66:1; 3.67:1; 3.75:1; 3.76:1; 3.77:1; 3.81:1; *TAD* B5.5:1). Thus a new phrase was added to the documents.

³ For the practice of tallying two and more persons, see 3.60, n. 9.

⁴ Shelomam gave his son Meshullam a name from the same root as his own (*šlm*). The grandfather is cited here so as to indicate the familial links of the claimants with the bailee Shelomam son of Azariah (line 6). For other three-generation genealogies among the parties see 3.64, n. 7.

⁵ Along with the Iranians Varyazata (3.64:2 [446 BCE]) and Namasava (3.72:2 [437 BCE]), this Babylonian detachment commander was present during the years of Mibtahiah's activity (*TAD* B6.1:2 [446 BCE]; 3.74:2 [427 BCE]; 3.76:2 [420 BCE]).

⁶ The sons were named after the grandfather and father, respectively, of Mibtahiah. They were probably cousins of the Jewish communal leader (see 3.46:3 [*EPE* B13]); Porten 1968:238; 2001:334-335.

Ešor son of Djeḥo from Mibtahiah daughter of Mahseiah,⁷ Jews⁽⁸⁾ of the same detachment, saying:

α Ezra 5:17

Suit

We brought suit of *np*⁸ against you before Ramnadaina, Chief⁹ (and) Vidranga,¹⁰ (5) the Troop Commander,¹¹ saying:

"There [are] the(se) goods¹² — woolen and linen garments, bronze and iron utensils, wooden⁽⁶⁾ and palm-leaf⁽⁵⁾ utensils, (6) grain and other (things)."¹³

Saying:¹⁴

"Goods Ešor your father took¹⁵ from Shelomam son of Azariah.¹⁶ Moreover, (7) he¹⁷ said,

"There are (these goods) which¹⁸ ^a were placed on depos[it]."

But he took hereditary possession¹⁹ and did not return (them) to him."

And consequently,²⁰ we brought (suit) against you.

Interrogation

(8) Afterwards,²¹ you were interrogated²²

Satisfaction

and you, Jedaniah and Mahseiah, sons of Ešor, satisfied our heart with²³ those goods⁽⁹⁾ and our heart was satisfied²⁴ herein from this d[a]y forever.²⁵

Withdrawal

I, Menahem and Ananiah, we are withdrawn²⁶ from you⁽¹⁰⁾ from this day forever.²⁷

Waiver of suit

We shall no[t] be able — we, or our sons or our daughters, or our brothers, or a man who is ours,²⁸ near (or far), or member of (a detachment or) (11) town²⁹ — they shall not be able³⁰ to br[i]ng against [yo]u, you, Jedaniah and Mahseiah, suit or process. And they³¹ shall not be able to bring (suit) against your children³² (12) or your brothers, or a man of yours in the [na]me of (the)³³ goods³⁴ and silver,³⁵ grain and other (things) of Shelomam son

⁷ Reference to the mother in a filiation is rare in the Aram. documents and limited to Ešor and Mibtahiah, probably because he had been married before. The practice was standard in the Demotic documents (*P. Berlin* 13614.1 [EPE C27], et al.); Roman documents (*P. Paris* 17.3 [EPE D14], et al.); and Byzantine documents (*P. Edmonstone* 3 [EPE D18]; *P. Lond.* V 1722.3 [EPE D22], et al.).

⁸ This word is an unresolved crux. It occurs again in the expression, "You complained against me in *np*" (*TAD* B7.2:4). No place by this name is known. Also unusual in this expression is the addition of the preposition *beth* preceding *dyn*, "suit." Such addition occurs only once more in a fragmentary text where the following word is missing (*TAD* B5.2:3) Could it have been *np*?

⁹ Bearing a Persian title (*prtrk*), Ramnadaina was the leading authority in Syene-Elephantine. He was succeeded by Vidranga, presently Troop Commander. The Chief (*frataraka*) was normally stationed in Elephantine and had military as well as judicial authority (see 3.50:4 [EPE B17]).

¹⁰ See 3.48, n. 8 (EPE B15).

¹¹ The Persian Troop Commander, here (and in 3.67:2-4; 3.77:2; 3.48:3; *TAD* A5.2:7) written as two words (*rb hyl*) but elsewhere as one (*TAD* A3.1v:5; B5.1:3; 3.51:4) was subordinate to the Chief, and was frequently involved in judicial affairs (3.67:2-4; 3.77:2; *TAD* B5.1:3). His station was in Syene (3.67:2-4; *TAD* A5.2:7; 3.51:4). In a Demotic document of 486 BCE, Parnu was entitled "He of Tshetres, to whom the fortress of Syene is entrusted" (*P. Berlin* 13582.2-3 [EPE C35]). Did he hold both the posts of *frataraka* and of Troop Commander?

¹² The formulation here and in line 7 does not begin with a transitive verb but with the stative *ṣyṣy*. The focus was to be on the goods (as it was on the house in 3.66:3) and this word recurs twice in initial or near-initial position (lines 5-7). Thus a statement that might have been made in one long, compound sentence was broken down into three distinct statements.

¹³ For such generalized lists of property, see 3.65, n. 10.

¹⁴ The recurrence of this word here is most awkward. Actually, it comes after the following word "goods."

¹⁵ Did he "take" them on his own initiative or were they delivered to him for safe-keeping?

¹⁶ Probably the grandson of the witness Shelomam son of Azariah (*TAD* B5.1:10), he was the grandfather of the brothers drawing up the contract. Their father Meshullam must have passed from the scene.

¹⁷ I.e. Ešor.

¹⁸ The expression here has the meaning "It is (a fact) that" as in Ezra 5:17; *DAE* 198.

¹⁹ He incorporated them into his private estate and passed them on to his sons, the other parties to the contract.

²⁰ This word (*mnkn*) occurs only here in our documents.

²¹ See 3.62, n. 18.

²² The ordinary word for "ask" (*ṣṣṭ*) takes on the meaning of "interrogate" in a judicial context (*TAD* A5.2:3; 5.4:5; B7.2:6; 8.7:2, 9; 8.8:5, 8; 8.10:6).

²³ The preposition *beth* indicates that the goods were returned (3.65:5; 3.70:4; 3.72:6-7). See Botta 2001:134, 177-180.

²⁴ The statement of satisfaction occurs here in its fullest form — "you satisfied our heart ... our heart was satisfied" (see 3.60, n. 28; 3.63, n. 14).

²⁵ The appearance of this phrase in the satisfaction statement is unique (see on 3.61:8). It would seem to mean "once and for all."

²⁶ Withdrawal regularly followed on satisfaction (see 3.64, n. 17), though the scribe did not always make it explicit (3.60:11-12).

²⁷ For this occasional addition to the *Withdrawal* clause, see 3.64, n. 17.

²⁸ In documents drawn up after 420 BCE, the list of claimants and covered parties was expanded beyond heirs and beneficiaries to include representatives, viz. an agent or lessee. The specific terms were variegated — "man who is mine/ours/yours" (lines 10, 13-14); "man/woman of mine/ours/yours" (line 12; 3.67:10-14; 3.77:4-6), and "individual who is mine/yours" (3.68:8, 10).

²⁹ The truncated phrase "near or civilian" is another indication of scribal ellipsis; for the full phrase, see on 3.59:9.

³⁰ The awkward syntactical shift in the person of the auxiliary verb ("we shall not be able" > "they shall not be able") resulted from compacting into one clause both the first and third person *Waivers*.

³¹ The heirs and representatives after our death.

³² The Aram. word (*bnn*) was the same as that for "sons" in the preceding sentence (line 10). If "sons" were meant here, then "daughters" would be implicit because it was explicit in the previous and following sentences (lines 10, 13).

³³ See 3.61, n. 37.

³⁴ This would refer to the garments and utensils mentioned above (lines 5-6).

³⁵ Strangely, there was no mention of silver in the original list above.

of Azariah.

Penalty

And if we, ⁽¹³⁾or our sons or our daughters, or a man who is ours, or the sons of Shelomam son of Azariah, ⁽³⁶⁾bring (suit) against you or bring (suit) against your sons or your daughters, ⁽¹⁴⁾or a man who is yours, then whoever shall bring su[*it*] about it ⁽³⁷⁾shall give you, or your sons or whomever they bring (suit) against, the penalty ⁽³⁸⁾⁽¹⁵⁾of silver, ten *karsh* by the stone(-weight)s of the king, silver 2 q(uarters) to 1 *karsh*,

Reaffirmation

and he is likewise withdrawn from these goods ⁽³⁹⁾⁽¹⁶⁾about ⁽¹⁵⁾which ⁽¹⁶⁾we brought (suit), without suit and without process, ⁽⁴⁰⁾

Scribe

Mauziah son of Nathan ⁽⁴¹⁾wrote this document at the instruction of Menahem and Ananiah, all (told) two, ⁽¹⁷⁾sons of Meshullam son of Shelomam.

Witnesses

(2nd hand) witness Menahem son of Gaddul ⁽⁴²⁾;
(3rd hand) witness Gaddul son of Berechiah ⁽⁴³⁾;
(4th hand) witness Menahem son of Azariah ⁽⁴⁴⁾;
⁽¹⁸⁾(5th hand) witness Hodaviah son of Zaccur son of Oshaiah. ⁽⁴⁵⁾

Endorsement

(Verso) ⁽¹⁹⁾Document (*sealing*) of [withdrawal] which Menahem and Ananiah, all (told) two, sons of Menahem ⁽⁴⁶⁾son of Shelomam, wrote ⁽²⁰⁾[for Jedaniah and Mahseiah, all (told) two, sons of Eshor son of Djjeho. ⁽⁴⁷⁾

³⁶ Their uncles, who were presumably not around at the moment or else they might have sued instead of Shelomam's grandchildren.

³⁷ The "then" clause is introduced by the conjunction *waw* and recapitulates the long protasis before introducing the penalty statement ("shall give you"); see *DAE* 199.

³⁸ It is first in 427 BCE that we find the introduction of the word ³*bygrn* (< OP **abigarana*) to designate the penalty. It recurs regularly thereafter, with precise formulation following scribal preference — "the penalty of silver" employed by Mauziah son of Nathan (also 3.66:14; 3.67:15; 3.76:31), "the penalty, silver/barley" (3.68:10; *TAD* 7.1:8), or simply "a penalty (of) silver," favored by Haggai son of Shemaiah (3.74:8, 14-15; 3.78:20; 3.79:10, 14; 3.80:30) and other scribes (3.75:17; 3.77:7; *TAD* B5.5:6, 11). Once the order is reversed — "silver, a penalty" (3.71:6; cf. line 7). See Azzoni and Lippert 2000:22-25.

³⁹ I.e., he has no right to reclaim these goods again from you; Botta 2001:135. Had Jedaniah and Mahseiah retained possession of the goods the language should have been like that in the deed of withdrawal drawn up by Dargamana, who relinquished possession ("and that land is [> and these goods are] likewise yours and you are withdrawn from any suit" [3.60:15]). But the *Reaffirmation* clause in the withdrawal document of Peu did not reaffirm Mibtahiah's rights to the goods (3.65:11). So we are back to square one.

⁴⁰ For this addition to the withdrawal statement, see 3.61, n. 40. Here it has the meaning "(withdrawn) absolutely."

⁴¹ He was one of the five leaders of the community (3.53:10 and see 3.47:1, 17; 3.48:2, 12) and a professional scribe who drew up seven or eight more documents in our collection (3.67:17; 3.73:22; 3.76:42; *TAD* B6.1, 6.4:8-9; 7.1:9; and probably D2.25).

⁴² His grandfather was Baadiah (3.67:18) and he appears among the first signatories in four documents between 420 and 402 BCE, including the last three in this archive — first (here; 3.68:15), second of eight (3.79:18), and third of eight (3.67:18). The scribe forgot the introductory statement, "The witnesses herein." For the number of witnesses, see 3.65, n. 26.

⁴³ He also appears in the next document as sixth witness (3.67:19).

⁴⁴ He appears as witness a month later in another contract written by Mauziah (3.76:44).

⁴⁵ Appears only here. Three-generation genealogies among witness were rare. See 3.64, n. 7.

⁴⁶ Influenced, perhaps, by the first Menahem, the scribe wrote Menahem here instead of Meshullam (see line 2).

⁴⁷ This is one of three two-line endorsements (see 3.61, n. 83).

REFERENCES

Text, translation and studies: *TAD* B2.9; *EPE* B31. *DAE*; Azzoni and Lippert 2000; Porten 1968; 1990; 2002; *TAD*.

WITHDRAWAL FROM HOUSE (3.67) (16 December, 416 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

Like the preceding document, this too was drawn up in the presence of the Troop Commander. But unlike that one, there is no mention here of a suit. A nephew of Jezaniah, Mibtahiah's first husband, withdrew from Jezaniah's house in favor of Mibtahiah's children from her second husband, here named Nathan (lines 2-9). Upon Jezaniah's premature death, his house must have passed to his wife. She recently died and her estate required probate. No children of Jezaniah stepped forward, though possible offspring lurked in the background (lines 13, 17), and so the relinquishment by the nephew Jedaniah son of Hoshaiiah/Hosea may have been drawn up as part of a probate procedure (cf. an earlier one, likewise in the presence of the Troop Commander [*TAD* B5.1:3]). With other potential heirs in mind, the *Waiver* and *Penalty* clauses were careful to offer protection only against a suit brought "in the name of" Jedaniah, his heirs, and representatives. The standard ten *karsh* penalty was to apply (lines 9-17) and the requisite number of eight witnesses, all Jewish, signed (lines 17-19).

Date

(Recto)¹On the 3rd of Kislev, year 8, that is day 12 of Thoth, year 9 of Darius the king,¹

Place

then in Elephantine ⁽²⁾the fortress,²

Parties

Said Jedaniah son of Hoshaiiah son of Uriah,³ an Aramean of Elephantine the fortress,⁴ before Vidranga the Troop Commander ⁽³⁾of Syene,⁵ to Jedaniah son of Nathan⁶ and Mahseiah son of Nathan his brother, their mother (being) Mibtahiah daughter of Mahseiah son of Jedaniah,⁷ before ⁽⁴⁾Vidranga the Troop Commander of Syene, saying:

Withdrawal

I withdrew⁸ from you

Object

from the house of Jezaniah son of Uriah.

Boundaries I

Behold its boundaries:⁹

⁽⁵⁾above (it) the house of Hosea son of Uriah adjoins it¹⁰; below it the house of Hazzul son

of Zechariah adjoins it¹¹;

Description

⁽⁶⁾on the (side) below and above windows are open there¹²;

Boundaries II

east of it is the Temple of YHW the God and the road of ⁽⁷⁾the king is between them; west¹³ of it the house of Mibtahiah daughter of Mahseiah, which Mahseiah her father gave her,¹⁴ ⁽⁸⁾adjoins it.

Investiture

That house, whose boundaries are written above,¹⁵ is yours¹⁶ — you, Jedaniah and Mahseiah, all (told) two,¹⁷ ⁽⁹⁾sons of Nathan — forever, and your children's after you and to whomever you love you may give it.¹⁸

Waiver of suit

I shall not be able — I, Jedaniah or my children, ⁽¹⁰⁾or woman or man of mine¹⁹ — I shall not be able to institute against you suit or process. Moreover, we shall not be able to bring (suit) against son or daughter of yours,²⁰ ⁽¹¹⁾brother or sister,²¹ woman or man of yours, or a person to whom you sell that

¹ Between Eg. 1 Thoth and Babyl. 1 Nisan, the scribe, as here, often gave two regnal dates (so in 3.68:1, but absent from 3.69:1 and 3.79:1), since the Egyptian new year began three months earlier than the Babylonian new year. This document must have been written at night since 3 Kislev in 8 Darius II = December 17 while 12 Thoth in 9 Darius II = December 16. See Porten 1990:21 and Figure 8 in TAD B.

² See 3.66, n. 2.

³ Jedaniah was a nephew of Mibtahiah's first husband, Jezaniah son of Uriah (lines 4, 13, 17; 3.61:6-7; 3.62:2-4). His grandfather was listed here so as to link him up with the house in question, that of Jezaniah son of Uriah. For other three-generation genealogies, see 3.64, n. 7.

⁴ See 3.59, n. 3. His detachment is not listed.

⁵ Unlike the previous document (3.66:4) where the alienors had brought suit before the Chief and Troop Commander, here the alienor merely made a declaration in the presence of the Troop Commander of Syene. A similar procedure took place a few months earlier in a case of emancipation-adoption (3.77:2-3). In both cases the name of Vidranga was repeated, once following the name of the alienor and again after that of the alienee. See further on 3.48, n. 8 (EPE B15).

⁶ In the previous documents the husband of Mibtahiah and the father of Jedaniah and Mahseiah was known as Eshor (3.63:2, 17-26, 30; 3.66:3, 8, 20). Now, the same scribe who wrote one of those documents ten years earlier referred to him as Nathan. Since he was presumably dead at the time, he must have assumed that second, Jewish name during his lifetime.

⁷ For mention of the mother, see 3.66, n. 7. The scribe was the same but the formula was different. Moreover, here he added Mahseiah's patronym to yield a three-generation genealogy. See 3.64, n. 7.

⁸ See 3.64, n. 17.

⁹ For the formula, see 3.60, n. 19. For the plan, see TAD B, Figure 3.

¹⁰ Hosea/Hoshaiah son of Uriah was the brother of Jezaniah and his neighbor. Perhaps both houses had once been united in their father's possession and were divided up between the brothers after his death.

¹¹ Zechariah was owner of the house back in 471 BCE when Mahseiah first appeared on the scene (3.59:5).

¹² The windows were apparently located in the lower (= southern?) side of Jezaniah's house (for a different view, see Porten 1968:309-310). The presence or absence of windows, and their location, was frequently mentioned in conveyances (3.72:5; 3.73:8; 3.78:13; 3.80:13, 21).

¹³ The sitings here are those of the scribe Attarshuri for whom the house of Jezaniah lay east of the house of Mibtahiah (3.61:6-7) and not of Itu for whom it lay "below" that house (3.60:9-10).

¹⁴ In 3.61; see 3.60, n. 22 for explanatory notations.

¹⁵ For this expression, see also 3.72:17; 3.79:11.

¹⁶ Only here is the usually terse *Investiture* statement expanded with reference to the boundaries; see 3.59, n. 8.

¹⁷ For the practice of tallying two and more persons, see 3.60, n. 9.

¹⁸ This clause with its multiple elements (yours ... forever ... children ... love) was the most expansive *Investiture* clause of its type, yet it would appear to limit the right of alienation to heirs and beneficiaries.

¹⁹ Like the previous document (see 3.66, n. 28), this one extended coverage to representatives in addition to heirs.

²⁰ The scribe has composed separate *Waiver* sentences for the alienee ("not sue you") and for those associated with him ("not sue heirs, representatives, et al.").

²¹ Explicitly mentioned in the second sentence, "brother or sister" are to be understood as included in the first sentence and in the following *Penalty* clause (line 14).

house²² or to whom in love you give (it)²³ — (to bring [suit])⁽¹²⁾ in my name,²⁴ I, Jedaniah, or in the name of children or woman or man of mine.

Penalty

And if I, Jedaniah, bring (suit) against you, or ⁽¹³⁾son of mine or daughter, woman or man ⁽¹²⁾bring (suit) against you ⁽¹³⁾in my name or in the name of my children — excluding son or daughter of Jezaniah son of Uriah — ⁽¹⁴⁾or they bring (suit) against son or daughter, or woman or man of yours, or persons to whom you sell or to whom in love you give ⁽¹⁵⁾that house, ⁽¹⁵⁾then whoever shall bring suit against you²⁵ shall give you the penalty²⁶ of silver, ten *karsh*, that is 10 *karsh*,²⁷ silver ⁽¹⁶⁾2 q(arters) to 1 *karsh*, by the stone(-weight)s of the king,

Reaffirmation

and the house is likewise yours forever²⁸ and your children's after you — excluding ⁽¹⁷⁾children of Jeza son of Uriah — without suit.

Scribe

Mauziah son of Nathan wrote²⁹ at the instruction of Jedaniah son of Hosea.³⁰

Witnesses

And the witnesses ⁽¹⁸⁾herein:³¹

- (2nd hand) Menahem son of Shallum³²;
- (3rd hand) Mahseiah son of Jedaniah³³;
- (4th hand) Menahem son of Gaddul son of Baadiah³⁴;
- (5th hand) Jedaniah son of Meshullam³⁵;
- ⁽¹⁹⁾(6th hand) Isha son of Gaddul³⁶;
- (7th hand) Gaddul son of Berechiah³⁷;
- (8th hand) Jezaniah son of Penuliah³⁸;
- (9th hand) Ahio son of Nathan.³⁹

Endorsement

(Verso)⁽²⁰⁾Document (sealing) of withdrawal which Jedaniah son of Hosea wrote about the house of Jezaniah son of Uriah ⁽²¹⁾for Jedaniah son of Nathan and Mahseiah his brother, all (told) two.⁴⁰

²² Mention here of a potential purchaser, listed even ahead of a beneficiary ("give in love") was designed to indicate that the reference to "give it to whomever you love" in the *Investiture* clause (line 9) was not meant to limit the alienee's right of disposition. See Szubin and Porten 1983a:38-39.

²³ For the meaning of this clause, see 3.61, n. 31.

²⁴ Emphasis on name here and in the following *Penalty* clause was particularly pertinent because a suit entered in the name of any (at present unknown?) descendant of Jezaniah was not covered under the provisions of this contract (see lines 13, 17).

²⁵ After a very lengthy protasis, the scribe employed the same kind of apodosis construction here that he had in the previous document (see 3.66, n. 37).

²⁶ For this term see 3.66, n. 38.

²⁷ For the numerical repetition, see 3.60, n. 36.

²⁸ Only here did the scribe add "forever" to the *Reaffirmation* clause. See 3.59, n. 18.

²⁹ He omitted the usual object "this document." See also on 3.59:15; 3.66:16.

³⁰ Hosea (also in the endorsement [line 20]) abbreviates Hoshaiah cited in line 2.

³¹ Eight witnesses were standard for withdrawal from realty (see 3.59, n. 34). None of them here prefaced his name with the word "witness."

³² This witness who signed first here in 416 BCE and then again in 402 BCE (3.81:13) was party to two documents himself — an oath text (*TAD* B7.3) and a deed of obligation (for his former(?) wife) in 400 (*TAD* B4.6) — and was recorded in a compilation of memoranda (*TAD* C3.13:46).

³³ According to the handwriting (cf. 3.64:17-18 and 3.70:13) this was not Mahseiah son of Jedaniah who began the archive in 471 BCE (3.59:1). On the basis of *papponymy* this Mahseiah son of Jedaniah would have been his grandson, son of the earlier witness Jedaniah son of Mahseiah (3.61:31; 3.62:20). It is unlikely that he was son of the Jedaniah in our contract. The latter's father was married in 449 BCE (3.63) and Mahseiah was his second son. Thirty years maximum is hardly enough time to allow for a second generation witness signing second with a skilled hand. Porten 2001:334-335.

³⁴ Witnessed four documents (see 3.66, n. 42).

³⁵ Appears only here.

³⁶ In 420 BCE, he was the second of six witnesses to a document of wifehood drawn up by Mauziah (3.76:43-44) and in 407 BCE he was a creditor designated "Aramean of Syene" (*TAD* B4.5:2).

³⁷ He also appeared in the previous document as the second witness (3.66:17).

³⁸ Appears only here; probably son of the witness Penuliah son of Jezaniah of 449 BCE (3.63:38). See Porten 2001:348.

³⁹ Ahio son of Nathan son of Anani also appeared as the third of eight witnesses in 402 BCE (3.79:18) and in two lists from the end of the century (*TAD* C3.15:131; 4.6:1). He may have been the brother of the professional scribe Mauziah son of Nathan son of Anani. See Porten 2001:339-340.

⁴⁰ This is one of three two-line endorsements (see 3.61, n. 83). For the expanded formulation see 3.59, n. 44.

REFERENCES

Text and translation: *TAD* B2.10; *EPE* B32; *EPE*. Porten 1968; 1990; 2001; Szubin and Porten 1983a; *TAD*.

APPORTIONMENT OF SLAVES (3.68)

(10 February, 410 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

Just over five years after the brothers Jedaniah and Mahseiah received clear title to the house of their mother's first husband (3.67), they decided to divide between them two of Mibtahiah's four Egyptian slaves. Both were branded with their mother's name. The present document was drawn up by Mahseiah for his elder brother and he assigned him Petosiri, taking Bela for himself (lines 2-6). An identical document must have been drawn up by Jedaniah, assigning Bela to his brother. Inheritance terminology is clearly in evidence ("share," "came to you," and "take hereditary possession"). Mahseiah guaranteed Jedaniah's rights with the usual *Waiver* and *Penalty* clauses, protecting him, his heirs, and his representatives against suits (*sic!*) by Mahseiah and his people, subject to the standard ten *karsh* penalty (lines 7-12). Mother Tabi and her third, presumably small, child Lilu were left for future division (lines 12-14). The scribe was Aramean, though the document was drawn up in Elephantine and attested by four Jewish witnesses (lines 14-16). [For Petosiris, high priest of Thoth in Hermopolis a century later, see Lichtheim AEL 3:44-54. Ed.]

Date

(Recto)⁽¹⁾On the 24th of Shebat, year 13, that is day 9 of Hathyr, year 14 of Darius the king,¹

Place

in Elephantine the fortress,²

Parties

⁽²⁾said Mahseiah son of Nathan, 1, Jedaniah son of Nathan, 1, all (told) two,³ Arameans of Syene of the detachment of Var[yaza]ta,⁴ saying:

Apportionment of slaves

We have acted as equals ⁽³⁾as one⁵ and divided (between) us the slaves⁶ of Mibtahiah our mother.⁷

Description

And behold,⁸ this is the share which came⁹ to

you as a share, you,¹⁰ Jedaniah¹¹:

⁽⁴⁾Petosiri by name,¹² his mother (being) Tabi,¹³ a slave, ywd/r, 1,¹⁴ branded¹⁵ on his right hand (with) a brand reading (in) Aramaic like this:
⁽⁵⁾"(Belonging) to Mibtahiah."

And behold, this is the share which came to me as a share, I,¹⁶ Mahseiah:

Bela by name, his mother (being) Tabi, a slave, ywd/r, 1,¹⁶ branded on his right hand (with) a brand reading (in) Aramaic like this:
"(Belonging) to Mibtahiah."

Investiture

You, Jedaniah, have right to¹⁷ Petosiri, ⁽⁷⁾that slave who came to you as a share,¹⁸ from this day and forever and (so do) your children after you and to

¹ For the double regnal year on a document written during the first months of the Julian calendar year, see on 3.67:1. This document must have been written at night since in 13 Darius II 24 Shebat = February 11 while in 14 Darius II 9 Hathyr = February 10. See Porten 1990:21 and Figure 8 in *TAD B*.

² See 3.66, n. 2.

³ For the practice of tallying two and more persons, see 3.60, n. 9.

⁴ Their grandfather was listed in identical fashion 55 years earlier (3.59:2), but it is highly improbable that this was the same detachment commander. It was probably his grandson.

⁵ In modern legal parlance we would say: "we held equal rights; by the whole and by the half, as tenants in common in an individual estate." Identical terminology is found in an Aram. joint venture agreement from Korobis in 515 BCE (*TAD B*1.1:6); see Szubin and Porten 1992:76.

⁶ Actually only two of her four slaves were being divided. All four had Eg. names. A houseborn slave of Zaccur son of Meshullam bore the Heb. name Jedaniah (3.77:3).

⁷ Their mother had probably died at least six years earlier when her house from her first husband Jezaniah passed through probate (see introduction to 3.67).

⁸ This same interjection, followed by demonstrative pronoun, was used to introduce the *Boundaries* clause (see 3.60, n. 19).

⁹ The language here is technical in a situation where property "comes" to an heir as his "portion" of the estate; similar terminology is encountered in biblical, Talmudic, and Demotic texts (see on *TAD B*5.1:4 [*EPE B*47] and Porten and Szubin 1982b:653).

¹⁰ For addition of the independent pronoun as emphatic, see 3.60, n. 17 and *TAD A*3.3:11.

¹¹ For double reinforcement of the name of an owner ("to you; you, Jedaniah"; "to me; I, Mahseiah"), see 3.60, n. 17.

¹² This word (*šmh*) was regularly attached to the name of a slave (lines 5; 9; 13; *TAD A*6.7:3-5; 3.71:3; 3.74:24; 3.75:3; 3.76:3; 3.77:3); a royal servant (*TAD A*6.3:3; 6.9:2; 6.11:1, 4; 6.12:1; *C1*1.1:1; et al.; 2.1:12; et al.), and even communal leaders in a petition (3.53:1-5).

¹³ Slaves were normally known by their mother (cf. Jedaniah son of Tahe/Takhoi [3.77:3]; though the handmaiden Tamet daughter of Patou (3.80:3) was an exception. Who sired our three slave lads? There was no mention of any father.

¹⁴ This inexplicable word, followed by the numeral "1" in a tally, designated an Eg. male head of family where the wife was called "great lady" (*TAD C*3.9:9, 12-14; 3.10:2). Here we have the word + numeral but no tally, perhaps because they were divided up between the two brothers. This word + numeral had hitherto been taken to mean a mark of some kind that was the subject of the following verb, "branded" (see Porten 1968:203-205 for full discussion).

¹⁵ It was customary in Egypt generally (*TAD A*6.10:7) and at Elephantine specifically to brand slaves with the name of their owner (3.74:3 [on the right hand; as here]; 3.77:5-7; 3.87L:3-4).

¹⁶ For addition of the independent pronoun as emphatic, see 3.60, n. 17 and *TAD A*3.3:11 (*EPE B*9).

¹⁷ See note on line 12 below and 3.61, n. 28.

¹⁸ Every reference to Petosiri carried the notation that he was an heir's share (lines 9-11).

whomever you desire you may give (him).¹⁹

Waiver of suit

I shall not be able — ⁽⁸⁾I, Mahseiah, son or daughter of mine, brother or sister²⁰ of mine, or an individual who is mine — to bring²¹ suits against you or against your children on account of²² Petosiri ⁽⁹⁾by name, the slave who came to you as a share.

Penalty

If we bring suit against you about it — we, Mahseiah or my children²³ — or bring (suit) against son ⁽¹⁰⁾or daughter of yours or against an individual who is yours²⁴ on account of Petosiri, that slave who came to you as a share, afterwards²⁵ we shall give you the penalty²⁶ (of) ⁽¹¹⁾pure ⁽¹⁰⁾silver, ⁽¹¹⁾ten *karsh* by the weight of the king.

Reaffirmation

and we are withdrawn²⁷ from you and from your children from (any) suit on account of that Petosiri ⁽¹²⁾who came to you as a share. Yours shall he be and your children's after you and to whomever you desire you may give him, without

suit.²⁸

Future apportionment

Moreover, there is Tabi ⁽¹³⁾by name, the mother of these lads, and Lilu her son whom we shall not yet divide (between) us.²⁹ When (the) time will be, we shall divide them ⁽¹⁴⁾(between) us and, (each) person his share, we shall take hereditary possession,³⁰ and a document of our division³¹ we shall write between us, without suit.

Scribe and place

Nabutukulti son of Nabuzeribni³² wrote ⁽¹⁵⁾this document in Elephantine³³ the fortress at the instruction of Mahseiah and Jedaniah his brother.

Witnesses

The witnesses herein³⁴:

(2nd hand) Menahem son of Gaddul³⁵;

⁽¹⁶⁾(3rd hand) witness Hanan son of Haggai³⁶;

(4th hand) witness Nathan son of Jehour³⁷;

(5th hand) witness Shillem son of Nathan.³⁸

Endorsement

(Verso)⁽¹⁷⁾Document (*sealing*) of division of (the) slave³⁹ Petosiri (which) Mahseiah son of Nathan wrote for Jedaniah son of Nathan his brother.

¹⁹ Virtually the same language was used in the *Investiture* clause drawn up for Mahseiah in 459 BCE by this scribe's grandfather, Attarshuri (3.61:9-10), except that here the right of alienation was not limited ("give to whomever you desire").

²⁰ Explicit in the *Waiver* clause, "brother or sister" was meant to be implicit in the list of protected parties in the *Penalty* clause (line 10).

²¹ The construction here of complementary infinitive plus plural object (*lmrsh dymn*) is unique.

²² For this technical term and its legal overtones, see 3.60, n. 12.

²³ Enumerated in the *Waiver* clause (Mahseiah, children, siblings, representatives [line 8]); the potential claimants are abridged in the *Penalty* clause (Mahseiah, children).

²⁴ Abridged in the *Waiver* clause (children [line 8]); the protected parties are enumerated (children; representatives) in the *Penalty* clause. All in all, there were four potential claimants (alienor, children, siblings, representatives) and the identical four protected parties.

²⁵ For this conjunction, see 3.62, n. 18.

²⁶ See 3.66, n. 38.

²⁷ See 3.60, n. 39.

²⁸ The scribe has reiterated and expanded the *Investiture* clause (lines 6-7) — not only do you have right of possession over (*šlyt b-*) that slave but also title to him (*lk yhwš*).

²⁹ Mother and minor child remained joint property, presumably to be divided up when the child could fend for himself.

³⁰ For this technical term, see 3.61, n. 65.

³¹ Much like the present document, but the archive ended before such a document made its way into it.

³² This scribe with Akk. praenomen and patronym was the grandson of Attarshuri son of Nabuzeribni who drew up two documents for Mahseiah in 459 BCE (3.61:27-28; 3.62:16).

³³ See 3.59, nn. 31 and 33 and 3.60, n. 41.

³⁴ Four witnesses was the standard number for withdrawal from movables. See 3.65, n. 26.

³⁵ Witnessed the last three documents in this archive. See 3.66, n. 34.

³⁶ Appears also in a memorandum of accounts *TAD* C3.13:2).

³⁷ Appears also in three late documents (404-402 BCE) written by Haggai son of Shemaiah, where he was third of eight (3.78:24); first of eight (3.79:18); and third of four (3.80:34).

³⁸ Appears only here.

³⁹ For the formula, see 3.59, n. 44.

REFERENCES

Text and translation: *TAD* B2.11; *EPE* B33. Porten 1968; 1990; Porten and Szubin 1982b; Szubin and Porten 1992; *TAD*.

THE ANANIAH ARCHIVE (456-402 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

In the early part of 1893 the American traveler and collector, Charles Edwin Wilbour acquired at Aswan over a dozen Aramaic papyri that went into storage in Brooklyn, New York, after his death in 1896. Upon the demise of his daughter Theodora in 1947, they were bequeathed to the Brooklyn Museum and were published in 1953 by Emil G. Kraeling. Unprofessional attempts to open three of the intact rolls (3.70, 3.75, and 3.76) reduced each to numerous fragments that had to be restored in jigsaw fashion. This was accomplished with great skill by the technician of the Department of Egyptian Art, Anthony Giambalvo for the original publication, and enhanced in 1987 by Porten and Yardeni for publication in their *Textbook* (1989). The major documents stemmed from the archive of the Temple official Anani(ah) son of Azariah and his Egyptian-born handmaiden wife Ta(p)met, their daughter Jehoishma and her husband Anani(ah) son of Haggai. To this we have added the only intact roll to emerge from the Rubensohn excavations, a contract for a loan made by Meshullam son of Zaccur (3.69), who was slaveowner of Tamet (3.71) and whose son Zaccur gave her daughter's hand in marriage to the above-named son of Haggai (3.76). The archive opens at the beginning of the Egyptian year (456 BCE), before the collapse of the Egyptian revolt against Artaxerxes I¹ and comes to an end at the beginning of the Egyptian year (402 BCE), on the eve of the expulsion of Artaxerxes II.² It bears allusion to events in the Egyptian-Jewish clash that led to the destruction of the Jewish Temple (3.78:8-9; 3.79:3-4) and is a disinterested witness to its likely reconstruction (3.80:2, 18-19). Like Mibtahiah, Anani lived across from the Temple, in a piece of abandoned property he bought from a Caspian couple in 437 BCE (3.72), a dozen years after the redaction of his wifehood document with Tamet (3.71). Three years after his purchase he bestows a room in the house upon his wife (3.73), and then in stages another room upon his daughter (420 [3.75]), 404 [3.78], and 402 [3.79]), and the remainder to his son-in-law in sale (402 [3.80]). Unique among the papyri are a document of emancipation and one of adoption. The former is drawn up in 427 BCE by Meshullam for Tamet and her daughter (3.74); the latter for his son Zaccur by one Uriah son of Mahseiah in 416 BCE (3.77). The final document is a loan of grain taken out by Ananiah son of Haggai (3.81).

¹ Briant 1996:592-594.² Briant 1996:653-654.

LOAN OF SILVER (3.69)

(13 December 456 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

This was the only Aramaic document found intact by Otto Rubensohn in excavation. The otherwise unknown woman Jehothen borrowed the small sum of four shekels from the well-known Meshullam son of Zaccur at a 5% monthly interest rate (lines 2-5). If the interest went unpaid in any month it became capitalized and bore interest like the principal (lines 5-7). If interest and principal were not returned by the end of the year, Meshullam was entitled to seize any durable or perishable property of the debtor as security toward repayment (lines 7-11). Should she die before repaying the loan, her children inherited the obligation and the same right of seizure from her applied to them as well (lines 14-18). Any attempt to deny the loan or any legal complaint against seizure of security would be thwarted by Meshullam's retention of the document (lines 11-14, 18-20). The contract has been assigned to the Anani archive on the assumption that the loan had never been repaid and some personal possession of Jehothen had been seized. This was subsequently passed on to Jehoishma as part of her dowry along with the contract as evidence of title to the items.

Date(Recto)⁽¹⁾On the 7th of Kislev, that is day 4 of the month of Thoth, year 9 of Artaxerxes ⁽²⁾the king,¹*Parties*

said Jehothen daughter of Meshullach, a lady of Elephantine the fortress, to Meshullam son of

¹ As written, the double dates do not synchronize — 7 Kislev = December 14 = 4 Thoth, 9 Artaxerxes I = December 18, 456 BCE. One way to account for the four-day difference is to assume that the scribe forgot to account for the 5 epagomenal days at the end of the Eg. year so 4 Thoth would be an error for the 4th epagomenal day = December 13. The equation would then be 7 Kislev = December 14 = 4 epagomenal = December 13, 456 BCE. The document was thus written on the night of December 13. The date formula was abridged in another respect. Usually, Eg. dates that fell between 1 Thoth (the Eg. New Year) and 1 Nisan (the Babylonian New Year), carried a double year date, with the Eg. year being one year ahead (so in 3.67:1 and 3.68:1). Here the scribe Nathan, error-prone on chronology (see on 3.64:1), gave only the Babylonian year. See Porten 1990:25 and Figure 8 in *TAD B*.

⁽³⁾Zaccur,² a Jew of Elephantine the fortress,³ saying:

Loan

You gave me a loan of silver,⁴ ⁽⁴⁾4, that is four,⁵ ⁽³⁾shekels ⁽⁴⁾by the stone(-weight)s of the king, at its interest.

Interest I

It will increase upon me⁶ ⁽⁵⁾(at the rate of) silver, 2 hallurs for 1 shekel for 1 month. (That) was silver,⁷ 8 hallurs ⁽⁶⁾for one month.⁸ If the interest (be)come the capital,⁹ the interest shall increase like the capital,¹⁰ ⁽⁷⁾one like one.¹¹

Security I

And if a second year come¹² and I have not paid you your silver ⁽⁸⁾and its interest, which is written in this document,¹³ you Meshullam or your children have the right ⁽⁹⁾to take for yourself any security¹⁴ which you will find (belonging) to me — house of bricks, silver or gold, ⁽¹⁰⁾bronze or iron, slave or handmaiden, barley,¹⁵ emmer¹⁶ — or any food which you will find (belonging) to me ⁽¹¹⁾until you have full (payment) of¹⁷ your silver and its interest.

Document validity I

And I shall not be able to say (to you) saying¹⁸:
“I paid you ⁽¹²⁾your silver and its interest”

while this document is in your hand. And I shall not be able to complain¹⁹ ⁽¹³⁾against you before prefect or judge,²⁰ saying:

“You took from me a security”
while ⁽¹⁴⁾this ⁽¹³⁾document ⁽¹⁴⁾is in your hand.

Obligation of heirs

And if I die and have not paid you²¹ this silv(er and its interest), ⁽¹⁵⁾it will be my children (who) shall pay you this silver and its interest.²²

Security II

And if ⁽¹⁶⁾they do not pay this silver and its interest, you, Meshullam, have the right ⁽¹⁷⁾to take for yourself any food or security which you will find (belonging) to them until you have full (payment) ⁽¹⁸⁾of your silver and its interest.²³

Document validity II

And they shall not be able to complain against you before prefect ⁽¹⁹⁾or judge while this document is in your hand. Moreover, should they go into a suit,²⁴ they shall not prevail ⁽²⁰⁾while this document is in your hand.²⁵

Scribe

Nathan son of Anani²⁶ wrote this document ⁽²¹⁾at the instruction of Jehohen.

Witnesses

And the witnesses herein.²⁷

² For this prominent property-holder see 3.64, n. 7.

³ His detachment affiliation was omitted.

⁴ An even terser beginning appears in an earlier silver loan contract — “You gave me silver” (TAD B4.2:1) — whereas a grain loan from the end of the century began “I came to you in your house in Syene the fortress and borrowed from you and you gave me emmer” (3.81:2-3).

⁵ Interestingly, loan contracts and deeds of obligation were often written for very small amounts, two shekels (TAD B4.6), 3½ shekels (TAD B4.2:2) and four shekels (our document). The largest amount was fourteen shekels (TAD B4.5:3). For the numerical repetition see 3.60, n. 36.

⁶ I.e. interest will accrue from me (also TAD B4.2:2).

⁷ A fuller formulation is found in an earlier contract — “And the interest on your silver will be” (TAD B4.2:3-4).

⁸ That would be 5% monthly.

⁹ The earlier contract was more explicit — “And the month in which I shall not give you interest, it will be capital.” See next note.

¹⁰ It was to be understood that when the interest was not paid it became capital and bore interest just like the capital (so also in TAD B4.2:3-4).

¹¹ One like the other, both the same.

¹² The earlier loan contract added, “And I shall pay it to you month by month from my allotment which they will give me from the treasury and you shall write me a receipt for all the silver and interest ...” (TAD B4.2:5-6).

¹³ See 3.59, n. 26. The loan was ordinarily meant for a year. Why was no source of funds for repayment indicated for Jehohen? Did she not receive an allotment?

¹⁴ The right to seize any property as security to force payment of a debt was not uncommon (3.81:10-12).

¹⁵ For this grain see on TAD A2.4:9 (EPE B4).

¹⁶ The “security which you will find (belonging) to me” consisted of durables (house, precious metals, vessels, slaves, and grain) and was distinguished from any “food which you will find (belonging) to me,” which were perishables. The two are likewise differentiated below — “any food and security which you will find (belonging) to them” (line 17). A similar list is found in other contracts of loan and obligation (3.81:10-12).

¹⁷ This expression (^cd tml² b-) is found also in TAD B4.4:17 and may be restored in B4.6:13. An alternate formulation (^cd tšlm b-) is found in 3.81:11.

¹⁸ For this construction, see on TAD B2.1:11-12 (B23).

¹⁹ For a similar provision in a loan contract, see TAD B4.6:14.

²⁰ See 3.60, n. 14.

²¹ A provision typical of loan contracts (3.81:8).

²² Jehohen's heirs inherited her debts.

²³ The same right of seizure of the debtor's property applied to the creditor's heirs until the loan was repaid (lines 8-11).

²⁴ I.e. take legal action.

²⁵ The identical sentence appears in a conveyance witnessed three years earlier by Nathan (3.61:22, 32), scribe of this document; also in 3.79:15.

²⁶ See 3.61, n. 77.

²⁷ Only four witnesses were necessary in loans and ordinary deeds of obligation (3.81:13-14); see further 3.59, n. 34.

(2nd hand) witness Osea son of Galgul ²⁸ ;	<i>Endorsement</i>
(22)(3rd hand) Hodaviah son of Gedaliah ²⁹ ;	(Verso) ⁽²³⁾ Document (<i>sealing</i>) of silver of the debt ³²
(4th hand) Ahio son of Pelatiah ³⁰ ;	which Jehoheh daughter of Meshullach wrote ⁽²⁴⁾ for
(5th hand) Agur son of Ahio. ³¹	Meshullam son of Zaccur.

²⁸ Appears only here.

²⁹ Appears only here.

³⁰ Was he son of the professional scribe Pelatiah son of Ahio? See 3.59, n. 32.

³¹ Was he the same as Hagur son of Ahio on an ostrakon (TAD D9.4:1)?

³² See reference in EPE 204, n. 35.

REFERENCES

Text and translation: TAD B3.1; EPE B34. EPE; Porten 1990; TAD.

WITHDRAWAL FROM HYR² (3.70)

(6 July, 451 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

This is one of the most enigmatic documents in our collection. The object of the contract (*hyr*²) remains unexplained. The *Waiver* and *Penalty* clauses covered only the party drawing up the contract (lines 4-8). A *Defension* clause covered only brother and sister (lines 8-9). Both parties had entered a complaint about the property; Anani paid Mica five shekels to withdraw. Mica did so, but provided Anani with very limited warranties. It is likely that the object in dispute was a piece of abandoned property to which neither had title and both laid claim.¹ The scribe was Aramean and only one witness was Jewish (line 13). The onomasticon shows how non-Jews within the same family drew freely upon Akkadian (Nabukassir, Ahushunu, Mannuki), Aramean (Zabdi, Sachael, Attarmalki, Zabbud, Zabidri), Egyptian (Renpenofre, Psami) and Persian (Bagaina) names (lines 11-14).

<i>Date</i> (Recto) ⁽¹⁾ On the 25th of Phamen[o]th, that is day 20 of Sivan, year 14 of Artaxerxes, the king. ²	<i>Object</i> silver, 5 shekels
<i>Parties</i> ⁽²⁾ said Mica son of A[hio] ³ to Anani son of Azar[iah], ⁴ a servitor to YHW in Elephantine, ⁵ ⁽³⁾ saying:	<i>Complaint</i> as payment ⁶ of the <i>hyr</i> ²⁷ of yours ⁸ (about) which ⁽⁴⁾ you complained against me ⁹ herein
<i>Transfer</i> You gave me	<i>Satisfaction</i> and my heart was satisfied with it[s] payment. ¹⁰

¹ See Szubin and Porten 1983b.

² In 14 Artaxerxes I (= 451 BCE), 25 Phamenoth = July 6 while 20 Sivan = July 7. This document was thus written on the night of July 6. Only here and in 3.75:1 did the Eg. month precede the Babyl. month in the date formula.

³ This name was restored here on the basis of its almost complete, but undoubted, appearance in line 10. Was he the same as the Micaiah son of Ahio, the witness who apparently began to sign second but erased his signature to give way to another witness, and so signed third? The only other person who witnessed his own document was Mahseiah son of Jedaniah, who signed first, adding the expression, "with his own hands" instead of his patronym (3.64:17-18).

⁴ Alternately called Ananiah or Anani, this person was party to nine documents in this family archive. His father, with the same title as his son (*lhn*²), appeared in another accounts fragment, where he bore a second, unintelligible title (TAD C3.13:45).

⁵ His title appeared in more different formulations than there were documents — "servitor to YHW the God," "servitor to YHW in Elephantine," "servitor to YH in Elephantine," "servitor to YHW the God in Elephantine the fortress," "the servitor" (always at the end of the contract), "servitor of YHW," "servitor of YHW the God," "the servitor of YHW the God" (always at the end of the contract), "servitor of YHW the God in Elephantine the fortress," or "servitor of YHH the God who is in Elephantine the fortress," while his wife was once designated as "servitor of YHW the God dwelling (in) Elephantine the fortress." For localization of YHWH in Jerusalem, cf. Ezra 1:3-4, 7:15. The Aram. title had its Neo-Assyrian forerunner in such titles as "*lahhinu* of Ashur," "*lahhinu* of Nabu," "*lahhinu* of Ishtar of Arbel," or "*lahhinu* of Sin of Harran." In one instance the official was responsible for maintenance and supplies; see Porten 1968:200-201.

⁶ This was a negotiated inducement to Mica to withdraw his claim.

⁷ A word of uncertain meaning, the *hyr*² seems to have been a piece of abandoned property to which neither Mica nor Anani had hereditary right or clear title. Both laid claim and each sued the other. Anani paid Mica five shekels, almost one-third the fourteen shekels he would later have to pay for an abandoned house (3.71:4-6), and Mica withdrew his claim.

⁸ The property was "yours," i.e. Anani's, because he paid for it in settlement of the suit.

⁹ See 3.60, n. 11.

¹⁰ Satisfaction after the settlement of a suit is usually followed by a statement of withdrawal (see on 3.60:7), but here such a statement was deferred until the retrospect of the *Penalty* clause (line 7).

Waiver of suit

I shall not be able to institute against you,¹¹ ⁽⁵⁾suit or process in the name of¹² this *hyr*² (about) which you complained against me herein.

Penalty

If I complain ⁽⁶⁾against you¹³ (before) judge or lord in the name of [t]his *hyr*² — (about) which I complained against you¹⁴ ⁽⁷⁾herein and you gave m[e] its payment, silver [4+]1 (= 5) shekels and I withdrew from you¹⁵ — ⁽⁸⁾I shall give you silver, 5 *karsh*.¹⁶

*Defension*¹⁷

If brother or sister, ⁽⁹⁾near or f(a)r,¹⁸ ⁽⁸⁾institute (suit) against you ⁽⁹⁾in the name of this *hyr*², I shall cleanse (it) and give (it) to you.

a Neh 9:4;
10:16; 11:15

Scribe

⁽¹⁰⁾Bunni^a son of Mannuki¹⁹ wrote at the instruction of Mica son of Ahi[o].

Witnesses

The witnesses herein:²⁰

- ⁽¹¹⁾(2nd hand) Zabdi (son of) Nabuzi²¹;
- (3rd hand) (ERASURE: Micaiah)²²;
- (4th hand) Sachael son of Nabukašir²³;
- ⁽¹²⁾(3rd hand) Micaiah son of Ahio²⁴;
- (5th hand) Aḥushunu son of Renpenofre²⁵;
- ⁽¹³⁾(6th hand) Mahseiah son of Jedaniah²⁶;
- (7th hand) Mannuki son of Bagaina²⁷;
- (8th hand) Attarmalki son of Psami²⁸;
- ⁽¹⁴⁾(9th hand) Zabbud son of Zabidri.²⁹

(endorsement missing)

¹¹ Both the *Waiver* and *Penalty* clauses limited protection to a suit by Mica only, not by his heirs or beneficiaries. Since the obligation he was willing to spell out was limited, we may deduce that his initial claim was also limited.

¹² See 3.60, n. 34.

¹³ This was the only case where the *Waiver* clause promised not to sue (lines 4-5) and the concomitant *Penalty* clause spoke of entering a complaint. But elsewhere the scribe uniquely combined the noun "suit" with the verb "complain" (3.60:16).

¹⁴ If not a scribal error for "you complained against me" (so in line 4), then the case in this document was one of suit counter-suit.

¹⁵ A subordinate clause describing the prior transfer of the object in whose name the present suit was being instituted was common (3.61:12-13; 3.64:9-10; 3.65:8), but none of the clauses was as long as the present one, which summarized the complete proceedings.

¹⁶ The penalty was ten times the value of the object, but a low penalty on the Elephantine scale (see 3.59, n. 15).

¹⁷ *Defension* clauses at Elephantine were third-party suits entered not in the name of the alienor. None of the conveyances of property where title was clear had such a clause. It only occurred in a case of abandoned property (3.72:19-23). Son or daughter were omitted here as potential claimants because as heirs they would sue in their father's name, whereas brother or sister might sue in their own name. The suit was considered a besmirchment of the property which Mica undertook to "clean" and present anew to Anani. There was no time limit to the cleansing or penalty for failure to do so (contrast 3.72:20-23).

¹⁸ See 3.59, n. 22.

¹⁹ The scribe's praenomen is West Semitic and was borne by a lay and one or two Levitical families in Jerusalem (Neh 9:4; 10:16; 11:15 [*plene* as here]) but the patronym was Akk. His script is large and bold and this is his only appearance.

²⁰ None of the names is preceded by the designation "witness." Since eight witnesses, double the usual number, were elsewhere required for withdrawal from realty (3.67:18-19), we may conclude that the unknown property here was also realty. See 3.59, n. 34.

²¹ Alternately, Nabehai. This Aramean witness forgot to write "son of" before his patronymic, which was probably Akk.

²² Judging from the traces of the handwriting, he appears to be the Micaiah who signed third. Here he jumped the cue and was forced back. Was he the same as the party to the contract, Mica son of Ahio?

²³ This Aramean witness with an Akk. patronymic appears only here.

²⁴ He was also a witness in 427 BCE (3.74:17) and his son Ahio son of Micaiah was among the Jewish leaders imprisoned in Thebes at the end of the century (3.49:7); Porten 2001:352.

²⁵ Such a name combination, Babylonian son of Egyptian, is rare (*TAD* B5.5:12) and this witness appears only here. Very common in Demotic, the praenomen was always feminine; thus both the mother and wife of a late 6th century BCE Eg. priest, Espmet son of Bokrin, bore the name Renpenofre (*P. Wien* D 10150.1 [*EPE* C28], 10151:2 [*EPE* C29]). Possibly affiliated to a matronym and not a patronym, was our witness a slave or freedman?

²⁶ Besides Micaiah, who may have been party to the contract, Mahseiah son of Jedaniah, founder of the Mibtahiah family archive (3.59-65), was the only Jewish witness.

²⁷ This witness with Akk. name and Persian patronymic appears only here.

²⁸ This witness with Aram. name and Eg. patronymic appears only here.

²⁹ Both names are Aramean and the witness appears only here.

REFERENCES

Text and translation: *TAD* B3.2; *EPE* B35. *EPE*; Porten 1968; 2001; Porten and Szubin 1983b.

DOCUMENT OF WIFEHOOD (3.71)
(9 August 449 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

This record of a free man-handmaiden marriage presents a unique opportunity to reconstruct the haggling that went on between groom and master regarding the status of the bride and the rights of the parties to the contract. Tamet's status may be described as comparable to the biblical "slave woman designated for a man" for the purpose of mar-

riage (Lev 19:20). In rabbinic terms she was "part slave and part free." Not yet manumitted, she was not entitled to have *mohar* paid for her from Anani. Her dowry was little more than the garment on her back, the sandals on her feet, and an item or two of toilette (lines 4-7). The customary reciprocal *Repudiation* and *Death* clauses were applied here too (lines 7-13), but the "silver of hatred" was only 5 shekels and not 7½, there was no indication that the repudiating or repudiated wife might go "wherever she desired," and upon the death of either spouse, Meshullam was entitled to half of the couple's joint property. A unique clause entitled Meshullam to "reclaim" the already existing child Pilti should Anani divorce Tamet (lines 13-14). While the clause provided Tamet some protection against rash divorce, it indicated that the child of a handmaiden, even when married, still belonged to her master. But these arrangements were not to the liking of the couple and they achieved revision of the document even as it was being written — at first elimination of Meshullam from any share in the estate of the surviving spouse, and subsequently increase of the "silver of hatred" to the standard 7½ shekels, the imposition of a five *karsh* penalty on Meshullam for unwarranted reclamation of Pilti, and the addition to Tamet's dowry of fifteen shekels cash (line 16).¹

Dates

(Recto)⁽¹⁾[On] the 18th of [A]b, [that is day 30] of the month of Pharmouthi, year 16 of Artaxer(xes) the king,²

Parties

said ⁽³⁾Ananiah son of Azariah, a servitor of YHH³ the God who is in Elephantine the fortress, to Meshullam son of Zaccur, an Aramean of Syene ⁽³⁾of the detachment of Varyazata, saying:

Marriage⁴

I came to you (and asked you) to give me⁵ Tamet by name,⁶ who is your handmaiden,⁷ for wifehood.

Affirmation of status

She is my wife ⁽⁴⁾and I am her husband from this day and forever.⁸

Dowry

Tamet brought into me in her hand⁹:

7 shekels 1 garment of wool,¹⁰ worth (in) silver ⁽⁵⁾7 shekels;¹¹

.19 shekels 1 mirror, worth (in) silver 7 (and a) half hallurs; 1 PAIR of sandals; (ERASURE: 1 handful of) ⁽⁶⁾one-half handful¹² of ⁽⁵⁾balsam oil; ⁽⁶⁾6 handfuls of castor oil;¹³ 1 TRAY.

7.19 shekels All the silver and the value of the goods: (in) silver {silver}, 7 shekels, ⁽⁷⁾7 (and a) half hallurs.¹⁴

Repudiation by husband¹⁵

Tomorrow or (the) next day,¹⁶ should Anani stand up in an assembly and say:

"I hated Tamet my wife,"

⁽⁸⁾silver of hate(d) is on his head. He shall give Tamet silver, 7 shekels, 2 q(uarters) and all that,¹⁷ she brought in in her hand she shall take out, from straw ⁽⁹⁾to string.¹⁸

¹ For full treatment of this document, see Porten and Szubin 1995.

² 18 Ab = August 11 = 30 Pharmouthi = August 9 in 16 Artaxerxes I (= 449 BCE). If the document was written on the night of August 9 (= 17 Ab), then the gap would be reduced to one day; see Porten 1990:22-23. For other chronological errors by the scribe Nathan son of Anani see on 3.64:1.

³ For this spelling of the divine name, see 3.64, n. 30.

⁴ For this clause, see 3.63, n. 6.

⁵ For the terminology and procedure, see 3.59, n. 6.

⁶ A qualifier regularly attached to the name of a slave (see 3.68, n. 12).

⁷ Forty-seven years later, and in retrospect, Tamet would be called the "MAIN BELOVED of Meshullam" and "(THE ONE BELONGING TO) THE INNER (CHAMBER) of Meshullam" (3.80:11, 24). Here she was simply called a "handmaiden" and was not emancipated by Meshullam until twenty years after the date of this contract (3.74:3-4).

⁸ See 3.63, nn. 10-11.

⁹ See 3.63, n. 17. A var. formula was "Jehoishma your sister brought in to me to my house" (3.76:5).

¹⁰ Tamet's dowry consisted of little more than the dress on her back. A woolen garment worth seven shekels lay at the lower end of the scale while her bronze mirror was worth one-fifth that of her daughter Jehoishma. She was endowed with a handful more castor oil than her daughter but of the many vessels her daughter would have she had only a TRAY (3.76:6-21). For the oils, see Porten 1968:91-93.

¹¹ The scribe originally valued the garment at 5 shekels, but shortly after he wrote down the amount he added, presumably at the insistence of Meshullam, two more strokes to the figure to raise it to 7 shekels.

¹² The balsam oil, on the other hand, written at the end of line 5, was measured at "1 handful" but this quantity was erased, no doubt at the insistence of one of the parties, and "a half handful" was written at the beginning of line 6.

¹³ See on TAD A2.1:7 (EPE B1).

¹⁴ The meager amount was duly totaled (7.19 shekels) but there was no statement of receipt and satisfaction as in the document of Mibtahiah (3.63:15).

¹⁵ The wording of the two *Repudiation* clauses in our document was almost identical, with the single word *b^cdh*, "in an assembly," absent from the second one, no doubt due to scribal ellipsis, and the word order "Tamet my wife" chiasmatically reversed in the second clause to "my husband Anani" (cf. reversal in 3.63:23, 27 and see there, lines 22-26, for the details of this clause).

¹⁶ See 3.59, n. 12.

¹⁷ The original amount assessed was 5 shekels but haggling raised it to 7½. In the Code of Hammurabi the lower class *muškenum* paid his repudiated wife only ½ maneh whereas the upper class *awelum* had to pay a full maneh (CH §§139-40; COS 2.131, p. 344).

¹⁸ The document did not accord Tamet the option of going wherever she wished (cf. 3.63:25, 28-29; 3.76:24) or of returning to her father's house (cf. 3.76:28), steps which were not viable for a handmaiden like Tamet. She was apparently not forced to leave Anani's domicile but might

Repudiation by wife

Tomorrow or (the) next day, should Tamet stand up and say:

"I hated my husband Anani,"
silver of ha(t)red is on her head. ⁽¹⁰⁾She shall give to Anani silver, 7 shekels, 2 q(arters) and all that she brought in in her hand she shall take out, from straw to string.

Death of husband

Tomorrow or ⁽¹¹⁾(the) next ⁽¹⁰⁾day, ⁽¹¹⁾should Ananiah die (ERASURE: [It is Meshullam son of Zaccur (who)] has right to half), it is Tamet (who) has right to all goods which will be between Anani and Tamet. ¹⁹

Death of wife

⁽¹²⁾Tomorrow or (the) next day, should Tamet die, it is Anani, he, (who) has right²⁰ (ERASURE: to half) to all goods which will be between (ERASURE: between) ⁽¹³⁾Tamet and between²¹ Anani.

Rights to child²²

And I, Meshullam,²³ tomorrow or (the) next day, shall not be able to reclaim²⁴ Pilti from under ⁽¹⁴⁾your heart unless you expel his mother Tamet. And if I do reclaim him from you I shall give Anani silver 5 *karsh*.

Scribe

Wrote Nathan son of Ananiah this document.

Witnesses

And the witnesses ⁽¹⁵⁾herein²⁵:
witness Nathan son of Gaddul²⁶;
Menahem son of Zaccur²⁷;
Gemariah son of Mahseiah.²⁸

Dowry addition

15 Shekels (Verso)⁽¹⁶⁾Tamet brought in to Anani in her hand silver, 1 *karsh*, 5 shekels.²⁹

Endorsement

⁽¹⁷⁾Document (sealing) of wifehood³⁰ which Anani wrote for Tamet.

remain in his household as a married woman, albeit demoted in status (akin to the "hated" Leah [Gen 29:31] and the hated wife of Deut 21:15-17).

¹⁹ The name of the deceased party whose estate was the subject of the clause was judiciously placed first in the respective clauses — "all goods which will be between Anani and Tamet" in the *Death* clause of Anani but the reverse order in the *Death* clause of Tamet, "all goods which will be between Tamet and between Anani" (lines 12-13). Since initially Meshullam was given property rights in the event of Anani's predecease, the scribe was careful to avoid the language used in the parallel clause in the other wifehood documents, namely that the surviving spouse had rights to her dead husband's "house, goods, property" and everything else (3.63:17-20; 3.76:28-30). Such a clause would have given Meshullam rights to half of Anani's property acquired before their marriage. The revised document allocated the marital property solely between husband and wife, thereby eliminating Meshullam's benefits. For the expression "between ... between" to designate jointly held property see *TAD* A3.10:2.

²⁰ The scribe here used the term "have right to" (*šlyt*) and not "inherit" (*yrt*), the term judiciously used for Ešhor (3.63:21) and Anani son of Haggai (3.76:35) should they survive their respective spouses. The latter term would have been inappropriate since, in the original version, Meshullam was to get half. As he was not a natural heir, under no circumstances could the clause be formulated to have him inherit. Anani, who would have inherited from Tamet were she completely manumitted, lost her share to Meshullam under the original terms, retaining control only over his own half. Even under the revised terms, Meshullam's proprietary rights to Tamet remained in effect and Anani could still not aspire to inherit Tamet.

²¹ The scribe duplicated the preposition "between" when describing the property of Tamet since he was cognizant of the distinction between her individual property (the dowry) recorded in this document and their post-nuptial, jointly acquired property, the subject of this clause. No such distinction was necessary for Anani since the document omitted any reference to his individual property (cf. *hry*² mentioned in 3.70). So conscious was the scribe of the need to distinguish between the individual and joint property that he prematurely wrote a second *byn* (end of line 12), an anticipatory dittography, so to speak, which he subsequently erased.

²² This clause had a two-fold thrust: (1) deterrence against peremptory expulsion; (2) provision of child custody in case of said expulsion. Born of a union between a free man and a slave, Pilti remained a slave. Meshullam's ultimate control of him was also his check on Anani's behavior vis-a-vis Tamet. He could not prevent him from expelling (*trk*) Tamet just as Abraham had expelled (*grš* = *tryk* [Onkelos]) Hagar (Gen 21:10), but he could discourage Anani from doing so under threat of loss of his child. The supralinearly added compensation clause actually served to elevate Pilti's status from mere chattel, easily recoverable and reverting to bondage, to that of a son with protected rights and the prospects of attaining complete freedom. The shift in persons from second ("reclaim from you") to third ("give Anani") was commonplace, particularly in clauses of recovery (see 3.79:10). See Szubin and Porten 1988:38-39.

²³ Only rarely did the party of the second part also appear in direct speech in the contracts; a small vertical marginal line marked the change of speaker. See also 3.74:11. Still, the contract was drawn up only at the instruction of the party of the first part.

²⁴ The word *nyl* means "to recover, retrieve that which rightfully belongs to one;" see 3.61, n. 50.

²⁵ See 3.63, n. 65.

²⁶ Appears only here.

²⁷ He also witnessed the wifehood document of Mibtahiah drawn up by the same scribe two months later (3.63:38).

²⁸ The last witness here, he was first in a bequest of Mahseiah (see 3.61, n. 70).

²⁹ This was an addition of cash to Tamet's dowry written on the *verso* after the document had been all but tied and sealed (see 3.63, n. 15).

³⁰ Cf. the Demotic *sh n hm.t*, "writing concerning a wife" (P. Berlin 13614 [EPE C27], 13593 [EPE C33], though the term does not occur in these documents) and the Greek *syngraphē synoikisias*, "contract of cohabitation" (P. Eleph. 1.2 [EPE D2]).

REFERENCES

Text and translation: *TAD* B3.3; *EPE* B36, *EPE*; Porten 1968; 1990; Porten and Szubin 1995; Szubin and Porten 1988; *TAD*.

SALE OF ABANDONED PROPERTY (3.72)

(14 September, 437 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

Twelve years after the redaction of his document of wifehood (3.71), Anani paid fourteen shekels for the run-down house of the Caspian ²*pwly* which was held in adverse possession by the Caspian couple Bagazushta and *Wbyl*. It lay across from the Temple on one side and next to the house of *Wbyl*'s father, Shatibara, who may have facilitated the couple's occupation of the property (lines 2-11). The double *Waiver* clauses (we, children) protected heirs and beneficiaries of the buyer with a stiff twenty *karsh* penalty (lines 11-19). But the *Defension* clause provided a limited warranty in case of third-party suit, i.e. replacement; and reimbursement in case of inability to turn back a suit by heirs of the original owner (lines 19-23). The four witnesses were Persians and Caspians (lines 23-24).¹

Date

(Recto)⁽¹⁾On the 7th of Elul, that is day 9 of the month of Payni, year 28 of Artaxerxes the king,²

Parties

said ⁽²⁾Bagazushta son of Bazu, a Caspian³ of the detachment of Namasava,⁴ and lady⁵ *Wbyl* daughter of Shatibara, a Caspian of Syene of the detachment of Namasava,⁶ ⁽³⁾all (told) 1 (ERASURE: 1) lady 1 man ⁽³⁾to Ananiah son of Azariah, a servitor to YHW the God, saying:

Transfer I

We sold and gave ⁽⁴⁾you⁷

Object

the house

Pedigree

of ²*pwly* son of Misdaya⁸

Location

which is in Elephantine the fortress,

Description

whose walls are standing but (who)se courtyard ⁽⁵⁾is (barren) land and not built⁹; and windows are in it but beams it does not contain.¹⁰

Transfer II

We sold it to you

Price

and you gave ⁽⁶⁾us its payment (in) silver, 1 *karsh*, 4 (ERASURE: [+1])¹¹ shekels by the stone(-weight)s of the king, silver zuz¹² to 1 *karsh*,

Satisfaction

and our heart was satisfied¹³ ⁽⁷⁾with the payment which you gave us.

Boundaries

And behold these are the boundaries¹⁴ of that house which we sold you:

above ⁽⁸⁾it is the house of Shatibara;¹⁵

below it is the town/way of Khnum¹⁶ the god and the street of the king is between them;

⁽⁹⁾east of it the treasury of the king¹⁷ adjoins it; to the west (of it) is the Temple of ⁽¹⁰⁾YHW the God and the street of the king is between them.¹⁸

Transfer III

I, Bagazushta and ²*wbl*, all (told) two, we sold and

¹ For comprehensive discussion of this document see Porten and Szubin 1982a:123-131.

² In 28 Artaxerxes I, 7 Elul = September 15 while 9 Payni = September 14, so this document was written on the night of September 14, 437 BCE; Porten 1990:21; TAD B 186-187.

³ Caspians appeared occasionally as witnesses to the documents of Mahseiah (3.64:18-19 and probably also 3.59:18).

⁴ This Iranian detachment commander is mentioned only here and was one of three commanders mentioned during the period of Mibtahiah's activity; see 3.66, n. 5.

⁵ See 3.61, n. 7.

⁶ Husband and wife belonged to the same detachment just as father Mahseiah and daughter Mibtahiah did (3.64:1-2; 3.65:2-3).

⁷ The regular formula for sale; see also 3.80:3, 12.

⁸ Of which they had only possession and not title.

⁹ A Byzantine courtyard in Syene was described as "ruined ... single-storied and unroofed" (P. Münch. 13.20-21 [EPE D47]).

¹⁰ This was a typical description of a piece of property in a state of disrepair, in our case also abandoned. See Porten 1968:97.

¹¹ The scribe mistakenly wrote five strokes, erased the fifth one immediately, and continued writing without a break. The house cost him just a little less than a third of what was the value in goods of a house given Mibtahiah by her father Mahseiah in 446 BCE (3.64:6).

¹² The zuz was equivalent to one-half shekel, i.e. 2 quarters, and the scribe sometimes preferred it to "2 q(uarters)" in this monetary formula (lines 15, 18; 3.76:17; 3.77:8).

¹³ See 3.63, n. 14.

¹⁴ See 3.64, n. 27.

¹⁵ Father of the woman who was partner to the sale.

¹⁶ The phrase *tm²/my zy hnw^m* (3.73:10), and its relationship to *tmw²nty* "way of the god" (3.78:9), has been much discussed and the options are left open here for both explanations; see Porten 1968:309; TAD B 177; GEA 375.28, 30.

¹⁷ This was most likely the same building as the "royal BARLEY-HOUSE" partially cut away by the Khnum priests in 410 BCE (3.50:5) and replaced by a "protecting" (wall) of a ceremonial way (3.79:3-4).

¹⁸ Anani was buying a house across the street from his place of employment.

gave (it) ⁽¹¹⁾to you

Withdrawal

and withdrew from it from this day and forever.¹⁹

Investiture

You, Ananiah son of Azariah, have right ⁽¹²⁾to that house and (so do) your children after you and anyone whom you desire to give (it) to.²⁰

Waiver of suit I

We shall not be able to institute against you suit ⁽¹³⁾or process in the name of²¹ this house which we sold and gave you and from which we withdrew. And (ERASURE: he) we shall not be able ⁽¹⁴⁾to institute (suit) against son of yours or daughter or anyone whom you desire to give (it) to.²²

Penalty I

If we institute against you suit or process or institute (suit) ⁽¹⁵⁾against son in/with (SCRIBAL ERROR FOR: or) daughter of yours or anyone whom you desire to give (it) to, we shall give you silver, 20 *karsh*,²³ silver zuz ⁽¹⁶⁾to the ten,²⁴

Reaffirmation I

and the house is yours likewise and your children's after you and anyone whom you desire to give (it) to.²⁵

Waiver of suit II

And ⁽¹⁷⁾son or daughter of ours shall ⁽¹⁸⁾not ⁽¹⁷⁾be able to institute against you²⁶ suit or process in the name of this house whose boundaries are written ⁽¹⁸⁾above.²⁷

Penalty II

If they institute (suit) against you or institute (suit) against son or daughter of yours, they shall give you silver, 20 *karsh*, silver zuz to the 10,

Reaffirmation II

⁽¹⁹⁾and the house is yours likewise and your children's after you.

*Defension*²⁸

And if another person institute (suit) against you or institute (suit) ⁽²⁰⁾against son or daughter of yours, we shall stand up²⁹ and cleanse (it) and give (it) to you within 30 days. And if we do not cleanse (it), ⁽²¹⁾we or our children shall give you a house in the likeness of your house and its measurements, unless a son male or female of ²*pwly*, ⁽²²⁾or a daughter of his should come and we not be able to cleanse (it).³⁰ Then we shall give you your silver, 1 *karsh*, 4 shekels and (the value of) the building (improvements) which you will have built in it ⁽²³⁾and all the FITTINGS³¹ that will have gone into that house.³²

Scribe

^(23a)Haggai son of Shemaiah wrote at the instruction of Bagazushta and ²*bl*.³³

Witnesses

And witnesses herein³⁴:

- ⁽²³⁾(2nd hand) Mithradata son of Mithrayazna;
- (3rd hand) witness *Hyh/Hyrw* son of ²*trly*, a Caspian;
- ⁽²⁴⁾(4th hand) house of *Wyzbl*, a Caspian³⁵;
- (5th hand) witness Aisaka son of Zamaspa.

¹⁹ The scribe did not directly juxtapose the *Withdrawal* clause to the *Satisfaction* clause, as elsewhere (3.65:6), but tacked it onto the *Transfer* formula to form an inclusion around the *Boundaries* clause. See also 3.64, n. 17.

²⁰ The somewhat awkwardly formulated *Investiture* and *Reaffirmation* clauses gave him unlimited right of alienation; Szubin and Porten 1983a:38.

²¹ See 3.60, n. 34.

²² In two separate clauses, the seller granted protection first to the buyer and then to his heirs and beneficiaries; for this split of clauses see also 3.67:9-12; 3.80:24-26.

²³ The penalty of twenty *karsh* (= 200 shekels) was stiff but recurs four more times regarding this property (line 18; 3.73:16; 22:30); see 3.59, n. 15. In contrast to this heavy penalty for a suit by the seller and his heirs is the limited warranty offered in case of a third-party suit (lines 19-23).

²⁴ The *Penalty* clause combined into one both the buyer and his heirs and beneficiaries.

²⁵ Repeating the same awkward formulation in the *Investiture* clause (lines 11-12).

²⁶ Omitted here, "son or daughter of yours" was implicit because it was included in the *Penalty* clause (line 18). Beneficiary was omitted from both clauses but was implicit because it was explicit in the first set of *Waiver-Penalty* clauses (lines 12-16).

²⁷ For this expression cf. 3.67:8 and see 3.59, n. 26.

²⁸ In case of a third party suit, the sellers provided Anani with a limited three-phase warranty, promising in succession to cleanse the property of all challenge, to replace it in case of failure to cleanse, and to refund the purchase price in case of failure to cleanse because the challenge came from an heir of the original owners.

²⁹ Cf. *TAD* B1.1:10, but ordinarily this auxiliary verb introduces a negative act: "repudiate" (3.63:22, 26; 3.71:7, 9; 3.74:13; 3.76:21), "evict" (3.63:29; 3.75:16; 3.76:30), "reenslave" (3.74:7; 3.77:6-7).

³⁰ The ability of the sellers to cleanse the property in case of a suit by the heirs of the original owners might depend upon whether the heirs had filed public protest according to accepted procedure in Eg. law.

³¹ For this word see on *TAD* A6.2:5 (*EPE* B11).

³² Reimbursement for improvements installed prior to eviction is provided by a Byzantine contract (*P. Lond.* V 1735.17-18 [*EPE* D50]) and is found in Talmudic law (*Tosefta Ketubot* 8:10).

³³ Surprisingly, the scribe Haggai forgot to sign his name before the signature of the first witness and so had to squeeze it in between the lines; see 3.64, n. 41.

³⁴ Only the standard number of four witnesses was required for sale (see 3.59, n. 34) and they were all Caspians (3rd and 4th hands) and Iranians. None appear elsewhere.

³⁵ A similar name appears among the witnesses to two documents in the Mibtahiah archive (3.63:39; 3.64:18). The initial word "house of"

<i>Endorsement</i> (Verso) ⁽²⁵⁾ Document (sealing) of a house which	Bagazushta and Ybl sold ³⁶ to Ananiah, a servitor to YH ³⁷ in Elephantine.
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appears to have been written by the scribe and is most puzzling.

³⁶ Sale contracts had the word "sold" rather than "wrote" (3.80:35); see 3.59, n. 44.

³⁷ The divine name was uniquely abbreviated here.

REFERENCES

Text and translation: *TAD* B3.4; *EPE* B37. *EPE*; *GEA*; Porten 1968; 1990; Porten and Szubin 1982a; Szubin and Porten 1983a; *TAD*.

BEQUEST OF APARTMENT TO WIFE (3.73)

(30 October, 434 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

Anani refurbished the house of ²*pwly* which he had bought from the Caspians Bagazushta and *Wbyl*. Three years after purchase date, the requisite period according to Egyptian law for establishing right to abandoned property, he bestowed a room therein (measuring 11 x 7 1/3 cubits = 81 square cubits, see note 14 below) upon his wife Tamet, perhaps on the occasion of the birth of their daughter Jehoishma (lines 2-12). The *Investiture* clause did not seek to preempt Tamet's right to dispose of the property during her lifetime. But Anani treated his house as a family estate and should the couple die intestate, it was to pass on to their mutual children, Jehoishma and Pilti (lines 4-5, 16-20). Thirty-two years later, Tamet and Anani sold their share to their son-in-law (No. 22), an act which would have been in violation of this contract had it been a bona fide gift and not a bequest. Uncharacteristically, each challenge in our document carried a distinct penalty — five *karsh* for a suit by Anani, twenty *karsh* for one by his heirs, and ten *karsh* for attempted reclamation by his heirs after his death (lines 12-22). Two of the four witnesses were Magians (line 24).

Date

(Recto)⁽¹⁾On the 25th of Tishri, that is day 25 of the month of Epeiph, year 31 of Artaxerxes the king,¹

Parties

said Ananiah ⁽²⁾son of Azariah, a servitor of YHW the God in Elephantine the fortress, to lady Tamet his wife, saying:

Transfer I

I gave ⁽³⁾you

Object

half of the large room,² and its chamber, of the house

Pedigree³

which I bought from ²*wbyl* daughter of Shatibara and from Bagazushta, ⁽⁴⁾Caspians of Elephantine the fortress.

Transfer II

I, Ananiah, gave it to you in love.⁴

Investiture

Yours it is⁵ from this day ⁽⁵⁾forever⁶ and your children's, whom you bore me,⁷ after you.

Measurements

And behold the measurements of that house⁸ which I, ⁽⁶⁾Ananiah, gave you, Tamet,⁹ from¹⁰

¹ An exact synchronism for October 30, 434 BCE; Porten 1990:20 and *TAD* B 186-187.

² This is a fem. noun loanword from Eg.: *try* = *f' ry.t*; *GEA* 375.36.

³ See 3.64, n. 6.

⁴ The *Transfer* clause was repeated as an inclusion to the *Pedigree*. Dowries and bequests made *inter familiam* were regularly stated as being given "in love" (*brhmn* [line 12; 3.66:41; 3.78:5, 12, 17; 3.79:9]; *brhmh* [3.75:14] *rhmt* [3.81:26, 31]); see Szubin and Porten 1983a:36.

⁵ See 3.59, n. 8.

⁶ See 3.61, n. 29.

⁷ Anani was treating his house as an estate, to pass on only to his children with Tamet. There was no clause authorizing transfer to a third party, as there was in 3.61:9-10; 3.64:8, 16; 3.72:11-12; 3.80:22-24; see Szubin and Porten 1983a:42.

⁸ The word "house" was often used in these documents to designate no more than a room or so (lines 12, 14, 25; 3.78:5, 8, 11-12, 16, 27; 3.79:2, 7, 11, 13-15, 21; 3.80:3-4, 12-13, 15, 17, 22, 25, 28-30, 35). Correspondingly, plural "houses" might mean "rooms" or even upper and lower structures (3.75:14, 16). See Szubin and Porten 1988:37.

⁹ When adding the name of the first person donor ("Ananiah") in a second person address ("you") it was good form to add the name of the donee ("Tamet") as well (absent in 3.59:11-12).

¹⁰ I.e. consisting of.

half of the large room and its chamber was¹¹:
 from above to below, ⁽⁷⁾11 ⁽⁶⁾cubits ⁽⁷⁾by the
 measuring rod;
 in width, cubits¹² from east to west, 7 cubits 1
 h(and)¹³ by the measuring rod;
 IN AREA,¹⁴ ⁽⁸⁾81 cubits.

Description

Built is (the) lower house,¹⁵ new, containing
 beams¹⁶ and windows.¹⁷

Boundaries

And behold this is¹⁸ the boundaries of that
 house¹⁹ ⁽⁹⁾which I gave you:

above it the portion of mine, I,²⁰ Ananiah,²¹
 adjoins it;
 below it ⁽¹⁰⁾is the Temple of YHW the God and
 the street of the king is between them;
 east of it is the town/way of Khnum the god
⁽¹¹⁾and the street of the king is between them;
 west of it the house of Shatibara, a Caspian,
 adjoins it.

Transfer III

This share of ⁽¹²⁾the house who(se) measurements
 are written and whose boundaries (are written a-

bove)²² — I, Ananiah, gave it to you in love.²³

Waiver of suit

I shall not be able, ⁽¹³⁾I, Ananiah, to bring (suit)
 against you on account of it.²⁴ Moreover, son of
 mine or daughter, brother or sister shall not be able
⁽¹⁴⁾to institute (suit) against you in the name of²⁵ that
 house.²⁶

Penalty

And if I institute suit against you in the name of
 that house, I shall be obligated²⁷ ⁽¹⁵⁾and I shall
 give you silver, 5 *karsh*, that is five,²⁸ by the
 stone(-weight)s of the king, silver 2 q(arters) to
 1 *karsh*, without suit. ⁽¹⁶⁾And if another person²⁹
 institute against you suit, he shall give you
 silver, 20 *karsh*,³⁰

Reaffirmation I

and the house likewise is yours.

Succession³¹

But ⁽¹⁷⁾if you die at the age of 100 years,³² it is my
 children whom you bore me (that) have right to it
 after ⁽¹⁸⁾your death. And moreover, if I, Anani, die
 at the age of 100 years, it is Pilti and Jehoishma,³³

¹¹ Instead of the grammatically correct "were." The formula is unusually long; see 3.61:3-4 and DAE 222. An alternate rendering would attach "from half of the large room ..." to the beginning of the following measurements. That rendering would eliminate the non-congruence between plural "measurements" and singular "was" by assuming a double introduction — "And beho(d the measurement ... its chamber. It was:" This singular verb (*hwh*) elsewhere preceded the term "length" in a measurement formula (3.63:8-10; 3.75:4).

¹² The word here was an anticipatory redundancy.

¹³ Aram. has the single letter *kaph*, which probably abbreviates *kp*, "hand" (measured from the tip of the middle finger to the wrist joint) = 1/2 cubit; see TAD B 177, also for next note.

¹⁴ Arrived at by multiplying the length by the width and rounding off (11 x 7 1/2 = 80 1/2, rounded off to 81).

¹⁵ I.e. the bottom floor.

¹⁶ Beams might be bought for grain and stored for future use. See on TAD A2.2:14 (EPE B2).

¹⁷ The house Anani bought from Bagazushta and his wife contained windows but no beams (3.62:5). He had since made it "like new."

¹⁸ Instead of the grammatically correct "these are."

¹⁹ For the *Boundaries* clause see 3.60, nn. 18-19. Three of the four boundaries of the house as acquired from Bagazushta are the same. Anani gave Tamet a room which lay "below" his. "Above" that room lay the royal treasury. But the location of the neighbors has shifted 90°. In the previous document Haggai listed the neighbors Shatibara-treasury-Khnum-Temple in the order above-east-below-west (so too in 3.78-80). But here they were west-above-east-below. As in the shift of orientation in the Mahseiah archive (see 3.61, n. 19) so here true location lay midpoint. See TAD B 177 and figure 4.

²⁰ For addition of the independent pronoun as emphatic, see on TAD A3.3:11 (EPE B8) and 3.60:7.

²¹ Such a double reinforcement ("mine, I, Ananiah") also appears in line 19; see 3.60, n. 17.

²² The clause here is elliptical. See 3.59, n. 26.

²³ The *Transfer* clause is again repeated, this time as an inclusion to the *Measurements*, *Description*, and *Boundaries* clauses. The scribe also took the opportunity to add to two of those clauses the statement "of that house which I gave you," bringing to five the number of occurrences of the key word "gave."

²⁴ See 3.60, n. 12.

²⁵ See 3.60, n. 34. The scribe varied his terminology, alternating "on account of" and "in the name of."

²⁶ In two separate clauses, the donor first obligated himself and then his heirs not to sue.

²⁷ The verb *hwb* occurs here for the first time in our archives and is followed by (a verb to "give") money (3.74:14; 3.79:10, 13; 3.80:29; 3.81:6; but see already TAD B4.4:15 [483 BCE]) = "We shall be obligated to you for silver, 100 *karsh*." In the stative form (*hyb*) the verb occurs twice in *Waiver of reclamation* of dowry clauses without stated monetary consequences for violation (3.76:40-42; TAD 6.4:7-8).

²⁸ For the numerical repetition, see 3.60, n. 36.

²⁹ "Another person" here is a collective term referring to the children and siblings singled out in the second half of the *Waiver* clause (line 13). It has similar collective meaning in the line 19 below.

³⁰ In contrast to the moderate, five *karsh* penalty Anani imposed on himself in case of suit is the heavy twenty *karsh* penalty imposed on a suit by his heirs. See 3.59, n. 7; 3.72, n. 23.

³¹ This paragraph spelled out what was implicit in the *Investiture* clause — the couple's children, and only the couple's children, were to control the property, in whole or in part, after their death.

³² Clauses anticipating death in the legal contracts ("If PN should die tomorrow or the next day" [3.59:8; 3.63:17, 20; 3.71:10-12; 3.76:28-29, 34-35] or "If I should die" [3.69:14; 3.81:8]) were not infrequent. Only here, however, did "next day" give way to "100 years" in an apparently apotropaic statement. See Porten 1968:185 and 3.59, n. 20.

³³ Pilti, later known as Pelatiah (3.75:11-12), was present at the time of the redaction of Tamet's document of wifehood fifteen years earlier

all (told) two, my children, (who) ⁽¹⁹⁾have right to my other portion, I, Anani.³⁴ Another person³⁵ — my mother or my father, brother or sister, or ⁽²⁰⁾another ⁽¹⁹⁾man³⁶ — ⁽²⁰⁾shall not have right to the whole house, but (only) my children whom you bore me.

Reclamation

And the person³⁷ who shall reclaim³⁸ ⁽²¹⁾my house after my death from Pilti and Jehoishma

Penalty

shall give them silver, 10 *karsh* by the stone(-weight)s of ⁽²²⁾the king, silver 2 q(uarters) to 1 *karsh*,

Reaffirmation II

and my house is theirs likewise, without suit.

Scribe

Mauziah son of Nathan³⁹ wrote at the instruction of ⁽²³⁾Ananiah son of Azariah the servitor.

Witnesses

And the witnesses herein:⁴⁰

(1st hand) Gemariah son of Mahseiah⁴¹;

⁽²⁴⁾(2nd hand) Hoshaiiah son of Jathom⁴²;

(3rd hand) Mithrasarah the Magian⁴³;

(4th hand) Tata the Magian.⁴⁴

Endorsement

(Verso)⁽²⁵⁾(sealing) Document of a house which Ananiah wrote for Tamet his wife.⁴⁵

(3.71:13). Perhaps the present bequest was made on the occasion of Jehoishma's birth. These are the same children meant in line 17, only here their names are spelled out.

³⁴ This double reinforcement also occurs in line 9. See 3.60, n. 17.

³⁵ Proper punctuation of this sentence is important for correct interpretation. "Another person" was, as above (line 13), a collective term (also in 3.74:9), here covering the following specific persons (parent, sibling, beneficiary). But the term could be ambiguous, referring in one and the same document to a specific beneficiary, equivalent to "another man," and, as here, a collective of beneficiaries (3.64:8-9, 11). See Porten and Szubin 1987b:51-58.

³⁶ "Another man" was a beneficiary, as elsewhere in these legal texts. See 3.61, n. 33.

³⁷ This "person" = "another person" (line 19) refers to the potential claimants in the *Succession* clause.

³⁸ Property given "in love," as was this one, was particularly vulnerable to reclamation, either by the donor or his heirs, but only here was such an attempt penalized. See 3.61, n. 50.

³⁹ For this professional scribe, see 3.66, n. 41.

⁴⁰ In the subsequent bequests of part of this property to the daughter Jehoishma, eight witnesses were required (3.78:23-26; 3.79:18-20).

⁴¹ Probably son of Mahseiah son of Jedaniah, he witnessed four documents. See 3.61, n. 70.

⁴² See 3.49:7 (EPE B16).

⁴³ A Mithrasarah son of Mithrasarah witnessed a contract of Mahseiah in 446 BCE (3.64:18).

⁴⁴ The two Magians must have come together. This second one appears only here.

⁴⁵ Uniquely, the endorsement was not written on either side of the seal, beginning from the right edge of the papyrus, but to the left of the bulla, beginning at the left edge of the papyrus roll, which had been turned 180° for the purpose.

REFERENCES

Text and translation: *TAD* B3.5; *EPE* B38. *DAE*; *EPE*; *GEA*; Porten 1990; Porten and Szubin 1987b; Szubin and Porten 1983a; 1988; *TAD*.

TESTAMENTARY MANUMISSION (3.74)

(12 June 427 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

In a document drawn up in contemplation of death, at least twenty-two years after Tamet's marriage to Anani, her master Meshullam manumitted wife and daughter Jehoishma upon his death. The contract was designated on the endorsement "document of withdrawal" (line 18) and its format was that of the conveyance, freedom here being the commodity conveyed and a stiff fifty *karsh* penalty imposed on any heir or related party seeking to deny it. The emancipation formula was threefold, each time expanding the word "release" — "free," "from the shade to the sun," "to God/the god" (lines 2-10). The pair did not go scot-free, however, but became part of Meshullam's family, his adoptive children and the adoptive sisters of Meshullam's son Zaccur. In consideration of emancipation they pledged continued service as children, to Meshullam till his death and afterwards to Zaccur, again under heavy fifty *karsh* penalty for future refusal (lines 11-15). The procedure was not drawn up in the presence of any government official (contrast 3.77:2-3) and only four witnesses were required, one of whom was a Mede (line 17). The scribe Haggai introduced four Persian loanwords — one specific to this transaction ([?]*zt*, "free" [line 4]) and the other three words that would recur in subsequent contracts (*hngyt*, "partner in chattel," *hnbq*, "partner in realty," and [?]*bgm*, "penalty" [lines 5, 8, 14]).

Date

(Recto)⁽¹⁾On the 20th of Sivan, that is day 7 of Phamenoth, year 38 of Artaxerxes the king,¹

Parties

then² ⁽²⁾said Meshullam son of Zaccur,³ a Jew of Elephantine the fortress of the detachment of Iddinnabu,⁴ to lady Tapmet⁵ by name⁶ ⁽³⁾his handmaiden, who is branded⁷ on her right hand like this: "(Belonging) to Meshullam," saying:

Manumission

I thought of you ⁽⁴⁾in my lifetime.⁸ (To be) free⁹ I released you at my death and I released Jeh(o)ishma¹⁰ by name your daughter, whom ⁽⁵⁾you bo(r)ed me.¹¹

No reenslavement

Son of mine or daughter or brother of mine or sister, near or far,¹² partner-in-chattel or partner-in-land¹³ ⁽⁶⁾does not have right to you or to Jeh(o)ishma your daughter, whom you obre (ERROR FOR: bore) me; does not have right to you, ⁽⁷⁾to brand

a Mal 3:17;
Ruth 4:17

b Isa 46:4;
Ruth 4:15

you or TRAFFIC WITH you (for) PAYMENT¹⁴ of silver.¹⁵

Penalty

Whoever¹⁶ shall stand up against you¹⁷ or against Jeh(o)ishma your daughter, ⁽⁸⁾whom you bo(r)ed me, shall give you a penalty¹⁸ of silver, 50 *karsh*¹⁹ by the stone(-weight)s of the king,

Reaffirmation²⁰

and you ⁽⁹⁾are released from the shade to the sun²¹ and (so is) Jeh(o)ishma your daughter and another person²² does not have right ⁽¹⁰⁾to you and to Jeh(o)ishma your daughter but you are released to God.²³

Obligation of support

⁽¹¹⁾And said Tapmet and Jeh(o)ishma her daughter²⁴. We, he (ERROR FOR: we) shall serve²⁵ ^a you, (a)s a son or daughter supports²⁶ ^b his father, ⁽¹²⁾in your lifetime.²⁷ And at your death we shall support Zaccur your single²⁸ son (ERASURE: w[ho]) like a son who supports his father, as we shall have been

¹ The double date yields a perfect synchronism for June 12, 427 BCE. See Porten 1990:20.

² See 3.66, n. 2.

³ See 3.64, n. 7.

⁴ For the years of his activity (446-420 BCE) see 3.66, n. 5.

⁵ This was the way the scribe Haggai wrote her name (lines 11, 18; 3.80:13, 11, 24, 33, 35) in contrast to the other scribes who wrote Tamet (3.71 [Nathan]; 3.73:2, 6, 25 [Mauziah]; 3.75:3).

⁶ A qualifier regularly attached to the name of a slave (line 4 and see 3.68, n. 12).

⁷ See 3.68, n. 15.

⁸ This was an expression appropriate to a gift in contemplation of death (3.78:2), here emancipation.

⁹ Aram. *ʔzt* is an Old Persian loanword from **azātā-* (GEA 370.11); for a Greek parallel see P. Edmonstone 7 (EPE D18).

¹⁰ Throughout the document her name was written without the letter waw.

¹¹ I.e. "whom you bore me" in a legal sense, as handmaiden, since Jehoishma's biological father was Anani (3.73:17-18).

¹² See 3.59, n. 22.

¹³ These two Persian loanwords (*hngyt* = **hangaiṭha*, "partner in chattel" and *hnbḡ* = *hanbāga-*, "partner in realty") appears for the first time here (GEA 371.34-35) and recur in all subsequent contracts drawn up by Haggai for Anani (3.78:18; 3.79:12; 3.80:27) and in a document by an unknown scribe (TAD B5.5:9). Describing categories of joint ownership, they displace but do not exclude, the terms "another man" (= beneficiary) and "man of mine" (= representative). They illustrate the striving for precision in the formulation of the Waiver clauses. See Porten and Szubin 1987b:62-63.

¹⁴ Aram. *lmzky mndt* is difficult to translate precisely.

¹⁵ With the term "have right to" put in the negative this clause is equivalent to a *Non-* or *Disinvestiture* clause. It is comparable to the second half of the first *Investiture* clause in Mahseiah's bequest to Mibtahiah, "I have no child, sibling or beneficiary who has right to that land but you" (3.61:10-11).

¹⁶ Whoever among those enumerated in the *No-reenslavement* clause (line 5).

¹⁷ The expression is elliptical for "stand up against you to brand you" (3.77:7; cf. 3.63:29; 3.75:16; 3.76:30).

¹⁸ See 3.66, n. 38.

¹⁹ This was the stiffest penalty recorded, indicating the importance attached to preservation of the rights of an emancipated slave.

²⁰ Repeating and expanding the tenor of the *Manumission* clause ("released"), this clause, following as it does the *Penalty* clause, is comparable to the *Reaffirmation of investiture* clause in conveyances (see 3.59, n. 18).

²¹ A metaphorical expression with its counterpart in the Passover Haggadah on the Israelites' release from "darkness to light."

²² Here once more this term is used as a collective (see 3.73, n. 35), to refer to the enumerated parties in the *No-reenslavement* clause (line 5).

²³ Or to "the god." Release to deity was well-known in Babyl. manumission documents. See Porten 1968:220 for references. In an Elephantine Greek manumission document the freed person was released "under (= subject only to) earth and sky" (P. Edmonstone 7 [EPE D18]).

²⁴ See 3.71, n. 23. The declaration begins on a new line with a short marginal stroke drawn to indicate the change in speakers.

²⁵ Aram. *ph* = Heb. *ʔbd* (Mal 3:17) would be a standard term to describe the "service" a son rendered to a father. Thus the child of Ruth and Boaz who was to support Naomi in her old age was called Obed, "Server" (Ruth 4:17).

²⁶ Aram. *sbl* = Heb. *kkl* (Ruth 4:15) was the normal term for old-age support (3.78:17 and probably TAD B5.5:4; Isa 46:4). See also TAD A2.3:5.

²⁷ Though not emancipated until Meshullam's death, mother and daughter were already to relate to him as an adoptive father, and to his son Zaccur in the same fashion after his death.

²⁸ If this thick stroke is correctly read it would give the numeral "1" the meaning of "single, only." Elsewhere it has the meaning "alone" (TAD A2.4:4). Zaccur bore the same name as his grandfather (line 2).

doing ⁽¹³⁾for you in your lifetime.

Penalty

(ERASURE: If stand up) We, if we stand up, ²⁹saying:

"We will not support you as a son supports ⁽¹⁴⁾his father, nor Zaccur your son after your death,"

we shall be obligated ³⁰to you and to Zaccur your son (for) a penalty of ⁽¹⁵⁾silver, 50 *karsh* by the stone(-weight)s of the king, pure silver, ³¹without suit and without process. ³²

Scribe and place

Haggai ³³wrote ⁽¹⁶⁾this document in Elephantine at

the instruction of Meshullam son of Zaccur.

Witnesses

And the witnesses herein ³⁴:

(2nd hand) Atrpharna son of Nisaya, ⁽¹⁷⁾a Mede ³⁵;

(3rd hand) witness Micaiah son of Ahio ³⁶;

(4th hand) witness Berechiah son of Miptah ³⁷;

(5th hand) Dalah son of Gaddul. ³⁸

Endorsement

(Verso) ⁽¹⁸⁾[Document] (sealing) of withdrawal which Meshullam son of Zaccur wrote for Tapmet and Jeh(o)ishm(a).

²⁹ Particularly in the documents of wifehood, the act of "standing up" was introductory to a declaration of legal import with negative consequences (3.63:22, 26; 3.71:7, 9; 3.76:21); see 3.72, n. 29.

³⁰ See 3.73, n. 27.

³¹ See 3.59, n. 18.

³² See 3.61, n. 40.

³³ According to the handwriting he was Haggai son of Shemaiah who was once a witness for Mahseiah and wrote most of the documents for Amaniah. See 3.64, n. 41.

³⁴ The normal number of four witnesses sufficed for this transaction. See 3.59, n. 34; 3.65, n. 26.

³⁵ Appeared only here.

³⁶ See 3.70, n. 24.

³⁷ Appeared only here.

³⁸ Appeared only here.

REFERENCES

Text and translation: *TAD* B3.6; *EPE* B39. Porten 1990; Porten and Szubin 1987b; *TAD*.

A LIFE ESTATE OF USUFRUCT (3.75)

(11 July, 420 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

Written by an unknown scribe, this document was much corrected and bore unique terms and formulae.¹ It was the first of three deeds drawn up by Anani for the bequest of room(s) in his house which he was bestowing upon his daughter Jehoishma. This one was in contemplation of her marriage, which was to be recorded in a document of wifehood drawn up three months later (3.76:1). Absence of certain provisions, such as right of devolution and alienation and penalty for non-reclamation, indicated that Anani, who had already bestowed upon his son Pilti/Pelataiah part of a courtyard in his house (lines 10-12), was now creating a life estate of usufruct for his daughter in another part. This consisted of the upper and lower parts of a room (7 x 6? cubits) which lay "above" Anani's quarters, the other half of the courtyard, and access rights to Anani's stairway and exit from the property (lines 3-14). While his pledge of non-reclamation was not subject to penalty, attempted eviction after his death was penalized at ten *karsh*. The document broke off just where the fate of the property after Jehoishma's death was laid down (lines 15-18).

Date

(recto) ⁽¹⁹⁾(ERASURE: of Pharmouthi, that is d[ay])

⁽¹⁾On the 8th of Pharmouthi, that is d[a]y 8 of Tammuz, year 3 of Darius the king.²

Place

then ⁽²⁾[in Elephantine] the [fort]ress,³

Parties

say I,⁴ Anani son of Azariah, a servitor of YHW

¹ Discussed at length in Szubin and Porten 1988:29-45.

² If we assume that the scribe omitted a fourth stroke in the year date, then we get an exact synchronism for July 11, 420 BCE. Otherwise there would be a twelve day discrepancy for 421 (= 3 Darius II), when 8 Pharmouthi = July 11 and 8 Tammuz = July 23; Porten 1990:24. For precedence of the Eg. month to the Babyl. month see on 3.70:1.

³ See 3.66, n. 2.

⁴ Only here does the *Parties* clause begin in the 1st person present tense. See Szubin and Porten 1988:36.

the God, to Jeh(o)ishma ⁽⁹⁾by name,⁵ my child,⁶ her mother (being) Tam[et] my wife, saying:

Transfer I

I, Anani, g[av]e you

Object I

a⁷ house,⁸

Description

built, ⁽⁴⁾containing beams,⁹ —

Measurements

it was:¹⁰ l[ength] seven, that is 3[+4] (= 7),¹¹ cubits by the measuring rod [by six;

Object II

and half the courtyard], ⁽⁵⁾(which) they call (in) Egyptian¹² [the *hyr*; and half the stairway].

Boundaries

These are the boun[da]ries of [th]at house¹³:

below i[t] is ⁽⁶⁾the house¹⁴ of Anani son of Azariah [...] ... between them; a[bo]ve it is ⁽⁷⁾the treasury of the king; west [of it the house of Shatibara adjoins i]t¹⁵; east of it is (ERASURE: the house of) ⁽⁸⁾the house of Hor, a servant of Kh[num the god].

Transfer II

[I gave it to yo]u.¹⁶

Investiture I

You, Jehoishma my daughter, ⁽⁹⁾have right to [this] hous[e, who]se boundaries are written in [t]h[is] document,¹⁷ below and a[bo]ve.¹⁸ ⁽¹⁰⁾And yo[u] have right [to] ascend and to descend by th[at] stairway [of] my [h]ouse. And [that] courtyard [which is] ⁽¹¹⁾bet[w]een them,¹⁹ the bottom and th[at a]bove,²⁰ between Pelatiah my son and [Jehoi]shma my daughter — [half] ⁽¹²⁾to Pelat[ia]h and half to [Je]h[oishma ...] ...²¹

Transfer III

I, Anani, [ga]ve you this hous[e] ⁽¹³⁾and half the courtyard and half the stair[way].

Investiture II

[And] you [have right] to them to ascend above and descend ⁽¹⁴⁾and go out outside.

Transfer IV

I, Anani, gave you these houses²² in love.²³

Waiver of reclamation²⁴

⁽¹⁵⁾I, Anani, ⁽¹⁴⁾shall not be able ⁽¹⁵⁾to reclaim (them)²⁵ from you. And I shall not be able to say:²⁶ "My soul²⁷ desired (them). I shall reclaim (them) from you."²⁸

Penalty for expulsion

⁽¹⁶⁾Whoever shall stand up against you²⁹ to expel

⁵ Jehoishma was still tagged "by name," the designation of a slave.

⁶ Aram. *bry*, narrowly "my son" but possible as "my child." The scribe had apparently begun to write *bry*, "my daughter" (which he did write in line 11) but erased the *taw* and wrote *bry* instead.

⁷ For the indefinite article, see 3.59, n. 7.

⁸ For "house" = room, see 3.73, n. 8.

⁹ There was no window in this room as there was in Tamet's room (see on 3.73:8).

¹⁰ With merely the verb *hwh* the formula was elliptical for "its measurements was (= were)." See on 3.63:8-10.

¹¹ For the numerical repetition, see 3.60, n. 14.

¹² This lexicographical observation was also made for this word in the only other document where it occurred (3.79:4).

¹³ See 3.60, n. 19. The orientation here was the same as that in the document drawn up by Mauziah (3.73:9-11).

¹⁴ I.e. his remaining room(s).

¹⁵ For justification of this restoration, see Szubin and Porten 1988:36.

¹⁶ At first glance this clause would appear merely to establish an inclusion around the *Measurements*, *Description*, and *Boundaries* clauses, as frequently in our documents (3.61:3-8; 3.72:3-11; 3.79:2-8). Actually it was the second link in a sevenfold chain interweaving the *Transfer* and *Investiture* clauses (gave [line 3], gave {8}, right to [9], right to [10], gave [12], right to [13], gave [14]). See Szubin and Porten 1988:40-41.

¹⁷ See 3.59, n. 27.

¹⁸ I.e. the ground floor and the upper story, to be reached by the stairway in Anani's apartment.

¹⁹ I.e. which lay between the property of Anani and Jehoishma.

²⁰ The courtyard which was barren when the property was bought from the Caspian couple (3.72:4-5) had since been built up and contained some sort of upper structure.

²¹ Pelatiah, known earlier as Pilti (3.71:13; 3.73:18), must have been given a document, similar to that of Jehoishma, which guaranteed his rights to a half share of the courtyard.

²² Anani referred to the upper and lower structures he was giving as plural items, houses; see 3.73, n. 8.

²³ See 3.73, n. 4.

²⁴ While the first statement prohibited the act, the second prohibited the intention. A similar prohibition appears in a Byzantine bequest, "But if I should wish in same way to change my mind ..." (P. Münch 8.30-32 [EPE D23]). Absence of penalty was indicative of the nature of the bequest; see 3.61, n. 50. The last three final clauses (*Waiver*, *Penalty*, *Reversion*) follow a life sequence: benefactor's lifetime, benefactor's death, beneficiary's death. See Szubin and Porten 1988:41.

²⁵ See 3.61, n. 50.

²⁶ This self-restriction also occurs, expanded and with implicit penalty, in documents of wifehood with regard to the dowry (3.76:41-42; *TAD* B6.4:7-8).

²⁷ The two parallel passages had simply "I;" see previous note.

²⁸ Alternately translate: "My soul desired to reclaim them from you" — complementing a verb by means of a finite verb (cf. 3.76:41).

²⁹ See 3.74, n. 17.

you³⁰ from the houses which I wrote³¹ and ga[ve you shall give to Jehoishma]³² (17)my daughter a penalty³³ of silver, 10 *karsh*³⁴ [by the stone(-weight)s of the king, silver 2 q(uarters)/zuz to the ten/1 *karsh*, without suit].

Reversion

(18)If Jehoishma die at the age of [100] y[ears] ...

(19)....³⁵ ... will be ... [...] (20) ... Hosha[iah] ...,
[two unplaced fragments remain; bottom missing]

³⁰ An action that would take place after Anani's death, as in 3.76:28-32.

³¹ Unique in our documents, the expression means "assign property" in Tannaitic texts (Peah 3:7-8; Baba Bathra 8:5). See Szubin and Porten 1988:33.

³² The scribe switched from 2nd to 3rd person address in the same sentence. See 3.64, n. 12.

³³ See 3.66, n. 38.

³⁴ This is the same penalty as for an attempt at reclamation of Anani's bequest to Tamet after his death (3.73:20-22). Otherwise, penalties for violation of Anani's purchase and bequests were twenty and thirty *karsh*. See 3.59, n. 15.

³⁵ As in Anani's bequest to Tamet (3.73:16-20), so here this clause would detail the fate of the property, presumably reverting to the donor, Anani. See Szubin and Porten 1988:41-42.

REFERENCES

Text and translation: *TAD* B3.7; *EPE* B40. *EPE*; Porten 1990; Szubin and Porten 1988; *TAD*.

DOCUMENT OF WIFEHOOD (3.76)

(2-30 October 420 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

At forty-five lines, this is the longest contract in our collection. Emancipated and adopted seven years earlier (3.74), Jehoishma was given away not by her father Anani but by her adoptive brother Zaccur, who furnished her with a handsome dowry of 78.125 shekels plus seventeen unevaluated items (lines 4-21). This included a *mohar* of one *karsh* paid by the groom Anani son of Haggai. The customary *Death* and *Repudiation* clauses were expansively formulated and subtly structured. The repudiation statement was expanded and the amount of the dowry spelled out; loss of *mohar* and 7½ shekel compensation were the price for repudiation (lines 21-28). The *Non-expulsion* clause was tacked onto the *Death of husband* clause directly and violation assessed at twenty *karsh* (lines 30-32). The *Death* clauses are intertwined with the *Repudiation* clauses in symmetric fashion:

A Repudiation by declaration; by husband (lines 21-24)

B Repudiation by declaration; by wife (24-28)

C Death of husband (28-32)

B' Repudiation by conduct; by wife (33-34)

C' Death of wife (34-36)

A' Repudiation by conduct; by husband (36-37).

The "law of hatred" was equally applicable to *Repudiation by Declaration* and *Repudiation by conduct*, that is, taking an additional spouse; though the language was distinctive the penalty was identical. Unique among the documents was the euphemistic and cryptic double negative prohibition on either spouse against "not not" doing the right of one or two of his/her colleagues' spouses. This refusal of conjugal rights was likewise "hatred," that is, tantamount to repudiation by conduct, and it too resulted in application of the "law of hatred" (lines 37-40). Concluding the document was a *Waiver* by Zaccur of the right to reclaim the dowry (lines 40-42). The scribe was the professional Mauziah and at least six Jewish witnesses signed (lines 42-44).¹

¹ For full discussion, see Szubin and Porten forthcoming.

Date (recto) ⁽¹⁾ In the month of Tishri, that is Epeiph, [y]ear [3+]1 (= 4) of Darius the [king], ²	<i>a</i> Hos 2:4		bits, 3 handbreadths (and in) width (⁷)4 cubits, 2 q(uarters), ¹⁷ worth (in) silver 1 <i>karsh</i> , 2 shekels;
Place [then] in Elephantine the fortress, ³	<i>b</i> Gen 43:23; Num 32:19	10.0 shekels	1 new GARMENT of wool, at 6 cubits by 4, striped (⁸)with dye, doubly- well, ¹⁸ (for) 1 handbreadth on each edge, worth (in) silver 1 <i>karsh</i> ;
Parties said Ananiah son of Haggai, (²)an Aramean of Elephantine the fortress [of] the detachment of [Iddin]nabu, ⁴ (²)to Zaccur son of Me[shullam], ⁵ an Ara[mean] of Syene of the same detachment, say- ing:		7.0 shekels	1 new FRINGED garment, at 6 cubits by 4, valued (in) silver (⁹)at 7 shekels;
Marriage ⁶ (³)I came to y[ou in] your [hou]se and asked you for the lady Jehoishma by name, ⁷ your sister, for wifehood and you gave her ⁸ (⁴)to me.		8.0 shekels	[1] new SHAWL ¹⁹ of woo[l], at 6 cubits by 3[+2](= 5), 2 q(uarters), [striped with dye doubly-well] ²⁰ ..., (for) (¹⁰)2 fingerbreadths on each edge, worth (in) silver 8 she[ke]ls;
Affirmation of status She is my wife and I am [her] husband from this day forever. ⁹ ^a		1.5 shekels	[1] worn garme[nt], worth [(in) silver 1 <i>shekel</i> , 20 hallurs];
Mohar And I gave you (as) <i>mohar</i> ¹⁰ (for) your sister Jehoishma: [10]shekels (⁵)silver, [1] kar[sh]. ¹¹		[1.0] sheke[l]	(¹¹)1 new SKIRT/ROBE of linen, (in) length [6 cubits by 4 (in width)], worth (in) silver [1] shek[el];
Satisfaction It came into you ^b [and] your [heart was satis]fied herein. ¹²		[1.0 shekel]	1 new garment of linen], (¹²)in length 6 cubits by 3 (in width), worth (in) silv[er] 1 [shekel];
Dowry Jehoishma your sister brought in to me to my house: ¹³ 22.125 shekels money ¹⁴ (⁶)of silver two <i>karsh</i> , 2 she- [ke]ls, 5 hallurs; 12.0 shekels 1 new garment of wool, ¹⁵ at ¹⁶ 7 cu-		1.0 shekel	1 worn and [...] linen [GARMENT, va]lued (in) silver (at) 1 shekel.
		Total (¹³)All garments of wool and linen: 8 ²¹ Bronze utensils:	
		1.0 shekel	1 mirror, valu[ed] (in) silv[er] (at) 1 [shekel];
		1.25 shekels	1 bowl of bronze, (¹⁴)valued (in) silver (at) 1 shekel, 10 h(allurs);
		1[.25] shekels	1 cup of bronze, valued (in) silver (at) 1 shekel, [10 h(allurs)];
		.50 shekel	1 cup, [valued] (in) silver (at) 20

² See 3.66, n. 1; Porten 1990:20-21, written a month earlier by the same scribe for the heirs of the Mibtahiah archive.

³ See 3.66, n. 2.

⁴ See 3.66, n. 5.

⁵ He was son of the bride Jehoishma's former master and later adoptive father (3.74:12) and hence her adoptive brother; see 3.77, n. 6.

⁶ See 3.63, n. 6.

⁷ As an ex-slave with filial support obligations vis-a-vis the son of her former master Meshullam, Jehoishma bears the appendage *šmh*, "her name" (= "by name" [see 3.68, n. 12]) and is associated with the son Zaccur as your sister." Like her mother in 434 BCE she is also designated *nšn*, "lady."

⁸ For the terminology "came ... (asked) ... gave," see 3.59, n. 6.

⁹ Reminiscent of the negative biblical formulation, "She is not my wife and I am not her husband" (cf. Hos 2:4), the affirmative Elephantine formula "She is my wife and I am her husband" may have been publicly pronounced but as incorporated into our documents of wifehood written in contemplation of marriage, its main thrust was to introduce the events that would trigger the contractual obligations of the respective parties. See 3.63, n. 12; Porten and Szubin 1995:48-50.

¹⁰ See 3.63, n. 12.

¹¹ The *mohar* for the widow Mibtahiah was half that amount (3.63:5).

¹² Payment of the ten-shekel *mohar* is duly receipted by the bride's representative as recorded by the technical terms *ʿll ʿl* = Heb. *bʿ ʿl* (Gen 43:23; Num 32:19), meaning "received" and *tyb lbb* meaning "fully satisfied"; Muffs 1973; see 3.63, n. 14.

¹³ See 3.63, n. 17.

¹⁴ This cash amount of 22.125 shekels was almost twice the 12 shekels received by Mibtahiah (3.63:6-7).

¹⁵ For discussion of these garments see Porten 1968:88-89. The objects were listed more or less in descending order of value.

¹⁶ For the first four woolen garments (lines 6-9) the scribe Mauziah wrote the dimension formula slightly differently than his father Nathan. He did not include the term "it was" (*hwh*), omitted the word "length" from the formula "length cubits" (*ʿrk ʿnm* [3.63:8-11]), and prefixed a *lamed* to the word for "cubits," yielding something like "at cubits."

¹⁷ For the measurements for this and the following garments see on 3.63:8-11.

¹⁸ Alternately, "two-toned."

¹⁹ See 3.63, n. 23.

²⁰ Alternately, "two-toned."

²¹ The supralinear numeral "5" is very puzzling.

	hallurs;	e Gen 12:1; Cant 2:10-11	4 handfuls of olive oil;
.50 shekel	⁽¹⁵⁾ 1 jug, valued (in) silver (at) 20 h(allurs).		1 handful of s[ce]nted oil;
			⁽²¹⁾ 5 handfuls of ⁽²⁰⁾ castor oil. ²⁴
All [ut]ensil[s] of bronze: [5.			<i>Repudiation by declaration by husband</i>
Total	All the garments and the br[on]z[e utensils] and the mo[n]ey and the mohar. ²²		⁽²¹⁾ Tomorrow or (the) next day ²⁵ should Ananiah stand up in an assembly ²⁶ and say:
78.125 shekels	⁽¹⁶⁾ (in) silver seven karsh, that is [7], eight [she]ke[lls], that is 8, 5 hallurs by the stone(-weight)s of ⁽¹⁷⁾ the king, silver zuz to the ten. ²³		"I hated my wife Jehoishma; ⁽²²⁾ she shall not be to me a wife," ²⁷
17 Unpriced Items	1 CHEST of palm-leaf for her garments; 1 new ... of papyrus-reed on which are ⁽¹⁸⁾ ... alabaster stone INLAYS [...] ...; 2 jug(s); 2 TRAYS of slq, herein: 1 [...] ...; 1 d/rmn of slq; ⁽¹⁹⁾ ladles to carry oil: 2 of [pottery], 2 of wood, 1 of stone, all (told) 5; 1 CHEST of wood for her jewels; ⁽²⁰⁾ a PAIR of Persian leather (sandals); 2 [hand]fuls of oi[l];		silver of ha[tr]ed is on his head. ²⁸ All that she brought in in(to) his house he shall give her ²⁹ — her money ³⁰ ⁽²³⁾ and her garments, valued (in) silver (at) seven karsh, [eight] sh[ekels], 4 + 1 (= 5) [hallurs], and the rest ³¹ of the goods which are written (above). ³² ⁽²⁴⁾ He shall give her on 1 day at 1 stroke ³³ [and] she may go [away] ³⁴ from him] wher[ever] she [desires].
			<i>Repudiation by declaration by wife</i>
			And if Jehoishm[a] hate her husband ⁽²⁵⁾ Ananiah and say to him. ³⁵
			"I hated you; I will not be to you a wife," ³⁶
			silver of hatred is on her head (and) her mohar will be lost. ³⁷ ⁽²⁶⁾ She shall PLACE UPON ³⁸ the balance scale and give her husband Ananiah silver, 7 shekels, [2] q(uarters), and go out from him with ³⁹ the rest ⁴⁰ of ⁽²⁷⁾ her money and her goods and her property, ⁴¹ [valued (in) silver (at) 6 karsh, 2 +]6 (= 8) [shekels], 5 h(allurs), and the rest ⁴² of her goods ⁽²⁸⁾ which are written (above). He shall give

²² None of the documents includes realty or chattel. Acknowledgment of receipt of dowry is absent in our document, albeit present for the evaluated items in the document of Mibtahiah (3.63:14-15).

²³ The grand total of 78.125+ shekels is quite a handsome amount when we recall that her mother, still a handmaiden, received only 7.19 shekels (3.71:6-7).

²⁴ See on TAD A2.1:7 (EPE B 1).

²⁵ See 3.59, n. 12.

²⁶ See 3.63, n. 41.

²⁷ The repudiation statement was spelled out most fully in this contract. See 3.63, n. 43.

²⁸ In order to safeguard the spouses' respective status and discourage infringement thereof, the contract stipulated a payment of *ksp šn'h*, "silver of hatred." Though compensatory in nature, it carried the clout inherent in fines and penalties associated with breach of contract. See also 3.63, nn. 44-45.

²⁹ In the other two documents of wifehood it was stated that "she shall take out" not that "he shall give her." Nor were the items listed and the total evaluated (3.63:27-28; 3.71:8).

³⁰ This was the 22.125 shekels in cash (lines 5-6).

³¹ This included the five bronze vessels and the seventeen *Unpriced items* (lines 13-21).

³² See 3.59, n. 26.

³³ Neither in phases nor in stages; see 3.63, n. 54.

³⁴ Since this new status was short of divorce we must understand the final verbs in the respective clauses as optative and not obligatory — "she may go (away)" (*thk [h]*) and not "she shall/must go [away]." It is this same sense which the verb *alāku* has in the parallel provision in CH §142 (COS 2.131, p. 344). As restored, the Aram. verb combination is the equivalent of Heb. *hlk* followed by the ethical dative *l-* with pronominal suffix with the meaning "leave, depart" (Gen 12:1; Cant 2:10-11).

³⁵ As he reversed the word order ("wife Jehoishma :: husband Ananiah"), so the scribe varied the formulation for Jehoishma (similarly for Tamet [3.71:9]), but the analogy of the contract of Mibtahiah (3.63:22) would indicate that in any case the woman had to make her declaration in an assembly just like the man.

³⁶ This formulaic divergence indicates that her powers were not equal to his; though she can repudiate her own status as first-ranking wife, relinquishing privileges and shedding obligations, she lacks power to repudiate his absolute status as husband (*b'li*, lit. "master"). See 3.63, nn. 42-43.

³⁷ I.e. forfeit.

³⁸ See 3.64, n. 46.

³⁹ The other contracts say "she shall take out" all that she brought in (3.63:24-25; 3.71:10).

⁴⁰ I.e. minus the one karsh mohar which was returned to Anani.

⁴¹ The money was the 22.125 shekels in cash, while the "goods and property" included the garments and bronze vessels (lines 5-17).

⁴² These included the *Unpriced Items* (lines 17-21).

her on [1] da[y] at 1 stroke and she may go to her father's house.⁴³

Death of husband

And i[f] Ananiah die ⁽²⁹⁾not having ⁽²⁸⁾a child, male ⁽²⁹⁾or female, by [Je]ho[i]shma his wife, it is Jehoishma (who) [HOL]DS ON⁴⁴ to it (namely), his house⁴⁵ and his goods ⁽³⁰⁾and his property [and his money and every]thing [which] h[e] has].

Expulsion⁴⁶

And whoever shall stand up against [Jehoishma] to expel her from the house ⁽³¹⁾[of A]nan[ia]h, and his] good[s and] his [property] and all that [h]e has

Penalty

[shall g]ive he[r the pe]nalty of silver, ⁽³²⁾twenty karsh by the stone(-weight)s of the king, silver 2 q(uarters) to the 10,

Reaffirmation

and do [to her] the law of this document,⁴⁷ without suit.⁴⁸

Repudiation by conduct by wife⁴⁹

But Jeho[ishma] does not have right [to] ACQUIRE⁵⁰ another husband be[sides] Anani. And if she does thus, ⁽³⁴⁾hatred it is; they⁵¹ shall do to her [the law of ha]tred.⁵²

Death of wife

And if [Jehoishma] die not ⁽³⁵⁾having ⁽³⁴⁾a child, ma[le] or female, ⁽³⁵⁾from Anani [her] husba[nd], it is Anani her husband (who) shall inherit⁵³ from her her [mo]n[ey] and her goods and her property and all ⁽³⁶⁾that she has.⁵⁴

Repudiation by conduct of husband⁵⁵

Moreover, [Ananiah shall] n[ot] be able⁵⁶ to] take ano[h]er] woman [besides Jehoishma] ⁽³⁷⁾for himself for wifhood.⁵⁷ If he does [thus, hatred it is. H]e [shall d]o to her [the la]w of [ha]tred.⁵⁸

Refusal of conjugal rights

And moreover, ⁽³⁸⁾Ananiah ⁽³⁷⁾shall not be able ⁽³⁸⁾not to do⁵⁹ the law of [one] or two of his colleagues' wives⁶⁰ to Jehoishma his wife. And if ⁽³⁹⁾he does not do thus,⁶¹ hatred [it is].⁶² He shall do to her the law of hatred. And moreover, Jehoishma shall not be able ⁽⁴⁰⁾not to do the law of one or [t]wo (of her colleagues' husbands) to Ananiah her husband. And if she does not do (so) for him, hatr(ed) (it) is.

Waiver of reclamation

Moreover ⁽⁴¹⁾Zaccur shall ⁽⁴⁰⁾not ⁽⁴¹⁾be able to say to his sist[er].⁶³

"These go[o]ds in love I gave to Jehoishma. Now, I⁶⁴ desired (them); ⁽⁴²⁾I shall reclaim⁶⁵

⁴³ See on line 24.

⁴⁴ See 3.63, n. 36.

⁴⁵ There was an imbalance in favor of the rights of the surviving wife to the house of her husband. Anani was assigned no specific rights (line 35) to the apartment held by Jehoishma (3.75).

⁴⁶ See 3.63, n. 55.

⁴⁷ See 3.63, n. 59.

⁴⁸ See 3.61, n. 40.

⁴⁹ Since a universally prohibited act (e.g. theft, murder, adultery) would not be contractually stipulated, the formulation of the negative reveals the norm — the man may normally "take" (*ylqh* [lines 36–37]) another wife but the woman would normally be "entitled" (*šlyth*) to have another husband only under special circumstances, e.g. her husband's extended absence or unjustified abandonment (cf. 1 Sam 25:44; CH §136 [COS 2.131, p. 344], LE 30 [COS 2.130, p. 334]; MAL A 36, 45 [COS 2.132, pp. 357–358]). In such a case, Jehoishma would be invoking "the law of repudiation," i.e. demotion/diminution of status with all the pecuniary consequences.

⁵⁰ The *haphel* form ([f]h^bl^h) of the verb *b^cl* occurred only here and its precise nuance is uncertain.

⁵¹ Assuming that Anani's prolonged absence was the occasion for Jehoishma having contracted a relationship of primacy with another husband/lord, the authorities would consider this tantamount to repudiation by declaration and apply to her the law of hatred.

⁵² Presumably this included her demotion, relinquishment of *mohar*, and payment to his estate of the 7½ shekel monetary compensation.

⁵³ See 3.63, n. 36.

⁵⁴ Would this include rights to the apartment her father gave her (3.75), even though such was not made explicit as in the case of her succession (line 29)?

⁵⁵ Should Anani follow the norm and take another *ṣnth* ([first-ranking] wife) for wifhood (*Pntw*), it would be tantamount to repudiation by declaration and the pecuniary consequences would be the same as in the case of Jehoishma.

⁵⁶ Should this gap be restored as in lines 37 and 39 or in parallel with line 33 (restoring ["Anani does not have right"])?

⁵⁷ The early Elephantine Greek marriage document stated, "Let it not be permitted to Herakleides to bring in another woman as an outrage to Demetria ..." (P. *Eleph.* 1.8–9 [EPE D2]).

⁵⁸ The proposed restoration here of [y^c]b[*dwn*], "[they shall] d[o]" (Hugenberger 1994:228) is palaeographically untenable and legally inappropriate (see form in line 9). Unlike the case of Jehoishma acquiring another husband in Anani's absence, Anani would presumably be taking another wife in Jehoishma's presence and thus be able himself to "do the law of hatred."

⁵⁹ I.e. to refuse.

⁶⁰ This circumlocution was probably a euphemism for "sexual intercourse"; Porten 1968:224.

⁶¹ I.e. if he refuse.

⁶² For either spouse to deny the other conjugal rights was tantamount to repudiation by conduct and required the requisite compensation encompassed by "the law of hatred" (see n. 52 above).

⁶³ See 3.61, n. 50.

⁶⁴ The parallel passage in a conveyance has "my soul" as subject (3.75:15).

⁶⁵ See 3.61, n. 50.

them.⁶⁶

Consequences

If he says thus, he shall not be heard⁶⁷; he is obligated.⁶⁸

Scribe

Mauziah son of Nathan⁶⁹ wrote ⁽⁴³⁾this ⁽⁴²⁾document ⁽⁴³⁾at the instruction of Ananiah son of Haggai [and] Zaccur son of Meshullam.⁷⁰

Witnesses

And the witnesses herein:⁷¹

Haggai son of Shemaiah⁷²;
Islah son of ⁽⁴⁴⁾Gaddul⁷³;
[PN son of PN];
Haggai son of Azzul⁷⁴;
Menahem son of Azariah⁷⁵;
Jedaniah son of Gemariah⁷⁶

(bottom right band missing)

Endorsement

(Verso)⁽⁴⁵⁾Document (sealing) of wifehood which Ananiah son of Meshullam⁷⁷ wrote for Jehoishma.

⁶⁶ Alternately translate, "Now, I desired to reclaim them" (cf. 3.75:15).

⁶⁷ This reaction occurs only in relation to *Waiver of reclamation* of dowry (TAD B6.4:8). Neo-Assyrian contracts have the clause "the judge will not hear his case."

⁶⁸ Reclamation of the dowry did not incur a monetary penalty since it was a gift in contemplation of marriage providing only benefits of enjoyment and not full title; Szubin and Porten 1988:38-39. The word here is a stative (*hyb*); when it occurs in the imperf. (²/y/nhwb) it is always followed by a monetary payment. See 3.73, n. 27.

⁶⁹ See 3.66, n. 41.

⁷⁰ Only this and another, fragmentary, wifehood document, also by Mauziah, were drawn up at the behest of the groom and the party responsible for the bride (TAD B6.4:8-9).

⁷¹ Five of six names survive; two more may have been on the missing band, bringing the total to eight. See 3.63, n. 65.

⁷² For this professional scribe, see 3.64, n. 41.

⁷³ See 3.67, n. 36.

⁷⁴ Appears only here.

⁷⁵ He appears as witness a month earlier in another contract written by Mauziah (3.66:17).

⁷⁶ The leader of the Jewish community during the traumatic events of the last decade, he modestly signed last (see on 3.46, n. 3 [EPE B13]).

⁷⁷ The scribe sometimes skipped a generation in a genealogy: Ananiah son of Meshullam or Anani son of Haggai son of Busasa (3.80:11) for Anani son of Haggai son of Meshullam son of Busasa (3.80:2).

REFERENCES

Text and translation: TAD B3.8; EPE B41. EPE; Hugenberger 1994; Porten and Szubin 1995; Szubin and Porten forthcoming; TAD.

ADOPTION (3.77)

(22 September or 22 October, 416 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

Somehow a document made out to Zaccur, Jehoishma's adoptive brother, found its way into her archive. He had "given," together with written contract, a houseborn slave to Uriah, though under what circumstances was not indicated (lines 3-4) and Zaccur's contract was not found. Uriah then made a fourfold declaration that Jedaniah was to be his son and that neither he nor his heirs, beneficiaries or representatives would press him into slavery, brand him, or make him a slave, subject to a thirty *karsh* penalty (lines 4-9). As in the earlier case of Tamet and Jehoishma (3.74), emancipation and adoption went hand in hand. However, on the basis of our documents, the former transaction was private while the present one was drawn up in Syene by an Aramean scribe, in the presence of the Troop Commander of Syene, Vidranga (lines 2-3), and attested by eight Aramean witnesses (lines 9-12). Notably, both parties were designated "Arameans of Syene" (lines 2-3).

Date

(Recto)⁽¹⁾ On the 6th of Tishri, that is day 22 of Payni, year 8 of Darius the king,¹

Place

then in Syene the fortress,²

¹ The scribe erred in the month, writing Payni when he meant the month of Epeiph or writing Tishri when he meant the previous month of Elul. Switching either will give a synchronism: 6 Tishri = 22 Epeiph [not Payni] = October 22 and 6 Elul [not Tishri] = 22 Payni = September 22 in 8 Darius II (416 BCE); Porten 190:23-24.

² See 3.66, n. 2.

Parties

said ⁽²⁾Uriah son of Mahseiah,³ an Aramean of Syene, before Vidranga,⁴ the Guardian of the Seventh,⁵ the Troop Commander of Syene, to Zaccur son of Meshullam,⁶ an Aramean of Syene, before Vidranga the Guardian of the Seventh, the Troop Commander of Syene, saying:

Non-enslavement and adoption⁷

Jedaniah by name⁸ son of Tahe/Takhoi,⁹ [you]r la[d] ⁽⁴⁾whom you gave me and a document you wrote for me about him¹⁰ — I shall not be able, I, Uriah, or son or daughter of mine, brother or sister of mine, or man ⁽⁵⁾of mine, he (shall not be able) to press him (into) slave(ry).^a My son he shall be. I, or son or daughter of mine, or man of mine,¹¹ or another individual¹² do not have right ⁽⁶⁾to brand him.¹³ I shall not be able — I, or son or daughter of mine, brother or sister of mine, or man of mine — we (shall not be able) to stand up¹⁴ to make him a s[lave] ⁽⁷⁾or brand him.

Penalty

Whoever¹⁵ shall stand up against that Jedaniah to brand him or make him a slave shall give you a

a Jer 34:11,
16; Neh 5:3,
5

penalty¹⁶ of silver, ⁽⁸⁾thirty *karsh*¹⁷ by the weight of the king, silver zuz to the ten,

Reaffirmation

and that Jedaniah, my son shall he be likewise.¹⁸ And an individual does not ⁽⁹⁾have right to brand him or make him a slave, but my son he shall be.

Scribe

Wrote Raukhshana son of Nergal(u)shezib¹⁹ at the instruction of Uriah.

Witnesses

⁽¹⁰⁾The witnesses herein:²⁰

- (2nd hand) Attarmalki son of Kilkilan;
- (3rd hand) Sinkishir son of Shabbethai²¹;
- (4th hand) Saharakab son of Cepha;
- ⁽¹¹⁾(5th hand) Nabushillen son of Bethelrai;
- (6th hand) Eshemram son of Eshemshezib;
- (7th hand) Varyazata son of Bethelzabad²²;
- ⁽¹²⁾(8th hand) Heremnathan son of Paho²³;
- (9th hand) Eshemzabad son of Shawyan.

(endorsement missing)

³ He was father of Didi in a name list (*TAD* C4.6:14).

⁴ See 3.48, n. 8 (*EPE* B 15).

⁵ For this Persian title (*hpthpt* = **haffax***wapāta*) see Porten 1968:44; *GEA* 372.40.

⁶ Son of the householder, creditor and slaveowner Meshullam son of Zaccur (3.64:3; 3.69:2-3; 3.71:2-3; 3.74:2) and adoptive brother of Tamet and Jehoishma (3.74:11-12; 3.76:2), Zaccur was here divesting himself of another slave.

⁷ This contract lacked *Transfer* and *Investiture* clauses and began, so to speak, with the final clauses. The prohibited act was repeated three times, with varying terminology — “press (into) slave(ry),” “brand,” “make a slave/brand.” In between the first and second promise was inserted a positive affirmation of sonship. Had the contract begun with an affirmative statement, we would be able to compare it to the earlier manumission document and consider the *Non-enslavement* clause as equivalent to a *Non-* or *Disinvestiture* clause, as we did there for the *No-reenslavement* clause (3.74:7).

⁸ See 3.68, n. 12.

⁹ The boy had a Jewish name popular at Elephantine but he was filiated with an Eg. mother, and so was probably a houseborn slave.

¹⁰ For the procedure and formula “gave” and “wrote,” cf. 3.64:3.

¹¹ I.e. a representative; see 3.66, n. 28.

¹² I.e. a beneficiary; see 3.61, n. 33.

¹³ Potential claimants included children, siblings, representative, and beneficiaries — in that order; see Porten and Szubin 1987b:61.

¹⁴ See 3.72, n. 29.

¹⁵ Whoever among the parties listed in the previous paragraph.

¹⁶ See 3.66, n. 38.

¹⁷ The penalty for attempted reenslavement of the freed women Tamet and Jehoishma was fifty *karsh* (3.74:8).

¹⁸ This term is normally found in the *Reaffirmation* clause in conveyances. See 3.59, n. 18.

¹⁹ The scribe's name is Persian and his patronym either Akk. or Aram. He appears only here.

²⁰ All the witnesses were non-Jews and none appear elsewhere. Most of the names were Aram. theophorous and indicate the deities worshipped by the Arameans of Syene — Attar, Bethel, Eshem, Herem, Nabu, and Sahar. For the witness total of eight, see 3.59, n. 34.

²¹ Though Shabbethai was originally a Heb. name meaning “(Born on the) Sabbath,” in the vicinity of Elephantine it was apparently adopted by non-Jews as well; see Porten 1969:116-121.

²² Varyazata was a Persian name borne by two detachment commanders, perhaps grandfather and grandson (see 3.59, n. 4 and 3.68, n. 4).

²³ The father's name was Eg.

REFERENCES

Text and translation: *TAD* B3.9; *EPE* B42. *GEA*; Porten 1969; 1990; *TAD*.

BEQUEST IN CONTEMPLATION OF DEATH (3.78)

(25 November, 404 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

Sixteen years after his grant of a life estate of usufruct (3.75), Anani granted his daughter title to the apartment, but only to take effect upon his death. To reassure her in the interim, the scribe repeated the operative word "gave" eight times, doubled the formulae in both the *Pedigree* ("bought" and "gave") and *Investiture* ("yours" and "right") clauses (lines 3, 11), granted her rights of ownership to half the courtyard (as distinct from shared rights [lines 13-14]), and assimilated the bequest to a sale by reference to old-age support as consideration (line 17). Concomitantly, he held back in the formulation of several clauses just because the bequest was to take effect only upon his death — omission of rights of heirs and beneficiaries in the *Investiture* clause (line 11); omission of *Warranty* and *Penalty* clauses in the name of the alienor; and omission of a *Reclamation Waiver*. The several *Transfer* and *Investiture* clauses artfully intertwine as the first half of the contract builds up to a climax — at my death, in affection, in consideration of old-age support (lines 15-18). Penalty for suit or complaint by heirs and related parties was a hefty thirty *karsh* and the new-or-old document clause substituted the word "made" (=prepared) for "wrote" (lines 21-22), a further indication of the deferred character of the bequest.¹ The eight witnesses were Jewish and all but one appear elsewhere (lines 23-26).

Date

(Recto)⁽¹⁾On the 24th of Marcheshvan, that is day 29 of Mesore, year 1 of Artaxerxes the king,²

Parties

then said Anani son of Azariah, ⁽²⁾a servitor to YHW the God in Elephantine the fortress,³ to lady⁴ Jehoishma his daughter, saying:

Transfer I

I thought of you in my lifetime⁵ and gave ⁽³⁾you

Object I

part⁶ of my house

Pedigree

which I bought for money and its value I gave.⁷

Transfer II

I gave it to you —

Object II

that is the southern room,⁸ east of ⁽⁴⁾the large room of mine;⁹ and half the courtyard, that is half the *hyt* (as it is called in) Egyptian;¹⁰ and half the stairway, beneath which is the *peras*-(sized) STORAGE AREA.¹¹

Measurements

⁽⁵⁾This is¹² the measurements of the house which I gave Jehoishma my daughter in love; this is the measurements of the house which I, Anani, ⁽⁶⁾gave Jehoishma my daughter.¹³

from below to above, 8 and one-half cubits by the measuring rod; and from east to west, ⁽⁷⁾7 cubits by the measuring rod¹⁴; IN AREA, 98 cubits by the measuring rod and¹⁵ half the courtyard and half the stairway and ⁽⁸⁾the ⁽⁹⁾pe-

¹ For full discussion see Porten and Szubin 1987a:179-192.

² This document was written at night since 24 Marcheshvan = November 26 while 29 Mesore in 1 Artaxerxes II = November 25, 404 BCE; see Porten 1990:21.

³ See 3.70, n. 5.

⁴ She was no longer designated by the customary slave appellative "by name" (3.76:3) but simply "lady," the customary female tag; see 3.61, n. 7.

⁵ A formula for a gift in contemplation of death (3.74:3-4), but the reference to death was deferred to one of the last *Transfer* clauses.

⁶ The terminology here is more precise and less confusing than that in the first document Anani drew up where he called the property simply "a house" (3.75:3).

⁷ In this formula the scribe both abridged, omitting the name of the seller, and expanded, stating both "bought" and "gave." See Porten and Szubin 1987a:184-185.

⁸ The expression is Eg., here written as one word (*dryrsy* = *t' ry.t rsy.t*). It occurs again (3.79:3) as two words with the expected *taw* instead of *daleth* (*try rsy*). GEA 373.4.

⁹ As indicated, Haggai described the house's orientation from a perspective different from that in the first document for this property which accorded with Mauziah's orientation (see 3.73, n. 19; 3.75, n. 13). Thus, what lay east of Anani's large room here lay above it there (3.75:5-6 ["below" it the house (= large room) of Anani]). On the Eg. word for room see 3.73, n. 2.

¹⁰ The same linguistic gloss as in the previous document (3.75:4-5), but abbreviated.

¹¹ The area beneath the stairway was not mentioned in the earlier document. Similar areas were found in the Byzantine houses and were given an Eg. name (*P. Lond* 1722:20 [EPE D22]; *P. Münch* 11.27 [EPE D45], 12.22 [EPE D46]).

¹² Grammatical mistake for "these are."

¹³ This was a unique repetition of the *Measurements* caption. It presented the opportunity for repetition of "gave" and the addition of "in love." So, too, each statement varied slightly from the other (addition of "Anani" and omission of "in love" in the second). For the usual formula, see 3.61:4.

¹⁴ In the earlier document the measurements were a cubit or so less (7½ x 6? [3.75:4]).

¹⁵ I.e. including.

ras(-sized) STORAGE AREA its half.¹⁶

Boundaries

⁽⁸⁾And behold the boundaries of the house¹⁷ which I, Anani, gave Jehoishma my daughter: east of it is the ⁽⁹⁾protecting ⁽⁸⁾wall¹⁸ ⁽⁹⁾which the Egyptians built, that is the way of the god;¹⁹ above it the house of the shrine of the god²⁰ adjoins it wall to wall;²¹ ⁽¹⁰⁾below it is the wall of the stairway²² and the house of Hor son of Petese, a gardener of Khnum the god, adjoins that stairway; ⁽¹¹⁾west of it is the wall of the large room.

Investiture I

Yours it is: you have right to it.²³

Transfer III

This house whose measurements ⁽¹²⁾and boundaries are written in this document²⁴ — I, Anani son of Azariah, gave it to you in love.²⁵

Description

Renovated²⁶ is (the) ⁽¹³⁾lower ⁽¹²⁾house.²⁷ ⁽¹³⁾It contains beams²⁸ and 3 windows are in it. One

door is in it, shutting and opening.²⁹

Investiture II

Moreover, you have right to the *hyt*, ⁽¹⁴⁾that is the courtyard, right to prop up (what is) knocked down and its beam in the half of yours.³⁰ Moreover, you have right to go out ⁽¹⁵⁾through the gateway of the *hyt*, that is the courtyard. Moreover, you have right to half the stairway to ascend and descend.³¹

Transfer IV

This ⁽¹⁶⁾{this}³² house whose boundaries and measurements are written and whose words³³ are written in this document³⁴ — I, Anani, gave it to Jehoishma ⁽¹⁷⁾my daughter at my death³⁵ in love. Just as she supported³⁶ me while I was old of days — I was unable (to use) my hands³⁷ and she supported me — also I ⁽¹⁸⁾gave³⁸ (it) to her at my death.³⁹

Waiver of suit

Son of mine or daughter of mine,⁴⁰ partner-in-chattel who is mine or partner-in-land or guarantor⁴¹ who is mine shall not be able to bring against

¹⁶ The area of the "southern room" would have been ($8\frac{1}{2} \times 7 =$) $59\frac{1}{2}$ cubits, leaving $38\frac{1}{2}$ cubits for the area of half the courtyard and "half" the stairway. See TAD B 177 and figure 6.

¹⁷ The order of the *Boundaries* (east-above-below-west) was quite irregular in order to give prominence to the structural changes that took place since the last document was drawn up sixteen years earlier (3.75; see 3.60, n. 18).

¹⁸ Aram. *hnpn* is an Old Persian loan word (**hanpāna*-); GEA 371.39.

¹⁹ Aram. *tnw²nty* is an Eg. loan word of uncertain derivation. Either *t² m²y.t ntr*, "island of the god" or error for *t² my.t ntr*, "way of the god"; see Porten 1968:284-285, also for following notes; GEA 375.30. This wall came in place of the treasury which had been the eastern border in the earlier documents (3.72:9; 3.75:7).

²⁰ Aram. *qnhty* is an Eg. loanword *qnht ntr*; GEA 374.22.

²¹ Some time after 420 BCE the Eg. priests took over the property of Shatibara and converted it into an adjoining shrine. In the summer of 410, when Arsames left the country, they cut off part of the royal treasury (3.50:4-5) to build an approach way.

²² This may have been a newly constructed stairway that went along with the other structural changes in the adjacent buildings; see Szubin and Porten 1988:38.

²³ This double formula in a single *Investiture* clause is unique (see 3.61, n. 28) and comes to reassure Jehoishma of full title to the property, even though it would only take effect at his death. On the other hand, the customary devolution of the property upon "your children after you" (see 3.61, n. 30) was omitted as premature since the bequest did not take effect until after Anani's death; Porten and Szubin 1987a:185-186.

²⁴ See 3.59, n. 26.

²⁵ *Transfer III* is chiasmic inclusion to *Transfer I*, enclosing the *Measurements* and *Boundaries* clauses.

²⁶ The Aram. is the unusual *paal* pass. ptc. *mbny*, with the expanded meaning of "renovated, restored" (also in 3.79:2-3; 3.80:12-13); see Hoesterman 1992:7-15.

²⁷ I.e. the bottom floor.

²⁸ See 3.73, n. 16.

²⁹ The description is most elaborate. The earlier document mentioned only beams (3.75:3-4). The third bequest mentioned three doors and no windows (3.79:2-3).

³⁰ As Jehoishma's rights were expanded from usufruct to ownership, she was granted the further right to maintain the structure in her half of the courtyard without requiring specific permission.

³¹ This was the newly constructed stairway mentioned in line 10. Rights to half a stairway meant shared rights with others using that stairway.

³² Redundantly repeated at the beginning of a new line.

³³ I.e. stipulations.

³⁴ See 3.59, n. 26.

³⁵ Repeated twice in this paragraph, the reference to "gave at my death" was a feature of the inclusion that harked back to *Transfer I* where Anani affirmed that "I thought of you in my lifetime."

³⁶ See on TAD A2.3:5 (EPE B3) and 3.74:11. The reference to support as consideration in the concluding *Transfer* clause added a feature not materially required to effect the transaction but designed to strengthen the bequest by assimilating it to a bona fide sale; cf. P. Münch. 8.1-5, 24-25 (EPE D23), P. Lond. V 1729.16-33 (EPE D37) and Porten and Szubin 1987a:189-191.

³⁷ Alternately translate "(to exist) by my (own) means."

³⁸ These last two references to "gave" provide a second inclusion to *Transfer I* by adding to *Measurements* and *Boundaries* the stipulations of *Investiture II*.

³⁹ For this "just as ... also/so" construction, see Dan 6:23 and reference in EPE 240 n. 39.

⁴⁰ Since the bequest came into effect only after Anani's death, he had omitted reference to potential suit by himself; Porten-Szubin 1987a:187.

⁴¹ To the earlier introduction of specified parties (partner-in-chattel and partner-in-realty) the scribe Haggai now added the guarantor (*ḥdrng* < Old Persian **ādranga*-); see Porten and Greenfield 1969:153-157; GEA 370.4. The trilogy recurs in the last three documents concerning

you suit ⁽¹⁹⁾or process, or bring (suit) against your children after you,⁴² or complain against you to prefect or lord,⁴³ or against your children after you.

Penalty

Whoever⁴⁴ shall bring against you suit ⁽²⁰⁾or process or complain against you or against your children shall give you a penalty⁴⁵ of silver, 30 *karsh*⁴⁶ by the stone(-weight)s of the king, pure silver.⁴⁷

Reaffirmation

and you, ⁽²¹⁾Jehoishma, likewise have right⁴⁸ and your children have right after you⁴⁹ and you may give (it) to whomever you love.⁵⁰

Document validity

Moreover, they shall not be able to take out ⁽²²⁾a-against you a new or old document, but it is this document which I made⁵¹ for you (that) is valid.⁵²

Scribe and place

Haggai son of Shemaiah⁵³ wrote ⁽²³⁾this ⁽²²⁾docu-

ment ⁽²³⁾in Elephantine the fortress at the instruction of Anani son of Azariah, the servitor of YHW the God.⁵⁴

Witnesses

The witnesses herein:⁵⁵

- (2nd hand) witness Hoshaiiah son of ⁽²⁴⁾Jathom⁵⁶;
- (3rd hand) Zaccur son of Shille⁵⁷;
- (4th hand) witness Nathan son of Jehour⁵⁸;
- (5th hand) witness Hoshaiiah son of Nathan⁵⁹;
- ⁽²⁵⁾(6th hand) witness Meshullam son of Mauzi⁶⁰;
- (7th hand) Pilti son of Jaush (ERASURE: s[on of])⁶¹;
- (8th hand) Jashobiah son of Jedaniah⁶²;
- ⁽²⁶⁾(9th hand) witness Haggai son of Mardu.⁶³

Endorsement

(Verso)⁽²⁷⁾Document (*sealing*) of a house which Anani son of Azariah the servitor wrote for Jehoishma his daughter.

Anani's estate (3.79:12; 3.80:27) and the guarantor alone appears as a potential recipient of payment along with the debtor's children in a loan contract and a deed of obligation (3.81:8-9; TAD B4.6:10).

⁴² Omitted from the *Investiture* clause as premature, "your children after you" was pertinent when referring to suits initiated after the death of the benefactor; Porten and Szubin 1987a:186.

⁴³ The addition of a "complaint" clause is a common feature in the contracts by Haggai (3.79:12-13; 3.80:28), not shared by his contemporary Mauziah son of Nathan (contrast 3.66:11-15; 3.67:9-16; 3.73:12-16).

⁴⁴ I.e. among the above enumerated potential claimants.

⁴⁵ See 3.66, n. 38.

⁴⁶ Such a stiff penalty is found only for this and the following bequest (3.79:10) by Anani to Jehoishma.

⁴⁷ A notation used regularly by Haggai but not by every other scribe; see 3.59, n. 17.

⁴⁸ The *Reaffirmation* clause generally affirmed "it is yours" (see 3.59, n. 18).

⁴⁹ The scribe deferred until the *Reaffirmation* clause the rights of devolution and alienation (see next note) which took on meaning only after Anani's death, for only then did she take full possession of the property. See Porten and Szubin 1987a:187-188.

⁵⁰ See 3.61, n. 31.

⁵¹ The usual word in this slot is "wrote" (3.64:12; 3.79:16-17). The unusual "bdt, "I made" indicates that the document was being prepared for some future occasion, namely the death of the benefactor; Porten and Szubin 1987a:187-188.

⁵² For the new-or-old document clause, see 3.61, n. 43.

⁵³ See 3.64, n. 41.

⁵⁴ See 3.70, n. 5.

⁵⁵ For the number of witnesses see 3.59, n. 34. There are eight here and in the following bequest (3.79:18-20).

⁵⁶ The second witness for Anani in 434 BCE (3.73:24), see 3.49, n. 18 (EPE B16).

⁵⁷ The last witness to a contract of Mahseiah in 446 BCE (3.64:20), he failed to preface his name with the word "witness."

⁵⁸ A witness for the grandsons of Mahseiah, he witnessed two more documents for Anani (see 3.68, n. 37).

⁵⁹ He was the author of a letter to Pilti, the sixth witness here, and possibly of two more (TAD A3.6:5; 3.7:1, 5; 3.8:1); Porten 1968:272-274. He was probably also identical with the person whose name is restored in the Collection Account — Hosh[ai]ah son of Nathan] son of Hoshaiiah son of Zephaniah (TAD C3.15:7) — and his father Nathan with the debtor Nathan son of Hosea in 407 BCE (TAD B4.5:1); Porten 2001:342.

⁶⁰ He was first witness in another document of Anani (where his father's name was written Mauziah [3.80:34]) and a contributor to YHW (TAD C3.15:112).

⁶¹ Father of the female contributor Jahmol (TAD C3.15:92) and recipient of a letter from Hoshaiiah, the fourth witness above, he failed to preface his name with the word witness."

⁶² The only witness not to appear elsewhere, he failed to preface his name with the word "witness."

⁶³ Witnessed two more documents (3.79:20; 3.81:14).

REFERENCES

Text and translation: TAD B3.10; EPE B43. EPE; GEA; Hoesterman 1992; Porten 1968; 1990; 2001; Porten and Greenfield 1969; Porten and Szubin 1987a.

DOWRY ADDENDUM (3.79)

(9 March, 402 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

Less than a year and one-half after Anani had written for his daughter a bequest in contemplation of death, he upgraded it to one to take effect immediately. Assigning title to courtyard and stairway, Anani had no need to spell out specific rights, as earlier (3.78:13-15). Omission of the right of alienation to anyone other than her own children, however (lines 8-9), indicated that Anani intended the property to remain a family estate. Uniquely designating it an "after-gift" to her marriage contract (line 7), i.e. a dowry addendum to which her husband naturally enjoyed rights of usufruct, he had to reassure her against claims of reclamation by himself (lines 9-11) and removal by his heirs and associated parties (lines 11-15), whether in his lifetime or after his death. Any such attempts were subject to a stiff thirty *karsh* penalty. The eight witnesses were Jewish and all but one appeared elsewhere (lines 18-20).

Date

(Recto)⁽¹⁾On the 20th of Adar, that is day 8 of Choiak, year 3 of Artaxerxes the king,¹

Parties

then said Anani son of Azariah, a servitor of ⁽²⁾YHW the God in Elephantine the fortress, to Jehoishma his daughter, saying:

Transfer I

I gave you

Object

a² house.³

Description

Renovated⁴ is (the) lower house⁵ — containing beams⁶ ⁽³⁾and 3 doors⁷ — that is the southern room. Built is its stairway and its court yard,⁸ that is its gate (through which) to go out.

Boundaries

And this is⁹ its boundaries:¹⁰

east of it ⁽⁴⁾the treasury of the king adjoins wall

to wall the protecting (wall) which the Egyptians built¹¹; west of it is the gate of yours (through which) to go out and the street of ⁽⁵⁾the king is (in) between¹²; above it the house of the shrine of the god adjoins it wall to wall and the wall of its house adjoins it, ⁽⁶⁾that is the large room of mine, ⁽⁷⁾wall to wall;¹³ ⁽⁸⁾below it the house of Hor son of Peteese,¹⁴ a gardener of Khnum the god, adjoins it wall to wall.

Transfer II

⁽⁹⁾This house whose boundaries are written in this document — I, Anani son of Azariah, gave it to you (as) an after-gift¹⁵ (ERASURE: *t[o your] docu-ment[ent] of wifehood*) written on your document of wifehood) since it is not written on your document of wifehood ⁽⁸⁾with Anani son of Haggai son of Meshullam son of Busasa.¹⁶

Investiture

You, Jehoishma my daughter, have right to it from

¹ This is one of the few intact documents with a perfect, non-problematic synchronism for daytime redaction (also 3.59; 3.66; 3.73; 3.74); Porten 1990:20-21.

² For the indefinite article written as the number "one" or the cipher "1," see 3.59, n. 7.

³ For "house" = room, see 3.73, n. 8.

⁴ For the unusual *paet* pass. ptc. *mbny*, with the expanded meaning of "renovated, restored," see 3.78, n. 26.

⁵ I.e. the bottom floor.

⁶ See 3.73, n. 16.

⁷ The description here is not identical with that given some fifteen months earlier. There it mentioned three windows and one door, shutting and opening (3.78:13).

⁸ The scribe dropped the Eg. word for courtyard (*thyt* [3.75:5, 10, 13; 3.78:4, 13, 15]), using only the Aram.

⁹ Grammatical error for "these are."

¹⁰ For this caption see 3.60, n. 19.

¹¹ Awareness of the Eg. construction was still present. Rather than equating this construction with the "divine way," as fifteen months earlier (3.78:8-9), the scribe here indicated that the royal treasury, present in 420 BCE (3.75:6-7), had not been torn down, but was foreshortened on its western side.

¹² In the previous document the wall of Anani's large room was given on the west (3.78:11). Here the boundary was the implied courtyard with the specified exit gate to the street. Earlier, Jehoishma was granted only half the courtyard and it was necessary to spell out her right of exit therefrom (3.78:14-15). Here she was implicitly given complete dominion over the whole courtyard (line 3), no specification of rights was necessary, and reference to the courtyard as a boundary would further confirm her ownership thereof; see Porten and Szubin 1987c:235.

¹³ The language is awkward but must mean that the shrine of the god adjoined the rooms of both Jehoishma and Anani.

¹⁴ He was the same neighbor as earlier, but reference to the stairway was omitted (3.78:10).

¹⁵ For the Old Persian loanword *psšdt* < **pasča dātī*-, see GEA 372.57. The gift was to be considered as an addition to Jehoishma's dowry (given to her by her adoptive brother Zaccur son of Meshullam [3.76]), to which her husband Anani son of Haggai would have rights of usufruct (cf. 3.80:9-9a, 17-18), just as Jezaniah son of Uriah had in the property his father-in-law Mahsciah bestowed upon his wife Mibtahiah (3.60.4).

¹⁶ This four-generation genealogy is quite unique (see also 3.80:2, 11 [abbreviated] and 3.64, n. 7). The great grandfather's name is unknown in the Hebrew onomasticon; cf. Zadok 1988:104. It has been suggested that Busasa was born abroad and entered Egypt with his parents at the time of the Persian conquest; Cohen 1966-67:104.

this {this}¹⁷ day forever¹⁸ and your children have right after you.¹⁹

Waiver of reclamation

(ERASURE: I) I, Anani son of Azariah the servitor, shall not be able to say:

"I gave it to you in affection (as) an after-gift to ⁽¹⁰⁾your ⁽⁹⁾document ⁽¹⁰⁾of wifehood until later."²⁰

Penalty I

If I say:

"I shall reclaim (it) from you,"

I shall be obligated²¹ and I shall give Jehoishma a penalty²² of silver, 30 *karsh*²³ ⁽¹¹⁾pure ⁽¹⁰⁾silver²⁴ ⁽¹¹⁾by the stone(-weight)s of the king,

Reaffirmation I

and you likewise have right²⁵ to this house whose boundaries are written above,²⁶ in my lifetime and at my death.²⁷

Waiver of suit

Moreover, ⁽¹²⁾son of mine or daughter of mine, brother or sister, partner-in-chattel or partner-in-land or guarantor²⁸ shall not be able (to sue).²⁹

Penalty II

Whoever³⁰ shall bring against you suit or process

or complain against you ⁽¹³⁾or against your children to prefect or lord to remove³¹ this house from before you in my lifetime³² or at my death shall be obligated and shall give you ⁽¹⁴⁾or your children a penalty of silver, 30 *karsh* by the stone(-weight)s of the king,

Reaffirmation II

and you likewise have right to this house whose boundaries ⁽¹⁵⁾are written in this document.³³

Document validity

And should he go into a suit,³⁴ he shall not prevail.³⁵ Moreover, they shall not be able to take out against you a new or old document in the name of ⁽¹⁶⁾this ⁽¹⁵⁾house ⁽¹⁶⁾whose (ERASURE: w[ritten]) boundaries above is³⁶ written in this document. (That document) which he shall take out is false. It is this document which I, Anani, wrote for you ⁽¹⁷⁾(that) is valid.³⁷

Scribe and place

Haggai son of Shemaiah³⁸ wrote this document in Elephantine at the instruction of Anani son of Azariah, the servitor of YHW the God.³⁹

Witnesses

⁽¹⁸⁾The witnesses herein:⁴⁰

¹⁷ Scribal dittography.

¹⁸ The bequest was not to take effect upon Anani's death but immediately; see further 3.61, n. 29.

¹⁹ Alienation to a beneficiary or to an unrelated third party was omitted because Anani intended the property to be treated as a family estate to be passed on only to his daughter's legitimate heirs. See Porten and Szubin 1987c:235.

²⁰ The formulation of this *Waiver of reclamation* clause follows most closely the pattern in Jehoishma's document of wifehood (3.76:40-42) with a double unique addition ("after-gift" and "until later"). The second addition may have come to dispel the concern that the newly acquired rights to the other half of the courtyard and stairway might be phased (usufruct now and title upon death) just as were the original rights, made at the time of her marriage (3.75) and subsequently (3.78). Nothing was to be "later"; it was all now.

²¹ See 3.73, n. 27.

²² See 3.66, n. 38.

²³ In the only other conveyance with such a clause, the penalty was just ten *karsh* (3.73:20-22), but thirty *karsh* is also the penalty here (line 14) and in the earlier document for violation of the *Waiver* clause by heirs or related parties (3.78:19-20).

²⁴ For this designation favored by the scribe Haggai, see 3.59, n. 17.

²⁵ When all was said and done, Jehoishma had only shared rights (with her husband [see note 15 above]) and not "absolute, unconditional, fee simple ownership;" see Porten and Szubin 1987c:236-237.

²⁶ See 3.59, n. 26.

²⁷ Most natural in one of the *Transfer* clauses, either as a single phrase (3.61:3), or distributed between two clauses ("I thought of you in my life time ... I gave/released you at my death" [3.74:3-4; 3.78:2, 16-18]), this phrase is unusual here and in the *Penalty* clause below (line 13).

²⁸ This trilogy is found in the last three documents concerning Anani's estate (3.78:18; 3.80:27).

²⁹ The verb was omitted by oversight; Porten and Szubin 1987b:64.

³⁰ Of the above enumerated parties.

³¹ This is one of two instances in the contracts where a complaint is spelled out. The other is in a loan contract and asserted that a security is seized illegally (3.69:13). Here the complaint sought to "remove" the disputed property from the defendant, probably for alleged breach of contract (see Porten and Szubin 1987c:237). A complaint differed from a suit, which sought to make the loss retroactive (see 3.61, n. 55). The fear of "removal" is also addressed in a document of wifehood (3.63:35). The same formula is found in a Ptolemaic Demotic contract of matrimonial arrangements (P. Berlin 13593.7-8 [EPE C33]).

³² A suit by an heir, beneficiary, or associated party, challenging title, would normally be entered in the name of the alienor and brought only after his death (see on 3.59:8). But an attempt at "removal," as here, depended upon changing circumstances and might be entered at any time; see Porten and Szubin 1987c:237.

³³ See 3.59, n. 26.

³⁴ I.e. take legal action.

³⁵ This statement occurs twice elsewhere and both times it concludes with the statement "while this document is in your hand" (3.61:22; 3.69:19-20).

³⁶ Singular mistakenly written for plural.

³⁷ For this clause, see 3.78:22 and 3.61, n. 44.

³⁸ See 3.64, n. 41.

³⁹ See 3.70, n. 5.

⁴⁰ The number of witnesses in Anani's bequests is double that normally required; see 3.59, n. 34.

(2nd hand) witness Nathan son of Jehour⁴¹;
 (3rd hand) witness Menahem son of Gaddul⁴²;
 (4th hand) witness Ahio son of Nathan⁴³;
 (5th hand) witness Nahum the houseborn⁴⁴;
 (6th hand) witness Nathan son of Mauziah⁴⁵;
 (7th hand) witness Shammua son of Peluliah⁴⁶;

(8th hand) witness Haggai son of Mardu⁴⁷;
 (9th hand) witness Jedaniah son of Gemariah.⁴⁸

Endorsement

(Verso)⁽²¹⁾Document (*sealing*) of a house which Anani son of Azariah wrote for Jeh[o]ishma his daughter.

⁴¹ He is a witness in Anani's last three documents and in the last document of Mahseiah's grandsons; see 3.68, n. 37.

⁴² He witnessed four documents; see 3.66, n. 42.

⁴³ He appeared in three other documents; once in a list where he was followed directly by Nathan son of Mauziah, here the witness after the following; see 3.67, n. 39.

⁴⁴ Here the fourth of eight witnesses, he also appeared in three other documents — second of four (3.80:34); third of four (3.81:14), where the fourth and last was Haggai son of Mardu, here the seventh witness (line 20); and last of four (*TAD* B4.6:20), where the first witness was Nathan son of Mauziah, who followed him here. His epithet is unique. Was he a(n emancipated) houseborn slave lacking patronymic?

⁴⁵ As noted, he appeared elsewhere with two of the witnesses from here, Ahio and Nahum.

⁴⁶ The only witness not to appear elsewhere.

⁴⁷ Elsewhere the last of eight witnesses (3.78:26) and the last of four (3.81:14); he must have been a junior.

⁴⁸ The leader of the Jewish community (see 3.46, n. 3 [*EPE* B13]). Jedaniah waited to sign last, as he had done elsewhere (3.76:44).

REFERENCES

Text and translation: *TAD* B3.11; *EPE* B44. Cohen 1966-67; *EPE*; *GEA*; Porten 1990; Porten and Szubin 1987b; 1987c; *TAD*; Zadok 1988.

SALE OF APARTMENT TO SON-IN-LAW (3.80)

(13 December 402 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

Barely nine months after Anani's final bequest to his daughter Jehoishma, he and his wife sold their remaining share in the house (the large room plus appurtenances [151½ square cubits]) to their son-in-law Anani son of Haggai for thirteen shekels (also denominated in Ionian staters), a price that took into account the father's building improvements. The document was remarkable for the fact that after writing 9½ lines, the scribe erased his last unfinished line and began the text anew, making numerous slight changes in formulation. Certain terms were employed to perfect title to the property, originally acquired from a couple who held it in adverse possession: (1) Particular prominence was given to Tamet (here written Tapmet and even Tapmemet [line 33]) by the titles accorded her (lines 2, 11, 24) and it was made to appear as if the house which Anani alone had bought from Bagazushta and his wife (3.72:2-3) was actually acquired jointly by Anani and Tapmet (lines 12, 32). (2) The original owner of the house was pointedly called a "hereditary-property-holder" (lines 4-5). (3) Special reference was made to the fact that Jehoishma's existing share in the house had been an after-gift on her document of wifehood. In fact, it was the imprecision as to whether this had been given originally to Jehoishma or directly to her husband Anani which led the scribe to rewrite the document from scratch (cf. lines 9-9a with 17-18). The son-in-law was given complete right of alienation (lines 22-24) and a suit or complaint by heirs or related parties was subject to a twenty *karsh* penalty (lines 24-31). The original sale document of Bagazushta was handed over (lines 31-32) and the usual four witnesses appended their signatures (lines 33-34).

Date

(Recto)⁽¹⁾On the 12th of Thoth, year 4 of Artaxerxes the king,¹

Parties

then said Anani son of Azariah, a servitor of YHW

^a Exod 25:8; 29:46; Num 5:3; Deut 33:16; 1 Kgs 8:12; Isa 33:5; 57:15; Ps 135:21; etc.

and lady Tapmet² (2)his wife, a servitor³ of YHW the God dwelling⁴ ^a (in) Elephantine the fortress, to Anani son of Haggai son of Meshullam son of Busasa⁵ an Aramean of (3){of} Elephantine the fort-

¹ Most of the contracts at the end of the century (413 BCE on) bore only an Eg. date (3.79; *TAD* B4.5; 4.6; 5.5; 7.1; 7.2), Porten 1990.16-19.

² The form of Tamer's name preferred by the scribe Haggai (see 3.74, n. 5).

³ Manumitted at the death of Meshullam (3.74:3-4), she no longer bore the slave designation *šmh*, "her name." Instead, she was given the feminine form of Anani's title (*lhnh*), much as the wife of the prophet Isaiah was called *nby^h*, "prophetess" (Isa 8:3). The titles bestowed on Tamet here and below (lines 11, 24) were designed to give her status and thereby perfect title to the property which Anani had acquired from Bagazushta who held it in adverse possession.

⁴ It is further striking that this quality of divine immanence was attached to the title given Tamet and had never been attached to the title of Anani which was repeated in each of his documents (see 3.70, n. 5). The same term *škn*, indicating YHW's residence at Elephantine, was used to apply to his presence in Jerusalem (Ezra 6:12).

⁵ For this unique four-generation genealogy see 3.64, n. 7 and 3.79, n. 16. In line 11 it was abbreviated to three generations by omission of the name of the grandfather Meshullam.

ress of the detachment of Nabukudurri,⁶ saying:

Transfer I

I, 1 (and) Tapmet daughter of Patou,⁷ all (told) two — we sold and gave you⁸

Object I

our house

Pedigree I

which ⁽⁴⁾we bought⁹ for silver from Bagazushta son of Friyana/Palliya¹⁰ the Caspian — that is the house of *Ynbwly*¹¹ son of Misday(a), a Caspian who in Elephantine is ⁽⁵⁾hereditary-property-holder,¹² —

Price I

and you gave us the price of our house (in) silver, one, that is 1, *karsh*,¹³ three, that is 3, shekels — (in) Ionian silver 6 staters, ⁽⁶⁾one shekel¹⁴ —

Satisfaction I

and our heart was satisfied⁶ herein that there did not remain to us (incumbent) upon¹⁵ you (any) of the price.¹⁶

Measurements I

This is¹⁷ the measurements of the house which we sold ⁽⁷⁾and gave you:¹⁸

b Ruth 3:7

from east to west {to west}, length, 16 cubits, 2 h(ands)¹⁹ by the measuring rod; ⁽⁸⁾and from below to above, width, 5 cubits, 2 h(ands) by the measuring rod; IN AREA, 150 cubits.²⁰

Boundaries I

And behold, this is ⁽⁹⁾the boundaries of the house which we sold and gave you:²¹

east of it is the house which I gave you²² (as) an after-gift ^(9a)(ERASURE: on the document of wifehood of Jehoishma)

Date

⁽¹⁰⁾On the 12th of Thoth, year 4 of Artaxerxes, the king,

Parties

then said Anani son of Azariah, a servitor of YHW ⁽¹¹⁾the God, 1 (and) lady

Tapmet his wife, CHIEF OF THE BELOVED of Meshullam son of Zaccur,²³ all (told) 2 as one mouth²⁴ to Anani son of Haggai son of Busasa, ⁽¹²⁾saying:

Transfer II

We sold and gave you

Object II

our house

Pedigree II

which we bought from Bagazushta son of Fri-

⁶ Five different persons were affiliated with the detachment of this person bearing an Akk. name (TAD B4.5:1-2 [407]; 7.2:2-3 [401]; our document and 3.81:1-2 [402]; TAD B4.6:2-3 [400]). This was one of three detachments attested for the last decade of the century — Var[ya]ja (3.79:2 [410]) and Marya (TAD D2.12:3 [403], B7.2:3 [401]).

⁷ With a patronymic, Tamet was apparently born free and sold into slavery by/with her father.

⁸ The regular sale formula; see 3.72:3-4.

⁹ Only Anani not Tamet, "bought" the house. He later bestowed upon her a room in it (3.72:3-73).

¹⁰ The non-Semitic name of the father Bagazushta was given in 437 BCE as Bazu (3.72:2). Was the name incorrectly recalled or was one of the names that of a grandfather?

¹¹ In the earlier document this Caspian was called *pwly* (3.72:4).

¹² This Caspian here was given the same designation (*mhhsn*) as that applied to Mahseiah when he transferred to his daughter Mibtahiah a piece of property for which he had no evidence of acquisition (3.61). His status had to serve as evidence of his title. Similarly, Anani had acquired the property of *Ynbwly* from Bagazushta without evidence of title and so the strongest statement he could make for his son-in-law as purchaser was to assert that *Ynbwly* himself had held the property as part of his ancestral estate. Interestingly, he was presented as currently (*hw*) holding the designation. See Szubin and Porten 1982:4-5.

¹³ For the numerical repetition, see 3.60, n. 36.

¹⁴ The Ionian stater appears only at the end of the century as the equivalent of two shekels (line 14; TAD A4.2:12; B4.5:3; 4.6:7). Anani was here selling for thirteen shekels two-thirds of the property which he had bought thirty-two years earlier for a negotiated price of fourteen shekels (3.72:6). The almost four-shekel difference was due at least in part to his property improvements.

¹⁵ Aram. *štr' l* = Arabic *baqiya 'alā* in a 10th century parchment probably from Aswan (P. Or. Inst. 10552r.5 [EPE F2]).

¹⁶ This explanation of the reason for satisfaction takes us back to a pre-legal meaning of satisfaction after a full meal (cf. Ruth 3:7); cf. too, the Demotic receipt of dowry, "I received them from you; they are complete without any remainder; my heart is satisfied with them" (P. Bertin 13593.7 [EPE C33]); Westbrook 1991b:222.

¹⁷ Singular instead of plural "these are."

¹⁸ See 3.61, n. 10.

¹⁹ Aram. has the single letter *kaph*, which probably abbreviates *kp*, "hand" (measured from the tip of the middle finger to the wrist joint) = $\frac{1}{3}$ cubit; see also 3.73:7 and TAD B 177.

²⁰ $16\frac{2}{3} \times 5\frac{1}{2} = 94\frac{1}{3}$. The difference was due to (1) the greater width of the apartment of Tamet ($7\frac{1}{3}$ cubits [3.73:7]), which meant that one had to add the sum of $18\frac{1}{3}$ cubits (= $11 \times 1\frac{2}{3}$); (2) the calculated sum of just over 38 cubits for the other half of the courtyard and stairway, even though these were not mentioned. See TAD B 177 and Fig. 6.

²¹ See 3.60, n. 19.

²² Actually Anani gave the house to his daughter Jehoishma, with implied rights of usufruct for her husband (see lines 17-18); and this may have been the reason he stopped here. Needing to make other changes, the scribe decided to rewrite the document from scratch.

²³ In the rewrite Tamet was not designated "servitor" but *prypt*, Old Persian **friya-pati-*, which means something like "chief concubine" (GEA 372.58). As the scribe reached back into the past in the first version to designate the earlier owner *Ynbwly* "hereditary property-holder," he revealed here for the first time Tamet's preferred status in the household of her former master Meshullam. The Aram. equivalent is in line 24.

²⁴ I.e. of one accord. Cf. the parallel Demotic phrase "total 2 people, who speak (with) one mouth" (P. Moscow 135.1 [EPE C30]).

yana/Palliya the Caspian²⁵ —

Description I

a lower house,²⁶ renovated,²⁷ (13)containing beams,²⁸ windows and 2 doors; renovated is (the) lower house, that is the large room of mine²⁹ —

Price II

and you gave us its price³⁰ (14)(in) silver, one *karsh*, 3 shekels — Ionian silver in the amount of 6 staters, 1 shekel —

Satisfaction II

and our heart was satisfied with the price which (15)you gave us.³¹

Measurements II

This is the measurements of the house which we sold and gave you:

from east to west, length, (16)16 (15)cubits, (16)2 h(ands) by the measuring rod;

and from above to below, width, 5 cubits, 2 h(ands);

(ERASURE: in) IN AREA, 151 cubits 1 h(and).³²

Boundaries II

This is (17)its boundaries, (those of) the house which we sold and gave you.³³

(ERASURE: from east) east of it your house,³⁴ you,³⁵ Anani son of Haggai, which we gave³⁶

c Esth 2:9

(18)to Jehoishma our daughter (as) an after-gift on her document of wifehood, adjoins wall to wall;

west of it is the Temple (19)of YHW³⁷ and the street of the king is between them;

above it the house of Parnu son of Ziliya and Mrdava his brother adjoins it (20)wall to wall,³⁸

below it is the house of Pahe/Pakhoi and Pamet his brother, boatmen of the (rough) waters, sons of Tawe,³⁹ (21)and the street of the king is between them.

Description II

And its 1 window is open toward⁴⁰ the large room.⁴¹ And its gateway is open toward the street of the king; (22)from there you may go out and come in.

Investiture⁴²

This house whose measurements and whose boundaries is written in this

document — you, Anani,⁴³ (23)have right to it from this day and forever and your children have right after you and (so does) anyone whom you give it to lovingly⁴⁴ or (24)whom you sell it to for silver.⁴⁵

Waiver of suit⁴⁶

I, Anani, and Tapmet⁴⁷ my wife, who was THE INNER ONE⁴⁸ of Meshullam son of Zaccur⁴⁹ and he

²⁵ The scribe did not repeat the additional notice that the house had belonged to *Ynbwly*, but he did add a property Description.

²⁶ I.e. bottom floor.

²⁷ See 3.78, n. 26.

²⁸ See 3.73, n. 16.

²⁹ In 434 BCE Anani had given Tamet half of his large room, which half he had measured at 11 x 7½ cubits. The document alternated between speaking of the property as "our house" (lines 3, 5, 12) and "the large room of mine."

³⁰ A variation on the language above ("the price of our house" [line 5]).

³¹ Above the scribe wrote "herein that there did not remain to us from you (any) of the price" [line 6]).

³² The AREA measurements increased from 150 cubits (line 8) to 151½ cubits.

³³ The formulation of the *Boundaries* clause is grammatically awkward, blending two distinct formulae; see 3.60, n. 20.

³⁴ The formulation "your house" corrected the earlier "which I gave you." Given to Jehoishma, it was her husband's by implicit or explicit right of usufruct; see Jezaniah's document granting him building rights in the house of his wife Mibtahiah (3.62).

³⁵ For addition of the independent pronoun as emphatic, see on TAD A3.3:11 (*EPE* B8) and 3.60, n. 17.

³⁶ It was only Anani who had given (3.79:7-8) the property to Jehoishma, as was correctly stated in the version above (line 9).

³⁷ This was the Temple that was destroyed by the Khnum priests in connivance with the Persian Chief Vidranga in the summer of 410 BCE (3.51). Some time after late November, 407 BCE, the governors of Judah and Samaria gave their qualified approval for its reconstruction (3.52). Does this routine boundary description, as well as Tamet's title above ("servitor of YHW the God dwelling [in] Elephantine" [line 2]) mean that the Temple had indeed been, or was being, rebuilt?

³⁸ The previous neighbor here had been Shatibara, father of the woman, who together with her husband Bagazushta, had originally sold the property to Anani (3.72:2, 1-8; 3.73:11, and probably 3.75:7). Had he sold his property to the brothers bearing Iranian names (perhaps also Caspians) or had he like *Ynbwly*, departed and so the property was appropriated as abandoned?

³⁹ These Eg. boatmen, apparently filiated to their mother, shared the southern border of Anani's house with an Eg. gardener of Khnum (3.75:7-8; 3.78:10; 3.79:6).

⁴⁰ I.e. it looks into.

⁴¹ It is not clear how this "1 window" relates to the "windows" mentioned above in line 13.

⁴² Son-in-law Anani was given full rights of alienation — to heirs ("your children after you"), beneficiaries ("any-one whom you give it to lovingly"), and purchasers ("sell it to for silver"). See Zubin and Porten 1983a:44.

⁴³ For the addition of the name, see on 3.59:11-12.

⁴⁴ For all these phrases and formulae, see on 3.61:9-10.

⁴⁵ The explicit right to "sell for silver" appears only in this document.

⁴⁶ The scribe has unusually compacted three statements in the *Waiver* clause (we shall not sue you; we shall not sue your heirs, buyers, or beneficiaries; our heirs or associated parties shall not sue you [lines 24-27]), followed by a single *Penalty* clause (lines 27-31). See Porten and Zubin 1987b:64.

⁴⁷ See 3.59, n. 29.

⁴⁸ Aram. *gw*³ = *gw*²*h*, with the same meaning as Old Persian *prypt* (line 11).

⁴⁹ This special status is strikingly reminiscent of the "insider" (*pnyhm*) status which a princess (*bt mlk*) or consort (*šgl*) enjoyed in the royal household (Ps 45:10, 14). Cf. also Middle and New Persian *andarōn*, "the inner chamber," i.e. the women's quarter (Esth 2:9) (S. Shaked orally).

gave her to me ⁽²⁵⁾for wifehood⁵⁰ — we shall not be able to bring against you suit or process in the name of⁵¹ this house which we sold and gave you and (for which) you gave us its price ⁽²⁶⁾(in) silver and our heart was satisfied herein. Moreover, we shall not be able to bring (suit) against your sons or your daughters or (anyone) whom you give it to for silver or lovingly.⁵² Moreover, ⁽²⁷⁾son of ours or daughter, brother or sister of ours, partner-in-chattel or partner-in-land or guarantor⁵³ of ours shall ⁽²⁶⁾not ⁽²⁷⁾be able (to sue).⁵⁴

Penalty

Whoever shall bring against you suit⁵⁵ or bring (suit) ⁽²⁸⁾against your sons or against a man whom you give (it) to or whoever shall complain⁵⁶ against you to prefect or lord or judge⁵⁷ in the name of this house who(se) measurements ⁽²⁹⁾is written above⁵⁸ or whoever shall take out against you a new or old document in the name of this house⁵⁹ which we sold and gave you shall be obligated⁶⁰ ⁽³⁰⁾and shall give you or your children a penalty⁶¹ of silver, 20 *karsh*⁶² by the stone(-weight)s of the king, pure silver.⁶³

Reaffirmation

and the house is (likewise) yours or your chil-

dren's ⁽³¹⁾or his whom you give (it) to lovingly.⁶⁴

Document transfer

Moreover, we gave you the old document which Bagazushta wrote for us, the document of purchase/sale (of the house) ⁽³²⁾which he sold us and (for which) we gave him its payment (BLANK SPACE) (in) silver.⁶⁵

Scribe and place

Haggai son of Shemaiah wrote this document in Elephantine the fortress ⁽³³⁾at the instruction of Anani, the servitor of YHW the God, (and) Tapmemet⁶⁶ daughter of Patou, his wife, all (told) 2 as one mouth.

Witnesses⁶⁷

- (1st hand) witness Meshullam ⁽³⁴⁾son of Mauziah⁶⁸;
- (2nd hand) witness Nahum the houseborn⁶⁹;
- (3rd hand) witness Nathan son of Jehour⁷⁰;
- (4th hand) Magir.⁷¹

Endorsement

(Verso)⁽³⁵⁾Document (*sealing*) of a house which Anani son of Azariah and Tapmet his wife sold.⁷²

⁵⁰ It is not readily evident why the scribe at this point described Tamet's special status in the household of Meshullam.

⁵¹ See 3.60, n. 34.

⁵² The scribe chiasmatically reversed the word order of the *Investiture* clause (lovingly: silver:: silver: lovingly), omitted the word "sell," and subsumed both modes of transfer under the generic term "give."

⁵³ For this trilogy of associated parties, see 3.78, n. 41.

⁵⁴ The scribe fell into ellipsis and failed to complete the sentence.

⁵⁵ See 3.61, n. 35.

⁵⁶ This feature was introduced into the *Penalty* clause without having been mentioned in the *Waiver* clause. See 3.60, n. 11.

⁵⁷ This triumvirate of officials appears also in *TAD* B4.6:14.

⁵⁸ See 3.59, n. 26.

⁵⁹ See 3.61, nn. 42-43. It is clear from the incorporation of this provision in the *Penalty* clause that the party expected to produce such a document was one of those mentioned in the *Waiver* clause.

⁶⁰ See 3.73, n. 27.

⁶¹ See 3.66, n. 38.

⁶² This was the penalty for suit in the original sale document for this property (3.72:15, 18); see further 3.59, n. 15.

⁶³ A term regularly used by the scribe Haggai (see 3.59, n. 17).

⁶⁴ The clause is elliptical, omitting "self/give for silver" explicitly recorded in the *Investiture* and *Waiver* clauses. See Szubin and Porten 1983a:44.

⁶⁵ For the standard procedure of *Document transfer*, see 3.61, n. 64. The scribe did not know the amount of the original sale and so left the space blank.

⁶⁶ The expanded (and incorrect?) spelling here of Tamet's name would accord with the enhanced status given her elsewhere in this document (lines 2 11, 24).

⁶⁷ The scribe omitted the customary heading, "The witnesses herein" (so too in 3.66). Four was the customary number of witnesses for sales; see 3.69, n. 27.

⁶⁸ He was the fifth witness in an earlier document of Anani (3.78:25) and a contributor to YHW (*TAD* C3.15:112). In both documents the father's name was abbreviated to Mauzi.

⁶⁹ He witnessed three other documents (see 3.79, n. 44), in one of which he followed the next witness, Nathan.

⁷⁰ Nine months earlier Nathan appeared as the first witness and Nahum as the fourth (3.79:18-19); see further 3.68, n. 37.

⁷¹ Lacking patronymic, this witness with a Babylonian name appeared only here.

⁷² Unusually, the endorsement lacked the name of the alienee, Anani son of Haggai; see 3.59, n. 44.

REFERENCES

Text and translation: *TAD* B3.12; *EPE* B45. *EPE*; *GEA*; Porten 1990; Szubin and Porten 1982; 1983a; Porten and Szubin 1987b; *TAD*.

LOAN OF GRAIN (3.81)

(2-31 December 402 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

This is the only loan document for grain and we cannot tell for certain whether it was drawn up after Anani son of Haggai bought his in-laws' apartment or before (3.80), since it lacked day date. In the middle of December, in the first month of the Egyptian year, Anani went to Syene to borrow from the Egyptian-named Aramean, Pakhnum son of Besa, 2 *peras* 3 seah of emmer (approximately a double ration for a month) which he promised to repay as soon as he received his government ration (lines 2-4). If he failed to repay within twenty days, he was given a one *karsh* penalty (lines 5-8). Should he die before making payment, then the burden fell on his children or guarantors. Should they not pay the fine, then Pakhnum was entitled to seize as security for payment any item of Anani's property, wherever found (lines 8-12). Though the document was silent about repayment of the grain, the terminology ("penalty," "without suit") does not argue for conversion of a loan in kind to a loan in silver. Though drawn up in Syene by an Aramean scribe, the document's requisite four witness were well-known Jews (lines 12-14).

Date

(Recto)⁽¹⁾(In the) month of Thoth, year 4 of Artaxerxes the king,¹

Place

then in Syene the fortress,²

Parties

said Anani son of Haggai son of Meshullam,³ (2) a Jew of the detachment of Nabukudurri,⁴ to Pakhnum son of Besa,⁵ an Aramean of Syene of that detachment likewise, saying:

Loan

I came to you (3) in your house⁶ in Syene the fortress and borrowed from you and you gave me⁷ emmer,⁸ 2 *peras*, 3 seahs.⁹

Repayment

Afterwards,¹⁰ I, Anani son of Haggai,¹¹ (4) shall pay and give you that emmer, e(mmer), 2 *p(e-ras)*, 3 seahs from the ration which will be given me from the treasury of the king.¹²

Penalty

(5) And if I do not pay and give you that emmer which above is written¹³ when the ration is given me (6) from the (store-)house of the king,¹⁴ afterwards I, Anani, shall be obligated¹⁵ and shall give you silver, a penalty¹⁶ of one, 1, *karsh*¹⁷ pure silver. (7) Afterwards, I, Anani, shall pay and give you the penalty which is above written within 20, that is twenty, days,¹⁸ (8) without suit.¹⁹

¹ This was one of seven contracts from the end of the century that gave only an Eg. date and one of four contracts that, in Eg. fashion, gave only the month and no day date (3.66:1; 3.76:1; *TAD* B7.1:1); Porten 1990:18-19. If the thirteen shekels paid for his father-in-law's house (3.80:1, 5) emptied Anani's coffers, then this document was drawn up between December 14 and 31.

² The document was written in the town of the Aramean creditor (line 3) by an Aramean scribe (line 12); see on further 3.66, n. 2.

³ He appears regularly in his last three documents in a three- and four-generation genealogy (3.79:8; 3.80:2, 11).

⁴ See 3.80, n. 6.

⁵ Eg. names borne by Arameans were characteristic of the correspondents in the Makkibanit letters (*TAD* A2.1-7).

⁶ This opening occurs in the first contract of the Mibtahiah archive (see 3.59, n. 6).

⁷ The opening statement in loans of silver is much more laconic (see 3.69, n. 4).

⁸ This was the grain widely cultivated in Egypt during the Persian period; Porten 1968:83.

⁹ The value of the *peras* is uncertain; the largest subdivision so far known was four seahs (*TAD* C13:37); Porten 1983:569. One seah was roughly ten quarts; Porten 1968:71.

¹⁰ Rare in contracts, this word recurs here five times (lines 3, 6, 7, 8, 10); see 3.62, n. 18.

¹¹ See 3.59, n. 29.

¹² Two Egyptian Aramaic texts from the end of the fifth century record royal grain disbursements, one of barley designated "ration" (*ptp*) [*TAD* C3.14:41; *GEA* 373.68]; see also B5.5:7-8, 10) as here and another of emmer designated "alloment" (*prs*) (*TAD* C3.26:4-19). The latter term was usually reserved for payment in silver (*TAD* A2.3:8; B4.2:6). Unfortunately for the understanding of our text, the disbursements were always calculated in ardabs and the ratio of the *peras* to the ardab has not been determined. The most frequent emmer ration was 2½ ardabs and multiples thereof (5, 10, 15, 25). An ardab was three seahs and there were at least four seahs in a *peras*, so the loan here was about four ardabs (or more), i.e. something like a double monthly ration. The loan was interest-free if repaid within a month, i.e. at the time of the monthly ration distribution.

¹³ This expression recurs here six times (lines 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11-12); see 3.59, n. 26.

¹⁴ Apparently, "treasury" (line 4) and "(store-)house" were synonymous; Porten 1968:60.

¹⁵ See 3.73, n. 27.

¹⁶ Since this term was used only to connote a monetary fine (see 3.66, n. 38), it would be strange to find it here being used for substitution repayment of the loan in silver rather than grain. Still, the document is reticent about the obligation to repay the loan despite the penalty.

¹⁷ For the numerical repetition, see 3.60, n. 36. The penalty was the smallest recorded; see 3.59, n. 15. There is no data available that would indicate the relationship of the penalty to the value of the loan.

¹⁸ The scribe composed a whole additional sentence to state that the fine was to be paid within twenty days of receipt of rations.

¹⁹ This expression invariably occurs after penalties (see 3.61, n. 15) and is further evidence that the one *karsh* sum was not meant as debt repayment.

Obligation of heirs

And if I die and have not yet paid²⁰ and given you the silver of yours which is above written, afterwards my children ⁽⁹⁾or my guarantors²¹ shall pay you your silver which is above written.

Security

And if my children or my guarantors do not pay you ⁽¹⁰⁾this silver which is above written, afterwards you, Pakhnum, have right to my security²² to seize (it) and you may take for yourself from (among) ⁽¹¹⁾a house of bricks, slave or hand-maiden, bronze or iron utensils, which you will find of mine in Elephantine or in Syene or in the province, raiment or grain until you are paid your silver which above ⁽¹²⁾is written without suit.²³

Scribe and place

Shaweram son of Eshemram son of Eshemshezib²⁴ wrote this document in Syene the fortress at the instruction of ⁽¹³⁾Anani son of (ERASURE: Meshullam)²⁵ Haggai son of Meshullam.

Witnesses

The witnesses herein:²⁶

(2nd hand) witness Menahem son of Shallum²⁷;

(3rd hand) witness Haggai²⁸;

(4th hand) ⁽¹⁴⁾witness Nahum the houseborn²⁹;

(5th hand) witness Haggai son of Mardu.³⁰

Endorsement

(Verso)⁽¹⁵⁾[Do]cument of grain [which Anani son of Haggai] son of Meshullam [wrote] for Pakhnum son of Besa.

²⁰ A provision typical of loan contracts (3.69:14); see further 3.59, n. 20 and 3.73, n. 32.

²¹ See 3.78, n. 41. It is surprising to find this recently introduced Iranian word so acclimatized to Aram. that it could take a possessive suffix ending the first person (⁹*dmgy*) and in the third person (⁹*[dm]gyky* [TAD B4.6:10]).

²² See 3.69:9.

²³ For the right to seize personal property as security to force debt payment, see 3.69, n. 14.

²⁴ This Aramean scribe appears only here.

²⁵ The scribe initially wrote the name of Anani's grandfather, then erased it and wrote right over it the name of his father.

²⁶ See 3.69, n. 27 and 3.59, n. 34.

²⁷ See 3.67, n. 32.

²⁸ This might be the well-known professional scribe Haggai son of Shemaiah; see 3.64, n. 41.

²⁹ See 3.79, n. 44. In that document he appears together with Haggai son of Mardu, who follows here.

³⁰ See 3.79, n. 47.

REFERENCES

Text and translation: TAD B3.13; EPE B46. EPE; GEA; Porten 1968; 1983; 1990; TAD.

C. ACCOUNTS

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1. THE TITHE IN UGARIT

The tithe in Ugarit is known from legal and economic documents dating from the fourteenth century to the beginning of the twelfth century BCE. The Akkadian term for tithe in Ugarit is *ma-a-ša-ru* or *êšrêtu* (cf. Hebrew *ma'aser*). [These two documents should, strictly speaking, appear with the Akkadian contracts (COS 3.107-110) and accounts (COS 3.125-126) respectively. WWH]

LAND GRANT ALONG WITH TITHE OBLIGATIONS (3.82)

(PRU III 16.276)

Michael Heltzer

From the present day ¹ Niqmadu, son of Ammistam-ru king of Ugarit ² gave (donated) the village ³ Uhnappu to Kar-Kushuh, son of Ana[nu] and to Apapa, the king's daughter, with its tithe (<i>êšrêtu</i>) with its custom-duties (<i>mīksu</i>) ⁴ with its gifts (<i>širku</i>). Nobody shall raise claims concerning Uhnappu	against Kar-Kushuh and Apapa and against the sons of Apapa. He (the king) donated Uhnappu. Further: Kar-Kushuh is pure like the sun forever. ⁵ Later he is (also) pure. The temple of Ba'al of the Hazi mountain ⁶ and its priests shall not have claims to Kar-Kushuh. ⁷
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¹ Standard beginning of legal texts of Ugarit.

² Niqmaddu III reigned ca. 1225/1220-1215 BCE.

³ *ālu* lit. "town, city," but in texts from Ugarit "village."

⁴ Uhnappu was at the seashore.

⁵ Formula of freeing from obligations.

⁶ Sacred mountain of Ugarit, Ug. *Špn*, classic *Mons Casius*, modern Jebel-el-Aqra.

⁷ Note that Kar-Kushuh and Apapa, the daughter of the king, receive the obligations from Uhnappu for themselves from the king. The whole village had to pay the tithe.

REFERENCES

Text: PRU III 16.276.

VILLAGE TITHE PAYMENTS AT UGARIT (3.83)

(PRU III 10.044)

Michael Heltzer

Despite the fact that the text is in a damaged state, we see here payments to the authorities, which could be the tithe from a number of villages of the kingdom of Ugarit. The text is written in Akkadian and shows the tax (tithe) payments by the villages in kind: barley (flour), oxen and wine.

1' [the village... <i>kūr</i>] ¹ barley (or flour) ²	7' The village Beqani 50 <i>kūr</i> barley (or flour), [...]
2' The village ³ [...] <i>kūr</i> barley (or flour), 1 [ox] ⁴	8' The village Ilishtam ² i 18 <i>kūr</i> barley (or flour), [...]
3' The village Araniya 2 <i>kūr</i> barley (or flour),	9' The village Shubbani 5 <i>kūr</i> barley (or flour), [...]
4' The village Ubur ² a 18 <i>kūr</i> barley (or flour), 1 ox [...]	10' The village Tebaqu 5 <i>kūr</i> barley (or flour), [...]
5' The village Biru [1] 6 <i>kūr</i> barley (or flour), 1 ox [...]	11' The village Riqdi 18 <i>kūr</i> barley (or flour), [...]
6' The village Inuqapa ² at 6 <i>kūr</i> barley (or flour), [...]	— o[x ...]

¹ 1 *kūr* cf. Heb. *kōr* consisted in Ugarit of 300 *qū* and at that time had the volume of ca. 250 liters.

² ZI KAL.MEŠ.

³ *ālu* = URU.

⁴ *alpu* = GUD.

12' The village Shurashi 6 <i>kūr</i> barley (or flour), [...]	11 ⁵ jars w[inē], 1 ox;	jars w[inē], 1 ox;
13' The village Iššuru 6 <i>kūr</i> barley (or flour), [...]	11 jars w[inē],	15' [The village] <i>kūr</i> barley (or flour), 7 jars w[inē],
14' [The village...] <i>kūr</i> barley (or flour), [...] 12		16' [The village], 1 ox [...];
		17' [The village]

⁵ *karpātu* (DUG) "jar"; ca. 21-23 liters; Heltzer 1991.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: *PRU* III; Heltzer 1975; 1976; 1982; 1991.

2. AMMONITE OSTRACA FROM HESBÂN

Walter E. Aufrecht

Between 1968 and 1978, the Tell Hesbân excavations produced eight ostraca with writing in the cursive Ammonite or Aramaic scripts.¹ Four of these, A3, A4, A5 and A6, are lists of names; two, A7 and A8, are graffiti; and two, A1 and A2, are accounts presented below.²

HESBÂN OSTRACON A1 (3.84)

This ostrakon, discovered in 1973, is from a body sherd of a large, rough storage jar. It measures 10.6 x 6.5 x 1.6 cm. The upper left side of the sherd is missing, but the right margin is intact. The surface is not smooth and contains large calcium grits, causing the pen strokes to be broad and sometimes distorted or blurred. The text is a record kept by a royal steward of the assignment or distribution from the royal stores of foodstuffs and other goods to courtiers and others to whom the crown is under obligation (Cross 2002), written in Ammonite cursive script with numerals written in Hieratic.³ The ostrakon is in the Amman Archaeological Museum, Hesbân No. H73.1657.⁴ It has been dated paleographically to ca. 600 BCE.⁵

To the] king: 35 (jars) of grain ^a []	^a Gen 41:35, etc.	to []
and 8 sheep and goats; []		22 (jugs) of wine; and 10 sheep and goats;
and to Nadab ^b il son of Na ^c am ^d il f[rom]	^b Gen 37:25, 43:11	(x measures) of fine flour []
To Z[] from ^e llat ⁶ : 12 (measures) of gum ^{7b} ;	^c 1 Kgs 15:16, etc.	8 (jugs) of wine; and 6 (jars) of grain.
(x jars) of gr[ain]		To Yatib: hay; 24 (jars) of grain;
To []: 2 (measures) of gum; a two-year old		9 sheep and goats;
cow and []		a three-year-old cow.
To Ba ^c ša[^d] ^{8e} 40 (pieces) of silver which he gave		

¹ The Hesbân ostraca were published in the sequence of their discovery. Cross (1986; 2002) has rearranged the series in the order of their date: A1 (old #4 = CAI 80), dated ca. 600 BCE; A2 (old #11 = CAI 94), dated ca. 575 BCE; A3 (old #12 = CAI 137) is a list of names, dated ca. 550-525 BCE (the end of the Ammonite cursive series); A4 (old #2 = CAI 76), inscribed in Aram. cursive but probably written in the Ammonite language (Shea 1977), may be a docket recording the distribution of tools or a letter giving instructions to agricultural workers, dated ca. 525 BCE; A5 (old #1 = CAI 65) and A6 (Cross 2002; Aufrecht 1999 #214) are lists of Ammonite names written in Aram. script, dated to the end of the 6th century BC; and A7 (old #5 = CAI 81) and A8 (old #6) are Ammonite graffiti dated to the 7th century BCE.

² There are other Ammonite ostraca. Tell el-Mazâr Ostrakon 3 (CAI 144) is a personal letter, dated by Cross (2002) ca. 575 BCE. An ostrakon from Tell el-'Umeiri (Aufrecht 1999 #211) may be a letter or a docket, also dated ca. 575 BCE (Sanders 1997). Nine ostraca contain only names: Tell el-Mazâr Ostraca 4, 5 and 7 (CAI 145-147), the Khirbet Umm ed-Danânir Ostrakon (Aufrecht 1999 #150), the Amman Ostrakon (CAI 77), two Tell el-'Umeiri Ostraca (Aufrecht 1999 #171-172), and the Nimrud Ostrakon (CAI 47). Finally, in addition to Hesbân A8 (above n. 1), there are five ostraca which contain only one- or two-letter inscriptions: the Sahab Ostrakon (Ibrahim 1975:73); the Tell es-Sa'idiyeh Ostrakon (Tubb 1988:31, 33); two ostraca from the Amman Citadel (Dornemann 1983:103); and an ostrakon from Tell el-'Umeiri (Herr 1992:195-96).

³ Cross 2002. Hübner (1988; 1992) has argued that this ostrakon is Moabite.

⁴ For the most recent discussions, see CAI 214-19 (#80); and Cross 2002.

⁵ See Cross 1975:17; 2002.

⁶ Cross (1975, 2002) notes that this is probably the name of the port and caravan city on the Gulf of Aqabah (Heb. ^cElat).

⁷ The word translated as "gum" is vocalized in Biblical Heb. as *nēkōr*.

⁸ The name is the same as that of the king of Israel.

HESBÂN OSTRACON A2 (3.85)

This ostrakon, discovered in 1974, is a body sherd from a heavy storage jar. Its maximum dimensions are 8.4 x 5.4 cm. It was, however, originally larger than its present version as evidenced by a modern break along its top. The text is a list of goods, written in Ammonite cursive script.⁹ The ostrakon is in the Amman Archaeological Museum, Hesbân No. H74.2092.¹⁰ It has been dated paleographically to ca. 575 BCE.¹¹

[] figs ^d []	^d Num 13:23, etc.	[] work animals ^e []
[] figs from ¹² []	^e Exod 22:4	[] ropes

⁹ Hübner (1988) suggested that this ostrakon is Moabite, but subsequently (1992:32 n. 67) he identified it as possibly Ammonite.

¹⁰ For the most recent discussions, see *CAI* 245-46 (#94); Cross 2002.

¹¹ See Cross 1976:148; 2002.

¹² An alternate reading suggested by Cross (2002) is "figs, one talent."

REFERENCES

Text, translations, and studies: *CAI* 214-219 (#80); *CAI* 245-246 (#94); Aufrecht 1999; Cross 1975; 1976; 1986; 2002; Dornemann 1983; Herr 1992; Hübner 1988; 1992; Ibrahim 1975; Sanders 1997; Shea 1977; Tubb 1988.

3. HEBREW OSTRACA

OPHEL OSTRACON (3.86)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This fragmentary ostrakon (10 x 8 cm) was discovered during excavations on the Ophel (area south of the temple mount in Jerusalem) by J. G. Duncan in 1924, although in an unstratified context. It can be dated on palaeographic grounds to the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century BCE. While the ostrakon appears to have contained eight lines, the left side of the inscription and lines 4-7 are no longer legible. Moreover, some of what is extant contains difficult readings.¹ Nonetheless, the text appears to be a list of personal names that probably served some administrative purpose.

(1) ¹ Hiz ¹ qīyāhū (Hezekiah), ² son of Qōr ² ēh, ³ ^a from the stock ^b of ¹ Buqqī ¹ yāhū ⁴ ^c	^a 1 Chr 9:19; 26:1; 2 Chr 31:14 ^b Deut 29:17; Isa 5:24; 11:1, 10; 14:29, 30; 53:2 ^c Num 34:22; Ezra 7:4; 1 Chr 5:31; 6:36; 25:4, 13 ^d Zech 1:8(?) ^e Jer 31:40	(3) ¹ Ṣapan ¹ yāhū, ⁷ son of Qāra ¹ y ¹ , ⁸ in the valley of
(2) ² Ahīyāhū, ⁵ son of Haššōrēq, ^d in the valley of st ¹ elae ¹⁶ ^e		

¹ The best photo of the ostrakon is found in Hestrin 1973 #138.

² Some scholars read: yh[z]qyhw. As Renz (*HAE* 1:310) rightly notes, the photo in Hestrin 1973 reveals practically nothing before the qyhw. For a discussion of h[z]qyhw, see Zadok 1988:287.

³ Gibson (following Avigad 1966) argues that the second names are not patronymics in the narrow sense, but family or clan names of the kind that frequently appear in the statistical records embedded in Numbers, Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah and which are typically names of animals, insects, plants, etc. (*SSI* 1:25). See also Hestrin 1973:62.

⁴ A number of interpreters since Milik 1959 have understood the last words of line 1 as bšd šrqm "in the field of the wool-carders." See Lipiński 1975b:268; Lemaire 1977:239. However, Renz has recently argued that the reading of bšd šrqm is problematic since šd is written defectively while one would perhaps expect a plene writing of the word in the construct. His argument is reinforced now by the plene writing of the construct of šdh in the roughly contemporary Widow's Plea Ostrakon (*COS* 3.44 above) which has in line 6: w²t . šdh . hḥm "And now, the wheat field"

⁵ For ²hyhw bn hšrq/hšrq, see Zadok 1988:287.

⁶ The reading of the word is difficult. A number of scholars have read yhw[] with some restoring ^cmq yhw[špt] "the valley of Jehoshapat" (see also Torczyner 1939; *SSI* 1:26; and Hestrin 1973). If this is the correct reading, then Joel 4:2, 12 might be in view. But since Milik's suggestion (1959:551-553), a number of scholars have read ydt "hands" (fem. pl. of yd "hand") with the nuance of "stelae" (cf. 1 Sam 15:12; 2 Sam 18:18; Isa 56:5; cf. Ezek 21:24). On the phrase "valley of the stelae," cf. the phrase bq^ct ydyn in the Babylonian Talmud (*Gitṭin* 57). Lipiński (1975b:268) suggests this valley is referred to in Jer 31:40.

Recently, A. Schüle (2000:74, n. 2) argued that the phrase must be read b^cmq yhw[šapaš]. The phrase ^cmq ydt is grammatically unlikely since the feminine plural of yd has the meaning of hand mostly with the sense of "grasp, hold"; as a description for the body part, the dual is expected. However, this is more of a lexical than a grammatical argument. The word yd is clearly used with the meaning of "monument" (*KBL*² 363, usage 6).

⁷ Špnyhw, son of Qry. See Zadok 1988:287.

⁸ Scholars have read either qrs (Torczyner, *SSI*, Hestrin) or qry (Suknik, Milik, Lipiński, Smelik, *HAE*); some have given both possibilities:

the st^lelae^l;
 (4) ^lŠidqiyāhū^l⁹

(lines 5-7 missing)

(8) ^lthe son of ^lUri^l yāhū^l¹⁰ *f*

f 2 Sam 11:3-26; 12:9-10, 15; 23:39; 1 Kgs 15:5; 2 Kgs 16:10-16; Isa 8:2; Jer 26:20-21, 23; Ezra 8:33; Neh 3:4, 21; 8:4; 1 Chr 11:41

qry/s (Moscatti), *qrš/y* (KAI).

⁹ Šdqyhw. See Zadok 1988:287.

¹⁰ [...] ^lbn ^lwryhw^l (HAE 1:311). Others read: *hwdyhw* Hodiyaḥu, the [...] (Milik 1959; Lipiński 1975b:268); or *[yh]zqyhw* (KAI). For the name ^lUriyāhū, see also Zadok 1988:287.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Cook 1924; Albright 1926; Diringier 1934:74-79; Torczyner 1939; Sukenik 1947; Moscatti 1951:44-46, pl. x; Milik 1959; KAI #190; SSI 1:25-26; Hestrin 1973:62, #138 (best photo); Lipiński 1975b; Lemaire 1977:239-243; Jaroš 1982 #50; Smelik 1991; AHI 4.101; HAE 1:310-311.

D. MISCELLANEOUS TEXTS

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1. ARAMAIC OSTRACA (ca. 475 BCE)

Bezalel Porten

Egyptian Aramaic ceramic inscriptions are scattered in over a dozen different places throughout the world (New York, Oxford, Cambridge, London, Paris, Strasbourg, Munich, Berlin, Vienna, Moscow, Cairo, Elephantine, and Jerusalem). So far 118 have been published, almost all from Achaemenid Elephantine, and these may be divided into six categories: letters (*TAD* D7.1-57), accounts (*TAD* D8.1-13), lists (*TAD* D9.1-15), abecedaries (*TAD* D10.1-2), jar inscriptions (*TAD* D11.1-26), and mummy labels (*TAD* D19.1-5). The ostraca letters were randomly shaped, measured, say, 7 x 10 cm more or less, and were written on both sides, beginning on the concave and continuing on the convex side. Palaeographically, most of them were written by a single scribe (ca. 475 BCE)¹ who we may imagine sat on the wharf at Syene, available to soldiers writing to their family and friends on Elephantine island. The extant ostraca were addressed to at least ten different persons, among them three women — Hoshaiāh (*COS* 3.87A), Uriah (3.87B), Micaiah (3.87C), Haggai (3.87D-E), Jedaniah (*TAD* D7.10), Meshullach (*TAD* D7.31), Nathan (*TAD* D7.28); Kaviliah (3.87F), Islah (3.87G), and Aḥutab (3.87H; *TAD* D7.3-5). Only rarely did the writer give his name — Giddel to Micaiah (3.87C:1-2) and Jarḥu to Haggai (3.87E:1-2) — and frequently he even omitted the name of the addressee (3.87J-K). The messenger doubtless knew each one personally. The language of the letters was terse, allusive, and often cryptic. Formerly compared to the modern telegram,² it may now be compared to an e-mail message.

The opening salutation or blessing, a regular feature in papyrus letters, was included in the ostraca letters only infrequently and included the unique formula, *šlmk yhh [šbʾt yšʾ]l bkl ʿdn*, “Your welfare may the Lord of [Hosts seek aft]er at all times” (*TAD* D7.35:1-2). In the letter to Hoshaiāh it was abbreviated down to a single word, *šlmk*, “Your welfare” (*COS* 3.87A:2). More representative was the compact, two-word *šlm* + Address, “Greetings, PN” (3.87B:1; 3.87G:1; 3.87H:1). Strikingly, the two letters that have the full “to-from” address formula also have a polytheistic salutation — *šlm whyn šlht lk brktk lyhh wlhnmw*, “(Blessings) of welfare and life I sent you. I blessed you by YHH and Khnum” (3.87C:1-3; 3.87E [see below]). Otherwise, the scribe simply began his letter with a clause-initial adverbial followed by a presentative, for example, *kʿnt hlw*, “Now, lo” (Aramaic Dream Report, *COS* 3.88:1) or went straight to the body of the letter, with or without the adverbial, *kʿnt hzw*, “Regard ...” (3.87I:1 3.87K:1 [without]); “I dispatched” (3.87K:1 [without]). Whereas the terms *hʿ* and *hlw* introduced statements conveying information (3.87B:2; 3.87F:2; 3.87G:1; 3.87J:1), *hzw* introduced a directive, which might be expanded by the preposition ʿl, yielding “Look after” (3.87A:2-3).

The two verbs occurring most frequently in the letters are *šlh*, which was used for the sending of a message or a letter, and *hwšr*, which was used for the dispatch of an object. PN₁ would write to PN₂ to give him information (Aramaic Dream Report, *COS* 3.88) or instructions (3.87A:2-8; 3.87B:1-8; 3.87D:7-10; 3.87F:5-15; 3.87J); to announce the dispatch of an object (3.87K) or to give him instructions on handling a dispatched object (3.87G:1-4); and requested that PN₂ send him or PN₃ information (3.87A:8-9; 3.87B:9-11; 3.87I:10-13) or some object (3.87C:4; 3.87H:1-5); or that PN₂ get some object from PN₃ (3.87D:7-10). The objects of the requests included salt (3.87H:1-2), a garment that needed to be sewn (3.87C:4-5), and money for the *marzeah* (3.87D:7-10), while among the objects being dispatched were wood (3.87K) or legumes (*bqlʿ*), which were to be exchanged for barley (3.87G:1, 5). A recurrent theme is the provision of bread and/or flour (3.87A:6; 3.87B:13, 15; 3.87F:13; 3.87H:6). Between Syene and Elephantine, then as today, there seems to have been a regular ferry service and correspondents assumed a system of immediate delivery — three of our messages speak of action to be done “today” (3.87B:9-10; 3.87F:5-7; 3.87H:1-2). Personal matters ranged from solicitude for the children (3.87A:2-8, 10-11) or concern that one’s slave be properly branded (3.87I:3-8) to a report of a feverish dream. In fact, one side of the ostrakon might tell of the dream and the other give advice on food for the children (Aramaic Dream Report, 3.88). Occupations and tasks unknown to the papyri, such as shepherds and sheep, are strikingly attested in two ostraca (3.87B, 3.87F). Matters sacred as well as profane are recorded in these ordinary missives — Sabbath (3.87G:2) and Passover (3.87A:9); an oath by YHH (3.87G:3, 7); donations of beer for libation (3.87I:1-3) and wood for the altar (3.87K); a tunic left at the House of YHH (3.87J:1-3); and, most intriguingly, funds for the *marzeah* association (3.87D).

¹ Naveh 1970:37-38.

² Degen 1972:26; see too Dion 1982a:534; Alexander 1978:169.

The cosmopolitan nature of the Elephantine community is attested by the one letter not written by our "wharf scribe." Sent by Jarhu to Haggai, it contained only a salutation: "The welfare of my brother may Bel and Nabu, Shamash and Nergal (seek after)" (3.87E).³

All of the ostraca have been copied at source by Ada Yardeni and many new readings have been attained (TAD D7).

³ For a fuller survey of the ostraca letters see Porten 1994 and for the bibliography of each ostrakon, see Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992 and TAD D, pp. xxix-xxx.

INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING CHILDREN AND INQUIRY REGARDING PASSOVER (TAD D7.6) (3.87A)

Bezalel Porten

Published by Archibald Henry Sayce in 1911 (Bodleian Aramaic Inscription 7) and variously dubbed the Oxford Ostrakon (DAE 94) or the Passover Ostrakon (Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992), this piece is an unexpected blend of concern for the care and diet of the children of Ahutab during her absence and inquiry into when the Passover was to be observed. Attaching this query to matters banal leaves the impression that the paschal sacrifice was a family affair (as in Exod 12:1-28), and not confined to the Temple. On this last question see the Passover Letter (COS 3.46).

Address

(Concave)⁽¹⁾To Hoshaiah.¹

Salutation

⁽²⁾Your welfare² (may DN seek after at all times).

^a Gen 18:6;
1 Sam 28:24;
2 Sam 13:8;
Jer 7:18;
Hos 7:17

Instructions

Now, ³ singly⁴ look ⁽³⁾after⁵ the children until ⁽⁴⁾Ahutab⁶ ⁽³⁾come⁽⁴⁾s. Do not entrust⁽⁵⁾ them to others. (Convex) ⁽⁶⁾If their bread⁸ is ground, ⁹ knead¹⁰ ^a for them 1 qab¹¹ before ⁽⁸⁾their mother comes.¹²

¹ This Heb. name ("Deliver, O YH") occurs often in the Elephantine papyri and in a contract of 471, the period of our ostraca, appears as the father of the witness Shilleim (3.59:19).

² This one-word greeting (*šlmk/šlmky*) occurs once more in these letters (TAD D7.5:1).

³ This clause-initial adverbial was the normal transition marker between the *praescriptio* and the body of the letter (3.87B:1, 13; 3.87C:4; 3.87F:2; 3.87G:1; 3.87H:1), introduced the letter even when the *praescriptio* was absent (3.87I:1; 3.87J:1), and often served as a paragraph head (3.87B:5; 3.87D:5; 3.87F:11; 3.87G:5, 6; 3.88:8); GEA 310.

⁴ That is, alone, expressed by the stroke for the numeral 1; similarly in one of the Makkibani letters (TAD A2.4:4); GEA 240.

⁵ The expression *hzy* ^cl, "look after" was used especially in connection with family members (TAD A2.3:11), particularly children (TAD A2.7:3; 3.5:6, 6:3).

⁶ The mother in line 8, she is the main personality in these letters. Aram. Ahutab = Heb. Ahitub, "(My Divine) Brother is Goodness," a name current during the United Monarchy (1 Sam 14:3; 2 Sam 8:17). Not found in the papyri, this female name was the one most mentioned in the ostraca. Five published texts were addressed to her (3.87B:12; 3.87H:1; TAD D7.3-5) and three unpublished ones (Clermont-Ganneau #78, 135, 157), while she was cited in three published texts (here; TAD D7.7:9, 10:4) and in two unpublished ones (Clermont-Ganneau #214, 255), thirteen texts in all; Dupont-Sommer 1942-45:66. Three ostraca to her were anonymously written (3.87H; TAD D7.3-4) and one was sent by Micaiah (TAD D7.5). Of the other three ostraca mentioning her, one was addressed to Uriah and secondarily to her (3.87B:12) and a second to Jedaniah (TAD D7.10:4).

⁷ The last letter of the word is written at the beginning of the next line; for this use of *ykl*, see DNWSI 456; GEA 123. The same caution with regard to the children was expressed by the cognate root *tkl*, with ^cl as here, "rely upon" (TAD A2.7:2; also 3.87G:4).

⁸ The word *hm* here has the meaning of grain (Isa 28:28); Sukenik and Kutscher 1942:55.

⁹ Pass. ptc. *grs* written defectively. Grain was ground in millstones (Num 11:8; Isa 47:2).

¹⁰ I.e., mix the meal with salt and water in a wooden kneading bowl (Exod 7:28, 12:34; Deut 28:5, 17) and make it into dough.

¹¹ A fragmentary ostrakon has "Dispatch to me 1 qab of barley" (TAD D7.45:7-8). On a scale of 6 qabs to a seah, a half or third of a qab sufficed for a loaf of bread (M. Erubin 8:2; Kelim 17:11). But two Ptolemaic texts (from Edfu?) project a seah of more than 8½ or 9 qabs (TAD C3:28; D8.11:4). Another fragmentary ostrakon speaks of "the large qab" (TAD D7.46:2). Abraham had his wife knead three seahs of fine wheat to feast his angelic guests (Gen 18:6). The children here were to receive a fraction of that amount. The word for "knead" is a plural imperative (*šw* [GEA 131,298]) as *l'bdn* in line 9 is 2nd person plural imperfect, though the rest of the letter is addressed in the sing. Sukenik and Kutscher 1942:55 suggested a scribal metathesis for *hwš* in the sing. But letters often shift from sing. to plural.

¹² Plural. Presumably she would then bake the bread.

Request I

Send¹³ (word) ⁽⁹⁾to me when¹⁴ you will make¹⁵ ⁽¹⁰⁾the
⁽⁹⁾Passover.¹⁶ ^b

^b Exod 12:47-48; Num 9:2-14; Deut 16:1; Josh 5:10; 2 Kgs 21:23; 2 Chr 30:1-5; 35:1, 16-19

Request II

⁽¹⁰⁾Do send greetings¹⁷ (= news) of ⁽¹¹⁾the child.

¹³ As sometimes in the Bible (e.g. 1 Kgs 5:16, 22 [cf. 2 Chr 2:10; Josephus, Ant. viii.2.6-8]) and consistently in the papyri, *šlh* by itself means "send word in a letter" (3.87B:10; 3.87I:5, 12).

¹⁴ For thirty years the word *ḥmt* was understood as "handmaiden" and the sentence taken to mean, "Send me a maid to prepare the Passover." Almost concurrently and independently Sukenik and Kutscher 1942:55-56 and Dupont-Sommer 1946-47b:47-49 recognized the word as the interrogative particle. It is a subordinate conjunction introducing an indirect question; GEA 59, 94. Without calendar, or guided only by the Eg. calendar, the writer may have sought to know the day of the festival, or more probably, the hour at which the sacrifice would take place. Perhaps he wanted to get home in time. The Bible speaks once of "between the two evenings" (Exod 12:6), the same time as the daily regular offering (Exod 29:39; Num 28:40), but elsewhere as "in the evening, at sundown" (Deut 16:6). The Mishnah determined that the regular offering was slaughtered at 7½ hours and sacrificed at 8½ hours, to be followed by the paschal sacrifice (Pes. 5:1). Our question is reminiscent of that in the opening Mishnah, "From when do they read the *shema* at night" (Ber. 1:1). Alternately, the inquirer may want to know if a second Adar was to be intercalated and Passover delayed by a month. Such leap years occurred in 482, probably 479 and 476, 474, 471, 468, and 463; Parker and Dubberstein 1946:31-32. See also Porten 1968:131-132.

¹⁵ Shift between sing. and plural (*ḥḥ* *bdn*) in letters is not unusual; see below 3.87F:3-4; 3.87H:1, 4; 3.87I:1, 3, 13 (plural) vs 3.87I:2-3, 9, 11-12, 16 (sing.); 3.87J:1, 3.

¹⁶ *ḥd psh* = Heb. *ḥsh psh*, which occurs some 30 times in the Bible in eight different contexts. It is immaterial whether we translate these passages neutrally, with the RSV, "keep the Passover" or explicitly (with NJPS) as "perform the paschal sacrifice." The essence of observing this festival is performing the paschal sacrifice, as all the biblical sources make clear, explicating the expression with the verbs *hqryb*, "offer up" (Num 9:7, 13), *zbbh*, "sacrifice" (Deut 16:2, 4-6), and *šhl*, "slaughter" (2 Chr 35:1, 6, 11). For the syntax of the last two sentences, see GEA 313.

¹⁷ The periphrastic imperative (*hwy šlh*) denotes a sense of urgency and appears in an identical context in a papyrus letter (TAD A2.3:11); GEA 205, 298.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: DAE #94; Dupont-Sommer 1946-47b; Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992 B.3.c.20; GEA; Lindenberg 1994 #19; Parker and Dubberstein 1946; Porten 1968; RES 1793; Sukenik and Kutscher 1942; TAD D.

INSTRUCTIONS TO SHEAR EWE (3.87B) (TAD D7.8)

Bezalel Porten

Discovered in the Rubensohn excavations of 1906-1907, published in 1911 by Sachau (plate 63,1) but properly understood only by Lidzbarski and Perles, this ostrakon was made over to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 43464B). The anonymous writer informed Uriah that it was time for him to shear his big ewe (3-4 years old) lest its wool get torn by thorns. Moreover, the shearing should follow hard upon the washing. Should Uriah not be able to come today, the writer offered to wash the ewe for him, so that it would be ready for his arrival. He then informed Ahutab that he and his companions had bread to eat until evening of the next day. Whether this was the same as, or in addition to, the remaining *ardab* of flour is uncertain.

Greetings + Address

(Concave)⁽¹⁾Greetings, Uriah.¹

^a Deut 15:9; Isa 53:7; Cant 4:2

Instructions

Now, ⁽²⁾lo, ⁽³⁾the big ⁽²⁾ewe³ which is yours⁴ ⁽³⁾has arrived (for you) to shear⁵ ⁽⁴⁾the wool of hers⁶

¹ Uriah is mentioned in two other ostraca in connection with cultic matters (3.87I:1, 3, 10; 3.87J:3). A Uriah father of Jezaniah appeared in the same time frame as our ostrakon (3.61:6-7; 3.62:2). At the end of the century, among the communal leaders there appeared a Uriah who may have been a priest (COS 3.47:1).

² This introductory pair occurs also in the Aramaic Dream Report, COS 3.88:1; GEA 329.

³ For the word *ḥḥ*, see DNWSI 1094-1095; GEA 7.

⁴ The Aram. exceptionally positions the possessive pronoun *zy lk* in between noun and adjective; see GEA 56, 214. How many sheep did Uriah have?

⁵ I.e., "has reached the time for shearing"; GEA 208; for the form of the verb *lmgz*, see GEA 133. Sheep shearing occurs a half-dozen times in the Bible — in narratives (see below) as well as legal and prophetic texts (Deut 15:19; Isa 53:7) — and is perhaps alluded to in Cant 4:2.

before⁶ ⁽⁵⁾it is torn on the thorn(s). Now, ⁽⁶⁾come⁷ and shear her.⁸ ^b On the day ⁽⁷⁾that⁹ you will wash her ⁽⁸⁾you should shear her.¹⁰ (Convex) ⁽⁹⁾And if you do not go out¹¹ ⁽¹⁰⁾this day, send (word) ⁽¹¹⁾to me so that I may wash her¹² before ⁽¹²⁾you go out.

Greetings + Address

Greetings, Aḥutab.

^b Gen 31:19;
38:12-13;
1 Sam 25:2,
4, 7, 11;
2 Sam 13:23-
24

Report

⁽¹³⁾Now, about this¹³ bread — ⁽¹⁴⁾we shall eat (it) until tomorrow ⁽¹⁵⁾evening.¹⁴ An a(rdab)¹⁵ of flour¹⁶ ⁽¹⁶⁾remains here.

⁶ The form *qdm*⁷ does not occur elsewhere and the translation here follows Lidzbarski (*ESE* 3:255-256) and Perles 1911:503; it may also mean "its early wool" (*GEA* 214) or "already" (Greenfield 1960:99100). For the word order infinitive (*imgz*) — object (*mr*), see *GEA* 308.

⁷ This is the only *lamed-yod* imperative spelled with final *he* (*ʔth*) and not *yod*; *GEA* 138, 147.

⁸ An *ayin-ayin* verb imperative with 3rd fem. sing. suffix (*gzh*); *GEA* 133. It was customary for the owner of the sheep to be present at the shearing; so Laban (Gen 31:19), Judah (Gen 38:12-13), Nabal (1 Sam 25:2, 4, 7, 11), and Absalom (2 Sam 13:23-24); Greenfield 1960:101.

⁹ For this *bywm zy* construction, see *GEA* 227, 313.

¹⁰ As expected, both imperfect verbs are spelled with energetic *nun* — *trh^cnh* and *tgznh*; *GEA* 145. Sheep were generally washed before shearing so that the wool would be clean (Cassin 1959). These activities took place in mid-spring, in Egypt, according to a late Roman text, ca. 15 May (Schwartz 1960:102).

¹¹ One "went out" (*npq*) from Elephantine and "came" (*ʔth* [line 6]) to Syene (Porten-Yardeni 1991:209).

¹² A volitive (*šlh*) followed by a jussive (*ʔrh^ch*) was a standard formula with this scribe (3.87C:4-5; 3.87D:7-10; 3.87J:3-4); *GEA* 104, 146.

¹³ For the expression *ʔI znh*, "about this" at the end of a letter, see 3.51:28-30. Here it must be a reply to an earlier query of Aḥutab about their food supply. In 3.87H, the anonymous writer asked Aḥutab to send him some salt to put in the flour. Bread itself was also dispatched from Elephantine on a regular basis (*TAD* D7.44, 48:2-3 ["send me today"]); see further 3.87A:6; 3.87F:13; *TAD* D7.10:3, 7.19:5. A first century CE Judean ostrakon records for a five-day period the delivery of a loaf of bread a day to a certain Judah (Yardeni 1990:144 [#4:12-14]).

¹⁴ The form *rwbh* is either feminine absolute (*DNWSI* 887) or masculine determinative with final *he* instead of *aleph* (*GEA* 63). In later Aram. the feminine determinative *rwbr^c* means eve of the Sabbath or of some other holy day (Jastrow s.v.); see Dupont-Sommer 1960:68-71, who cites unpublished Clermont-Ganneau ostrakon #204; Porten 1968:132.

¹⁵ An *ardab* held three seahs; Porten 1968:71.

¹⁶ See also 3.87H:7.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Cassin 1959; *DAE* #95; *DNWSI*; Dupont-Sommer 1960; *ESE*; Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992 B.3.c.22; *GEA*; Lindenberg 1994 #15-16; Perles 1911; Porten 1968; Porten-Yardeni 1991; Schwartz 1960; *TAD* D; Yardeni 1990.

OFFER TO SEW A GARMENT (3.87C) (*TAD* D7.21)

Bezalel Porten

Discovered by Jean Clédât on March 20, 1907 and published by Dupont-Sommer in 1945 (Clermont-Ganneau 70), this is the only ostrakon letter addressed "to my lord" by "your servant." For this reason it contains not only one but two opening blessings and a concluding wish for well-being. All three formulae are closely paralleled in the nearly contemporary Makkibanit (Hermopolis) letters, written by Arameans. Probably an Aramean, Giddel blessed Micaiah by Egyptian Khnum (alongside YHH), much as the Aramean writers of the Makkibanit letters blessed their recipients by Egyptian Ptah.

Address (Concave)

⁽¹⁾To my lord Micaiah,¹ your servant ⁽²⁾Giddel.^{2 a}

^a Ezra 2:47,
56; Neh 7:49,
58

Salutation

(Blessings of) welfare and life I sent³ ⁽³⁾you.⁴ I

¹ He is the most frequently mentioned male in the ostraca. Besides this one, another is addressed to him by Nathan b. Gemariah on the concave and by Jedaniah on the convex side (*TAD* D7.20:1, 6). He himself writes one (*TAD* 7.22:1) and is mentioned in two others (*TAD* D7.23:5, 7.24:13). The earliest namesake is Mica/Micaiah b. Ahio, a generation later (3.70:2, 10, 12?, 3.74:17 [451-427 BCE]).

² As here vocalized, this name in the Bible was borne only by those originally non-Israelites (Ezra 2:47, 56 || Neh 7:49, 58). Written *gdl*, it occurs nowhere else in the papyri.

³ This and the following "blessed" have been called both the "epistolary perf." (Dempsey 1990) and the "performative perf." (*GEA* 193-194). According to the former explanation, the verb assumes the perspective of the recipient; according to the latter the verb in the perf. is tantamount to performing the act — "I hereby send you."

⁴ See the parallels in the Makkibanit letters (*TAD* A2.4:5, 2.7:1).

blessed you by YHH⁵ and Khnum.⁶

Request

⁽⁴⁾Now, send me⁷ the garment⁸ (Convex) ⁽⁵⁾which is upon you⁹ ⁶so that I/they may sew it.¹⁰

b Gen 37:23;
1 Kgs 11:30

Welfare

⁽⁶⁾(To inquire) about your welfare I sent (this) letter.¹¹

⁵ The name YHH was spelled this way in the ostraca (3.87G:3, 7; 3.87J:3; TAD D7.35:1), in contracts by the scribe Nathan son of Anani (3.71:2 [449 BCE] and 3.64:14 [446 BCE]), and even in personal names (TAD B5.1:2 [495 BCE] and 3.47:13 [ca. 487 BCE]). Originally Heb., the spelling YHH indicates a pronunciation Yaho; cf. *yryhh*, Jericho (1 Kgs 16:34), *šlh*, Shiloh (Josh 18:1 etc), *pr^ch*, Pharaoh. The spelling YHH is first attested at Elephantine in 464 BCE (3.60:4, written by the Aramean scribe Ito son of Abah). See GEA 30.

⁶ Abbreviated from the fuller Makkibani formula, "I blessed you by DN that he may show me your face in peace" (TAD A2.1:2, 2.2:2, 2.3:2, 2.4:1-2, 2.5:1-2, 2.6:1-2). For fuller discussion, see EPE 90, n. 6. The *waw* of *hnmw* is squeezed in above the line. Khnum was the Eg. god of the island whose priests later conspired to destroy the Jewish Temple (3.51:5-6).

⁷ Written as one word, *šlhly*, the usage is unique. The regular word in these texts for dispatching an object other than a letter was *hwšr*. Only in the Bisitun inscription, in the Ahikar narrative, and in texts of the Ptolemaic period do we find *šlh* with that meaning (TAD C1.1:62; 2.1:39, 40; D7.57:4).

⁸ The most frequently mentioned garment in the ostraca is the tunic (*kwn*); 3.87J:1; TAD D7.7:7, 7.14:2, 6, 7.55:2 (Edfu).

⁹ Idiomatically translated by Lindenberg 1994 #20 as "the garment you have on" with an alternate translation in the footnotes, "the garment you have on account"; for a similar use of *‘l*, see, in the Makkibani letters, TAD A2.2:9. Moriya (1995:236) translates, "that is charged upon you."

¹⁰ It is not certain whether we are to read *w²h²nh* or *wy²h²nh*. If the latter, it may be defective spelling for *y²h²wnh*, plural as imperfect (Dupont-Sommer 1945:25; ANET 491). Lindenberg 1994 #20 paraphrased, "so it can be re-stitched." Who was the tailor? For the volitive (*šlh*) — jussive (*w²h²nh* or *wy²h²nh*) construction, see on 3.87B:10-11.

¹¹ A standard conclusion in the Makkibani letters (TAD A2.1:11-12, 2.2:17, 2.3:12-13, 2.4:13, 2.5:9, 2.6:10, 2.7:4); EPE 92, n. 26. The scribe here omitted the demonstrative *znh*.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: DAE #87; Dempsey 1990; DNWSI; Dupont-Sommer 1942-45; Dupont-Sommer 1945; EPE; Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992 B.3.c.33:70; GEA; Lindenberg 1994 #20; Moriya 1995; Porten 1968; Rainey 1996; TAD D.

INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING SILVER FOR MARZEAH (3.87D)
(TAD D7.29)

Bezalel Porten

Discovered in 1902 by Sayce, published by him in 1909 (RES 1295), deposited in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 35468A), and recopied by Lidzbarski in 1915, though without plate (ESE III 119-121), this ostrakon is the only Elephantine document to mention this institution, so widely known in the world of West-Semitic inscriptions for over a millennium. It was a funerary association that held periodic banquets. Asked by the anonymous writer about the money for the *marzeah*, the Aramean Ashian replied that the till was empty but that he would forward funds to Haggai or IgdaI, persons bearing Jewish names. The writer herein instructs Haggai to get the money from Ashian. It is not apparent what role each of the four parties played in the association, and different combinations are possible.

Address

(Concave)⁽¹⁾To Haggai.¹

a Amos 6:7;
Jer 16:5

zeah,⁴ ^aThus he said ⁽⁴⁾to me, saying:⁵ "There is none."⁶ ⁽⁵⁾Now, I shall give it ⁽⁶⁾to Haggai or ⁽⁷⁾IgdaI.⁷

Report

I spoke² ⁽²⁾to Ashian³ about the silver of ⁽³⁾the *mar-*

¹ The writer is anonymous. Haggai is addressed in another ostrakon (3.87E) by the Aramean Jarhu and sent blessings by four pagan deities. The name was very popular at Elephantine but the earliest Haggai is the scribe, son of Shemaiah, who first appears in 446 (3.64:19).

² Aram. *ḥmr*, lit. "I said."

³ A daughter of an Ashian is designated "Aramean" in a contract fragment from the middle of the fifth century (TAD D2.4:2). The name may be Old Persian Ashina (Hinz 1975:22) or a West-Semitic hypocoristic from the root *ḥwš* (Ran Zadok, orally).

⁴ As new material accumulates, the *marzeah* receives ongoing scholarly treatment; see Porten 1968:179-186; Greenfield 1974:451-455; Barstad 1984:127-142; Lewis 1989:80-98.

⁵ The particle *lm* introduces direct speech; GEA 339.

⁶ Lit., "there is not" (*l²yry* and not *l²yryw*, "to Ito," as formerly read [ESE III 119-121]). This apocopated construction occurs also in 3.87H:6 and 3.76:29; see GEA 41, 95.

⁷ Hypocoristic of IgdaIiah ("May YH Be/Do Great[ly]") [Hestrin and Dayagi 1979:85]), the name occurs once more in a fragmentary ostrakon (TAD D7.11:3). An IgdaI father of Gaddul appears in a contract of 464 (3.60:18) and an IgdaI father of Hosea in 459 (3.61:34, 3.62:22). For omission of the preposition "to" before IgdaI in our text, see GEA 317.

Instructions

Get⁸ (8) to him (9) so that he may give it⁹ (10) to you.¹⁰

⁸ Aram. *dbr*, translated "speak" by Lidzbarski, is used here idiomatically for "lead the way to someone, betake oneself, repair to."

⁹ For this volitive (*dbr*) — jussive (*wyntyhy*) sequence, see on 3.87B:10.

¹⁰ For the double pronominal object construction, see *GEA* 267, 309.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Barstad 1984; *DAE* #92; *DNWSI*; Dupont-Sommer 1945; Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992 B.3.c.30; *GEA*; Greenfield 1974; Hestrin and Dayagi 1979; Hinz 1975; Lewis 1989; Lindenberg 1994 #13; Porten 1968; *TAD* D.

GREETINGS FROM A PAGAN TO A JEW (3.87E)
(*TAD* D7.30)

Bezalel Porten

Discovered by Gautier in the 1908/09 season and published by Dupont-Sommer in 1944 (Clermont-Ganneau 277), this ostrakon was not written by the popular wharf scribe. It is a palimpsest and is unique in being written on only one side and containing no message beyond an elaborate blessing by four pagan deities. Leading gods in the Babylonian pantheon (cf. Sefire A8-9 = *KAI* 222; *COS* 2.82), all four were prominently featured among the Arameans of Egypt.

Address

(Concave)⁽¹⁾ To my brother¹ Haggai,² your brother⁽²⁾ Jarhu.³

a Jer 50:2;
51:44; Isa
46:1
b Isa 46:1
c 2Kgs 17:30

Salutation

The welfare of my brother (3) may Bel⁴ * and Nabu,⁵ * Shamash⁶ and Nergal⁷ * (seek after at all times).⁸

¹ Term of address between peers.

² This Haggai is probably the same as the one addressed in 3.87D.

³ The moon-god *Yrḥ* figures prominently at Ugarit (*DDD* 1101) and in personal names there (e.g. **bdyrḥ* [Gröndahl 1967:105]), and in Ammonite (*yrḥ* ² [Aufrecht 1989:106-109]), Phoen. and Punic (*yrḥ*, **bdyrḥ* [Benz 1972:326]), and Palmyrene (*yrhy* [Stark 1971:91]). Related are the biblical PNs Jerah and Jaroah (Gen 10:26; 1 Chr 5:14) and the GN Jericho. Hypocoristic endings with *-u* were not infrequent among the Arameans at Elephantine (e.g. *Itu* [3.60:16], *Jaulu* [*TAD* C3.14:16], *Paltu* [3.64:15]).

⁴ The deity appears in two fragmentary papyri (*TAD* D1.22:1; Segal 1983:23b:5) and in the personal names Belhabeh ("Bel, Give Her/Him" [*TAD* D22.13:1]), and *Bibn* = Belbani/Belibni (*TAD* C3.14:14). The earliest Aram. monument in Egypt is a statuette of Belsharusur (*TAD* D 16.1).

⁵ A Temple to Nabu was established in Syene (*TAD* A2.3:1) and one of its priests, Sheil, was buried in Saqqarah (*TAD* D18.1; see, too, D11.24:1). The deity figures in the fragmentary cave narrative from Sheikh Fadl (*TAD* D23.1:6:7, 1:16:2) and appears in numerous personal names, both Aramean (e.g. Nabuyehab [*TAD* C4.9:2], Nabunathan [*TAD* A2.3:14; 3.65:12, et al.], Nabuakab [*TAD* A6.2:23, C3.13:54, et al.]) and Babylonian (e.g. Nabuzeribni [3.61:28, 3.62:16, et al.], Nabukudurri [3.59:18, 3.81:2, et al.], Nabusumiskun [3.60:19]).

⁶ Shamash was the main deity adored in several Aram. graffiti incised on an ancient stela in Wadi el-Hudi, south of Aswan (*TAD* D22.47:4, 22.48, 22.49:2). He appears in the personal names Shamashnuri (*TAD* B4.2:12; D 18.16:1) and Nurshawash (*TAD* C3.14:24), in the Words of Ahiqar (*TAD* C 1.1:107, 187-188) and perhaps in the Sheikh Fadl narrative as well (*TAD* D23.1.2:7, 1.3-4:2, 1.6:2).

⁷ The last two letters of the name (*gf*) were written below the line. Nergal migrated to Samaria with the inhabitants exiled from Cutha (see further *DDD* 1169-1172). At Elephantine there appeared a Nergal(u)shezib father of an Aramean scribe with the Persian name Raukshana (3.77:9). The name Nargi may be a hypocoristicon (*TAD* B 1.1:17).

⁸ The blessing was formulaic (see 3.46:1-2; 3.47:1-2; 3.48:2; 3.51:1-2) and its conclusion implicit.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: *ANET* 491; Aufrecht 1989; Benz 1972; *DAE* #88; *DDD*; *DNWSI*; Dupont-Sommer 1944; Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992 B.3.c.33:277; *GEA*; Gröndahl 1967; *KAI* #222; Moriya 1995; Porten 1968; Segal 1983; Stark 1971; *TAD* D.

INSTRUCTIONS TO AID SHEPHERD (3.87F)
(TAD D7.1)

Bezalel Porten

Donated by Sir Henry Thompson to the Cambridge University Library (Cambridge 131-33) and published by Cowley in 1929, this is the only ostrakon addressed to a mother. Threading the word *ibh*, "goodness" through his letter, the anonymous son informs her that her *b^cl ibh*, a certain shepherd, is coming to Syene to sell sheep. If she does *ibh* by him, he will do right by the son. She could further do *ibh* for him and his family if she would provide them with food, for they are hungry. The reading on the convex differs markedly here from that in Cowley 1929.

Address

(Concave)⁽¹⁾To my mother¹ Kavilah.²

Salutation

Blessings of [...] ⁽²⁾I sent you.

Instructions I

Now, lo, behold³ ⁽³⁾*Npn^c* the shepherd of sheep⁴ ^a of Sekhmere,⁵ ⁽⁴⁾your ⁽³⁾*oblⁱ* ⁽⁴⁾gee,⁶ ^b is coming (to)⁷ Syene with the sheep ⁽⁵⁾to sell.⁸ Go, stand⁹ ⁽⁶⁾with him¹⁰ in Syene ⁽⁷⁾this ⁽⁶⁾day.¹¹ ⁽⁷⁾If you do (Convex)

^a Gen 4:2,
46:34, 47:3

^b Prov 3:27

^c Judg 9:16;
1 Sam 24:18

⁽⁸⁾[for him] good^c in Syene, ⁽⁹⁾[also h]e ⁽⁸⁾will do (good) for me.¹² ⁽⁹⁾Lo, tomorrow I have to go¹³ ⁽¹⁰⁾[to] my house, so let them give you 1 goat before ⁽¹¹⁾I reach you.¹⁴

Instructions II

Now, regard¹⁵ (that) which is a good (thing) ⁽¹²⁾to do for him. Lo, they are hungry.¹⁶ ⁽¹³⁾Both bread and flour¹⁷ giv[e] ⁽¹⁴⁾to him and ask him, ⁽¹⁵⁾saying: "What do you seek?"¹⁸ (or: To ... you seek)

¹ Three papyrus letters were addressed to "my mother" (TAD A2.6:11, 2.7:1; 3.4:1) but two of these alternate in the internal and external addresses between "my mother" and "my sister" (TAD A2.6:1, 11, 2.7:1, 5).

² This woman occurs only here. Her name means "Wait for the Lord" (cf. Ps 27:14) and belongs to the category of Names of Encouragement (Porten 1968:144-145).

³ This is the only ostrakon that has this threefold combination (*k^cnt hlw h^c* [the last letter partially restored]).

⁴ The word *qn* was inserted supralinearly, creating an idiom known from the Bible and with links to Egypt.

⁵ The construction is "PN (*Npn^c*), occupation (shepherd), origin (Sekhmere);" cf. the similar "Peu son of Pahe, a builder of Syene the fortress" (3.65:1-2). The GN may be explained as *Sh.t-mry*, "Field of M..." (cf. Gauthier V:53 who cites a Sokhit mour from Edfu. References from Günter Vittmann and Janet Johnson).

⁶ The precise nuance of this construct phrase (*b^cl ibtkm*) eludes us. The sense assumed here is that the "owner of goodness" is the beneficiary who is obligated to the benefactor (DAE 23:3-4). Others rendered "friend" (Cowley 1929; GEA 225-226, 230) with the meaning "those who are entitled to your goodness" (DNWSI 418) or "partner" (Lindenberger 1994 #17:3-4 [inconsistent with his rendition "client" for 3.51:23-24; for fuller discussion see there]). The shift between plural (*-km*) and sing. address is not unusual in letters; see 3.87A:8-10.

⁷ Aram. often omits the preposition *lamed* with the verb *ʔth* (GEA 268).

⁸ Was this a market day? For elision of the object ("them"), see GEA 273; for the form of the infinitive, GEA 109.

⁹ Asyndesis, where the first verb is one of motion (*ʔzly*), is a common feature in our texts; GEA 257-258.

¹⁰ The expression *qwm m* appears in Old Aram. inscriptions with deity as subject assisting his protégés (Baalshamayin with Zakkur [KAI 202A:3, 13-14; COS 2.35] and the pantheon with Panamuwa [the Hadad Inscription: KAI 214:21; COS 2.36]. For full discussion of the idiom, see Tawil 1974:43-45.

¹¹ For the adverbial at the end of the sentence, see GEA 313.

¹² For the protasis-apodosis sentence construction, see GEA 325g. If the benefactor does good (*ibh*) for her beneficiary (*b^cl ibt^c*), he will reciprocate toward her son, the letter writer. There existed norms of proper behavior and such was to be rewarded by the recipient (TAD C1.1:52) or by the deity (TAD A2.3:7; 1 Sam 24:19). Correspondingly, improper behavior was to be severely punished (Judg 9:16-20).

¹³ The infinitive (*lm^czly*) as subject of a nominal clause is rare; GEA 210.

¹⁴ A parade example of a cryptic sentence whose meaning was clear to the parties but whose thrust eludes us. Does "them" (*wyntmw*) refer to the shepherd? What is the nature of the "gift" and how is its timing linked to his coming to her? Finally, what does it have to do with his going to his house?

¹⁵ The imperative *hzy*, like its Heb. counterpart *r^ch*, was regularly used with direct object to introduce an object or person which required specific attention (see 3.87I:1; 3.87J:1; TAD A3.10:2; 3.51:23; 6.15:4; 2 Sam 24:22; Pss 25:18-19; 119:153); see GEA 329.

¹⁶ The root *kpn* occurs once, in a fragmentary aphorism from Abiqar — "Hunger will sweeten bitterness" (TAD Cl. 1:123); anything tastes good when you're hungry.

¹⁷ The "both ... and" sequence is expressed by reduplication of the particle *ʔp*; GEA 336.

¹⁸ I.e. what do you need? The first four letters in the last line are not clear and may be read *lm^c jh*; see drawing in TAD D7.1:15.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Cowley 1929; DAE #23; DNWSI; Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992 B.3.c.34; GEA; KAI; Lindenberger 1994 #17; Moriya 1995; Porten 1968; TAD D; Tawil 1974.

INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING LEGUMES AND BARLEY, ETC. (3.87G)
(TAD D7.16)

Bezalel Porten

Discovered by Charles Clermont-Ganneau in 1908, published in 1949 by Dupont-Sommer (Clermont-Ganneau 152), and correctly interpreted by Franz Rosenthal in 1966 (letter of April 24; Rosenthal 1967:12-13), the end of the concave and the first half of the convex still remain obscure. The anonymous writer is sending some legumes by boat on the Sabbath, to be exchanged for barley, and orders the addressee to receive the shipment personally and not rely on others. Moreover, he threatens to kill her should they get lost. Since the boatman would have been Egyptian (3.59:13; 3.80:12; TAD C3.26:29; D7.13, 24:2), there would not necessarily have been any Sabbath violation. Two generations later Nehemiah banned Tyrian merchants from selling fish at the gates of Jerusalem (Neh 13:14-22).

Greetings

(Concave)⁽¹⁾Greetings, *Islah*.¹

Instructions I

Now, behold, legumes² I shall dispatch⁽²⁾ch³ tomorrow. Meet the boat⁴ tomorrow on Sabbath.⁵
(³)Lest,⁶ if they get lost, by the life of YHH,⁷ if not⁸ yo[ur] soul⁽⁴⁾ I shall take.⁹ Do not rely on Meshullemeth¹⁰ or on Shemaiah.¹¹

Instructions II

Now, exchange for me barley.¹² And seek someone¹³ and I shall ... (with) them legumes (or: and I will set them up in *ql*).

a Ezra 4:22, 7:23;
b 1 Sam 14:39; 25:34; 26:16; 2 Sam 4:9-11; 12:5;
c 1 Kgs 2:24; Gen 24:37-38; Num 14:28; Ps 137:6;
d 1 Kgs 19:4; Jon 4:3; Ps 31:14; Prov 1:19;
e 2 Kgs 21:19; f Gen 32:21; 33:10; 43:3, 5; 44:23, 26; 46:30; 48:11; Exod 10:28-29; 2 Sam 3:13; 14:24, 28, 32

Warning

Now, ⁽⁷⁾by the life of YHH, if not(,) on ⁽⁸⁾your soul

Report (Convex) ⁽⁹⁾... on account of *tqbh*. That which ⁽¹⁰⁾you dispatched instead of *hmy*¹⁴ to/for ... ⁽¹¹⁾you dispatched it.

Rebuke

If Meshullemeth is not concerned ⁽¹²⁾about me, you, what will you say?!¹⁵

Hope

You will see my face (in peace) ⁽¹³⁾and I shall see your face (in peace).¹⁶

¹ A popular masculine hypocoristicon ("May [DN] Forgive") at Elephantine (3.49:1, 5, 10; 3.67:19; 3.76:43; TAD A3.9:[1], 9; 4.5:2; C3.15:106; D3.17:9; 4.25:3; 9.6:1, 9.14:2), it occurs in only one other text from our period, a fragmentary ostraca (TAD D9.2:1). On the basis of the gender of the verbs, the name here must be feminine.

² As noted by Milik (1967:535) the word *bql* is "pan-Semitic" but occurs only here in Eg. Aram.

³ Hafel *hwšr* is the regular term in the Elephantine documents for sending an object (3.87H:1; 3.87I:14, 16). It is cognate with Akk. D [= Aram. pael] *wuššuru*, occurring frequently as a Canaanism in the Amarna tablets (Dupont-Sommer 1942-45:70, n. 7; Rainey 1996 2:159-168).

⁴ An instruction that appears in three other unpublished ostraca (Clermont-Ganneau 42, 104, 157), as reported by Dupont-Sommer 1949:32. Otherwise the root is known from the preposition *l-rq/l-r*, "toward," recurrent in Bisitun (TAD C2.1:9, 15, 22, 42, 45, et. al.).

⁵ For discussion of the absolute state of *šbh*, see DNWSI 1107 with references. The word occurs in five or six ostraca (TAD D7.10:5, 12:9, 28:4, 35:7, and perhaps 48:5). Presumably to obviate any hint of Sabbath desecration, Grelot translated *bšbh*, "for the Sabbath," as if the boat was being sent before the Sabbath.

⁶ The word *lmh* introduces a threat, which may be prefaced by a circumstantial or (as here) a conditional clause (see TAD A6.15:7-8).

⁷ This unique oath formula is written as one word, here and in line 7 (*hylyhk*). For this spelling of the divine name, see on 3.87C:3. Several biblical passages underpin death threats with divine oath. Structurally apposite is Saul's oath, "By the life of YHWH ... if it was through my son Jonathan, he shall be put to death" (1 Sam 14:39).

⁸ This is the negative oath particle (*hn l* = Heb. *ʾm l*), with numerous biblical examples. Lit., it means, "If I do not kill you, may I be killed" (or the like). It may be paraphrased "surely."

⁹ A familiar biblical idiom (*qlh nps*), used by Elijah and Jonah pleading for death. We may paraphrase the sentence as follows, "If they get lost, I swear I'll kill you."

¹⁰ A feminine form of Meshullam (< Meshelemiah [1 Chr 9:21, 26:1-2, 9]) the name Meshullemeth was well-known at Elephantine in documents from the end of the century (TAD A3.7:3; C3.13:38, 3.15:2, 85, 96, 113).

¹¹ A popular name at Elephantine, there is a Shemaiah son of Hosea from 471 BCE (3.59:17).

¹² Send me barley in return for the legumes; DNWSI 377. A contemporary papyrus letter from Memphis to Syene requests castor oil so as to exchange it for another, unspecified oil (TAD A2.1:7).

¹³ Lit., "1." [For a different reading of this line see COS 3.88, n. 11. WWH]

¹⁴ This unknown word occurs also in a fragmentary papyrus list in the enigmatic expression, *zy bdw hmy*, "(Those) who did/made *hmy*: PN son of PN for PN" (TAD D3.17:1, 3, 5).

¹⁵ Meshullemeth's lack of concern explains the writer's unwillingness to trust her with the shipment of legumes. *Islah* is being rebuked for remaining silent. Contemporary papyrus letters repeat some form of the refrain, "Do not be concerned about me; I am concerned about you" (TAD A2.1:8; 2.2:3, 2.3:4, 2.4:3, 12, 2.6:9; 3.9:6).

¹⁶ A prayer "to see one's face in peace" was the recurrent salutation in the contemporary papyrus letters (TAD A2.1:2, 2.2:2, 2.3:2, 2.4:2, 2.5:2, 2.6:2; 3.3:3; also 3.5:8; 3.52:9¹). In biblical parlance "to see the face" was often used in the context of coming from afar to see someone. Here *thzyn* is in the indicative so we may not translate the statement as jussive, "May you/I see my/your face." See EPE 90. n. 6.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: DAE #91; DNWSI; Dupont-Sommer 1949; EPE; Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992 B.3.c.33; GE4; KAI; Lindenberger 1994 #22; Milik 1967; Porten 1968; Rosenthal 1967; TAD D.

REQUEST FOR SALT (3.87H)
(TAD D7.2)

Bezalel Porten

Discovered by Charles Clermont-Ganneau in 1908 and published in 1945 by Dupont-Sommer (Clermont-Ganneau 169), this ostrakon is concerned with one thing — getting salt for making bread. Elsewhere, we learn that bread itself was dispatched from Elephantine to Syene (TAD D7.44).

Greetings

(Concave)⁽¹⁾[Gr]reetings, Aḥutab.

Request

Now, dispatch ⁽²⁾to me a little¹ salt² ^athis day.³

⁽³⁾And if there isn't⁴ ^bsalt in the house ⁽⁴⁾buy⁵ from

^a Ezra 4:14;
7:22

^b Dan 2:10-
11; 3:25, 29;
4:32; Ezra
4:16

^c 2 Sam 19:19

the boats of grain⁶ ^c(⁵)which are in Elephantine.

Report

Lo,⁷ ⁽⁶⁾I don't have (Convex) ⁽⁷⁾any salt to put⁸ in the flour.⁹

¹ As quantifier, ^cyr precedes the noun it modifies (GEA 242).

² Salt was a frequent object of request. One ostrakon asked for "2 qabs, fine and coarse (with) the basket over it" (TAD D7.7:2-4). An Aram. ostrakon, probably of March 23, 252 BCE, records the payment of the salt tax (TAD D8.13).

³ Perhaps with the person who delivered the letter, in the return ferry to Syene.

⁴ The contracted English reflects the elided *aleph* and the writing as one word and contraction of ^b ²yr → ^byr; similarly in line 6: ^bty. For the grammatical construction, see GEA 290, 322-323.

⁵ The opening command, "dispatch" (*hwšry*), is in the feminine sing., while "buy" (*zbnw*) is in the plural; see on 3.87A:8-9.

⁶ Alternately, "ferryboats." Aram. ^bwr = "grain" and conceivably may be related to the root ^bwr, "pass over" (DAE #19). Milik (1967:555) surmised that these grain boats were commissioned by the government to supply the garrison. In a document of 483, Hosea and Ahiab receive a shipment of barley and legumes from Espemet, probably the boatman and somehow associated with Tahpanhes, and undertake to deliver it to the royal storehouse (TAD B4.3-4). Apparently salt, transported from Lower Egypt (Lucas 1989:268), was not part of the government ration (*ptp*), but had to be paid for separately out of the monthly allotment (*prs*); see 3.87I:11.

⁷ For the presentative ^h, see GEA 329.

⁸ For the infinitive as noun modifier, see GEA 209

⁹ And how will the bread taste without salt?!

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: DAE #19; Dupont-Sommer 1942-45; GEA; Lucas 1989; Milik 1967; TAD D.

LETTER REGARDING GIFT, HANDMAIDEN,
ALLOTMENT, AND POTS (TAD D7.9) (3.87I)

Bezalel Porten

Discovered by Sayce in 1901 and published by Sayce and Cowley in 1906 (Bodleian Aramaic Inscription 1), this palimpsest, dubbed the Uriah Ostrakon (Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992 B.3.C.36), has since disappeared. Though two or three commands are in the plural (*wblwh*, *yktbwh*, *hwšrwhy*), the letter is essentially addressed to a female (*hbyh*, *hzy* [masculine or feminine], *hzdhry*, *tšm^cyn*, *šlhy*, *hzy* [masculine or feminine], *hwšry*). Uriah had given the anonymous writer beer for the libation. The latter was now calling upon an anonymous female to forward it to Gemariah b. Aḥio to prepare it and then have it returned to Uriah. The writer further expressed Uriah's concern that a recently acquired Egyptian handmaiden be branded with the latter's name. The writer asked to be informed when government allotment would be distributed at Syene and to be sent various pots.

Instructions I (Concave)

⁽¹⁾Now, regard¹ the GIFT² which Uriah³ gave me

^a Num 28:7

for the libation,^a ⁽²⁾Give it to Gemariah son of Aḥio⁴ so that he may prepare⁵ it from ⁽³⁾the beer,⁶

¹ See on 3.87F:11.

² This word occurs once or twice more in the ostraca (3.87K:2, TAD D7.40:3). Stephen Kaufman (orally) proposed a derivation from *hn*, "favor, grace," *hnn*, "give as a favor" (Shmuel Safrai orally [Gen 33:5, 11; Num 6:25]), *hnm*, "gratis," hence Aram. **hnh*, "gift." This would be a cultic term, here referring to fermented drink for the daily libation and in 3.87K to wood for burning on the altar.

³ The name is spelled here with final *he* but in line 3 with final *aleph*. Is he the same one (name spelled ²ryh) associated with the Temple in 3.87J? See on 3.87B:1.

⁴ He was scribe of his own loan contract in 487 BCE (TAD B4.2:1, 16) and contract witness in 464 BCE (3.60:18).

⁵ The thrust of the verb ^crk here eludes us. The same verb in Heb. occurs frequently in cultic contexts with regard to arranging wood and sacrifice on the altar (Gen 22:9; Lev 1:7; 1 Kgs 18:33), lamps in the lampstand (Exod 27:21; Lev 24:34), and bread of display on the table (Exod 40:23; Lev 24:8).

⁶ As part of the twice daily regular offering in the Tabernacle, this fermented drink (*škr*) constituted the libation on the altar of incense (Milgrom

and bring it to Uria.⁷

Instructions II

Moreover, regard ⁽⁴⁾our ⁽³⁾Tetosiri.⁸ ⁽⁴⁾Let them mark⁹ ^b her on her arm¹⁰ above the mark ⁽⁵⁾which is on her arm.¹¹ Lo, thus he (i.e. Uriah) sent, saying that¹² ⁽⁶⁾they might not find his lass ⁽⁷⁾marked according to¹³ ⁽⁸⁾his¹⁴ name.¹⁵

Instructions III

(Convex)⁽⁹⁾Now, [...]. And moreover, take heed¹⁶ ⁽¹⁰⁾... to mark.

b Isa 44:5

Request I

Moreover, when ⁽¹¹⁾you will hear¹⁷ saying:¹⁸ "We have begun giving¹⁹ (out) allotment²⁰ ⁽¹²⁾at Syene," send (word) to me.

Request II

Regard the STAND of the pot²¹ ⁽¹³⁾which I brought in my hand. Dispatch it to me.²² And the pot which ⁽¹⁴⁾I dispatched to you from ... the river ⁽¹⁵⁾and the [1] big pot²³ which ⁽¹⁶⁾Malchiah²⁴ ⁽¹⁵⁾gave ⁽¹⁶⁾[to you] — dispatch ⁽¹⁷⁾them to me.

1990:240).

⁷ A completely different interpretation of this text is to be found in Lindenberg 1994 #18. Moreover, he placed the convex side first.

⁸ For this phrase (*T. zylh*) with the disjunctive personal pronoun, see GEA 232-33. Tetosiri was Eg. (*t³-dy-Wsir*, "The {One} whom Osiris Gave") as were most of the other slaves owned by the Elephantine Jews — Petosiri, Bela, Lili and their mother Taba owned by Mibtahiah (3.68), Tamet owned by Meshullam (3.71:2-3), and probably the houseborn Jedaniah son of Taho owned by Meshullam's son Zaccur (3.77).

⁹ Slaves at Elephantine, and elsewhere in Egypt (*TAD* A6.10:7), were marked on the right arm with the owner's name, e.g. "(Belonging) to Mibtahiah" (3.68:5-6) or "(Belonging) to Meshullam" (3.74:3). The verb *ktb* in this text is in *pa'el* (GEA 108-109, n. 504, 120, 190).

¹⁰ Spelled here with *dalet* (*dr^c*), the homonym, meaning "seed," is spelled elsewhere with a *zayin* (*zr^c*) [*TAD* B 1.1:4; 3.64:8].

¹¹ That is, the mark of her former owner, from whom she was recently acquired.

¹² For this construction introduced by *zy* and expanded with an object complement, see GEA 271-272.

¹³ Lit. *ʿl*, "on."

¹⁴ That is, Uriah's.

¹⁵ See Porten 1968:204.

¹⁶ See GEA 116, 118.

¹⁷ Aram. plene spelling *tšm^cyn*, 2 fem. sing.; GEA 140, n. 659.

¹⁸ For *Pmr*, see GEA 209, 328.

¹⁹ Aram. *šryn yhbn* (*DAE* #22, note f); GEA 139, 260.

²⁰ The allotment was distributed monthly from the royal treasury (*TAD* B4.2:5-6) or store-house (*TAD* B4.4:16), known from the conveyances to have been located in Elephantine (e.g. 3.72:9). But there is also an epistolary allusion to allotment being taken at Syene (*TAD* A2.3:8-9; *EPE* 98). In our case, the authorization may have come from Elephantine, while the payment would have been made in Syene to those on duty there (Porten 1968:277). Withholding allotment from the families of soldiers on duty away from home was a disturbing practice (*TAD* A3.3:3-5).

²¹ Aram. *qpyr* = Akk. *qapiru*, "a container" (*CAD* Q 91; reference courtesy of Stephen Kaufman).

²² For the verb with double object, see also lines 16-17 and GEA 266-268.

²³ For the construction in absolute state, see GEA 241.

²⁴ Malchiah appears in an ostrakon listing Eg. boat captains (*TAD* D7.13:17) and perhaps in a letter (*TAD* D7.27:10). A Malchiah son of Zechariah appears as a witness ca. 487 BCE (*TAD* B4.2:15) and a Malchiah was father of the witness Maaziah in 459 (3.61:30-31; 3.62:19).

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: *DAE* #22; *EPE*; Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992 B.3.C.36; GEA; Lindenberg 1994 #18; Milgrom 1990; Porten 1968; *TAD* D.

INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING TUNIC (3.87J)

(*TAD* D7.18)

Bezalel Porten

Discovered in 1925 and published in 1926 by Aimé-Giron, this ostrakon is housed in the Cairo Egyptian Museum (Cairo 49624). The attempt to interpret the text as an instruction to Uriah to dedicate a tunic to the Temple is based on both erroneous reading and assumption. Uriah is simply called upon to take it from the Temple and, in somewhat idiomatic language, "drop it off" at the house of the woman Salluah. Perhaps the writer was a priest who had changed into and out of officiating garb at the Temple.

Instructions (Concave)

⁽¹⁾Regard¹ my tunic² ^a which ⁽²⁾I left³ at the house⁴
of the House of ⁽³⁾YHH. ⁵ ^b Tell⁶ Uriah⁷ ⁽⁴⁾[that] he

^a Gen 3:21, 37:3; Exod 29:5; 2 Sam 13:18; Isa 22:21; Cant 5:3; Ezra 2:69; Neh 7:69, 71; etc.
^b 1 Kgs 7:12, 40, 45, 48, 51, etc.

should drop it off⁸ at Salluah('s).⁹

¹ Like 3.87I, this ostrakon opens with *hzw* in the plural and then shifts to an imperative in feminine sing. (²*mry*); see further on 3.87A:9. For the verb, see on 3.87F:11.

² The buying and sending of tunics was a frequent subject in the papyrus and ostraca letters (*TAD* A2.1:4, 6; 2.2:4, 6, 2.2:11; 3.3:8-9, 11, 3.8:10, 13; 6.16:3; D7.7:7, 7.14:2, 6); Porten 1968:90. It is the most common garment mentioned in the Bible, worn by male and female alike, and figures prominently among the priestly garb.

³ The root *šbq* is very supple — abandon an elder or a guardpost (*TAD* A2.4:4; 4.5:1), release a slave (3.74:4, 9-10), allow an act to take place (*TAD* A4.7:23), deposit beams (*TAD* A2.2:15, 2.4:10), and let go of a garment seized by a wicked person (*TAD* C1.1:107). Did the writer leave his garment at the Temple intentionally or simply forget it?

⁴ Is the duplication of *byt* a dittography or does the first occurrence have the meaning of "building," an annex perhaps?

⁵ The term for the Jewish Temple employed in the contracts and in official letters was ²*gwr*² (3.51 and *TAD* A4.8 passim; 3.64:14, 3.67:6; 3.72:9, 3.73:10, 3.80:18). Yet once elsewhere we find the term *byt Yhw* in a papyrus letter (*TAD* A3.3:1); Porten 1968:105-110. It is the regular term for temple in the Bible. For the spelling YHH, see on 3.87C:3.

⁶ Lit. ²*mry* L-, "say to."

⁷ The name is written here defectively — ²*ryh*. Was he associated with the cult? See 3.87B:1.

⁸ The word *ymh* = ²*rmy* + object suffix. The basic meaning is "to throw down" and thus a colloquial meaning "drop something off at someone's place" might develop. Alternately, the term occurs with the meaning "put on" four threads (Shab. 10a); see Jastrow 1482. The word cannot be read *yhrmh*, "dedicate it," as desiderated by Dupont-Sommer 1946-47a:82. For the volitive (²*mry*) — jussive (*ymh*) sequence, see on 3.87B:10.

⁹ Salluah is a well-attested female name. In 495 BCE it was borne by a daughter of Kenaiah (*TAD* B5.1:1-2). Nowhere else does the address on the ostraca appear at the end of the letter, as proposed by Dupont-Sommer 1946-47a:82.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: *DAE* #90; Dupont-Sommer 1946-47a; Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992 B.3.C.28; Lindenberg 1994 #21; Porten 1968; *TAD* D.

NOTICE OF DISPATCH OF WOOD (3.87K) (*TAD* D7.36)

Bezalel Porten

Discovered on November 1, 1979 in the eighth season of the German Institute of Archaeology, this ostrakon was published in 1987 by Mohammed Maraqtan. Collated at source, it has yielded several new readings. It may be interpreted to mean that the writer has made a donation (*hmr*²) of as much as 70 pieces of wood for the Temple altar, being sent by boat from Syene.

Report (Concave)

⁽¹⁾I dispatched¹ in the hand of² ^a (= with) ⁽²⁾Pete-
khnum³ as GIFT⁴ ⁽³⁾3 loads⁵ ⁽⁴⁾in which (there are)

^a Lev 16:21;
1 Sam 11:7;
16:20; 2 Sam 10:2; 11:14; 12:25; etc.

wood,⁶ ⁽⁵⁾70/61 (pieces).

¹ Other ostraca report the dispatch of wood (*TAD* D7.37:3, 54:2 [20 pieces]); one, as here, "in the hand of" an Eg. boatman, Pamun (*TAD* D7.5:6-7).

² The expression *hwšr byd* means "to send (something) with somebody."

³ This Eg. name (*p²-dy-Hnm*, "The {One} whom Khnum Gave") was popular at Elephantine (*TAD* C4.6:9; D9.9:4); a Pete-khnum appeared as father of the Arameans Nabushezib (*TAD* A2.1:15, 2.5:10) and Ashah (*TAD* A2.1:11-12) and of the Jew Hosea (3.60:17). Our person is most likely an Eg. boatman.

⁴ See on 3.87I:1.

⁵ It is not clear how the pieces were distributed among the three loads; see also *TAD* D7.53:4. In the fourth century BCE Idumean Aram. ostraca "a load of wood" appears frequently among the delivered objects (Eph²al and Naveh 1996 #25:1, 129:2, 158:1, 167:2-3 [3 loads]). The term *mwb* applied also to an ass's burden (*TAD* C1.1:185). Among the tales in later Jewish lore about a load of wood is one of a priest who learned from his altar experience how much of the wood goes up in smoke (Lam Rab. 49:2023; further references in Sokoloff 1990:294).

⁶ The Pact enacted under Ezra and Nehemiah included a clause assigning by lot the obligation to bring at fixed times the wood offering to provide fuel for the altar (Neh 10:35; 13:31). The same selected parties carried on the tradition throughout Second Temple times and their names were recorded in the Mishnah (Ta'anith 4:5). For details, see Safrai 1976:253-255.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Eph²al and Naveh 1996; Maraqtan 1987; Safrai 1976; Sokoloff 1990; *TAD* D.

AN ARAMAIC DREAM REPORT FROM ELEPHANTINE (3.88)

Baruch A. Levine and Anne Robertson

This Aramaic ostrakon from Elephantine is registered as CIS 2.137, and has been variously dated as early as the fifth century BCE and as late as ca. 300 BCE (Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992:109-110). It was first published by Euting (1887), and has recently received two very different treatments by A. Dupont-Sommer (1948a) and B. A. Levine (1964). See also J. Teixidor (1967:178) and B. Porten (1968:275). It is a letter, written with a reed pen on both sides of a piece of pottery, and consists of thirteen brief but almost completely preserved lines. The reference to beholding a dream, a theme prominent in the narratives of the Book of Daniel, has drawn unusual attention to this enigmatic ostrakon.

The writer, probably the head of a family, was detained away from home and, fearing that he would be further delayed in his return, wrote to his wife with interim instructions. He reports that he experienced an anxiety dream which had made him feverish, adding, however, that he was soon reassured by a vision whose message was: "Peace!" This report comes across as a symbolic characterization by the writer of his actual plight, intended to assuage his wife's probable apprehensions. The writer then instructed his wife to sell stored bundles of grain for coins, with the proceeds to be used to purchase food for the young children of the family.

[Collation of the original led Porten and Yardeni in *TAD* 4 (1999) 169 (D7.17) to some rather different readings and translations, here identified as *TAD*. Ed.]

An Anxiety Dream, and Prompt Reassurances
(Concave: lines 1-7)

Now,¹ indeed,² I beheld a dream,³ and from that time on,⁴ I was exceedingly feverish.⁵ Then a vision appeared⁶; its words: "Peace!"⁷

a Dan 2:26,
4:2, 6, 15,
7:1
b Dan 2:19,
28, 4:2, 6-8,
10, 15, 17,
7:1-2, 7, 13
c Ezra 4:17,
5:7 d Ruth 2:14

Practical Instructions from a Man to His Wife
(Convex: lines 8-13)

Now, if my bundles of grain,⁸ all (of them),⁹ you will sell, the small children¹⁰ may eat. Indeed, there is no balance of coins.¹¹

¹ Aram. *k^cn* "Now," and the var. *k^cnt*, are conventional in biblical Aram. (Dan 3:15, 4:34, 5:12; Ezra 4:10), and in epigraphic Aram. epistolary style.

² Aram. *h^hw* "Indeed!" is cognate with Heb. *hinnēh*, and other Heb. and Aram. forms such as *harē*, *arē*, and *arū*, and also with Ugaritic *hl* (Brown 1987). See *DNWSI* 280.

³ The idiom "to behold a dream" (*h^hlm hzy*) occurs regularly in the book of Daniel (2:26, 4:2, 6, 15, 7:1). For the related noun *hzw* "vision, apparition," see below, in note 5. As the ostrakon is inscribed, we actually have the noun followed by an ideographic numeral, producing *h^hlm l*. This is conventional in Aram. documents of the period.

⁴ Aram. *c^dn* "time, season" is also characteristic of the vocabulary of the book of Daniel (Dan 2:8-9, 9, 21, 3:5, 15, 7:12, 25).

⁵ The sense of feverishness is expressed as *h^hmm šg^c* (*h^hammūm šaggi^c*), lit.: "excessively hot." Cf. Dan 7:28: "And as for me, Daniel, my thoughts alarmed me exceedingly (*šaggi^c*), and my face darkened."

⁶ We restore: *[?]hzy hz[w]* "a vision appeared." Compare the similar idiom in the Genesis Apocryphon from Qumran, where we read: *w^cthzy by^cth^c bhzy^c dy tyly^c* "and God appeared to me in a nocturnal vision" (Avigad and Yadin 1956 col. xxi, line 8). The term *hzw* occurs in Dan 2:19, 4:6-7, 7:2, 20, and elsewhere in the plural. See *DNWSI* 357-359 s.v. *hzy*.

⁷ [*TAD*: "May Iahmaliāh regard (= attend to) my welfare" (assigning the final *y* to the end of line 7 not line 6). Ed.]

⁸ Read *šbty kl*, lit.: "my bundles, all," comparing Heb. *šebātīm* "bundles (of grain)" in Ruth 2:16, as first suggested by Hoffmann 1896. The syntax is well attested in Elephantine Aram., as in AP 30:15: *g^cwry^c l^chy mšryn kl* "the temples of the gods of Egypt, all"; AP 30:26: *yhwdy^c kl* "the Jews, all"; AP 39:1: *l^chy^c kl* "the gods, all." See *DNWSI* 505 s.v. *kl* (1, c): "in absolute state as last element of an appositional group."

⁹ The Aram. reads: *tzby hmw* "you (fem. sing.) will sell them." The antecedent is *šbty* "my bundles (of grain)." [*TAD*: "Now, if you wish, do not sell them" (reading *l* not *kl* in line 9. Ed.)]

¹⁰ Aram. *yngy^c* "young children," recalls Heb. *yōnēq* "suckling, young child," often used collectively (Deut 32:25, Jer 44:7). The very form occurring here, the determined plural, is attested in Aram. texts from fifth century BCE Egypt. See *DNWSI* 462 s.v. *ynq^c*.

¹¹ Aram. *qyn* is taken to mean "pieces," namely, "pieces of silver, coins," from the root "to cut." Aram. *qt* is attested in another Elephantine ostrakon, the so-called "Ostrakon Araméen du Sabbat" (COS 3.87G), which also reports on an exchange of grain. In concave, line 6, of that inscription we read: *h^t hnw bqt* "he weighs them out in coin." See Levine 1964:20. [*TAD*: "Lo, there do not remain (any) cucumbers." Note that in 3.87G (above), Porten reads *w^cht hmw bgl*. Ed.]

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: *DAE* #21; Dupont-Sommer 1948a; 1949; Fitzmyer and Kaufman 1992 B.3.c.47; *KAI* #270; Levine 1964; Lindenberg 1994 #12; Porten 1968; *TAD* D; Teixidor 1967.

2. ARAMAIC STELA FRAGMENT

THE BUKĀN INSCRIPTION (3.89)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This inscription was discovered in two fragments: the major piece was found in archaeological excavations in 1985 at Tapeh Qalāychi near Bukān, southeast of Lake Urmia in Azerbaijan, Iran; the other, smaller piece, was recovered on the antiquities market in 1990.¹ Together the fragments (.8 x 1.5 m) preserve only the last thirteen lines of an Old Aramaic inscription. Although much of the original text that was above the fragments is missing, it is clear that this was a memorial or dedicatory inscription set up by the local ruler of the land of Mannaea,² whose native language was certainly not Aramaic.

The text appears to date palaeographically to c. 700 BCE (Lemaire 1998a:27). The extant lines contain curses to be inflicted by the gods Hadad and Haldi on the country³ of the king who would remove the stela. On these curses see further above, pp. xli-xlii.

(1) Whoever will remove^d this stela, [...] ⁽²⁾ in war or in peace, whatever⁵ the pestilence⁶ [...] ⁽³⁾ which was in all the land, may the gods impose⁷ it on the [coun]try ⁽⁴⁾ of that king. And may he be accursed⁸ ^a to the gods, and may he be accursed ⁽⁵⁾ to Haldi who is in Z^ctr.⁹ May seven ⁽⁶⁾ cows nurse one calf,¹⁰ but may it not be sated. May seven ⁽⁷⁾ women bake (bread) in one oven,¹¹ ^b	a 1 Sam 26:19 b Lev 26:26a c Jer 25:10 d Deut 29:22; Judg 9:45; Jer 17:6; Zeph 2:9; Job 39:6 e Ps 89:45 f 2 Sam 22:14 = Ps 18:14	but may they not fill ⁽⁸⁾ it. May the smoke of its (cooking) fire and the sound of ⁽⁹⁾ a mill¹² ^c vanish from his country. May his soil be salted,^d and ⁽¹⁰⁾ may it make him bitter from poisonous weeds.¹³ And that king who [...] ⁽¹¹⁾ on this stela, may Hadad and Haldi overturn¹⁴ ^e his throne. ⁽¹²⁾ And seven years may Hadad not give his thun- der^f (lit. "voice") ⁽¹³⁾ in his country, and may the entire curse¹⁵ of this stela smite him.
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¹ The text was first published in Iranian by Bashash Kanzaq 1996. See now Lemaire 1998a 1998b; and Sokoloff 1999.

² For the Mannaeans, see Postgate 1987-90.

³ Eph^cal (1999:116, n.2) points out that in the ancient Near Eastern curses on potential mutilators of commemorative inscriptions are generally directed against persons, and not against their countries. This may reflect the geopolitical situation of Mannaea, which was constantly under threat by its neighbors, the Urartaeans and the Assyrians.

⁴ Most likely a Qal of *hns* "to remove" (DNWSI 290 s.v. *hns*). See e.g. Zakkur (KAI 202b:20): *wyhnsnh m[n] [ʔs]rh* "and takes it away from its place" (see COS 2.35). Sokoloff (1999:108) suggests a Haf^cel of *nss* "to upset."

⁵ DNWSI 504 s.v. *kl* (esp. *kl mh* = "whatever, every case, whatsoever"). See Lemaire 1998a:19. cf. Sefire I A 24-25. Sokoloff argues that while *kl mh* (or *klmh*) is well-attested in Old Aramaic it is always followed by a noun in the absolute state. Since *mwtn*⁷ is a determined noun, this is problematic to Lemaire's restoration. Nonetheless, the reading [] *mh* is clear. So the restoration seems best and possibly our understanding is incomplete.

⁶ See DNWSI 607 s.v. *mwtn* "pest."

⁷ Two understandings of *yšmw* have been proposed: 1) editio princeps and Sokoloff (p. 110) Pe^cal *√šym* "to set, place"; 2) Lemaire 1998a:20 Haph^cel (perhaps Qal?) *√šmm* "destroy."

⁸ From the *√lws/lwt* "curse." Understood here as a pass. ptc. (see Sokoloff 1999:111).

⁹ Haldi was a deity of warfare among the Urartaeans (see Zimansky 1995:1144) and may have played such a role among the Mannaeans. Lemaire identifies Z^ctr with the city *Zirtu/Izirtu* (1998a:21). Eph^cal (1999:120) raises doubts concerning the metathesis of *tr/tr*. S. Kaufman (cited in Sokoloff 1999:111, n. 36) also raises doubts about this metathesis and questions the Semitic *ayin* in a non-Semitic name.

¹⁰ Cf. Tel Fakhariyah 20-21. See COS 2.34.

¹¹ See Cathcart 1996:144-145 and West Semitic introduction above (3.xxxv-xlii).

¹² See Lemaire 1997b; Sokoloff 1999:112-113.

¹³ See Sokoloff 1999:107.

¹⁴ For the verb *yhpkh*, cf. the Aḫiram inscription (KAI #1:2; Teixidor 1987; COS 2.55).

¹⁵ See Sokoloff 1999:114.

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Text, translations and studies: Bashash Kanzaq 1996; Eph^cal 1999; Lemaire 1997b; 1998a, photo p. 17; 1998b; Sokoloff 1999.

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AKKADIAN ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

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A. LETTERS

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1. EBLA

A LETTER OF ENNA-DAGAN (3.90)

William W. Hallo

The city of Ebla ruled a considerable territory in western Syria during the third millennium; for an overview of its history and a brief bibliography see Milano 1995. For fuller bibliographies see Beld, Hallo and Michalowski 1984; Baffi Guardata, Baldacci and Pomponio 1987, 1989, 1993, 1997. The language of Ebla was neither purely Akkadian (East Semitic) nor certifiably West Semitic. It combined elements of both, but was different from both. It may thus represent an earlier stage of Semitic, before the strict separation into East and West Semitic, and has been called North Semitic (von Soden 1981). It employed the cuneiform script of Mesopotamia which was developed to write Sumerian, and most of its texts were in fact written in Sumerian. Many of these texts are lexical, equating Sumerian with the local Eblaite dialect of Semitic. Others are elaborate accounts from the royal archives. A number of letters are also preserved, among them some that deal with high matters of state. One of these is the "Enna-Dagan letter." It recounts the history of a dispute between Ebla and Mari concerning lands lying between them along the middle course of the Euphrates River. The letter was found at Ebla; in language, orthography and appearance it closely resembles the contemporary texts originating in Ebla (see the photographs in Pettinato 1980 and Matthiae 1981, 9th page after p. 112). Its writer has been variously seen as an Eblaite commander (so Pettinato 1980; 1995; Kienast 1980b; 1984) and as a king of Mari (so Edzard 1981; 1994). Admittedly his name is not attested as such in the newly recovered Sumerian king list from Shubat-Enlil which preserves the names of the six Early Dynastic rulers of Mari (Vincente 1995). Neither are any of the other names regarded by Edzard as identifying rulers of Mari in the Enna-Dagan letter with the possible exception of *a-nu-bu*(₁) at the beginning of the letter if he is in fact to be equated with the first Mari king Anbu (Alberti 1990). Geller's attempt (1987) to restore the name *sa-²u-me* in the Weld-Blundell prism must be rejected in light of collation of the prism (Hallo 1971) and the Shubat-Enlil list. Iblul-il, however, has long been known as a ruler of Mari by the find of his inscribed statue there, and it may be argued that the King List simply does not preserve this and a number of other royal names. In the translation that follows, Edzard's interpretation has been largely followed, with Pettinato's mostly recognized in the footnotes.

⁽¹⁾Thus says Enna-Dagan, ruler of Mari, to the ruler of Ebla¹: The cities Aburu and Ilgi, the lands of Belan, Anbu² the ruler of Mari defeated; tells and ruins in the mountain of Lebanon he left.

⁽²⁾The cities Tibalat and Ilwi, Sa'umu³ the ruler of Mari defeated; in the mountain terrain of Anga'i-x he left tells and ruins.

⁽³⁾The lands of Ra'ak and Irum, Ash'aldy and Badul, Sa'umu the ruler of Mari defeated, in the border of x-an, in Nahal, he left tells and ruins.

⁽⁴⁾And the cities Emar and Lalanium and the cane-brake(?),⁴ (that) of Ebla, Ishtup-shar, the king of Mari, defeated; in Emar and in Lalanium he left tells and ruins.

⁽⁵⁾And the city Gallabi [and x] the liberated cane-

brake(?), Iblul-il, the ruler of Mari and Apishal(?),⁵ defeated; in Zahiran he left also seven tells and ruins.

⁽⁶⁾Iblul-il, the ruler of Mari and Shada and Addali and Arisum, the lands of Burman which (include) the city Sugurum, Iblul-il defeated and left (in) tells and ruins.

⁽⁷⁾Also the cities Sharan and Dammium, Iblul-il the king of Mari, defeated; he left two tells and ruins.

⁽⁸⁾Against the city Nerad and against the fortress⁶ of Hazuwan Iblul-il, the king of Mari, went forth. And he received the tribute⁷ of Ebla in its midst, (in) Nema.

⁽⁹⁾Also Emar he defeated(?), he left tells and ruins, did Iblul-il, the king of Mari.⁸

¹ The unnamed ruler of Ebla must have been Ar-Ennum (Arru-LUM) according to Matthiae (1981:171) to judge by the frequency with which his name occurs together with Enna-Dagan's in administrative documents.

² Written A.NU.KA and interpreted respectively as the royal name Anbu (A-nu-bu₁) by Alberti (1990), or as a verbal clause (a nu-du₁₁ = "non hanno fornito acqua," 'he did not furnish water') by Pettinato (1995:79).

³ Pettinato takes *sa-ù-mu* here and elsewhere as a verb, "ho marciato" ('he marched, advanced') rather than as a personal name.

⁴ So Pettinato; Edzard considers GA.NU.UM possibly a toponym. In light of Apum the toponym and *apum*, "canebrake," the two interpretations are not irreconcilable. Kienast (1980b:256) suggests "colony"; Geller (1987:144, n. 11) "border."

⁵ Written A.BAR.SILA₄. The exact reading is in dispute, but was probably *not* Ashur.

⁶ Taking é-na for é-na₁, lit. "house of stone" (so Pettinato). But note that, at least in Hittite, é-na₁ means "mausoleum."

⁷ mu-rúm, ordinarily "delivery" (so Pettinato). Edzard prefers "gift" or the like.

⁸ The division into paragraphs (not indicated on the tablet!) hereafter follows Pomponio 1999-2000:47.

⁽¹⁰⁾ And Nahal and Nubat and Shada, the lands of Gasur(?), he defeated in Kanane ⁹ ; he also left seven tells and ruins.	of Belan, defeated; Enna-Dagan, the ruler of Mari, left tells and ruins.
⁽¹¹⁾ Iblul-il, the king of Mari, both Barama — for the second (time) — and Aburu and Tibat, the lands	⁽¹²⁾ The two nations(?) in oil, the(ir) lands I bound. ¹⁰
	⁽¹³⁾ ... Iblul-il, the king of Mari, ... ¹¹

⁹ Pettinato wants to read this as Cana'an, for which other and later equivalents have been proposed by Dossin 1957; Moscati 1959; de Vaux 1968.

¹⁰ Possibly a reference to a treaty accord ratified by unction. Note that near the end of the long treaty between Ebla and Apishal(?), for which see Sollberger 1980, Lambert 1987, there is reference to oil and binding, admittedly in connection with *maš*, "interest(?)," as frequently in this text.

¹¹ This paragraph is largely unintelligible, but it appears to be the conclusion of the text, since the remainder of the tablet is blank.

References

Text and studies: Pettinato 1980; 1981:99-102; 1995; Kienast 1980b; 1984; Edzard 1981; 1994; Michalowski 1993:14-18; Pomponio 1999-2000.

2. ALALAKH

LETTER ASKING FOR THE RETURN OF STOLEN DONKEYS (AT 116) (3.91)

Richard S. Hess

This letter exemplifies the small collection of epistolary literature from Alalakh (Akkadian AT 106 - AT 117; Hittite AT 125), all from Level IV. The introduction compares with letters from other Late Bronze Age collections at Ugarit and Amarna. The writer, Ianḫe, is concerned about donkeys that belonged to him but have been seized by his servant. This concern recalls the search of Saul in 1 Samuel 9.

<i>Formulaic Introduction</i> (lines 1-7)		11 in your presence.
1 To Šani []		12 Bring forward his case.
2 Speak!		13 Concerning his affairs
3 Ian[ḫe] writes as follows:		14 make a good enquiry.
4 Live w[ell!]		15 Why should
5 May Teššub keep you,		16 they seize
6 your children,		15 the donkeys belonging to Ianḫe's servants?
7 and your lands well.		17 Ask th[em!]
<i>Content</i> (lines 8-17)		<i>Additional note(?)</i> (lines 18-19)
8 Now the servant of Ianḫe:		18 Mazianu ¹
9 Judge his case		19 stays there.
10 there		

¹ Is Mazianu the servant? It is not clear from this letter.

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Copy: AT pl. xxv. Transliteration: AT 60. Translation: AT 60.

3. TELL EL-AMARNA

LETTER OF ABDI-HEBA OF JERUSALEM (EA 286) (3.92A)

William Moran

This letter is one of six (EA 285-290) in the Amarna archive from Abdi-Heba,¹ ruler of Jerusalem, to the Pharaoh, probably Amenophis IV (ca. 1350-1334 BCE).²

(lines 1-4)

Say to the king, my lord: Message of Abdi-Heba, your servant. I fall at the feet of my lord, the king, seven times and seven times.^{3 a}

(lines 5-15)

What have I done to the king, my lord?^{4 b} They denounce me: I am slandered⁵ before the king, my lord, "Abdi-Heba has rebelled against the king, his lord."⁶ Seeing that, as far as I am concerned, neither my father nor my mother put me in this place, but the strong arm^c of the king brought me into my father's house,⁷ why should I of all people commit a crime against the king, my lord?

(lines 16-21)

As truly as the king, my lord, lives,^d I say to the commissioner⁸ of the king, my lord, "Why do you love^e the Apiru⁹ but hate the mayors?"¹⁰ Accordingly, I am slandered before the king, my lord.

(lines 22-31)

Because I say, "Lost are the lands of the king, my lord," accordingly, I am slandered before the king, my lord. May the king, my lord, know (this). Though the king, my lord, stationed a garrison (here), Enhamu¹¹ has taken i[t al]l (?) away. [...] ...

(lines 32-43)

Now, O king, my lord, there is no garrison, and so may the king provide for his land.¹² May the king [pro]vide (?) for his land! All the lands of the king,

a Gen 43:28;
1 Sam 24:9;
Isa 60:14

b Jer 2:5;
Mic 6:3

c Deut 4:34;
5:15; Jer
21:5, etc

d Gen 42:15-
16; 2 Sam
15:21

e Deut 6:5;
Judg 5:31;
1 Sam 18:1,
3; 20:17;
2 Sam 19:7;
1 Kgs 5:15

my lord, have deserted. Ili-Milku¹³ has caused the loss of all the land of the king, and so may the king, my lord, provide for his land. For my part, I say, "I would go in to the king, my lord, and visit the king, my lord."¹⁴ But the war against me is severe, and so I am not able to go in to the king, my lord.

(lines 44-52)

And may it seem good in the sight of the king, my lord, and may he send a garrison so I may go in and visit the king, my lord. *In truth*, the king, my lord, lives:^d whenever the commissioners have come out, I would say (to them), "Lost are the lands of the king," but they did not listen to me. Lost are all the mayors; there is not a mayor remaining to the king, my lord.

(lines 53-60)

May the king turn his attention to the archers¹⁵ so that archers of the king, my lord, come forth. The king has no lands. (That) Apiru¹⁶ has plundered all the lands of the king. If there are archers this year, the lands of the king, my lord, will remain. But if there are no archers, lost are the lands of the king, my lord.

(lines 61-64)

To the scribe¹⁷ of the king, my lord: Message of Abdi-Heba, your servant. Present eloquent words to the king, my lord. Lost are all the lands of the king, my lord.

¹ The name means "Servant of (the Hurrian goddess) Heba (Hepat)" (Hess 1993a:176); for this king and scribe, see Moran 1975.

² For an introductory survey of the archive, see Moran 1992:xxiii-xxxix.

³ "Seven times and seven times," i.e., "over and over." One prostrates oneself before an official, but before the king "seven times and seven times," in Palestinian letters often with the amplification "both on the belly and on the back." For a representation, see ANEP² fig. 5. For the comparable salutation in Ug. letters to the king or queen, cf. above COS 3.92T-V, Y (nos. 20-22, 25).

⁴ Abdi-Heba's defense begins with a rhetorical question, as was perhaps customary in lawsuits.

⁵ Gloss to previous expression (cf. its Aram. form in Dan 3:8, 6:25) in Western Peripheral Akk., which makes clear that the charges are false.

⁶ Similar charges are made in EA 280.

⁷ When said of kings, entry into the father's house means succession to the throne.

⁸ "Commissioner" (Akk. *rābišu*) designates the head of an Eg. province.

⁹ Here, as usually in EA, a pejorative term for those rejecting Eg. authority. See Na²aman 1986.

¹⁰ "Mayor" (Akk. *ḫazannu*) refers in EA to the local rulers and makes of them as so designated royal appointees incorporated in the peripheral administration; for this and other terms used of them, see Moran 1992:xxvii, nn. 73-74.

¹¹ Enhamu (dialectal form of Yanhamu), mentioned frequently in EA, was at the time the provincial "commissioner." See Hess 1993a:82-84.

¹² Na²aman (1995:36): "May the king exercise power/rule over his land."

¹³ Ili-Milku, usually Milk-ilu, was the ruler of Gezer (Gazru) and, according to Abdi-Heba, the leader of a disloyal coalition, 3.92B (EA 289) lines 5, 11, 25 (see next letter); 290:6, 26. For the personal name, see Hess 1993a:86-88, 112-114.

¹⁴ Visiting the king (here lit. "see his eyes") was a vassal's duty but one which, as here, perhaps fearing long detention at court as quasi-hostages, they frequently shied away from, pleading an unfavorable situation.

¹⁵ Designation of regular army-units as distinct from auxiliaries and garrison-troops.

¹⁶ Ili-Milku (Milk-ilu).

¹⁷ The scribe at the Eg. court, as the one responsible for communicating the letter to the illiterate addressee, is asked to gloss the message with special eloquence; see also EA 287-289 (next letter), 316, and for this and similar practices, see Moran 1992:xxiii-xxiv, n. 58.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: *EA* (VAB 2) 858-863; *ANET* 487-488; Liverani 1998-99 1:94-96; Moran 1975; 1992; Na²aman 1986; 1995.

LETTER OF ABDI-HEBA OF JERUSALEM (URUSALIM) (*EA* 289) (3.92B)

William Moran

This letter pursues the charges in *EA* 286 against Milk-ilu¹ of Gezer (Gazru) and names his fellow-traitors. The lack of a garrison, also mentioned in the earlier letter, is further stressed.

(lines 1-4)

Say to the king, my lord: Message of Abdi-Heba, your servant. I fall at the feet of my lord, the king, seven times and seven times.^{2 a}

(lines 5-10)

Milk-ilu does not break away from the sons of Lab²ayu³ and from the sons of Arsawa,⁴ as they desire the land of the king for themselves. As for a mayor⁵ who does such a deed, why does the king not <c>all him to account?

(lines 11-17)

Such was the deed that Milk-ilu and Tagi⁶ did: they took Rub(b)utu.⁷ And now as for Urusalim, if this land belongs to the king, why is it <not> of concern (?) to the king like Hazzatu?⁸

(lines 18-24)

Gintikirmil⁹ belongs to Tagi, and men of Gintu are the garrison in Bitsanu.^{10 b} Are we to act like Lab²ayu when he was giving the land of Šakmu (Shechem)^c to the Hapiru?¹¹

(lines 25-36)

Milk-ilu has written to Tagi and the sons <of

a Gen 43:28;
1 Sam 24:9;
Isa 60:14

b Judg 1:27,
etc.

c Gen 12:6,
etc.

d Num 14:4;
Jer 48:45;
Ps 91:1;
Isa 30:2-3;
Lam 4:20

e 1 Sam 23:1-13

f Gen 42:15-16; 2 Sam 15:21

Lab²ayu> (?), "Be both of you (?) a protection(?).^{12 d} Grant all their demands to the men of Qiltu,^{13 e} and let us isolate Urusalim."¹⁴ Addayu¹⁵ has taken the garrison that you sent in the charge of Haya,¹⁶ the son of Miyare; he has stationed it in his own house in Hazzatu and has sent 20 men to Egypt.¹⁷ May the king, my lord, know (that) no garrison of the king is with me.

(lines 37-44)

Accordingly, as truly as the king lives,^f his irpi-official, Pu²uru,¹⁸ has left me and is in Hazzatu. May the king call (this) to mind when he arrives (?). And so may the king send 50 men as a garrison to protect the land. The entire land of the king has deserted.

(lines 45-51)

Send Yenhamu¹⁹ that he may know about the land of the king, my lord. To the scribe of the king, my lord: Message of Abdi-Heba, your servant. Offer eloquent words to the king: I am always, utterly yours(?).²⁰ I am your servant.

¹ See above 3.92A (*EA* 286), n. 13.

² See above 3.92A (*EA* 286), n. 3.

³ The former ruler of Šakmu (biblical Shechem), now followed by two sons. See also below, n. 11. For the name, see Hess 1993a:102-103.

⁴ Identity unknown; the name is not Semitic. See Hess 1993a:40-42.

⁵ See above 3.92A (*EA* 286), n. 10.

⁶ Name, probably Hurrian, of Milk-ilu's father-in-law. See Hess 1993a:153-155.

⁷ A town probably somewhere between Urusalim (Jerusalem) and Gazru (Gezer).

⁸ Modern Gaza, administrative center of the Eg. province.

⁹ Probably a town in the Carmel region, perhaps a recent acquisition. Abbreviated form: Gintu.

¹⁰ Biblical Bethshean.

¹¹ Adamthwaite (1992:4): "But (they say) let us act like Lab²aya!" So the land of Šakmi they have given to the "Apîrû." In this version, for which Adamthwaite makes a good case, the speakers and donors are Milk-ilu and Tagi. For the pros and cons, see Rainey 1995-96:119-120. On the Apiru, see above 3.92A (*EA* 286), n. 9.

¹² For other readings and interpretations, see Moran 1992:333, n. 3 ("Protection," *šillu*).

¹³ Probably biblical Keilah.

¹⁴ Perhaps "let us desert."

¹⁵ A high Eg. official (commissioner) mentioned also in *EA* 254 (3.92G), 285, 287. See Hess 1993a:19-21.

¹⁶ Eg. official; more than one bearer of this name in the Amarna letters. See Hess 1993a:75-76.

¹⁷ The men sent to Egypt were perhaps drawn from the transferred garrison.

¹⁸ According to *EA* 287:45, a commissioner; on his death, see below 3.92E (*EA* 362). See Hess 1993a:125-126.

¹⁹ See above 3.92A (*EA* 286), n. 11.

²⁰ An abbreviated form (without "utterly") of this problematic expression occurs at the end of *EA* 287. For other renderings, see Moran 1992 *EA* 287, n. 20.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: *EA* (VAB 2/10) 872-877; *ANET* 489; Adamthwaite 1992; Liverani 1998-99 1:89-91; Moran 1992; Rainey 1995-96.

LETTER OF THE RULER OF GEZER (GAZRU) (*EA* 292) (3.92C)

William Moran

This letter and *EA* 293 were sent by the ruler of Gazru, whose name is written logographically and remains of uncertain interpretation. The scribe who wrote these two letters also wrote *EA* 294, and probably for the same ruler.

(lines 1-7)

Say to the king, my lord, my god, my Sun: Message of Adda-danu(?),¹ your servant, the dirt at your feet. I fall at the feet of the king, my lord, my god, my Sun, seven times and seven times.²

(lines 8-13)

I looked this way, and I looked that way, and there was no light. Then I looked towards the king, my lord, and there was light.³ ^a

(lines 13-17)

A brick may move from under its partner, still I will not move from under the feet of the king, my lord.⁴

(lines 17-26)

I have heard the orders that the king, my lord, wrote to his servant, "Guard your commissioner, and guard the cities of the king, your lord."⁵ I do indeed guard, and I do indeed obey the orders of the king, my lord, day and night.

^a Exod 24:17;
34:27-35;
Num 6:25
Ezra 48:3

^b 1 Chr 8:6

^c Josh 10:33;
12:12; 16:3;
10: 21:21;
Judg 1:29;
2 Sam 5:25;
1 Kgs 15:17;
1 Chr 6:52;
7:28; 14:16;
20:4

(lines 26-40)

May the king, my lord, be informed about his servant. There being war against me from the mountains, I have erected/built (?) a house — its (the village's) name is Manhatu⁶ — to make preparations before the arrival of the archers of the king, my lord, and Maya⁶ has just taken it away from me and placed his commissioner in it. Enjoin Reanap,⁷ my commissioner, to restore my village to me, as I am making preparations before the arrival of the archers of the king, my lord.

(lines 41-52)

Moreover, consider the deed of Peya, the son of Gulatu,⁸ against Gezer (Gazru),^c the maidservant of the king, my lord. How long has he gone on plundering it so that it has become, thanks to him, like a pot held in pledge. People are ransomed from the mountains for 30 shekels of silver, but from Peya for 100 shekels. Be informed of these affairs of your servant.

¹ ^{Id}IM-DI.KUD. For this much discussed personal name, see Hess 1993a:53-54.

² See above 3.92A (*EA* 286), n. 3.

³ This brief celebration of the royal effulgence, with its poetic parallelisms, is found also at the beginning of *EA* 266 and 294.

⁴ The comparison with a brick also follows in *EA* 266 and 294. The first part should be understood as an impossibility (cf. the use of *adynata* in classical literature), making what follows an even greater impossibility.

⁵ Cf. *EA* 294:8-11: "Obey your commissioner, and guard the cities of the king, your lord, where you are." The most frequent injunction is "Guard yourself, and guard the city/place of the king where you are." For underlying Eg. models, see Moran 1992:xxvii-xxxi.

⁶ Eg. commissioner. See Hess 1993a:105-106.

⁷ Eg. commissioner. See Hess 1993a:132.

⁸ Peya, identified here by his mother, is charged in *EA* 294:23-24 with another attack. He is otherwise unknown. See Hess 1993a:123.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: *EA* (VAB 2) 878-883; *ANET* 489-490; Liverani 1998-99 1:103-104; Moran 1992.

LETTER OF TUŠRATTA, KING OF MITANNI (*EA* 17) (3.92D)

William Moran

In one of the earliest letters of the Amarna archive, the king of Mitanni tries to patch up relations with Egypt and renew an earlier alliance.

(lines 1-10)

Say to Nibmuareya,¹ the king of Egypt, my brother: Thus Tušeratta,² the king of Mitanni,³ your brother. For me all goes well. For you may all go well. For Kelu-Heba⁴ may all go well. For your household, for your wives, for your sons, for your magnates, for your warriors, for your horses, for your chariots, and in your country, may all go very well.

(lines 11-20)

When I sat on the throne of my father, I was young,⁵ and UD-hi⁶ had done an unseemly thing to my country and had slain his lord. For this reason he would not permit me friendship with anyone who loved me.^{7a} I, in turn, was not remiss about the unseemly things that had been done in my land, and I slew the slayer of Artasumara, my brother, and everyone belonging to them.

(lines 21-29)

Since you were friendly with my father, I have accordingly written and told you so that my brother might hear of these things and rejoice. My father loved you, and you in turn loved my father. In keeping with this love, my father gave you my sister. And who else stood with my father as you did?

(lines 30-35)

[The ver]y next year (?), moreover, my brother's

a Deut 6:5;
Judg 5:31;
1 Sam 18:1,
3; 20:17;
2 Sam 19:7;
1 Kgs 5:15

b Deut 1:27;
Josh 6:2;
7:7, 24;
1 Kgs 22:6;
2 Kgs 18:30;
19:10

c Exod 14:28;
Deut 2:15;
Josh 7:24

... all the land of Hatti. When the enemy advanced against my country, Teššup,⁸ my lord, gave him into my hand,^b and I defeated him. There was not one of them who returned to his own country.^c

(lines 36-38)

I herewith send you 1 chariot, 2 horses, 1 male attendant, 1 female attendant, from the booty from the land of Hatti.

(lines 39-40)

As the greeting-gift of my brother, I send you 5 chariots, 5 teams of horses.

(lines 41-45)

And as the greeting-gift of Kelu-Heba, my sister, I send her 1 set of gold toggle-pins, 1 set of gold (ear) rings, 1 gold *mašhu*-ring, and a scent container that is full of "sweet oil."

(lines 45-50)

I herewith send Keliya, my chief minister, and Tunip-ibri.⁹ May my brother let them go promptly so they can report back to me promptly, and I hear the greeting of my brother.

(lines 51-54)

May my brother seek friendship with me, and may my brother send his messengers to me that they may bring my brother's greetings to me and I hear them.

¹ Of this Pharaoh, the *prenomen*, fourth in the royal titulary, is *Nb-m^c-t-R^c* "lord of truth is Re^c," followed by the *nomen*, *Imn-htp*, the third so called in this dynasty, whence Amenhotpe (Amenophis) III. See Hess 1993a:117-118.

² An aberrant spelling of Tušeratta. "Brother," either as claiming equal status, or as ally again and thus member of the same household; on the latter metaphor, see Moran 1992:24-25, n. 61.

³ Also called Hana/igalbat and "Hurrian land," the region between the Upper Euphrates and Upper Tigris Rivers, political center between Balih and Habur Rivers.

⁴ Tušeratta's sister; see lines 21-29, 41-45. See Hess 1993a:99.

⁵ Exact implications of term — legally a minor or something less precise? — are not clear.

⁶ Identity uncertain. For a discussion, see Hess 1993a:123-124.

⁷ "Love" belongs to the political lexicon of the first and second millennia BCE, denoting the bond between independent allies, vassal to suzerain, at times suzerain to vassal; for the evidence and biblical relevance, see Moran 1963.

⁸ Hurrian storm-god.

⁹ The two-man embassy is a variant of the standard two-man messenger-team; on the latter, see EA 1:85-86 and Rainey 1995-96:110.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: EA (VAB 2/1) 130-135; Adler 1976; Liverani 1998-99 2:366-367.

LETTER OF RIB-HADDI OF BYBLOS (GUBLA) (EA 362) (3.92E)

William Moran

The most diligent — and most wearisome — of the Pharaoh's vassal correspondents, Rib-Hadda (here Rib-Haddi) continues his litany of requests for action against the rising state of Amurru to the north, earlier under Abdi-Aširta, now under his sons, especially Aziru. The Pharaoh is Amenophis IV (Akhenaten).

(lines 1-4)

Rib-Haddi.¹ Say to the king, my lord: I fall beneath the feet of my lord seven times and seven times.² ^a

(lines 5-20)

I have indeed heard the words of the king, my lord, and my heart is overjoyed. May my lord hasten the sending of the archers with all speed. If the king, my lord, does not send archers, then we ourselves must die, and Gubla^b will be taken. He was distraught (?) recently, he is also distraught (?) now. Recently they were saying, "There will be no archers," but I wrote with the result that archers came out and took their father.³

(lines 21-30)

Now indeed they are saying, "Let him (Rib-Haddi) not write or we will certainly be taken." They seek to take Gubla, and they say, "If we take Gubla, we will be strong." If they take Gubla, they will be strong; there will not be a man left, (and) they (the archers) will certainly be too few for them.

(lines 31-39)

I, for my part, have guarded Gubla, the city of the king, night (and) day. Should I move to the (outlying) territory, then the men will desert in order to conquer territory for themselves, and there will be no men to guard Gubla, the city of the king, my

^a Gen 43:28;
1 Sam 24:9;
Isa 60:14

^b Ezek 27:9

^c Exod 5:3;
9:15;
Lev 26:25;
Num 14:12;
Deut 28:21;
2 Sam 24:13;
15; Hab 3:5

^d Judg 16:10,
13;
Hos 7:13;
Zeph 3:13;
Psa 5:7; 58:4
Dan 11:27;

lord.

(lines 40-50)

So may my lord hasten the archers or we must die. Because my lord has written to me, they know indeed that they are going to die, and so they seek to commit a crime. As to his having said before the king, "There is a pestilence in the lands," the king, my lord, should not listen to the words of other men. There is no pestilence in the lands,^c It has been over for a long t < i > me.⁴

(lines 51-59)

My lord knows that I do not write lies to my lord.^d All the mayors are not in favor of the archers' coming out, for they have peace. I am the one who wants them to come out, for I have distress.

(lines 60-65)

May the king, my lord, come out, visit his lands, and take all. Look, the day you come out, all the lands will be (re)joined to the king, my lord. Who will resist the troops of the king?

(lines 66-69)

May the king, my lord, not leave this year free (?) for the sons of Abdi-Aširta,⁵ for you know (?) all their acts of hatred (?) against the lands of the king.⁶ Who are they that they have committed a crime and killed the commissioner, Pewure?

¹ For the name, see Hess 1993a:132-134.

² See above 3.92A (EA 286), n. 3.

³ See EA 117:21-28.

⁴ For other versions, see Moran 1992:361, n. 10.

⁵ For this personal name, see Hess 1993a:10-12.

⁶ For the reading and other versions, see Moran 1992:361, n. 11.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Thureau-Dangin 1922; Rainey 1970a; 1978; Liverani 1998-99 1:207-208; Moran 1992.

LETTER OF LAB^aAYU OF SHECHEM (ŠAKMU) (EA 253) (3.92F)

William Moran

The Amarna archive preserved three letters from Lab^aayu (EA 252-254). In the first, he agrees, very reluctantly, to obey orders of the king he finds very distasteful; in the others, both apparently in reply to a letter from the Pharaoh questioning his loyalty, especially in his dealings with Gezer (Gazru),¹ he sets the record straight.

(lines 1-6)

To the king, my lord and my Sun: Thus Lab^aayu, your servant and the dirt on which you tread. I fall at the feet of the king, my lord, seven times and seven times.² ^a

(lines 7-10)

I have obeyed the orders that the king, my lord, wrote to me on a tablet.

^a Gen 43:28;
1 Sam 24:9;
Isa 60:14

^b Josh 10:33;
12:12; 16:3;
10; 21:21;
Judg 1:29;
2 Sam 5:25;
1 Kgs 15:17;
1 Chr 6:52;
7:28; 14:16;
20:4

(lines 11-17)

As [I am] (?) a servant of the king [like] (?) my [fathe]r (?) and my grandfather, a servant of the king from l[on]g a[g]o (?), I am not a rebel and I am not delinquent in duty.

(lines 18-25)

Here is my act of rebellion and here is my delinquency: when I entered Gezer (Gazru),^b I (spoke)

¹ See above 3.92B (EA 289).

² See above 3.92A (EA 286), n. 3.

as follows: "The king treats us kindly."³ ^c

(lines 25-31)

Now there is indeed no other purpose (for me) except the service of the king, and whatever the king orders, I obey.

^c Gen 33:11;
43:29;
Num 6:25;
2 Sam 12:22

(lines 32-35)

May the king keep me in [the char]ge (?) of my commissioner in order to guard the c[it]y (?) [of the king]. (?)

³ For another interpretation, see Moran 1992:307, n. 2.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: *EA* (VAB 2/1) 808-811; Hess 1993b:103-106; Liverani 1998-99 1:116; Moran 1992.

LETTER OF LAB²AYU OF SHECHEM (ŠAKMU) (*EA* 254) (3.92G)

William Moran

Lab²ayu again protests his utter loyalty, further elaborating the rhetoric of *EA* 253 (3.92F).

(lines 1-5)

To the king, my lord and my Sun. Thus Lab²ayu, your servant and the dirt on which you tread. I fall at the feet of the king, my lord and my Sun, seven times and seven times.¹ ^a

(lines 6-10a)

I have obeyed the order that the king wrote to me.

(lines 10b-15)

The fact is that I am a loyal servant of the king! I am not a rebel and I am not delinquent in duty. I have not held back my payments of tribute; I have not held back anything requested by my commissioner.

(lines 16-29)

He denounces me unjustly, but the king, my lord, does not examine my (alleged) act of rebellion.

^a Gen 43:28;
1 Sam 24:9;
Isa 60:14

^b Josh 10:33;
12:12; 16:3,
10; 21:21;
Judg 1:29;
2 Sam 5:25;
1 Kgs 15-17;
1 Chr 6:52;
7:28; 14:16;
20:4

^c 1 Sam 8:11-17

Moreover, my act of rebellion is this: when I entered Gezer (Gazru),^b I kept on saying, "Everything of mine the king takes,^c but where is what belongs to Milk-ilu?" I knew the actions of Milk-ilu against me!

(lines 30-37)

Moreover, the king wrote for my son.² I did not know that my son was consorting with the Apiru.³ I herewith hand him over to Addaya.

(lines 38-46)

Moreover, how, if the king wrote for my wife, how could I hold her back? How, if the king wrote to me, "Put a bronze dagger into your heart and die," how could I not execute the order of the king?⁴

¹ See above 3.92A (*EA* 286), n. 3.

² On the reading, see Moran 1992, *EA* 254, n. 4.

³ See above 3.92A (*EA* 286), n. 9.

⁴ On the hieratic document that follows, and its bearing on the chronology of the Amarna letters, see Moran 1992:xxxvii.

REFERENCES

Texts, translations and studies: *EA* (VAB 2/1) 810-813; *ANET* 486; Hess 1993b:107-111; Liverani 1998-99 1:116-117; Moran 1992.

3. KUMIDI

A LETTER TO ZALAIA (3.93)

William W. Hallo

While most of the diplomatic correspondence of the Amarna period was found at Amarna itself (see above 3.92A-G), some of it has turned up in excavations in the Levant. The following letter is known in two versions found in Lebanon at Kamid-el-Loz, the ancient Kumidi. (For other texts from the same site, see Huehnergard 1996:98). Judging by its conclusion, its royal author was presumably the pharaoh.

To Zalaia, the "man" (ruler) of Damascus, ^a speak ¹ : Thus (says) the king. ² Now I have had this letter (lit.: tablet) brought to you, my speaking (is) unto you. Further: send me the Habiru's ³ ^b (of) Amurru(?) about whom I wrote to you saying "I will assign them to the cities of the land of Kush ⁴ ^c for settling	^a Gen 15:2 etc. ^b Gen 14:13 etc. ^c Gen 10:6 etc. ^d Mal 1:11; Pss 50:1; 113:3	them in its midst in place of those (that) I had forcibly removed (from there)." Moreover: may you know that the king is well, like the sun in heaven, his many (foot-)soldiers (and) his chariot (forces) are very well, from the Upper Land to the Lower Land, (from) sunrise to sunset. ⁵ ^d
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¹ The other version has: "To Abdi-Milki, the 'man' of Shaza'ena, speak." Otherwise it is identical with the first version as far as preserved. Edzard weighs the possibility that this addressee is identical with the author of another Amarna letter (EA 203), Abdi-Milki of Shazhimi, a town east of the Sea of Galilee according to Moran 1992:392.

² I.e., the pharaoh, probably Amenophis III.

³ See above, COS 3.92A, n. 9.

⁴ *mat ka-a-sa* in the text. For the equation with Kush (= Nubia) in Amarna texts, see in detail Edzard 1970:58-60.

⁵ I.e. from south to north and from east to west. The whole conclusion is standard in Amarna letters from the Pharaoh to his vassals; cf. EA 99, 162, 367, 369f.

REFERENCES

Text: Edzard 1970.

4. APHEK

THE LETTER OF TAKUHLINA (3.94)

William W. Hallo

Relatively few cuneiform documents have so far been recovered from the soil of Israel/Palestine, but excavations continue to turn up more; see Hallo, *Origins* 161, for a provisional list.¹ The site of ancient Aphek, for example, has yielded eight texts and fragments dating to the very end of the Bronze Age (ca. 1200 BCE) as the following letter indicates. It originated in Ugarit and was destined for the Egyptian vizier who may have been stationed at Aphek. The writer of the letter may well be identical with Takuhlu/i known from documents found at Ugarit as the representative of Ugarit to the Hittite court at Hattusha, as well as with Takhulinu/a known from Ugarit as residing there and in Karkemish. The addressee may well be identical with the H(w)y who, among many other high offices, held the post of vizier and royal messenger to foreign lands under Ramesses II. In the last capacity, he may have served in Hattusha and could have met Takuhlina there. If both men had returned to their native lands by the time this letter was written, it may be that it never reached its destination, its journey to Egypt interrupted at Aphek during the unsettled days at the end of the 13th century.

To Haia the Great Man, ² my father, my lord, speak: Thus says Takuhlina the governor(?) of the land of Ugarit-city, your son, your servant. At the feet of my lord I fall. With my father, my lord, may it be well! May the gods of the Great King your lord and the gods of the land of Ugarit-city bless you and protect you! ^a My father — my wheat, 250 ² / ₆ (bushels of) wheat which Adduia gave in(to) the hand of Dur-shimati, in the city of Jappo ^b and my fathers ordered thus — 250 ² / ₆ (liters of) wheat let him give in(to) the hands of Adduia!	^a Num 6:24 ^b Josh 19:46; Jon 1:3, etc. ^c Isa 1:23	Secondly: My father - the wheat which you desire and which I have shipped to you and my request (requisition) which came before my father you have not (yet) given out. Now my father - my (most urgent) needs within my request ship to me! And my wheat may my lord give in(to) the hands of Adduia my emissary. And now: the money of Adduia the enemies have taken away, and may he appear before my father! and may my father investigate them! Now as a gift of greeting ³ ^c for my father
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¹ This list can be augmented by a find from Ashkelon; see Huehnergard and Van Soldt 1999. See also below, COS 3.115-118, 120, 122.

² The great man (LU.GAL) is the title of the local ruler, probably under Egyptian suzerainty, as at Kumidi; cf. above, and Edzard 1976:64.

³ Akk. *tulmānu*; cf. Finkelstein 1952.

100 (shekels of) blue wool and 10 (shekels of) red	wool I am sending you.
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REFERENCES

Owen 1981; Huehnergard and van Soldt 1999.

5. ASSYRIA

THE MURDER OF SENNACHERIB (3.95)

William W. Hallo

About three thousand letters have been recovered from the royal archives of the Sargonid Dynasty (721-609 BCE) at Nineveh. Half of them were published by Harper (1892-1914) under the title of *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters* (hence *ABL*), and translated by Waterman (1930-36) and, in part, by Pfeiffer (1935). The whole corpus is being reedited by the State Archives of Assyria (SAA) project (Helsinki); see for now SAA 1, 5, 8, 10, 13 and 15. From the contextual perspective, one of the most interesting is *ABL* 1091. Although published by Harper as long ago as 1911, its true significance was not discovered until 1979 when Simo Parpola presented his paper on "The murderer of Sennacherib" to the 26th Rencontre Assyriologique in Copenhagen (Parpola 1980). He showed that this letter to King Esarhaddon of Assyria (680-669 BCE) was a report on the intrigues surrounding the assassination of his father Sennacherib (704-681 BCE), and that it identified one of the assassins as an older son of the king by the name of Arad-Mullissu. From here it is only a relatively small step to the Adramelech of the Bible.

(Beginning lost; restorations not indicated as such)

Our Babylonian brothers ... Shulmu-ahhe(?) in the house of

When they heard about the conspiracy of ..., one among their number received(?) the royal order. When Nabu-shuma-ishkun¹ and Šillaia came, they asked him: "Your royal order — about whom is it?" He replied: "About Arad-Mullissu." They

α 2 Kgs
19:36f.;
Isa 37:37f.

covered his face with his cloak and stationed him before Arad-Mullissu himself, saying: "Read the tablet (and) recite what is in your mouth!" He then said as follows: "Arad-Mullissu your son will kill you!" After they had uncovered his face (and) Arad-mullissu had interrogated him, they killed him and his brothers.⁴

(Rest too fragmentary for translation)

"Letters from gods" represent a canonical sub-genre of correspondence; though never attested in duplicate copies, they sometimes carry a colophon and formed parts of libraries rather than archives. They occur as early as Old Babylonian times; see the survey by Keller 1991 and add Moran 1993. Among the seven or eight Neo-Assyrian examples known (Grayson 1983-4, Livingstone 1989:107-115), the following one has been regarded as referring to the murder of Sennacherib (von Soden 1990).

The great lord, the king of the gods, Ninurta, has sent me.

Speak to the prince, the instrument of my hand,² to the recipient of scepter, throne, and regalia, to the commander by my own authority; Thus says Ninurta, the great lord, the son of Enlil:

I am upset, I am wroth, I am angry [in my temple].

I am upset, who will ...?

I am wroth, who will ...?

I am angry in my temple, who will ...?

Surely [he has raised his hand?] against his begetter.

Where is the oath? The replacement for him whom we have killed?

(Remainder of the letter largely or wholly lost)

(The text concludes with a standard colophon of the library of Assurbanipal [668-627 BCE])³

¹ Probably to be identified with the son of Merodach-baladan (Marduk-apal-iddina) II and with the Nebosumishkun of the story of Ahiqar; see Dalley 2001:153.

² Lit., "the stretching forth of my hand."

³ See Hunger 1968 No. 319d).

REFERENCES

Text and studies: *ABL* 1091; Parpola 1980; Zawadski 1990; von Soden 1990; Hallo 1991a:162f., 1999:40f.

A LETTER REPORTING MATTERS IN KALAH (KALHU) (3.96)
(SAA 1.110)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This letter (NL 16; ND 2765; IM 64159) comes from Kalah (Nimrud) and dates between 720 and 715 BCE during the reign of Sargon II. Therefore its contents cannot refer to the aftermath of the campaign against Ashdod in 712/711 BCE (see note 1). Beside the issues regarding a festival that has recently been celebrated in the city and certain bull colossi that the governor, Marduk-rēmāni, had been placing in their appropriate locations, the letter also records the arrival of emissaries from the southern Levant and Egypt (including one from Judah), all bearing their tribute.

(lines 1-3) [To the king] my lord, [your servant M]arduk-rēm[anni]. ¹ [Good health] to the king, my lord.	α Gen 10:11-12 β 2 Kgs 18:17	(lines 20-24) Perhaps the king, [my] lord, [will say]: "(It is) hard work [...]" The work [...]; honestly, one cubit [...], bull colossi [...]
(lines 4-7) [The festi]val has been celebra[t]ed. The god [x] 'came out' (and) returned [in pe]ace. May Nabū and Marduk bless 'the king'.		(four lines are lost in a break)
(lines 8-15) As to the bull colossi about which the king, my lord, has written me, I have assigned (them). I have placed (them) at the [gate]s of the 'pala'ces ² (and) they are hewing (them). We will place the hewn colossi before the ... house ³ ; they will hew the large ones; (and) we will place (them) in front of the middle gate.		(lines 29-r.3) Let them draw (and) send me a sketch of [] [about which] I [spoke] to the 'king', my lord; (and) [I will plant] the saplings accordingly.
(lines 16-19) As for the 'hired men(?)' ⁴ of which I spoke to the 'king', my 'lord', I will make them responsible (and) return them to (work on) the colossi. We 'will place' (them) in front of the middle gate.		(lines r.4-14a) I have received 45 horses of the [pala]ce. ⁵ The Egyptian, Gazaite, Judahite, Moabite and Ammonite emissaries ⁶ entered Kalah ^a on the 12th day with their tribute ⁷ in their hands. The 24 horses of the Gazaite (emissary) were in his hands. The Edomite, [Ashdo]dite, and Ekronite ⁸ (emissaries) ⁹ [...] (lines r.14b-17) The Quean 'emissary' went out [...]; (and) is going [to] the Bow [river] ¹⁰ ; the [...] of the commander-in-chief (<i>turtānu</i>) ^b is with him.

¹ Postgate (1974:118) states: "A collation of l. 2 indicates that the author of the letter is named [m-]SID-rēm-[(an)-ni]; a man of this name is attested in 728 BCE as governor of Kalhu, and from the content of this letter it is clear that he was still the governor, the predecessor of Aššur-bāni. For this occurrence, see Postgate 1973:135 (#108.6-7): "SID-rēm-ni" (L) EN.NAM ša "kal-ḥa. The letter should be dated between about 720 and 715." See the hand copy of Parpola 1987:258 (110.2). However, Saggs (2001:220) states: "but MEŠ (sic) does not appear to be a possible reading of the traces. Another possible but uncertain restoration is [m-]abū-ba[li]-lī, for which name see ABL 577, obv. 15." For this letter, see SAA 1:70 (#75.15) where this Nabū-ballī is one of three possible candidates for appointment as household manager of the Assur temple. It seems unlikely that a household manager of the Assur temple would be the author of this letter reporting the particular contents that it records. A governor of Kalhu is the more likely the author. In addition, there appears to be space for one or two signs after the LID sign. Thus the reading [m-]MES-rēm-[(a)-ni] seems preferable. See PNA 2/2:720-721, #5; Postgate and Reade 1976-80:321. Aššur-bāni, the governor of Kalhu, was eponym for the year 713 (Millard 1994:47; see also PNA 1/1:158-159, #5). Thus the contents of this letter cannot refer to the results of the campaign against Ashdod in 712/711 BCE that some scholars have supposed included a campaign against Judah.

² Parpola 1987:92 reads: ina UGU 'x' MEŠ-te (11) ša 'E.GA' L.MEŠ ak-ta-ra-ar. Saggs 2001:219 reads: ina muḥḥi bā[bāti] meš-te ša meš-rabūte(GAL) meš ak-ta-ra-ar. See also CAD K 208 s.v. karāru.

³ Parpola 1987:92 reads: ina IGI É la DU.DU-ni. Saggs 2001:219 reads: ina pān bti la-ap-du-ni. Either reading is difficult.

⁴ Parpola 1987:92 reads: "As to the 'stone bulls' (INA³.AM³.MEŠ) of which I spoke to the 'king', my 'lord', they will modify them (ú-pa-ḥu'šū-nu) and turn them into bull colossi." Saggs 2001:219-221 reads: "Concerning the hired men (L)Ú?A?GÀR?.MEŠ) of which I spoke to the king my lord, I will make them responsible (ú-pa-al-šū-nu) (and) return them to (work on) the colossi." See also CAD A 2:165, #7.

⁵ See Parpola 1987:92 and esp. the copy on p. 258 (110:r.4).

⁶ MAH.MEŠ(širāni). For a discussion of this term, see Machinist 1983:723.

⁷ ma-da-na-t[e]-šū-nu. See Cogan 1974:118, n. 5 and Postgate 1974:118.

⁸ See Cogan 1974:118, n. 5.

⁹ See Millard 1992:36. To the same years may belong a wine list from Nimrud. See Dalley and Postgate 1984 #135.

¹⁰ Parpola (1987:92, n. to r.16) states: "Restore possibly [D].GIŠ.BAN, a river in the vicinity of Guzana, and cf. Tell Halaf 11:6." Postgate (1974:117) reads the entire sentence differently: LÜ.[M]AH aš-du-ud'-a-a (15) [x x (x)] URU.kal-ḥi ú-ša-a (16) [x x (x)] URU.zab-ban il-la-ka "The Ashdodite emissary went out of Kalhu and is going to Zabban."

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Saggs 1955:134-135, pl. xxxiii (NL 16); Postgate 1974:117-118 (reverse 4-17); Cogan 1974:118 (reverse 4-15); Parpola 1987:92-93 (#110); Saggs 2001:219-222, pl. xliii.

A LETTER CONCERNING THE GRAIN TAX OF THE SAMARIANS (3.97)
(SAA 1.220)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This letter has the horizontally oblong "report" format (Parpola 1987:170).

(lines 1-3) To Nabû-duru-ušur, a letter (lit. "tablet") from Aṛīḫū, ¹ good health to my son.	a 2 Kgs 17:4-6	men in charge are passive. They do not go to do their work. We cannot give them orders.
(lines 4-r.3) As to the grain tax ² of the Samaritans, ³ ^a my [lord] should s[end a report] — [whether] it [exists] [or not] — so that we may be content about (it). ⁴ The		(lines r.4-s.1) Since last year until now I have approached you repeatedly ⁵ concerning the incoming payments, ⁶ but we have not brought in any incoming payments. Now send a report whether it exists or not.

¹ PNA 1/1:131, #1. "Official in Laqê (reign of Sargon II) ... "a-ri-ḫi is mentioned in a fragmentary letter to the king as the person to whom the unknown sender of the letter is to be brought SAA 1 261:2' (not dated)."

² For this tax, see Postgate 1974:174-186; CAD N 2:351-352, s.v. *nusāḫū*.

³ KUR.sa-mīr-na-a-a.

⁴ Lit. "so that our heart may be good about (it)."

⁵ See CAD M 1:67.

⁶ Postgate translates "(corn) receipts" and notes that the meaning of *ēribu* here is very uncertain.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Parpola 1987:170 (#220); (ABL 1201 = BM 81-2-4,51); Postgate 1974:298; Becking 1992:107-108.

A REPORT ON WORK ON DŪR-ŠARRUKIN (3.98)
(SAA 15.280 = ABL 1065)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

(beginning 3-4 lines lost)	a 2 Kgs 17:6	
(lines 1'-10') [Concerning what the king], my lo[rd] wrote to me: "provide the [Sam]arians, ¹ ^a [as many as] are [in] your [ha]nds (with work) in Dūr-Šarrukin," ² I thereafter [sent (word) to] the sheikhs [say]ing: "gather [all] the carpenters and potters; let them come (and) [direc]t the deportees [who are in D]ūr-Šarrukin." (But) they did not consent to send (them) to me.		me, [al]l [the people who are] here [...] upon you, [...] upon [...], " [they would have se]nt forthwith [the craftsmen] (and) [they would have performed] the service ³ [for me].
(lines 11'-r.4a) [As verifica]tion, [I have sen]t letters [to] the sheikhs saying: "[if indeed you do not se]nd me craftsmen (and) they do not perform [service for]		(lines r.4b-7) Now (however), [following what the king], my lo[rd], sent to me (as instructions), [...] I do not argue at all with any of [the sheikhs]. (lines 8-15) I have appointed [the carpenters and po]tters [...]. [...] utensils of the house [...] [...] the king], my lord, [...] [...] from [...] [...] (remainder lost)

¹ The text reads: [LÚ.Sa-mī]r-i-na-a-a.

² The name of the new capital city built by Sargon II (modern Khorsabad), located in the province of Ḥalabḫa (biblical Halah of 2 Kgs 17:6).

³ A Neo-Assyrian letter shows that the inhabitants of Ḥalabḫa were obliged to perform *dullu*-duties. These were duties to work for the king. In Ḥalabḫa this meant the digging and the upkeep of the canals aiming at better irrigation of the land and the delivery of straw. See Postgate 1974:81, 83, 226-228.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: ABL 1065; Fuchs and Parpola 2001 #280; Parpola 1995.

B. CONTRACTS

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1. ALALAKH

SALE TRANSACTIONS (3.99)

THE PURCHASE OF BEER (AT 33) (3.99A)

Richard S. Hess

Found in 18th century BCE Alalakh Level VII, this text describes the purchase of jars of beer and the exchange of 135 silver shekels. There is a guarantor in the form of the debtors who must make good their provision of beer. They apparently remain bound to this debt for as long as any among them shall live. The concept of debts held for the life of a person is known elsewhere in the biblical world. They form a background for special provisions for general release from debts, whether as the Mesopotamian *andurārum* and *mēšarum* or the biblical Year of Release (Lev 25:39-42; Deut 15).

The payment (lines 1-4, 16)

1 [One] hundred thirty-five silver shekels,
2 according to the standard of Ḫalab (Aleppo),
3 from Ms. Sumunnabi
4 the citizens of A²irraše
16 have received:

The sellers (lines 5-12)

5 Šennakka,
6 Niqma-Addu, Neru,
7 Kusan, Muzi,
8 Išma^cada, Ḫirše,
9 Šerdiya, Akkulena,
10 Arundi, Teššup-bāni,
11 Puttal, Ḫaruh²ulla,
12 and Kusaḫ-atal,

The product sold (lines 13-15)

15 given
13 in exchange for one hundred thirty-[five jars of
royal beer]¹

14 according to the standard of Ḫalab.

Debt repayment (lines 17-20)²

17, 19b The survivor among these,
18 as a guarantor,
20 shall pay
19a the debt.

Witnesses (lines 21-26)

21 Ammi-ṭāba citizen of Karše,
22 Uštanila,
23 Zunna,
24 Weruzzi,
25 Sapsi-Addu, a groom,
26 Taḫšunada, a groom.

Date (lines 27-30)

27 In the month of Mešari,³
28 the year when Irkabtum became king,
29-30 and the town of Naštarbi rebelled.

¹ This restoration is based on a parallel text in AT 34 line 5. See Tsevat 1958:116. One jar of royal beer for one shekel is standard in these texts; see Zeeb 1991:415.

² This passage is difficult as it appears to contain legal terms and formula. It would appear that this is a case of corporate liability for the debt incurred. Repayment remains an obligation as long as the debtors live. See Zeeb 1991:418.

³ [This month name, attested only here, suggests that such debt-release was practiced at Alalakh too; for *andurārum* see AT 65 (below, 3.100)] [Ed.].

REFERENCES

Copies: AT pl. xi; Zeeb 1991:436. Transliteration: Zeeb 1991:414-415. Translation: AT 43; Zeeb 1991:414-415.

SALE OF A TOWN (AT 52) (3.99B)

Richard S. Hess

This is one of several texts at Alalakh from Level VII in which towns are bought and sold (see AT 53-58). In this case a woman and her son, and therefore the one living heir, sell the town of Iburia to Yarimlim of Alalakh. The sale of towns recalls their use in payment from Solomon to Hiram (1 Kgs 11:11) and as a wedding gift from pharaoh to Solomon (1 Kgs 9:16-17). See also AT 1 (COS 2.127) and AT 456 (COS 2.137).

Sales agreement (lines 1-15)

1 As for the town of Iburia
 2 in its full extent
 3 and its tax exempt status,
 4 from Hebat-muḫḫirne
 5 and her son Abiadu,
 6 Yarim-Lim,
 7 leader of Alalakh,
 15 has bought
 8 for one thousand silver shekels,
 9 one thousand *parisu*-measures of barley,
 10 one thousand *parisu*-measures of emmer,
 11 six po[ts] of wine,
 12 ten pots of oil,
 13 [together] with their gifts(?)¹
 14 for the full price.

Satisfaction of both parties (lines 16-17)² *a*

16 They are satisfied. Their heart

a Gen 1:4,
 10, 12, 18,
 21, 25, 31;
 Deut 3:25

17 is well.

Penalty for breaking the agreement (lines 18-21)

18 Whoever overturns (the agreement),
 21 shall pay
 19 as much silver and gold (as was the purchase price) to the (temple of the) god Addu,
 20 and as much silver and gold (as was the purchase price) to the palace.

Witnesses (lines 21-25)³

22 Atri-Addu an administrator,
 23 Išmi-Dagan an administrator,
 24 Wirikiba a governor,
 25 Gi[]

Date (lines 26-28)

26 In the month of Kirari, on the fifth day,
 27 the year Niqmepuḫ became king,
 28 the year of the plague⁴ ...

¹ Wiseman leaves untranslated; Kienast (1980a:51 n. 13) derives from *taqānu* and renders, "Geschenk."

² In this agreement this clause suggests that there are no further claims or expectations regarding the sale. The use of *ta-a-ab* in line 17 may be compared to the wide use of Heb. "יָבִ" in biblical contexts related to the covenantal work of God in creation (Gen 1:4, 10, 12, 18, 21, 25, 31) and his covenantal gifts (e.g., Deut 3:25).

³ In contrast to other sales and witnessed documents from Alalakh, this one names only high officials. No doubt this is a reflection of the important nature of the document.

⁴ The same notation occurs later at Emar, perhaps again to justify transactions concluded under stress; cf. e.g. Beckman 1996:184: *i-na mu-ti ša mu-ta-ni*.

REFERENCES

Copy: AT pls. xiii-xiv. Transliteration: Kienast 1980a:51. Translation: AT 47; Kienast 1980a:51.

MANUMISSIONS

RECEIPT FOR THE PURCHASE OF A DEBT SLAVE (AT 65) (3.100)

Richard S. Hess

This level VII tablet records the purchase of a debt slave. Debt slavery was well known in the ancient Near East. The use of the *andarārum* was a special dispensation that allowed all those in debt to be freed of their debts. In order to circumvent this possibility, Sumunnabi had a special clause written into the agreement. Perhaps this type of permanent servitude, with no exclusions, was what Leviticus 25:39-42 addressed. It required release of all those in debt during the Year of Jubilee. See also the usage of the Hebrew cognate, *d'rôr*, in Isaiah 61:1; Jeremiah 34:8, 15, 17; Ezekiel 46:17. See Wright 1990:123-128, 249-258; Hess 1994a:203.

Purchase (lines 1-5)

1 Twenty-three and one third silver shekels
 2 are debited against Ugaia.
 3 For service in her household
 4 Ms. Sumunnabi
 5 has purchased (her).

Exclusion clause (lines 6-7)

6 At a general release
 7 she may not be released.¹

Witnesses (lines 8-12)

8 Diniaddu,
 9 Zunna,
 10 Irkabtum,
 11 *šangû*-priest of Ishtar,
 12 Irpa-Addu.

Date (lines 13-15)

13 In the year of Irkabtum,
 14 in the month of Addanati,
 15 on the seventeenth day.

¹ *ina an-da-ra-ri-im ul i-na-an-da-ar*.

REFERENCES

Copy: *AT* pl. xviii. Transliterations: (partial) *AT* 50; Klengel 1963:11; Kienast 1980a:63; (partial) Loretz 1984:138 n 283. Translations: *AT* 50; Klengel 1963:11; Kienast 1980a:63.

MARRIAGE AGREEMENTS

PALACE RECEIPT FOR THE RETURN OF A MARRIAGE GIFT (*AT* 17) (3.101A)

Richard S. Hess

This text comes from the Middle Babylonian level (Level IV). Although Finkelstein (1969:546) describes the document as the "Abrogation of a Marriage Agreement," that is not its focus nor even is it clear that a marriage agreement is ended. Instead, a traitor is executed and the property is confiscated by the king who must return a marriage gift to the traitor's son-in-law. Although the marriage laws of Halab (Aleppo) are not known, the practice of royal confiscation of the property of someone executed for treason has parallels in the Middle Assyrian laws and in 1 Kings 21. See Westbrook 1991:122-124.

1 Seal of Niqmepa:	a 2 Chr 11:23	14 and two bronze daggers.
2 Šatuwa, the son of Suwa and a citizen of Luba,	b 1 Kgs 21:1-16	15 As of today,
3 asked ¹ a Abra for (the hand of) his daughter		16 Niqmepa has satisfied Šatuwa.
4 so that she might become Šatuwa's daughter-in-law.		17 In the future, Šatuwa [cannot] claim
5 According to the laws of Halab,		18 any m[ore possessions].
6 Šatuwa gave Abra a marriage gift.		<i>Witnesses</i> (lines 19-23)
7 Abra then		19 Abu,
8 turned into a criminal ² b		20 Kuša-ibri a š[angû-priest],
9 and was executed for his crime.		21 Dura son of ...,
10 His estate was confiscated by the palace.		22 Ir-Kabtu, Irihalpa,
11 Šatuwa		23 Zitia, Šarruwa, the scribe.
12 came and, according to what		<i>Seal</i>
13 belonged to him, he reclaimed six talents of copper		1 [I]drimi,
		2 [ser]vant of Addu.

¹ The expression, "to ask for the hand of," in terms of marriage, is also found in Elephantine documents and 2 Chr 11:23. See Loewenstamm 1980:25 n. 51.

² *bel mašiktu*. The expression *mašiktu* occurs in the Idrimi inscription (COS I.148, line 4), where it denotes the political troubles that forced Idrimi to leave the country. See Loewenstamm 1980:25-26 who compares 1 Kgs 21:1-16 and the story of Naboth. Naboth was also accused of treason and executed, and the king confiscated his property.

REFERENCES

Copy: *AT* pl. ix. Transliteration: *AT* 40. Translation: *AT* 40; Landsberger 1954:60 n. 129; Finkelstein 1969:546.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS (*AT* 92) (3.101B)

Richard S. Hess

This is an important Level IV text for understanding marriage customs in Late Bronze Age Alalakh. Unfortunately, it is fragmentary and difficult to interpret due to grammatical anomalies. Apparently this is a "pre-nuptial agreement" that provides for contexts in which the wife may offend the husband and thereby cause a divorce. The settlement of the divorce is envisioned and different for each case (lines 6'-14').¹ As in so many other marriage documents from the second millennium BCE (especially from Hurrian cultures such as Nuzi), barrenness was unacceptable for the marriage and resulted in an alternative woman, in this case the wife's niece, being brought into the relationship for purposes of giving birth to an heir. This has parallels with the concern of Abraham for an heir (Gen 12-20) and with

¹ See Malul 1988:111-112; Rowe and van Soldt 1998:133 n. 21.

Sarah's suggestion of Hagar as a substitute mother (Gen 16). Further, this implies that the special inheritance of the first-born son could be legally transferred to someone else (Mendelsohn 1959), as with Abraham's adoption of Eliezer (Gen 15:2-3) and Jacob's choices of Joseph instead of Reuben (Gen 48:14, 22; 49:3-4) and of Ephraim instead of Manasseh (Gen 48:13-14).

Legal creation of a sister (aḥātu) (lines 1'-5')

1' [lw]aššura []
2' [has g]iven. If []
3' [] daughter of Ku[p]šer
4' [If,] regarding his daughter, Kupšer ...
5' he has given the status of a sister [t]o his daughter.

Divorce for abuse (lines 6'-9')

6' If Naidu rej[ect]s(?) Iri-ḥalpa
7' and drives her away,² then the
8' young woman retains her bride price, (and)
9' whatever
of her father's house is assigned to her. She(!)
will leave.

Divorce for insults(?) (lines 10'-14')

10' If the bride
11' pulls at his nose,
12' she(!) must return the bride price but whatever

belongs to her father's house

13' which she(!) brought and was assigned to her,
14' she(!) will keep. She will leave.

Barrenness (lines 15'-20')

15' If Naidu has not given birth to an heir, then the
daughter of her brother,
16' Iwaššura, shall be given (to Iriḥalpa).
17' If Tatadu(?)
18' gives birth first for Iri-ḥalpa, and afterwards
19' Naidu gives birth, then
20' the older(?) woman shall not be given anything
... god []

Inheritance (lines 21-24)

21' If Naidu should die, and she(!) does not have
22' a son or daughter or bride price,
23' everything of the [young woman's]
24' from her father's house ...

² For the translation of this line as here, see Speiser 1954:24-25. Speiser notes that there is a confusion of the gender of pronouns throughout this document. He suggests it may reflect the absence of grammatical gender in Hurrian.

REFERENCES

Copy: AT pl. xxiii. Transliteration: AT 55. Translation: AT 54-55.

SEVEN YEARS OF BARRENNESS BEFORE A SECOND WIFE (AT 93) (3.101C)

Richard S. Hess

This text, from Level IV, compares with the manner in which Jacob worked seven years for Laban before he was allowed one of his daughters as a wife (Gen 29:15-35). However, there are significant differences because with Jacob the issue was not barrenness but his desire for Rachel.

1 x x du 2 From this day, before [Niqmepa the king:] 3 The daughter of Ilmili, 4 Zunzuri, Idat[ti(?)] 5 has taken for a wife. 6 Two hundred shekels of silver and thirty she- kels of gold	7 he has given as a bride price. 8 [I]f she does not give birth after seven years, 9 he (Idat[ti]) may take a second wife. 10 [] his (bridal price?) for the second wife 11 [] he shall give it 12 to the palace.
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REFERENCES

Copy: AT pl. xxiii. Translation: AT 55.

LOAN TRANSACTIONS

SECURITY FOR A LOAN (AT 18) (3.102A)

Richard S. Hess

AT 18-28 are all Old Babylonian documents from Alalakh level VII. They describe *mazzazzānūtu* or stand-ins, people who function as security deposits until a debt owed to the king is paid. This has been compared to those who dwell in the house of the Lord (similar phrasing) in the Psalms (e.g., Pss 23:6; 27:4). The translation of AT 18 follows the readings of Zeeb (1992:452) who incorporates readings from thirteen lines found on the tablet case (AT 39/184, 2+3) but not on the tablet itself.

1 Seal of Ammiaddu.	silver.
2 One-third mina and one shekel of silver	Witnesses
3 belonging to king Ammitaku	19 Ewirikiba ³ a royal official,
4 is debited against Ammiaddu, a fowler.	20 the Ishtar <i>šangū</i> -priest,
5 Ayašarri and Bendiaddu,	21 Talmammu,
6 the sons of Ammiaddu,	22 Immeri,
7 his wife and his sons,	
8 he gave.	23 Hirše son of a <i>šangū</i> -priest,
9 In correspondence to this silver	24 [A] ¹ [dai]šlubar.
10 for security	
12 they are to remain	25 In the month of [Att]annatim,
11 in the house of Ammitaku. ¹	26 during the ye[ar] I[arim]lim became kin[g].
13 They are fowlers of the king.	
14 Other than the king at the palace	27 The seal of Weri[kiba],
17 there is no one	28 the seal of Adaišlubar, the seal of a <i>šangū</i> -
15 else	priest,
16 who must be supported. ²	29 the seal of Niqmepa, the seal of []
17-18 During his lifetime he will pay the	

¹ Zeeb (1992:452) translates, "in der Wirtschaftseinheit des Ammitaquum."

² Zeeb (1992:452, 454) restores from the case, *ša it-ta[-na-šu-ū]*. This is understood to forbid any possible obligation on the part of the debtor to provide a similar debt servitude to anyone else as long as the present obligation is in force. If this is the correct understanding of this text, and if this practice was consistent in Alalakh and in Israelite society, then Zeeb (1995:653-654) may be correct in comparing Amos' attack on Israelite society in Amos 2:6-8 in terms of this sort of debt servitude. Forbidden to sell such "security deposits" into slavery, that is just what the rich Israelites were doing to their fellow citizens. Forbidden to use these people for other than services of debt servitude, the wealthy Israelites turned the women into sex objects.

³ Ewirikiba, a Hurrian name whose first element, the Hurrian word for "lord," may resemble a form of the first element in the name of the individual from whom David bought the threshing floor and where Solomon built the Temple: Arawanna. The metathesis of the "r" and the "w" may be a scribal error, further demonstrating that the Heb. scribes were unfamiliar with the name and unclear how to record it. Compare the different spellings of the name in Kings and Chronicles and in the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint.

REFERENCES

Copies: AT pl. ix; Zeeb 1992:477. Transliteration: Eichler 1973:66; Zeeb 1992:452. Translation: (summary) AT 40; Eichler 1973:67; Zeeb 1992:453. See also Klengel 1963.

TRANSFER OF CREDITORS (AT 28) (3.102B)

Richard S. Hess

This Level VII text describes the debt owed by the fowlers (lines 1-4) and their family. The debt is transferred from one creditor (Kurbišan) to another (Ammitaku).

The debtors (lines 1-5)

1 Ašma-Addu son of Inakabiti,	3 Zuherasi,
2 Wikken,	4 (and) Ta ² uzen,
	5 the fowlers.

The change of creditors (lines 6-12)

6 Regarding the principal investment of thirty silver shekels,
 7 Kurbišan son of Niminašu
 8 has seized them.
 9 Ammitaku
 12 then took them
 10 for thirty silver shekels
 11 from Kurbišan.

Reaffirmation of the debt (lines 13-23)

13 The principal of thirty silver shekels

14 is debited against Ašma-Addu,
 15 Yikken,
 16 Zuherasi,
 17 Ta²uze,
 18 and against their wives
 19 and their sons
 20 is the silver of the security.¹
 21, 24 One among them will pay the silver
 22 that belongs to Ammitaku, the king
 23 of Alalakh.²

¹ On *mazzazzānim* compare AT 18 above (3.102A), line 10. AT 18-28 all describe this surety that is pledged until the debt may be paid.

² Wiseman (AT 18) and Eichler (1973:72) read these lines on the left edge of the tablet, "He who raises a claim shall have lead poured into his mouth." Zeeb (1993:467) does not read these lines on either the photo or copy used by him. A 13 February 1997 collation of this tablet did not reveal any evidence of writing on the left edge of the tablet. These lines do not exist on this tablet.

REFERENCES

Copies: AT pl. x; Zeeb 1993:472. Transliteration: Eichler 1973:71-72; Zeeb 1993:464-465. Translation: AT 42; Eichler 1973:72; Zeeb 1993:464-465. The transliteration followed here is that of Zeeb.

2. PROPERTY CONVEYANCES FROM UGARIT

Michael Heltzer

There are several hundred property conveyances from Ugarit, dating from the 14th to the beginning of the 12th centuries BCE. This is a representative selection of documents of various aspects of property conveyances, including land sales and purchases, mortgages, land grants, and donations for royal service.

LAND SALES AND PURCHASES

LAND PURCHASE TEXT (3.103)

(Ugaritica 5.6 = RS 17.149)

Munaḥimu¹ — the scribe.

From the present day on, before witnesses, Rashap-abu and Pidḏa, his wife, have purchased 4 *ikū* fields, with olive grove with its slaves, with its (fruit) trees, among the fields of Ša²u² from Yari-manu, son of Ḥuzamu, for 400 (shekels) of silver.³ The fields (and) olive-grove are bound like the sunny day⁴ to Rashap-abu and Pidḏa, his wife, and to their sons forever. If in future Yari-manu and

his sons rescind their decision,⁵ he is liable for 1 thousand (shekel) of silver. And the fields (be-long) to Rashap-abu and Pidḏa. And if Rashap-abu and his wife rescind their decision, so this land re-mains for them.⁶ Further: formerly these fields were of Izalda, the father of Pidḏa, and now the fields are returned to Pidḏa and Rashap-abu.⁷

Witness: Abu, son of Ḥagbanu, Witness: Na²am-Rashap,⁸ son of Guddanu, Witness: Abdi-Milki,

¹ The name Munaḥimu means "The consoler." Common West Semitic name. Cf. Heb. *M^cnaḥem* (2 Kgs 15:14-23).

² A well-known village of the kingdom of Ugarit. See below, 3.106, n. 2.

³ The Ug. shekel was ca. 9.5 g.

⁴ The phrase, *šamid ina šamši ūmi*, was a legal formula binding the property to its new owner. See COS 3.106, n. 5 below.

⁵ Lit. "from their heart."

⁶ Nougayrol translates: "il en ira de même pour eux."

⁷ It seems that the former owner, or his descendent had the right to buy before other buyers. Possibly, Izalda lost his land because of economic reasons and now Pidḏa, his daughter and her husband, Rashap-abu, are returning it to the family.

⁸ The name Na^cam-Rashap means "(the god) Rashap is pleasing." Cf. Abdi-Rashap.

son of Shumu-ramu,⁹ Witness: Abdi-Nikal,¹⁰ son of | Pi³daya, Witness: Munahimu, son of Shapidanu.

⁹ The name Shumu-ramu means "The name (of the God) is high."

¹⁰ The name Abdi-Nikal means "Servant (slave) of (the goddess) Nikkal." This was an Ug. deity whose name is of Sum. origin.

REFERENCES

Text and studies: Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* 5.6 (RS 17.149); Heltzer 1976:100-101.

LAND PURCHASE TEXT (3.104)¹
(RS 8.213)

From the present day on, before witnesses, Yashinu, son of Addulanu, freed the *dimtu*² which is between the fields of Huppattu³ with the fields of Shuqalu,⁴ its olive-trees with its orchards (and) vineyards for 400 (shekels) of silver⁵ from the hands of Aziranu and Abdi-Adati,⁶ son of Buranu. Further, if in future Aziranu and Abdi-Adati, son of Buranu, and their sons (and) grandsons change

their decision,⁷ they shall pay 1 talent of silver⁸ to the king.

And if Yashinu and his sons change their mind about the bronze objects⁹ — they have to pay 1 talent of silver to the king.¹⁰

(Names of ten witnesses and the scribe).

¹ Published by Thureau-Dangin 1937. No date is given in the text.

² Akk. *dimtu* "tower, watchtower, fortified dwelling" is used here for the entire estate. In this case it included the landed property with all farm buildings.

³ A well-known village settlement of the kingdom of Ugarit.

⁴ Shuqalu was a village in the kingdom of Ugarit.

⁵ The Ug. shekel was ca. 9.5 g.

⁶ The name Abdi-Adati means "Servant (slave) of the Lady" — *Adatu* — "Lady" in Ug. and Phoen. Here *Adatu* is an epithet of a goddess.

⁷ Lit. "from their heart."

⁸ The Ug. talent consisted of 3000 shekels or ca. 30 kg.

⁹ Lit. "shall return to the bronze objects."

¹⁰ Despite the fact that we see here the redeeming of the lands of Yashinu, which were formerly given over to mortgage, the fee for changing the mind of the parties had to be given to the king. It seems that the equivalent of 400 shekels of silver was paid in bronze vessels.

REFERENCES

Thureau-Dangin 1937; RS 8.213.

FORECLOSURE AND REDISTRIBUTION OF LAND (3.105)
(*Ugaritica* 5.9 = RS 17.61)

From the present day on, before witnesses: the governor,¹ Irib-Ilu² of Riqdi,³ has taken the house, the fields (and) all that belongs to her,⁴ from the daughter of Yaknu and the daughter of [...]yabi,

the *nayyālu*,⁵ and has given it to Abdi-Yarah,⁶ son of Kum-U,⁷ for 300 (shekels) of silver.⁸ The fields are bound. In the future, nobody shall take them from the hands of Abdi-Yarah, and from his sons.

¹ MAŠKIM normally in Akk. *rābišu*, but in Akk. at Ugarit *sākinu*, the equivalent of Ug. *skn*.

² The name Irib-Ilu means "(the god) Ilu is the guarantor," or "adversary," or "fighter." Cf. the Heb. personal name *Yarīb* (1 Chr 4:24; Ezra 8:16; etc.).

³ A village of the kingdom of Ugarit.

⁴ The person from whom the real estate is being taken is a woman.

⁵ *Nayyālu*, a person who did not perform tax or royal service obligations (Heltzer 1982a:19-21). There are other texts about *nayyālu* at Ugarit.

⁶ The name Abdi-Yarah means "Servant (slave) of Yarah," the West Semitic moon-god. Cf. Heb. *Yarēah* "moon, month" and *Y'riḥō* "Jericho" (named after the Canaanite moon-god).

⁷ The last sign of this name designates a deity. The reading in Akk. is not clear.

⁸ It seems that the governor of one of the largest villages of Ugarit took this action by permission of the king. The silver was given to the governor, but it had to be handed over to the king.

Witness: Tuppiyānu, son of Arsuwanu. Witness: Imidanu, son of Kuzani. Witness: Abdum, son of Abdi-Rashap. ⁹ Witness: Ili-Rashap, ¹⁰ son of Tuba-	nu. Witness: Abdi-Rashap, son of Tubbitenu; Witness: Abdi-Asharti, ¹¹ son of Yanhammu. The seal of Irib-ilu, Ilu-Milku, ¹² the scribe.
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⁹ The name Abdi-Rashap means "Servant (slave) of Rashap," the West-Semitic deity of war, pestilence and fire. Cf. Ug. *Ršp*. Heb. *Rešef* (Ps 78:48; Job 5:7; Deut 32:24; etc.).

¹⁰ The name Ili-Rashap means "My God is Rashap." Cf. previous note.

¹¹ The name Abdi-Asharti means "Servant (slave) of (the goddess) Ashartu." Cf. Ug. ²*lrt*; Heb. ²*ašērāh* (2 Kgs 21:7; 23:6, 15; etc.).

¹² The name Ilu-Milku means "(the god) Ilu is the King." Cf. Abdi-Milku and the Heb. personal name ²*Elīmelek* (Ruth 1:2; 2:1, 3; etc.).

REFERENCES

Text and studies: Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* 5.9 (RS 17.61); Heltzer 1976:55-57.

LAND SALE (3.106)
(*Ugaritica* 5.159 = RS 17.86)

From the present day on, before witnesses, Iliya, son of Siniya, and Padiya, his brother, and his sons sold 4 (<i>ikū</i>) ¹ which are among the fields of Ša ² u ² for 180 (shekels) of silver ³ to Sharelli, ⁴ the queen. (These) 4 (<i>ikū</i>) fields are bound like the sunny day ⁵ to Sharelli, the queen, ⁶ forever.	^a Gen 41:43	Witness: Šipit-Ba ⁷ al. ⁷ Witness: Shubammu. Witness: Abdi-Milki, ⁸ son of Yakunu. Witness: Anantenu, son of Binanu. Witness: Matenu, major-domo ⁹ of the queen. Witness: Abdi-Yarah, the scribe.
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¹ *ikū* = ca. 0.35 hectares.

² A well-known village of the kingdom of Ugarit. See above, 3.103, n. 2.

³ The price of 1 *ikū* was usually 45 shekels of silver, ca. 400 g.

⁴ Queen Sharelli was the wife of King Ibiranu (1235-1225 BCE) and the queen mother at the time of Niqmaddu III (1225/1220-1215 BCE); see Singer 1999:291f.

⁵ See note 4 to RS 17.149 (above 3.103).

⁶ The queen at Ugarit had to conform to all of the formalities like any other person purchasing land.

⁷ The name Šipit-Ba⁷al means "(the god) Ba⁷al is the ruler" or "judge."

⁸ The name Abdi-Milki means "Servant (slave) of the King." Milk(u) — one of the epithets of the god Ilu.

⁹ *Abarakku*. The queen Sharelli had her own palace and treasury.

REFERENCES

Text and studies: Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* 5.159 (RS 17.86); Heltzer 1976:94-95.

LAND GRANTS AND DONATIONS

LAND DONATION FOR SERVICE RENDERED (3.107)
(*PRU* VI 30 = RS 18.500)

From the present day on, Ammistamru, son of Niqmepa, king of Ugarit, ¹ has taken the houses and fields of Abutenu and given them to Abdi-Ḥagab, ²	son of Šapidanu, and his sons forever. And the <i>pilku</i> ³ -service of tradership ⁴ he has to perform. ⁵ Next: while Abdi-Ḥagab performs this <i>pilku</i> -service
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¹ Ammistamru II (ca. 1260-1235 BCE).

² The name Abdi-Ḥagab means "Servant (slave) of Ḥagab," one of the minor gods of Ugarit.

³ The term *pilku* refers to royal service for land donation or to the land allotment itself (Heltzer 1982b; Huehnergard 1987).

⁴ The word *tamkāru* ("trader", "merchant") refers in this case to the royal trader (Heltzer 1978:122-123).

⁵ The land is given by the king to a royal trader and his descendants on condition of performing tradership (*tamkārātu*) service.

of tradership, nobody shall take from the hands of Abdi-Hagab and from the hands of his sons (and) grandsons (the houses and fields) forever.

The great seal of the king.⁶
Ilu-ramu,⁷ the scribe.

⁶ The impression of the royal dynastic seal is stamped before the beginning of the text.

⁷ The name Ilu-ramu means "God is high."

REFERENCES

Text: PRU VI 30 (RS 18.500).

LAND DONATION BY THE KING (3.108)
(PRU III 15.Z)

From the present day on, Niqmaddu,¹ son of Ammistamru, king of Ugarit² has taken the house of Yatarmu, son of Sharupshu, and the fields of Šariru with all that they have, and has given them to Bin-ilu, Yaširu, and Abi-irshi,³ and their sons forever. In future nobody shall take (it) from their

hands. It is a grant forever.

The seal of Niqmaddu, son of Ammistamru, king of Ugarit.

First the king gave them and, secondly, 200 (shekels) of silver they shall give to the king.⁴

¹ Ug. *Nqmd*, **Nqm*(^c)*d* "(the god) Addu (Hadad) avenges."

² Niqmaddu III reigned ca. 1225/1220-1215 BCE.

³ The name Abi-irshi means "My Father (i.e. God) will inherit."

⁴ It is not clear whether this is a land sale by the king to these three persons, or whether this is a paid land grant that was connected with some kind of service.

REFERENCES

Text: PRU III 15.Z.

ROYAL LAND GRANT (3.109)
(PRU III 15.136)

From the present day on, before Ammistamru, son of Niqmepa, king of Ugarit,¹ Kalbiya, son of Kabityanu, has released 6 *ikū* fields,² around the fields of the city³ for 520 (shekels) of silver⁴ to Kurwanu,⁵ son of Ba²al-azki and to his sons. These fields are granted⁶ to Kurwanu and to his sons forever. No person shall take away these fields

from the hands of Kurwanu, or from the hands of his sons forever. And there is no *pilku*-service from these fields.

The seal of Ammistamru, son of Niqmepa, king of Ugarit.

Ya²adidu, the scribe.

¹ Ammistamru II reigned ca. 1260-1235 BCE.

² Ca. 2.1 hectares.

³ Possibly, fields which administratively belonged to the capital city, Ugarit.

⁴ This is the highest price for land known from Ugarit and possibly from Western Asia in the 2nd millennium BCE: 87.5 (shekels) for 1 *ikū*. Possibly, the high price for the land and the fact of its sale, where the king received at least a part of the sum, indicate that the land was not service-land, and that the land was in the very near vicinity of the capital city of Ugarit. See Heltzer 1978:116.

⁵ Kurwanu is a Hurrian name.

⁶ *Šamid*.

REFERENCES

Text: PRU III 15.136.

ROYAL LAND GRANT (3.110)
(PRU III 16.153)

From the present day on, Ammistamru, son of Niqmepa, king of Ugarit ¹ has given to Yaširanu, son of Ḥušanu, the village (<i>ālu</i>) E[–]lish with everything it has forever, (also) to his sons and grandsons. Its grain, its beer (<i>šikaru</i>) ² of its (the	village's) tithe, and the sheep — the pasturing tax (<i>ma-aq-qa-du</i>) ³ shall be for Yaširanu. The silver of the gifts and silver of the bridegroom's friend and service boys (<i>sú-sa-pi-in-nu-ti</i>) ⁴ shall be for Yaširanu. ⁵
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¹ Ammistamru II reigned ca. 1260-1225 BCE.
² *Šikaru*. Akk. "beer" (from barley or dates).
³ *Maʾaqqadu* was pasturing tax. Cf. Heltzer 1982:18; 1974.
⁴ *Susapinnūtu* "friend-of-the-bridegroom service; participating in the ceremony." It was taxed. See CAD S 416; Malul 1989.
⁵ Yaširanu thus received all the service obligation including the tithe from the whole village for himself. On the tithe at Ugarit, see also above 3.82-83.

REFERENCES

Text: PRU III 16.153.

3. NEO-ASSYRIAN CONTRACTS*

SALE OF THREE SLAVES (3.111)
(SAA 6 #34)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This text is dated by eponym to 709 BCE (Mannu-kī-Aššur-lē²i, see Millard 1994:47). It records the sale of three slaves (two men and a woman) to a chariot driver named Šumma-ilāni (known from other texts). Another chariot driver, Nadbi-Yau (*ʿna-ad-bi-ia-a-ū*), is also mentioned; his name contains the Yahwistic theophoric element. He serves as a witness to the transaction.

(lines 1-2) Seal of D[agan-milki], the owner of the people being [sold]. (blank seal space) (lines 3-4) Immannū, ¹ the woman U[n...]ni, and Milki-uri, a total of 3 persons.	contracted and taken them from Dagan-milki ³ for 3 minas of silver by the mina of Carchemish. ⁴ (lines 10-13a) The money is paid completely. Those people are purchased and taken. Revocation, lawsuit (or) litigation are void. (lines 13b-r.5) Whoever in the future, at any time, lodges a complaint (or) obstructs, whether Dagan-milki, or his brothers or his nephews or any relative of his or
(lines 5-9) Šumma-ilāni, chariot driver of the royal corps, ² has	

* For discussions of the genre and particular formulae of Neo-Assyrian contracts, see Postgate 1976; 1997; Radner 1997:316-356; 2001:265-288.
¹ See PNA 2/1:538.
² Written ʿKA.KÉŠ.LUGAL. The determinative must be a scribal error. Hence simply *kišir šarrūti* (the Assyrian "home army") seems to be intended. See Kwasman 1988:201. For the *kišir šarrūti*, see Dalley and Postgate 1984:27-47; Matila 2000:149-157.
³ PNA 1/2:366.
⁴ For the mina of Carchemish, see Fales 1996:16-17; Powell 1996; Radner 1999a:130-131. For possible historical contexts for this mina's use, see Müller 1997:120. For the price(s) paid for slaves, see Radner 1997:230-248.

anyone powerful, (and) seeks lawsuit or litigation with Šumma-ilāni, his sons (or) his grandsons, shall pay (Reverse) [x min]as of silver and 1 mina of gold to Ištar of Arbela, and shall return the money tenfold to its owners. He shall contest in his lawsuit, but shall not succeed.

(lines 6-12)

Witness: Addā,⁵ the scribe;

Witness: Aḫi-rāmu,⁶ ditto;

α 1 Chr 3:18

Witness: Paqaḫa,⁷ village inspector/manager⁸;
Witness: Nadbi-Yau,⁹ a chariot driver;
Witness: Bēl-ēmuranni¹⁰;
Witness: Bin-dikiri¹¹;
Witness: Tab-šar-Issar;
Witness: Tabni, the keeper of the tablet;

(lines 13-14)

Month of Ab, day 20, eponymy (*limmu*) of Mannu-ki-Aššur-lē¹²i.

⁵ A scribe from Dūr-Šarrukīn (reign of Sargon II). See *PNA* 1/1:43-44; Fales 1991:111.

⁶ A scribe from Kalḫu (reign of Sargon II). See *PNA* 1/1:67.

⁷ Perhaps the same individual mentioned in TFS 99 i.2. See Dalley and Postgate 1984:171, n. i.2.

⁸ For this same office, LÚ.GAL-URU.MEŠ (*rab dāni*), "village inspector/manager," see Kwasman and Parpola 1991 #61, line 15 (3.113, n. 8).

⁹ For this Yahwistic theophoric name, see Zadok 1979; 1997. In the biblical text, cf. *ndbyh* (1 Chr 3:18); for extra-biblical *ndbyhw*, see *HAE* 2/1:75.

¹⁰ See *PNA* 1/2:293-294, #10.

¹¹ For this name and its origins, see *PNA* 1/2:344-345.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: ARU 523; Kwasman 1988 #355; Kwasman and Parpola 1991:38.

SALE OF A SLAVE WOMAN (3.112) (BM 103956)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Dating to approximately 642 BCE (see note 8 below), this text (BM 103956) records the sale of a slave woman named Bānāt-Esaggil. The person selling the slave woman has a Yahwistic name, Yadi¹-Yau. This same woman appears to have been sold some years later (see note 6 below).

(lines 1-3)

The seal of Yadi¹-Yau,¹ the [...] of the chief of public works,² owner of the woman being sold.

(Seals, faded)

(lines 4-8a)

Nabû-metu-uballit, the subordinate³ of Aššur-šarru-ušur,⁴ the supervisor of the women of the crown prince,⁵ has contracted and taken the woman Bānāt-Esaggil,⁶ his (Yadi¹-Yau's) maidservant, for 34 shekels of silver.⁷

(lines 8b-11a)

The money is paid completely. That woman is purchased and taken. Revocation, lawsuit (or) litigation are void.

(lines 11b-r.4)

Whoever in the future, at any time, lodges a complaint (or) obstructs, whether Yadi¹-Yau, his sons, his grandsons, his brothers, his relative, or anyone of his, (reverse) (and) seeks lawsuit or litigation with Nabû-metu-uballit, his sons, or his grandsons, will pay 10 minas of silver.

(lines 5-6)

Month of Ululu, day 15, eponymy (*limmu*) of Šarru-mītu-uballit.⁸

(lines 7-12)

Witness: Ilu-iddina,⁹ royal bodyguard;

[Witness: x]pamūnu¹⁰

[Witness: x]tubašti¹⁰

¹ *PNA* 2/1:486.

² For the *rab pīlkāni*, see Postgate 1974:44, 228.

³ Reading LÚ.TUR(*seḫru*) instead of LÚ.DUMU.

⁴ *PNA* 1/1:218-221, #16.

⁵ Reading GAL.MI.MEŠ ša A MAN (following a recent collation of the tablet). See Jursa and Radner 1995-96:95. Fales 1979:243 read: GAL(*rab*) *pi-ir-ra-a-ni* "chief of collections" (for this office, see Postgate 1974:163-166).

⁶ About a decade later, Bānāt-Esaggil is sold for 35 shekels of silver to a man named Kišir-Aššur. See *PNA* 1/2:263, #3.

⁷ For the price(s) paid for slaves, see Radner 1997:230-248.

⁸ Written 'MAN.UŠ.TI. For the date, see Reade 1998:256-257. For the cuneiform writings of the name, see Millard 1994:119. The name's Aramaic spelling is *srn[š]bl* in a text from Tell Sheikh Ḥamad (Röllig 1997:373, n. 30). Thus the eponym's name very likely was Šarru-mītu-uballit, not Šamaš-mītu-uballit.

⁹ *PNA* 2/1:529, #5.

¹⁰ Fales (1979:245) comments: "Two Egyptian names would seem to be attested here ... and thus easily to be related to the deportation policies

[Witness: x]-Aššur
[Witness: x]-ilu

[Witness: ...]la
(lines 13-16 missing)

of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal from Egypt."

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Fales 1979:243-245, 254 (#11).

A SLAVE REDEMPTION (3.113) (SAA 6 #61)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This tablet dates to the reign of Sennacherib, specifically to the year 700 BCE (eponymy [*limmu*] of Metūnu). While there are only a few conveyances that describe the release of an object from pledge, it is clear that these are phrased in most respects like an ordinary sale text. Thus a pledge redemption text bears the seal impression of the creditor so that it is clear that the object had already become his property. As Postgate (1976:29, 49-50) notes, such pledge redemptions are often characterized by the verb *paṭāru* "to release" (as in this text) or the verb *šēsu²u* "to bring out."¹ Furthermore, it was not necessary that the person redeeming the object be the previous owner. For further discussion of this inscription, see Kwasman 1988 #50.

(lines 1-3)

Inst[ead of their seal]s they impressed their finger-nails. The fingerna[il of Zak]kur, the finger[nail] of Dukur-il,² the owners of the man being sold.

(four fingernail impressions)

(lines 4-7)

Baḥianu has contracted and released³ Mannu-kī-Arbail, the son of Aḥi-Yau⁴ a from Zakkur and Dukur-il [for] 30 minas of copper.

(lines 8-10a)

[The money] is paid completely. That man is purchased and taken. Revocation, lawsuit (or) litigation are void.

(lines 10b-12)

Whoever in the future, at any time, lodges a com-

α 1 Sam 14:3,
18; 1 Kgs
4:3; 11:29;
12:15; 14:2,
4-6, 18;
15:27, 29,
33; 21:22;
2 Kgs 9:9;
Neh 10:27;
1 Chr 2:25;
8:7; 11:36;
26:20;
2 Chr 9:29;
10:15

plaint, shall pay out [10 mi]nas of silver to redeem the man.

(lines 13-14)

[(Guaranteed against) seizures] of epilepsy⁵ for 100 days (and against) fraud⁶ in perpetuity.

(lines 15-r.4)

[Witness Bē]l-dūri,⁷ the village manager⁸;

[Witness] Dususu⁹;

(Reverse)

Witness M[i]lku-il;

Witness Bēl-ēmuranni¹⁰;

Witness Šamaš-šēzib;

[Witness] Attāra¹¹;

[Witness] I[nūrta]-mušēzib¹²;

(lines 5-8)

[Month A]b, day 5 [...] ..., eponymy (*limmu*) of

¹ The term *šēsu²u* is generally a substitute in Neo-Assyrian for *paṭāru* (primarily a Middle Assyrian term). See Postgate 1997:162, n. 11.

² For this individual, see PNA 1/2:387. Fales 1991:112, n. 99 proposes to read this name as *kin₁-nat-DINGIR*.

³ The verb *paṭāru* "to release" indicates that this is a pledge redemption. See Radner 2001:280-284. For slave release, see Hallo 1995.

⁴ For the name *PAḤ(aḥi)-ia-ū*, see TFS 99:ii.22 (COS 3.128); PNA 1/1:63; and Fales 1991:112, n. 97. For the Hebrew name *ḥyhw*, Ahiyah/Ahiah, see HAE 2/1:58; and CWS 479 s.v. Various individuals bear this name in the biblical text; see scripture note a.

⁵ On this part of the guarantee clause, see the Laws of Hammurabi (COS 2.131, §278). For *bennu* disease, see Stol 1993:133-135. For a discussion of *šibtu* "seizures," *bennu* "epilepsy," and *sartu* "fraud," see Radner 1997:174-179.

⁶ The term *sartu* presents a difficulty in translation. Postgate (1976:26) suggested: "the purchaser either is indemnified if the slave is taken from him because of some crime he (the slave) has committed, or if the seller was not entitled to sell the slave and was guilty of a criminal deception in so doing." CAD (S 188, #3) seems to follow the second possibility but with a slightly different angle, namely that *sartu* connotes "stolen property." Hence the guarantee is that the slave is not stolen property unloaded on the unsuspecting buyer. In many of its contexts, *sartu* denotes a lie, falsehood, or treachery. Hence the translation "fraud" might cover all of those conditions in which the buyer would possibly suffer loss. See also Radner 1997:175-176.

⁷ See PNA 1/2:291-293, #11.

⁸ For this same office, see COS 3.111, n. 8.

⁹ PNA 1/2:392.

¹⁰ PNA 1/2:293-294, #14.

¹¹ PNA 1/1:234.

¹² PNA 2/1:553.

Metūnu, governor of Isana. (lines 9-11) [Witness Na]bū-nadin-aḫḫe, [scribe, keep]er of the	conveyance. Two minas of copper for their finger-nail (impressions).
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REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: ARU 469 and 630; Kwasman 1988 #50; Kwasman and Parpola 1991:60-61.

SALE OF A SLAVE (3.114)
(Tel Aḫmar Tablet 13)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Recently a number of inscriptions from Til Barsip (Tel Aḫmar) have been published.¹ Most of the Neo-Assyrian cuneiform documents from the site seem to come from a single archive, that of a man named Hanni.

Interestingly, three of the tablets (13, 18 and 20) mention a man named Issār-dūri who is further identified as “the son of Samiraya” (“the Samarian”).² Two of the other personal names in this tablet are gentilics like Samiraya: Hamataya (lit. “the Hamathite”) and Tabalaya (lit. “the Tabalite”). The tablets apparently date to the latter days of the reign of Assurbanipal. In Tablet 13, Issār-dūri appears as a witness, and in Tablet 20 he is the sealer and perhaps therefore also the creditor of a loan of silver. Tablet 18 is a fragmentary administrative list.

Excavated in 1993, this tablet (4.3 x 8.2 x 2.2 cm) is dated to 644 BCE (during the reign of Assurbanipal) (see note 11 below).

(lines 1-2) The seal of Tabaya, the owner of the man being sold.	shall contest in his lawsuit, but shall not succeed.
(lines 3-6a) The harem governess has contracted and taken Pān-Sē ² , his (Tabaya's) slave, for ½ mina and 5 shekels of silver. ³	(lines 17-29) Witness Idrī, ⁴ the son of Hamataya ⁵ ; Witness Sime-šarru, the steward; Witness Aya-ammu, ⁶ son of Tabalaya ⁷ ; Witness Adda-dalā, ⁸ the son of Mallimīni; Witness Issār-dūri, ⁹ the son of Samiraya; Witness Ubru-Iššār; Witness Nabū ² a; Witness Adad-ilaya ¹⁰ ; Witness Zabini.
(lines 6b-10) The money is paid completely. That man is purchased and taken. Revocation, lawsuit (or) litigation are void.	
(lines 11-16) Whoever in the future, at any time, transgresses, shall return the money tenfold to his owner. He	(lines 30-31) Month of Ayyar, day 21, eponymy (<i>limmu</i>) of Šamaš-da[² in]anni(?). ¹¹

¹ Dalley 1996-97; Hawkins 1996-97; Bordreuil 1996-97. For Til Barsip's conquest, see COS 2.113A, lines i.29b-36a and notes 2-3. For earlier discoveries, see Hallo 1966.

² Written ¹15-BAD DUMU ¹sa-mir-a-a. See Dalley 1996-97:82-84, Tablet 13.24-25.

³ 1 mina = 480 grams (g); 1 shekel (*šiglu*) = 1/60 of a mina, i.e. 8 g; thus 1 1/2 minas or 280 g of silver were paid for Pān-Sē². For the price(s) paid for slaves, see Radner 1997:230-248.

⁴ See PNA 2/1:506.

⁵ See PNA 2/1:446.

⁶ See PNA 1/1:89-90.

⁷ This name occurs in another tablet from Til Barsip (Tablet 8, line 24).

⁸ Dalley reads the name as ¹10¹-AŠ-A “Adad-nadin-apli(?)” (1996-97:83). However, this is not the normal way that these elements of the name appear; the usual order is: ¹10-A-AŠ “Adad-aplu-iddina” (see PNA 1/1:22-23). Thus it seems preferable to read the name as ¹10¹-dāt-a “Adda-dalā,” since this name is attested among the personal names in this general region (see PNA 1/1:45).

⁹ The name (¹15-BAD) means “Ištar is my (protective) wall.” See PNA 2/1:568-571 s.v. Issār-dūri, # 27. Issār-dūri's name demonstrates two things. First, later generations of deportees adopted non-Israelite — specifically Assyrian — names. This reinforces Fales' assertion that a certain “Assyrianization” was at work that is attested along “generational” lines (fathers → sons) which witnesses to an assimilation toward Assyrian (Fales 1991:104-105). Second, some of the deportees could attain reasonably high social positions in their respective communities.

¹⁰ See PNA 1/1:26.

¹¹ I.e. 644 BCE. For this eponymy, see Reade 1998:256-257.

REFERENCES

Text, translation and study: Dalley 1996-97:82-84 + pl. 3.

LAND SALE (3.115)

(Tel Hadid G-117/95)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Dated by eponym to 698 BCE, this recently published Neo-Assyrian land sale tablet was discovered in 1995 during rescue excavations at Tel Hadid (biblical Hadid),^a located about 4.5 km northeast of Lod. The tablet was found *in situ* on a floor dated to the second half of the eighth century BCE (Brand 1996:3, fig 4). The right side of both the obverse and reverse is damaged with the ends of many lines eroded; but because it seems to follow the typical conveyance formulae, the general content of the transaction can be discerned. All of the personal names mentioned in the inscription are Akkadian, except for one Aramaic name beginning with the theophoric element Attar-; hence none is indigenous. This, along with the fact that the conveyance was written in cuneiform, indicates that both parties belonged to the deportees or their descendants brought to the area by Assyrian monarchs (in this case, given the date on the tablet, most probably Sargon II,¹ though Sennacherib cannot be completely ruled out).

(lines 1-7)

The finger[nail of ...] the son of A[] the [²];
the fingernail of Urd[u-];
the fingernail of Attar-[]³;
the fingernail of Aya-šēb⁴šī [].
Total of four men [owners of the field? being sold].

(damaged surface for fingernail marks)

(lines 8-13a)

[] cult⁵ivated(?)⁴ [] [] Marduk-[bēlu-
uṣur(?)]⁵ [has contra]cted and [taken] from [these]
men for 1 mina of silver (by the mina) of the
king.⁶

(lines 13b-r.1)

The mon[ey] has been pa[id] completely. That
[field] is purchased (and) [taken]. Revocation,
lawsuit (or) (Reverse) litigation are void.

(lines r.2-10)

Whoever in the future, at any time, whether these

a Ezra 2:33;
Neh 7:37;
11:34

men or their sons or [relatives] seeks a lawsuit or
litigation against Marduk-bēlu-u[ṣur] or his sons
(or) his r[elatives] [shall return] the money tenfold
[to its owner]. [He shall contest] in his lawsuit,
[but shall not succeed].

(lines r.11-19)

Witness: Zazakku,⁷ the [];
Witness: Šamaš-zēr[u-];
Witness: Šamaš-aḥḥa-[];
Witness: Lēšer[u⁸] owner of [];
Witness: Nād[inu⁹];
[Witness]: Šil(?)-šarri(?)¹;
[Witness]: []
[]

(End 1)

Month of Araḥ-samni (Marheshvan), day 24,
eponymy (*limmu*) of Šulmu-šarri.¹⁰

¹ See Na²aman's discussion (Na²aman and Zadok 2000:177-183).

² Perhaps the individual's profession.

³ For names starting with the Attar element, see PNA 1/1:234-237.

⁴ See Zadok's discussion (Na²aman and Zadok 2000:162).

⁵ This is Zadok's suggested restoration of the name (Na²aman and Zadok 2000:160-161). See PNA 2/2:714, #7.

⁶ See Zadok's collection of citations regarding the royal mina (Na²aman and Zadok 2000:168-169). See also Radner 1999a:130-131; Powell 1996; Fales 1996.

⁷ See Zadok's remarks (Na²aman and Zadok 2000:169).

⁸ For this name, see PNA 2/2:659-660.

⁹ For this name, see PNA 2/2:919-921, #7.

¹⁰ See Kwasman and Parpola 1991:118, 121 and Millard 1994:50.

REFERENCES

Text, translation and study: Na²aman and Zadok 2000:159-169.

A DEBT NOTE (3.116)

(Tel Hadid G/1696)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This second tablet from Tel Hadid is dated by eponym to 664 BCE. It was discovered *in situ* in rescue excavations in 1997 on a plaster floor of the central unit of a three-room late Iron II building (Brand 1998). The tablet is nearly intact and very readable.

The text is a debt-note with an antichretic pledge¹ — a pledge of a person or persons (usually family members) in lieu of the interest on the principal of a loan. There are no risk or redemption clauses. In this case, the debtor pledges his wife² and sister (presumably an unmarried sister under his care). The period of the transaction is about 3 months, since apparently the debtor expected to be able to repay the principal after the harvest of cereals in mid-summer. If he does not repay by the month of Ab, the debt will accrue interest at 33.33% (see lines 8-11 below).³ During the period of the debt, the pledged persons lived in the house of the creditor and were expected to work for him. Moreover, the debtor was responsible for feeding and clothing the pledged persons while they resided (*kammusu*) in the creditor's home (see note 7 below).

In this text, the names of the debtor's wife and sister are West Semitic (one of them Canaanite, see below). This may imply that the debtor was indigenous. On the other hand, the fact that the first two witnesses' names are Akkadian and the fact that the text is written in cuneiform may indicate that the creditor was not indigenous, but perhaps one from the second generation of Babylonian deportees brought to the northern kingdom after its demise (2 Kgs 17:24). For further discussion of the historical implications, see Na²aman's treatment (Na²aman and Zadok 2000:177-183).

(lines 1-3)	a Jer 6:12	principal).
1 mina and 6+2+[x] [shekels of silver] belong- ing to Ki[], at the disposal of Ši(?)[].	b Deut 24:10- 12; Prov 6:1- 5; 11:15; 17:18; 22:26	(lines 12-16)
(lines 4-7)		Witness: Silimu;
In lieu of the interest for the silver, ⁴ Hammāya ⁵ his wife ⁶ and Munahimā ⁶ his sister stay ⁷ as pledge. ⁶		Witness: Šilli-Bēl;
(lines 8-11)		[Witness: Š]ašmāyu, the Egyptian;
In Ab ⁸ he will pay the silver. If he does not pay, the silver will accrue interest by one third (of the		Witness: Padī. ⁹
		(lines 17-18)
		Month of Iyyar, ⁸ day 16, the eponymy (<i>limmu</i>) of Šarru-lū-dāri. ¹⁰

¹ For a debt-note with an antichretic pledge very similar to this text, see Parker 1954:33 (ND 2078). In that text, in place of the interest for a principal of one mina of silver, the debtor pledges his wife and sister. See also 3.136E-G. For a discussion of debt, see van de Mieroop 2002.

² Concerning the pledge of wives, see Zadok's discussion (Na²aman and Zadok 2000:174). Cf. the link of wives with land in COS 3.55.

³ The more common interest rate was 25% (see Radner 1997:379-380); but cf. Dalley and Postgate 1984: #37.

⁴ The phrase *kām rubē* KÜ.BABBAR confirms that what follows is an antichretic pledge (Nutzpfand). See Postgate 1976:47-48.

⁵ See Zadok's discussion of this name (Na²aman and Zadok 2000:170).

⁶ For this name, see Zadok's discussion (Na²aman and Zadok 2000:170); PNA 2/2:768.

⁷ *kammusu* "stay, reside" (used in NA as a substitute for *ušābu*). The use of this verb confirms the possessory aspect of the pledge. See Radner 2001:270-271.

⁸ For a discussion of the period of the debt note, see Na²aman and Zadok 2000:175. See further van de Mieroop 1995.

⁹ See the Assyrian Aram. barley loan from Guzāna (COS 3.58, note 6).

¹⁰ 664 BCE. See Millard 1994:53.

REFERENCES

Text, translation and study: Na²aman and Zadok 2000:169-177.

SALE OF AN ESTATE (3.117)

(Gezer 1)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Dating to 652 BCE, the tablet was discovered in 1904 by R. A. S. Macalister during excavations at Gezer. The text is a sale contract for an entire estate: land, house, servants, etc. Unfortunately, because of the fragmentary nature of lines 6-9, the particulars (including the sale price) are missing.

The personal names mentioned in the text give an important insight into the mixed population of the city of Gezer during the period of its integration into the Assyrian empire following its conquest by Tiglath-pileser III (see Younger 1998:205). This accords well with the situation described in 2 Kings 17:24 (see Becking 1981-82:78-80; 1992:114-118; Na²aman and Zadok 1988:42-46).

(lines 1-4) Seal of Marduk-erība, son of [...] Seal of Abu-erība, ¹ son of [...] Total: two men, owners of houses (and) field[s]] the estate of Lū-ahhē in [its] entir[ety].	a Nahum 3:16-17	days (and against) fraud ⁶ in perpetuity. Month of Simanu (Siwan), day 17, eponymy (<i>limmu</i>) after Aššur-dūru-ušur, ⁷ the governor of Bar-ḫalsi.
(four seal impressions)		
(lines 5-6a) The slaves Ṭuri-Aya, ² his two wives, his son; Three people []		Witness: Zaggi ⁸ ; Witness: Kanūnāyu ⁹ ; Witness: Bēl-aplu-iddina ¹⁰ ; Witness: Marduk-nāšir of city [...]; Witness: Hur-waši, ¹¹ the mayor; Witness: Qar-rāpi ¹² , ¹² the royal trade agent ¹³ a; Witness: Zēru-ukin, son of Kanūnāyu ¹⁴ ; Witness: Ḫi(?) <i>-ta-din</i> ¹⁵ ; Witness: Sē ¹⁶ -[...]; Witness: Mannu-kī-Arbail ¹⁶ ; Witness: [...] Witness: Zēr-ūtu.
(lines 6b-9 too fragmentary for translation) (Reverse 1'-3a) He shall return [the money tenfold to its owners]. ³ [He shall contest in his lawsuit, but] shall not succeed. ⁴ (Guaranteed against) seizures of epilepsy ⁵ for 100		

¹ PNA 1/1:16, #8.

² Written *Ṭu-ri-a-a* "My rock is Aya." This is an Aram. name containing *pwr* "rock" and the divine name Aya (for this element, see Galter 1995 and cf. Gen 36:24; 2 Sam 3:7; 1 Chr 7:28).

³ With the use of this verb here, it is reasonable to assume the standard legal clause *kas-pu a-na* 10.MEŠ-*te a-na* EN.MEŠ-šū *ú-ta-ra*.

⁴ With the preserved *la i-laq-qe*, the standard legal clause can be restored: *ina la de-ni-šū* DUG_a.DUG_a-*ma la i-laq-qe*.

⁵ For *sibtu bennu*, see COS 3.113, note 5 above.

⁶ For the term *sartu*, see COS 3.113, note 6 above.

⁷ PNA 1/1:180, #4. See also Millard 1994:53, 83.

⁸ Reading *Zag-gi-i*. Becking 1981-82 reads *Zak-ki-i*, but see Zadok 1985:568, n. 3. According to Zadok, the sign GI does not have the value *ki* or *ké* in Neo-Assyrian.

⁹ *ṬI.LAB-a-ṭa*. See PNA 2/1:601-604, #47 and Zadok 1985:568; Becking interpreted the name as Tebeṭaya "(born) in the month of Tebeṭ" (1981-82:84); but there are many different individuals with the name Kanūnāyu written *ṬI.LAB-a-a*.

¹⁰ See PNA 1/2:286-287, #15.

¹¹ The name is Egyptian "Horus is sound" (PNA 2/1:481-482, #4). See also Becking 1981-82:84-85; and Givon 1972.

¹² For the reading *qar-ra-pi-i*, see Radner 1999b:108; Elat 1998.

¹³ LÚ*.DAM.[GAR] (*tamkāru*) "the royal trade agent." See Radner 1999b:101-109; Elat 1987; Deller 1987. For Nahum 3:16-17 which describes the coming judgment on the Assyrian traders, see Elat 1987:248f.

¹⁴ See note 9 above.

¹⁵ Becking interprets as *Tabta-uballit*.

¹⁶ This name also occurs in 3.113 above where it is the name of a man who is the son of an Israelite (Aḫi-Yau).

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Pinches 1904; Becking 1981-82; 1992:114-117; Zadok 1985:567-570.

LAND SALE (3.118) (Gezer 2)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Dating to 649 BCE (reign of Assurbanipal), this tablet was discovered by Macalister during excavations in 1905 (a year after the first tablet, Gezer 1, see above). It records the sale of a plot of land by an Israelite named Natan-Yau. Like Gezer 1, this text's personal names demonstrate the mixed population of the city as well as the role that some Israelites continued to play in the economics of the region.

(lines 1-2) Seal of Natan-Yau ¹ owner of the field being sold.	α Jer 39:9	Witness(?): [] Witness: (incomprehensible name) ⁴ ;
(Three seal impressions)		Witness: Zēru-ukin ⁵ ; Witness: Nergal-šarru-ušur ⁶ ^a ;
(lines 3-4) A (single) lot ² of [x su]tu of the field adjacent to that of Sinī. ³ [] adjacent to that of Sinī.		(lines 5'-6') Month of Shabatu, day 4, the eponymy (<i>limmu</i>) of Aḫu-ilāya, ⁷ governor of Carchemish.
(Reverse 1'-4') Witness: []		

¹ This is the Heb. personal name *natanyahu* "Natanyahu" (see *HAE* 2/1:77). See Zadok 1985:567-570; *PNA* 2/2:937.

² The sign É (*bētu*) probably implies that the area in question is a single lot, and not distributed into separate parcels (Postgate 1976:23).

³ The owner of the adjacent land. The name is non-Semitic, probably Egyptian.

⁴ Becking reads: ¹GI.D.SIG.SUKKAL.GIŠ (1981:87); Zadok (1985:568) gives the suggestion(s): *B/Pu-s/šig/k/q*(or *zik/q* or *b/pik/q*)-*ti(?)*-*is/š/z*.

⁵ This name occurs in Gezer 1 (line 11').

⁶ See *PNA* 2/2:954-956. According to 2 Kgs 17:29-30 some of the deportees to Samaria worshipped Nergal. Cf. a Babylonian officer at the time of the siege of Jerusalem with the same name mentioned in Jer 39:9.

⁷ *PNA* 1/1:76-77, s.v. Aḫu-ilāya #11e; see Millard 1994:54, 80.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Johns 1905; Galling 1935; Becking 1981-82:86-88.

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C. COURTCASES

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1. BABYLON

THE SLANDERED BRIDE (3.119)

William W. Hallo

Case law or "conditional law" is often based on actual precedent, and sometimes the provisions of Old Babylonian law, or even biblical law, seem to reflect situations encountered in court cases. A little dossier of three documents dating to the reign of Samsu-iluna (ca. 1749-1712 BCE), illustrates provisions in the Laws of Hammurapi, his father and predecessor, as well as the casuistic legislation of Deuteronomy.¹ In addition to a wedding document and a supplemental agreement regarding dowry, it includes this litigation regarding the consummation of the marriage.

The bronze weapon of the divine Ninurta² took its stand in the quarter, and his alderwomen³ took their stand, and they did not convict Ama-sukkal of speaking insolently against Enlil-issu; they did, however, convict Enlil-issu of slandering and abusing her.⁴ ^a

Thereupon Enlil-issu spoke as follows, saying:

a Deut 22:13-21

"You may convict me (even) more than now, (still) I will not marry her.⁵ Let them imprison me and (then) I will pay money (instead)."

(The reverse contains a list of nine witnesses, the last of them the scribe, and the date; the upper and lower edges contain the seal impressions)

¹ See esp. Finet 1973 and Locher 1986 respectively.

² Like the Bible in a modern courtroom, the deity's symbol adds religious sanction to the proceedings. For the role of Ninurta in Sum. court-cases, see below, 3.134A; 3.141:17-21.

³ Others: "female witnesses"; so e.g. Landsberger 1968:90-92; Dombradi 1996 II 89, n. 395.

⁴ I.e., presumably, impugning her virginity. Others: "(that) she had been left a virgin" (Westbrook 1988:43f. and 116) or "not having had intercourse with her" (CAD B 128a). On the much debated question of the exact nature of Enlil-issu's offense, see Hallo, *Origins* 249 and n. 28.

⁵ I.e., consummate my marriage with her. Presumably the marriage contract was a form of engagement ("inchoate marriage") perhaps even involving an under-age bride.

REFERENCES

Text: BE 6/2:58 = UET 5:256. Studies: Hallo 1964; 1996:247-250; Locher 1986.

2. HAZOR

A LAWSUIT FROM HAZOR (3.120)

William W. Hallo

Hazor, "formerly the head of all those kingdoms" (Josh 11:10), was a major citadel in northern Israel, and the terminus of a trade route which led westward from the Euphrates at Mari, where it is sometimes mentioned in the royal correspondence. A smattering of cuneiform tablets, probably from the end of the Middle Bronze Age (ca. 1600 BCE) has so far turned up there (see most recently Horowitz and Shaffer 1992a, b; Horowitz 1997). Among these is a courtcase which helped to clinch the identification of the modern site with the ancient citadel (Yadin 1972:201); for the approximate story of its recovery see Shanks 1976.

Mar-Hanuta¹ ^a and Irpa-Addu² and Sum-Hanuta, three(?) servants(?), brought a lawsuit against the

a Judg 3:31; 5:6

woman Sumu-la-ilu, in the matter of the house and orchard in the city Hazor and the orchard in the

¹ This name may be compared to Ben-^cAnat, "son of (the goddess) Anat," which occurs as a name in the Book of Judges (3:31; 5:6), at Ta²a-nach (COS 2.84 and Glock 1971 line 6) and elsewhere. It has also been regarded as a title (Craigie 1972) or as a nickname (Heltzer 1994-95).

² The same name can be restored in a newly discovered letter from Hazor; see Horowitz and Shaffer 1992b.

city Giladima. ³ ^b They came before the king for litigation. The king [judged] the case of the woman Sumu-la-ilu. Henceforth, ⁴ whoever [shall bring] a	^b Hos 6:8	lawsuit shall pay 200 (shekels?) of silver. ⁵ (Witnesses and date formula largely lost)
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³ For the possible comparison with Biblical Gile'ad, cf. the later spelling *Ga-al-a-a-[di]* in an inscription of Tiglath-pileser III (Tadmor 1994:186 *ad* 3 and 297); for Gile'ad as a city, cf. Hos 6:8.

⁴ Lit., "today (and to)morrow."

⁵ A standard clause in "peripheral" Akk. Cf. esp. a text from Late Bronze Emar (ca. 1200 BCE) which reads: "Henceforth, 'brother' shall no wise bring a lawsuit against 'brother.' Whoever brings a lawsuit about the slaves (and) slave-girls shall pay 200 (shekels) of silver"; see Sigrist 1982.

REFERENCES

Text and study: Hallo and Tadmor 1977.

3. NUZI

THE GORING OX AT NUZI (3.121)

William W. Hallo

The favorite textbook illustration of negligence in the law collections of the ancient Near East is that of the goring ox (Finkelstein 1973, 1981; Jackson 1974). In reality, cases of oxen goring may have been rare; only one such case has been identified in the surviving documentation. It illustrates, to some extent, a provision found in the Laws of Eshnunna (*COS* 2.130 §53) and the Covenant Code (Exod 21:35f.). It happens to come from Nuzi, a site east of the Tigris where, in the 15th to 14th centuries BCE, legal practices are thought to be sometimes reflected in the background of the patriarchal narratives (Eichler 1989; differently Maidman 1995:947).

Tehip-tilla son of Puhi-shenni went to court before the judges against Taia son of Warad-ahi, (saying): "Taia the oxherd of Tehip-tilla — he ¹ injured one ox." Said Taia: "his fellow(-ox) injured (this) ox out on the range." ^a But the judges said to Taia: "Bring your witnesses to the effect that his fellow(-ox) injured (him) on the range." Taia said: "My witnesses are not there." The judges said: "(It is) you who injured him. Pay the equivalent of the	^a Exod 21:35f.	ox." Tehip-tilla won the lawsuit and (the judges) ordered Taia (to pay) one ox (out) of (his) own herd (or: funds). ²
		Seal of Shakarakti son of Ar-tirwi Seal of Ninu-atal son of Arip-asherum? Seal of Tanni-musha son of Imbi-ili Seal of Ba'i-sheri? son of Qabuta? Hand of Ith-apihe the scribe.

¹ For the resumptive use of *û* in the Nuzi dialect see Wilhelm 1970:54-60.

² For the double meaning of *sukullu* (*sugullu*) and its Hebrew cognate *segullā*, see *Origins* 18.

REFERENCES

Text: Chiera 1934 No. 341. Translations and studies: Hallo 1967:63f.; 1991b:140; Finkelstein 1981:21.

4. NEO-ASSYRIAN

A COURT ORDER FROM SAMARIA (3.122)

(Samaria 1825/Fi 16)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Located today in Istanbul, this blackish tablet (2 x 4.9 x 1.9 cm) was discovered in excavations at Samaria by Harvard University during the early part of the twentieth century, i.e. 1908-10 (see Reisner 1924 1:247; and photo, 2: pl. 56). It was found in the construction trench of the wall of the Hellenistic fort. It belongs to a genre known as

"šumma texts" (Jas 1996:76-81).¹ It is quite likely that such tablets were made out for the successful contestant in whose debt the court's decision had placed his opponent.

The recent collation by Donbaz (1998) has greatly clarified the reading and interpretation of the inscription.² Rather than dealing with a grain loan (as previously read), the text deals with the repayment of a loan for work animals (donkey and oxen). Unfortunately the tablet is not dated.

The text is evidence of the mixed population in Samaria after the fall of the northern kingdom of Israel described in 2 Kings 17:24, 29-30. The first personal name, Nergal-šallim,³ is Akkadian, hardly indigenous. The second personal name, normalized here as Aya-ahhē, appears to be West Semitic. According to Zadok, it may be potentially Israelite (see note 4 below).

(seal impression)	a2Kgs 17:24, 29-30	oxen of Aya-ahhē ⁴ to the village manager, ⁵ "he shall give" [x +]2 qa, 10 oxen, (and) 6 "shekels of silver". (rest broken off) ⁶
(lines 1-5) If on the tenth day of the fifth month (Abu), Nergal-šallim" [does not give] the donkey and 9		

¹ Also known as "orders in court" (Postgate 1976:59-60).

² For other recent transliterations and translations, see Donbaz 1988:6, n. 13; Radner 1995; and Jas 1996:80-81.

³ According to 2 Kgs 17:29-30, the deportees to Samaria from Cutha worshipped Nergal.

⁴ Written: 'A-a-PAP.MEŠ. See PNA 1/1:89, #8. Zadok proposes an alternative interpretation, potentially Israelite (1991:31, 1:5; and Na'aman and Zadok 2000:176).

⁵ See Kwasman and Parpola 1991: #61, note 7.

⁶ Usually a date and witnesses follow the operative section.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Reisner et al., 1924 1:247; 2: pl. 56; Radner 1995; Jas 1996:80-81; Donbaz 1988:6, n. 13; 1998; and Zadok 1991.

5. NEO-BABYLONIAN

A NEO-BABYLONIAN DIALOGUE DOCUMENT (3.123)

David B. Weisberg

A widely used legal formulation, which scholars have entitled the "Dialogue Document," makes its appearance in the Middle and Neo-Babylonian periods of ancient Mesopotamia (late second and first millennia BCE). Many students of these texts (see bibliography) have noticed striking parallels to Genesis 23, which tells of Abraham's purchase of a burial cave for his wife, Sarah. The name "Dialogue Document" derives from the fact that the negotiations between the parties to the transaction are recorded not in an "objective" style (i.e., in the third person) but in a "subjective" formulation in which the participants speak in the first person.

The five components of the Dialogue Document are:

1. Proposal for transaction, formulated in the first person.
2. Agreement of the second party, expressed by the verb *šemû* ("to hear").
3. Weighing out of the silver (including "additional payment").
4. Declaration of the consummation of the transaction.
5. Witnesses.

The Dialogue Document is employed in slave sales, real estate sales and real estate leases as well as in adoptions and marriages.

Below are pointed out examples of the features of the Dialogue Document as recorded in the adoption tablet of a girl from the time of rule of the Elamite king, Hallušu,¹ on a tablet from the collection of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Museum Number A 33248, as well as the parallel form in Genesis 23. The biblical parallels are: Ephron's proposal (v.15); Abraham's agreement (v. 16); weighing out of the silver (v. 16); declaration of transfer of ownership of property to Abraham, and description of property (v. 17) and witnesses (v. 18).

(1-4) Šamaš-ušur, descendant of Šillā (and) Kidin-nīti, his wife, spoke thus to Ninurta-iddin and Lū-bēlti: "Akkaiti, ² your daughter, give me, let her be my daughter." ^a	a Gen 23:15	have any authority over her, nor ... shall he return [X mi]nas of silver. ^d
(5-9) Afterwards, Ninurta-iddin listened to him (and) gave his daughter, Akkadīti, in adoption, to Šamaš-ušur. ^b Šamaš-ušur, of his own free will, gave a TUG ₂ .KUR.RA garment ³ (and) a šir'am garment, as additional payment to Ninurta-iddin and Lū-bēlti. ^c	b Gen 23:16	
(10) Wherever Akkadīti goes, she is our daughter.	c Gen 23:16	(18-19) Whoever [changes] [this] agreement — may Anu, Enlil and Ea, [the great gods,] curse him with an irrevocable curse.
(11-17) [...] ..., at such time as the family of the house of Šamaš-ušur should come forward with a claim and do not say to Akkadīti as follows: "You are a maidservant, Akkadīti." Akkadīti is a free woman (lit. "a daughter of Nippur"), no one shall	d Gen 23:17	
	e Gen 23:18	(20) At the sealing of this document (were) ^e Šumā descendant of [X.X.X]
		(21) Kinēnuā descendant of Rīmūt Ninurta-mukīn-x (line 22) descendant of Ninurta-aḥ-iddin
		[X-X-]kidin descendant of Aḥḥēšā The scribe (was)
		(23) Aḥ-lūmur descendant of Bēlšunu (At the) city of Sumundanaš ^d
		(24) (in the) month of Addaru, day 15, (in the) 15th year of Ḫallušu,
		(25) King of Elam.

¹ According to "Chronicle I" edited by Grayson 1975, and other sources, Ḫallušu ruled Elam for six years (699-693 BCE). But this is contradicted by the date on this economic document, which assigns him (at least) fifteen years total. Several possible solutions have been proposed by the present author (Weisberg 1984:216), but none of them is conclusive.

² The name of the girl is spelled two different ways in the document. The name can mean "a woman of Akkad (=Babylonia)" or perhaps, it may be a shortened form of a name meaning "she who belongs to the goddess of Akkad."

³ The nature as well as the reading of this garment are unknown.

⁴ A southern Elamite city whose precise location is unknown; cf. Weisberg 1984:215 and n. 22.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Grayson 1975:77-79; Petschow 1965; 1974; Roth 1989; San Nicolò 1925; 1931; Tucker 1966; Weinfeld 1982; Weisberg 1984; in press.

D. ACCOUNTS

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1. OLD BABYLONIAN

OFFERINGS TO THE TEMPLE GATES AT UR (3.124)

William W. Hallo

Account texts are extremely numerous and cover many areas of individual and collective activity. Some texts, for example, provide an objective, after-the-fact accounting of the performance of a ritual against the possibility of a future audit of the expenditures incurred. They can therefore be designated as "descriptive rituals." Other examples of this sub-genre are known from Ugaritic (Levine 1963, 1983) and even, in a sense, from the Pentateuch (Levine 1965; Rainey 1970b). When they include verbs at all, these are typically in the past tense; by contrast, "prescriptive rituals" are phrased in the imperfect or imperative, and belong to the canonical category.¹ The following text dates to the reign of Hammurapi. Though disposed in linear form on its tablet, it is presented here in "two-dimensional" or tabular form for greater clarity; other Babylonian account texts of all periods actually employed such a tabular form to begin with.²

¹ For a Ug. example, cf. COS 1.95; for a biblical example, cf. the description of the building of the tabernacle in the wilderness (Exod 35-40) contrasted with the prescription for its construction (Exod 25-30).

² See Hallo, in press.

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)			(f)	
		2				for the libation	temple of Sin at the basin		
				13		for the libation	to/for the "jug"		
	5	30	20	15		for assorted cups for the libation and the inner bolt	meal of Ekishnugal, at twilight		
	5	30	20	15		for assorted cups for the libation and the inner bolt	meal of the late evening		
Subtotals	10	60	70	43			meal(s) of Ekishnugal		
			40		30	inner bolt of the upper court inner bolt of the principal court and the outside	for the inner bolts		
			10			for the libation	assorted copper statues and other "properties"		
	2		2		2	for assorted cups for the libation for the inner bolt of Dublamah			
(Subtotals)	12	62	122	43	32			271	
its barley-(content)	24	93	122	64½	32			335½	meals of [...]

		10				inner bolt of Ekishnugal inner bolt of the upper court	festival of the 15th day		
		10				inner bolt of Ekishnugal inner bolt of the upper court	festival of the 7th day		
		10				inner bolt of Ekishnugal inner bolt of the upper court	festival of the 15th day		
		6				inner bolt of Ekishnugal inner bolt of the upper court	festival of the 25th day		
(Subtotals) its barley- (content)		36 54	40 40					76 94	4 festivals of one month

temple of Nanna, material of one month ... month V, day 1, year Hammurapi 32 (ca. 1761 BCE) (all entries in "liters" = SLA)

(a) = 2:1 dark(?) beer (*šikaru dalhu*, *šinnū*)

(b) = 1 1/2:1 fine beer

(c) = 1:1 beer (*malmalu*)

(d) = 1 1/2:1 "wine-beer" (*kurunnu*, *karānu*)

(e) = 1:1 emmer beer (*ulušinnu*)

(f) = total ... beer

REFERENCES

Text and studies: UET 5:507; Levine and Hallo 1967; Hallo 1991b:59, 64, 81, 143f., 151f.

2. ALALAKH

LIST OF HAPIRU SOLDIERS (AT 180) (3.125)

Richard S. Hess

This is a representative of many lists from Alalakh that record the names of conscripts to serve in various parts of the military of Alalakh. This Level IV text introduces *ḥāpiru*-soldiers. The *ḥāpiru*, although regarded as enemies of society in texts from Amarna and elsewhere in the second millennium BCE, serve in key administrative roles in Level IV of Alalakh. There are diviners (AT 182 line 16) and governors (AT 182 line 13) who are *ḥāpiru*. In this text, line 20, a priest is one of the *ḥāpiru*. In the Idrimi inscription, Idrimi credits the *ḥāpiru* with providing shelter for him and this may be the origin of the cordial relationship between Alalakh and the *ḥāpiru*. From texts such as AT 180, *ḥāpiru* appear as a special section of the army. This list identifies each individual by name followed usually by the name of their place of origin. The place name in the heading may record where they are presently stationed. In a few cases an occupation replaces the place of origin. For discussion of *ḥāpiru* texts and the question of their relationship with biblical Hebrews, see Bottéro 1954; Greenberg 1955; Loretz 1984; Hess 1994a:205-208. For the linguistic distinction between *ḥāpiru* and Hebrews, see Rainey 1989.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 Troops of <i>ḥāpiru</i> -soldiers:
2 from Marmarukum
3 Dagun of Zalḥe,
4 Išur of Sunnadu,
5 Betammu an Ibadkuti(?),
6 Eḥli-Šarra of Maḥia,
7 ... of Durrazu,
8 Aḥu[] of Zal[ḥe],
9 Šarni[a] of Zarah[ē],
10 Erata a fowler, | 11 Beia[] of Šimeri,
12 Šepa a charioteer(?), ¹
13 Unapše of Širimazu,
14 Eḥli-Teššub of Kadume,
15 Anani-LUGAL of Indawa,
16 Ḥubita a thief,
17 Luzzu of Ulla,
18 Agab-Dagan of Ašt[a-],
19 Ḥubita of Ša[],
20 Tulpia a <i>šangû</i> -priest of Iš[ḥara], |
|---|---|

¹ The reading of the signs for this occupation is not certain. See von Dassow 1997:197, n. 101.

21 Eḫli-Teššub of Hutammāna,	31 Troops from the "commoners:"
22 [] of Uri	32 Ušt[apša]uri,
23 Šarnithama of Kitgi.	33 Mina[ah?]ḫu.
24 Troops: twenty commanders of chariots:	34 Twenty nine [citizens of ?]
25 Erada,	35 Ḫāpiru-troops from Šarkuḫe;
26 Lulule.	36 []tisu of Ebla,
27 Troops: Eḫli-LUGAL, ZAG-ŠUR,	37 []lazuzian,
28 Ḫumia an envoy,	38 [] of Nupanni,
29 Šarnithama,	39 Nam[u] of Nupanni,
30 'Tulpi-eḫli. Annari.	40 Kaliza of Šanuka.

REFERENCES

Copy: Wiseman 1954:11. Transliteration: (lines 1, 34-35) Bottéro 1954:34; Greenberg 1955:20-21. Translation: (summary) AT 71.

ADMINISTRATIVE RECORD (AT 457) (3.126)

Richard S. Hess

This Level IV text contains a list of "citizens" from Taya. More than sixty lines list individuals and their place of origin. The places, where they can be identified, appear to be located in the regions around Alalakh and Aleppo. Several place names recur. One group, Akubia, Mudue and Paḫliš, occur together in AT 457 and two other administrative texts, AT 223 and AT 343. The personal names can be analyzed according to the languages of the various ancient Near Eastern ethnic groups of the second millennium. There are perhaps twenty-two Hurrian names, eight West Semitic names, four Akkadian names, three Anatolian names and two Indo-Aryan names. See Hess 1994b. This composition is characteristic of Late Bronze Age Alalakh as demonstrated by the remainder of the onomastic and linguistic evidence from the texts of Level IV. Hurrian was the dominant linguistic group represented by the population of Alalakh. West Semitic was second in influence.

1 Citizens of Tay[a:]	34 []ḫe fro[m] Mu[]
2 Utta f[ro]m Tiliše,	37 [Š]a(!)we from Mudue,
3 Šutardu from Nupan[ni],	38 Galtari from Paḫliš,
4 Šakuzzi from Akubia,	39 Šaru-KI.TA from Mukiš,
5 Šeniše from []subite,	40 Susiae from Paḫliš,
6 Muna(?)duina from Mukiš,	41 Takuia, Tabbu ¹ from []li(?) []
7 Azira from Šinurḫen[a],	42 Ḫeni from Suḫaruwe,
8 Eḫliga from Akubia,	43 Ḫammara from Irkili,
9 Kunna from Aladu[n],	44 Pušerra from Irkili,
10 Pihḫae from Tiliše,	45 Ḫutia from Irkili,
11 Akkulia [fr]om Wilimae,	46 Katinile from []ḫi,
12 Talma from [],	47 Ḫamuaie from Ibiria,
13 Tukla [from] Wilimae,	48 Tarkizia from Ibiria,
14 Pu[] from] Auš[un],	49 [K]urmae from Ibiria,
15-17 [illegible]	50 Araia from Ibiria,
18 Puru[š] from Ki[],	51 Kardue fr[om] Ibiria,
[rest of obverse (c. 10 lines) illegible]	52 Andutta [fro]m Iarka[ni],
29 [] an[]	53 Ḫuputta from Širimeni,
30 [] i []	54 Azira from Širimeni,
31 [] x []	55 Umbina from Širimeni,
32 [] from] A[]	56 Katuteni from [Ši]rimeni,
33 []na-[-g]an-[]	57 Erata from []tama,
	58 Šaška from [Si]rimeni,

¹ This is the only line with two personal names appearing on it. The first one has no place name with it. Perhaps both persons originate from

59 Šadumi from Hanie,	65 [-n]ite from Šakue[]
60 Išinumue from Aštata, ²	66 []biazza from []
61 IGI-šeni from ³ Šulaka,	67 Ebil-x(?)
62 Ma-zi-a itizen of Šatae from []	(right edge)
63 Šakue from Šila[pa]zi[ri](?)	68 [...]nahra.
64 [Janni from Pilla[]	

the broken place name at the end of the line.

² Probably the area of Emar (Aštata).

³ The customary Akk., *i-na* "from," is missing.

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Transliteration and Translation: Wiseman and Hess 1994b:501-503.

3. NEO-ASSYRIAN

AN ASSYRIAN WINE LIST (3.127)

(NWL 8)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

Discovered during the 1957-63 excavations of Nimrud (ancient Kalḫu) in an area known as Fort Shalmaneser, this fragmentary tablet (ND 10047) is one of the administrative documents known more specifically as Wine Lists. These Nimrud Wine Lists date from the 8th century BCE (as early as the reign of Adad-nirari III and as late as Tiglath-pileser III as recent collation has shown; see note 3 below). In the light of recent research,¹ it seems that these texts recorded the distribution of wine at an annual ceremonial feast that occurred at the turn of the Assyrian calendar year, which coincided with the vernal equinox, sometime in Addaru, more often in Nisannu (Fales 1994:368-370; Dalley and Postgate 1984:24-25). This annual feast may have been connected with the yearly muster of the army.

(lines 1//8) ² Month of Addaru (12th month), day 1, eponym (limnu) []-šallimanni ³	a Ps 45:10; Neh 2:6	1 <i>sātu</i> (seah), 5 <i>qa</i> (liters), the wine master; 1 <i>sātu</i> (seah), the [eu]nuch[s]; [1 <i>sātu</i> (seah)] ¹ , the domestic personnel; [1 <i>sātu</i> (seah)] ¹ , Nabû-šarḫu-ilāni ⁴ ; [x] <i>qa</i> (liters), the "third men" ^c ; [x] <i>q a</i> (liters), the chariot-fighters of the gods ⁵ ; [x] <i>q a</i> (liters), the mule stable personnel; [x] <i>q a</i> (liters), the <i>bēt qiqi</i> personnel; [x] <i>q a</i> (liters), the <i>ša-dunāni</i> personnel ⁶ ; [x] <i>qa</i> (liters), the [Šam]aš contingent; [x] <i>qa</i> (liters), the <i>ša muḫḫi qaqqari</i> personnel ⁷ ; [x] <i>qa</i> (liters), the chariot-fighters, shield-bearers; [x] <i>qa</i> (liters), the chariot-drivers of the <i>mugerru</i> - chariots ⁸ ; [x] <i>qa</i> (liters), (ditto) of the <i>labbašute</i> ⁹ ; [5] <i>qa</i> (liters), the [fodder]-master; [x] <i>qa</i> (liters), the palace supervisor;
(lines 2-3//9-10) [x] <i>sātu</i> (seahs), [x] <i>qa</i> (liters) regular contributions (offerings); 2 <i>qa</i> (liters), the augurs.	b 2Kgs 18:17; Jer 39:3, 13	
(lines 4-30//11-38) 5 <i>qa</i> (liters), for cups in the morning; 3 <i>qa</i> (liters), for cups in the evening; 3 <i>sātu</i> (seahs), the queen (<i>ša ekalli</i>) ^a ; 1 <i>sātu</i> (seah), the chief eunuch (<i>rab ša-rēši</i>) ^b ; 3 <i>sātu</i> (seahs), 1 <i>qa</i> (liter), the royal bodyguards; 1 <i>sātu</i> (seah), 5 <i>qa</i> (liters), the conscripts of the [chief eunuch (<i>rab ša-rēši</i>)] ¹ ;	c Exod 14:7; 15:4, etc.	

¹ For earlier opinions, see Kinnier Wilson 1972:1-2 and Parpola 1976:165-174.

² The obverse is numbered differently in the two editions. The first number here is that of Kinnier Wilson 1972; the second is that of Fales 1994. The numbering of the reverse is the same in both.

³ Kinnier Wilson (1972:2, 136) restored: [EN]. [BA-šā]-a-ni. Through a collation by C. Walker and S. Dalley, the eponym should be read as: [ša]-lim-a-ni. Furthermore, taking into consideration all the various connections, the date of 735 BCE is most likely (i.e. the eponym of Aššur-šallimanni, during the reign of Tiglath-pileser III). See Dalley and Postgate 1984:22-23; and Fales 1994:365, 371.

⁴ This individual is mentioned in a number of other Wine Lists tablets.

⁵ The LÚ.A.SIG [DINGIR.ME]Š-ni (*mārē dammaqūte ša ilāni*) is a group attested in a number of wine lists and letters. See Kinnier Wilson 1972:50, 61-62.

⁶ Kinnier Wilson (1972:54-55) suggests a meaning of "standard bearers."

⁷ For a list of occurrences of this profession, see Fales 1994:373, n. 59.

⁸ See Postgate 1990:37.

⁹ See Fales 1994:373, n. 61.

2 qa (liters), the cupbearer; ½ qa (liter), the son of the cupbearer; 2 qa (liters), the physicians; 2 qa (liters), the diviners; ¹⁰ 2 qa (liters), the male exorcists; 2 qa (liters), the victuallers ¹¹ ; [2] qa (liters), the []; 2 qa (liters), [the bakers]; [] [] (Reverse) (beginning lost) (lines 1'-19') [x qa] (liters), [the chari]ot-owners [] [x qa] (liters), the chariot-owners [] 1 qa (liter), (the man) Kuniya; 1 qa (liter) [PN]; 1 sūtu (seah), the palace women; 7 qa (liters), the woman of [Har]ran; (the wom- an) [PN];	d 2 Kgs 17:6; 18:11	6½ qa (liters), the Hit[tite] female singers; 5½ qa (liters), the Arpa[dite] female singers; 2 sūtu (seahs), the Elam[ites]; 7½ qa (liters), the []; 1 šap[pu-container]; 2 [ditto, the ša-še]pi guard; 1 dit[to], the [] men; [] in the [even]ing; 1 left over; 3, the Samaritans ⁴ ; 3, the Manaeans ¹² ; 2, the Car[chemish]ites; 5 qa (liters), the Sam ³ alians; [] Total: 5 emāru (homers), 2 sūtu (seahs), 5½ qa (liters). ¹³
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¹⁰ LÚ.HAL.MEŠ (*bārū*) "diviners (usually by extispicy)."

¹¹ LÚ.SUM.NINDA.MEŠ (*karkadinnu/kakardinnu*) "victualler." For this military officer, see Dalley and Postgate 1984:28.

¹² For the Mannaeans, see the Bukān Inscription (3.89).

¹³ A total of approximately 525½ liters. For further discussion, see Powell 1992; 1993.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Kinnier Wilson 1972:136-137; Fales 1994:371-374.

AN ASSYRIAN HORSE LIST (3.128) (TFS 99)

K. Lawson Younger, Jr.

This tablet (10 x 15 cm), with two columns on the front and two columns on the back, was discovered during the 1957-63 excavations of Nimrud (ancient Kalḫu) in an area at the southeastern corner of the lower city known as Fort Shalmaneser. The text is one of the administrative documents known more specifically as the Horse Lists.¹ Apparently, it was a formal check list either preceding or following the actual muster lists, which were less carefully written. It dates between 710-708 BCE with Sargon II's Babylonian campaigns providing the background against which it should be interpreted (Dalley and Postgate 1984:176).

The tablet is divided into sections, one of which details a Samarian unit.² This was a new unit which was allowed to retain its national identity, and was not amalgamated with the unit of the *šaglûte*-deportees. Sargon II added a corps of Israelite chariotry into his army after the 720 BCE campaign according to his Great "Summary" Inscription (COS 2.118E) and Nimrud Prisms (COS 2.118D).³

(Obv. ii.16-23)		a Exod 6:23; 28:1; 38:21; Lev 10:6, 12, 16; Num 3:2, 4; 4:28, 33; 7:8; 26:60; Ezra 8:2; 1 Chr 5:29 [6:3]; 24:1-6	(18) Aḫi-idri ⁸ (19) Bēl-dūri ¹⁰	Abdi-Milki ⁹ Narmena
§E (16) Ibba-dalā ⁴ (17) Yaū-gā ⁶	Dalā-aḫi ⁵ Atamru ^{7a}			

¹ There are three kinds of Horse List texts from Nimrud. Some of these deal explicitly with horses and mules, while others contain numbers which may be deduced to refer to equids. Finally, some of the texts list only men but join the group by virtue of close prosopographical connection. All the Horse Lists refer to personnel from the cavalry and chariotry of the Assyrian army, and are tablets of military administration used "for organizing the campaign, and checking the horses, mules, chariots, military equipment and enemy booty" (Borger 1956:59).

² For a discussion of these names, see Dalley 1985:31-36; Eph'al 1991:41-42; Fales 1991:104; Becking 1992:74-77; and Zadok 1997.

³ Na'aman (2000) has recently argued for the accuracy of the Great "Summary" Inscription over the Nimrud Prisms. See also Younger 2002.

⁴ See PNA 2/1:499.

⁵ See PNA 1/2:372.

⁶ See PNA 2/1:497; Zadok 1988:23.

⁷ Biblical "Itamar. See PNA 1/1:231; HALOT 44.

⁸ See PNA 1/1:64; Zadok 1997:213.

⁹ See PNA 1/1:6-7, #1.

¹⁰ See PNA 1/2:291-293.

(20) Gabbē ¹¹	Samā ¹²		(22) Ahī-Yāu ¹⁵	Total 13, city of Samaria,
(21) Ahī-idri ¹³	Bahī ¹⁴		(23)	hand of Nabū-bēlu-ukin ¹⁶

¹¹ See PNA 1/2:411-412.

¹² Dalley and Postgate (1984:173, note to ii.20) state: "Sama could be the same man as occurs in ARU 59; 186; 201; and 554 (probably all dated 694 and 693 B.C.) 'sa-ma-²a, whose profession is given as *murabbānu ša mār-šarri* [Nergal-zero-*ibni*]. He occurs next to equestrian witnesses in all four texts, which suggests the possibility that *murabbānu* in Neo-Assyrian could mean 'horse breeder/trainer' rather than 'tutor.' Possibly the borrower of silver in BT 101, dated 710 B.C." [The abbreviation BT = Parker 1963.]

Dalley (1985:41) concludes: "From this evidence it is reasonable to suggest that Sama² the Samarian commander of teams who served Sargon as a reliable, professional soldier in the royal army of Assyria, was a close friend of the king and had access to and perhaps influence over members of the royal family. As such he would have had opportunities to become closely acquainted with Sargon's vizier Nabu-belu-ukin who probably acted as the first commander of the Samarian unit. Whether or not Sama² actually played a part in negotiating preferential treatment for Samaria, the evidence for his career is an indication of the important role played by Samaritans in Nimrud and Nineveh in the late 8th and early 7th centuries."

¹³ See note 8 above.

¹⁴ See PNA 1/2:251-252.

¹⁵ PAP(*ahī*)-i-ū (probably a copyist's error for PAP-ia-ū — written this way in the other texts). Cf. TFS 113:13 and 118:10. For this name and the five individuals known to have held it, see PNA 1/1:63-64; Fales 1991:112, n. 97. See also 3.113, n. 4 above.

¹⁶ This man may be the *sukkallu* who wrote several Konyunik letters and NL 63 and perhaps 42 (S. Parpola, OAC XVII p. 137 chart 3), although he does not have any connection with Samaria in those contexts. See Dalley and Postgate (1984:173, n. to ii.23).

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Dalley and Postgate 1984:167-179, pls. 25-26; Dalley 1985:31-36; Eph^cal 1991:41-42; Fales 1991:104; Becking 1992:74-77; and Zadok 1997.

E. WILLS

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1. ALALAKH

INHERITANCE OF A BROTHER AND A SISTER (AT 7) (3.129)

Richard S. Hess

This Old Babylonian text from Alalakh resolves an inheritance dispute before the court of the king. In so doing it is clear that both sister and brother receive shares of the estate. It is thus clear that women could inherit property and take a share of their father's estate, as in the famous case of the daughters of Zelophehad (Num 27:1-11; Josh 17:3-6). In both accounts, however, the decision is made before the leader of the nation and thus the impression is that of an exceptional case. Compare also examples at Nuzi and Emar. See Ben-Barak 1980; Paradise 1980; 1987; Huehnergard 1985; Hess 1992; 1996:258-259. In several ways a comparison can also be drawn with Genesis 13 and the division of the "inheritance" of the land between Abram and Lot, relatives who also resolve a dispute through this decision. Here, however, Abram, whose right of the first part of the inheritance is not disputed, willingly give this privilege to his younger nephew Lot.

Dispute (lines 1-12)

- 1 Concerning the estate of Ammurabi's wife:
- 2-3 Abbael has brought a suit against his sister Bittatti,
- 4 [as follows]: "It [is (all) mine.]
- 5 Bit[ta]tti, you are not reckoned¹ (an heir) in this house."
- 6 [B]ittatti [replied as follows:]
- 7 ... in the town of Suharuwa,
- 8 [with] my [m]other I am reckoned (as an heir).
- 9-10 [W]hy have you taken the extra share (of the estate)?
- 11-12 Let us divide your father's estate equally.

Petition (lines 13-28)

- 13-14 They considered the matter before king Niqumepa.
- 15, 17-18 Abiadu testified before king Niqumepa that Bittatti
- 16 has a share of the estate.

Decision (lines 19-24)

- 19 The king replied as follows:
- 21 Let Abbael choose and take
- 20 from the estate the property that he wants.
- 22 The property that he rejects, Bittatti
- 23 shall take.
- 24 Thus the king replied.

Enactment (lines 25-41)

- 25 Gimil-Addu and Niwariadu
- 26 of the throne
- 27 were sent to the estate to be divided.
- 28-29 Abbael chose and took the upper property which was the upper storey.
- 30-31 He gave the lower property to Bittatti his sister.
- 32-33 It shall never again be changed.
- 35, 37 Abbael shall not claim against
- 34 Bittatti's portion of the estate
- 36 nor shall Bittatti (claim) against Abbael.
- 38 Whoever should claim
- 40 must pay
- 39 five hundred gold shekels to the palace
- 41 and forfeit their portion of the estate.

Witnesses (lines 42-46)

- 42 Ms. Bantikidia,² Iliku[papa],
- 43 Namidagan, Ikumšarrum a governor,
- 44 Kumidaba, Iatarmalik,
- 45 Murmeni servant of Ammitaku, Yarimlim,
- 46 Iriškubi a substitute.

Date (lines 47-49)

- 47 On the thirteenth day of the month of Izalli,
- 48 the year when king Niqumepa
- 49 captured Arazik.

¹ For "reckoned" (*pá-al-la-ti*), see Speiser 1963; 1965. Difficulties with this abstract concept in biblical usages (e.g., Exod 21:22-23) are discussed by Jackson 1975:79-80.

² Note the presence of a woman acting as a witness in this royal inheritance decision.

REFERENCES

Text: Photo: Walker 1987:26. Copy: AT pls. v-vi. Transliteration: AT 34-36; Ben-Barak 1980:28-29. Translations: AT 34-36; Finkelstein 1969:545-546; Loewenstamm 1980:23-24.

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SUMERIAN ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

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A. LETTERS

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1. A LETTER FROM AN ANGRY HOUSEWIFE (3.130)

William W. Hallo

Following the interpretation of its original editor, this unusual letter seems to involve a woman's defending herself against charges of waste and mismanagement of her husband's estate as dealt with both in §§141-143 of the Laws of Hammurabi (COS 2.131) and in a model court-case (below, 3.140). It may thus represent a model letter rather than a "functional" one, using the terminology of Roth (1979:101f.; for a different sense of "functional," see COS 2:91, 211, 327, 405.

(1-2) To "the beloved" ¹ say: ²	a Num 24:3, 15	house there is no barley (left) at all.
(3-5) Why on account of the children does he demean my reputation? ³		(14) On account of the (seed-plowing of the) field I spoke to Lu-Nanna.
(6-7) Have I tied up as much as one flat loaf of bread ⁴ (or) 20 (liters) of flour in a leather sack? ⁵	b Prov 31:10-31	(15) He said to me: "I will provide (the seed-plowing) for you." ⁷
(8) Whatever barley there is in the house has not been tied up for the woman (of the house).		(16-17) If he has not given the field into his (Lu-Nanna's) hand I will have to seize a seed-plower for myself somewhere else.
(9) There is no (cause) for worrying about his storehouse. I have not entered it! ⁶		(18) On account of the oxen (for seed-plowing), let him send me an attendant for it!
(10) (But even if I had,) would I be scattering our possessions which he has acquired?		(19) There isn't any barley in the house with me.
(11) I took (only) 11 (loaves of) beer-bread which were there out of his house (and) disbursed them to the household.		(20) Let him deliver ⁸ barley to me!
(12-13) (As for) the barley for the seed-plowing, it was carried off by the personnel. In the		(21) It is urgent! ⁹ Let him bring it to me!
		(22) Igidu ¹⁰ ^a said to me: "The messenger of the divine Shara has betaken himself to him.
		(23) May you not detain (lit. seize) him! Let him come to me. ^b

¹ Sum. [KI].ÁG, partly restored. This could be a personal name, as commonly at the beginning of letters (and attested as such), or an epithet, here perhaps used sarcastically. Note in this connection that the addressee is spoken of in the third person throughout the letter except in the very last line. Note also the first person plural possessive in line 10.

² At this point letters normally continue with "this is what PN (the sender) says." The absence of this formula may indicate the state of agitation she was in, or the high degree of familiarity between the correspondents.

³ Alternatively: why does he complain against me/sue me, lit., "say (do) my claim"; cf. CAD s.vv. *baqāru*, *ragāmu*.

⁴ Lit., "one bread smeared (i.e. on the inside of the oven like pita)." Alternatively: 60 (liters) of bread by the *šiqu* measure; see CAD Š 3:102, s.v. *šiqu* C.

⁵ See CAD s.v. *naruqqu*. For KUŠ.A.GÁ.LÁ.KÉŠDA cf. CAD s.v. *raksu* and Letter B2:9 in Ali 1964:63.

⁶ Alternatively: Not having been born in his/her store-house, I cannot enter it.

⁷ Lit., "I will give it to you."

⁸ For this sense of ŠU.TAG₄.TAG₄, see Powell 1978:190f.; he reads ŠU-DA₄-DA₄.

⁹ Lit., "it is of a flood!" A standard expression at the end of letter-orders.

¹⁰ As in line 1, it is not certain whether this is a personal name or an epithet or professional name, lit. "the one whose eyes are open," which may be a skilled laborer; cf. the antonym, IGI.NU.DU₃, which seems to stand for "unskilled laborer."

REFERENCES

Text and translation: Owen 1980.

2. A LETTER TO THE KING (3.131)

William W. Hallo

The royal correspondence of the dynasties of Ur, Isin and Larsa served as models for epistolary art and therefore entered the scribal curriculum or canon; see *COS* 1.164 and 165 for examples. But they ultimately derived from genuine archival copies in the royal chanceries, as suggested by their many correspondences with details known from contemporaneous sources, and illustrated by this example.

(1) Speak to my king! ¹		from sunrise to sunset (and) to the very edges of the entire heartland.
(2) This is what Irmu your servant says: ²		(9) The Amorites have stirred up(?) the whole enemy country.
(3) Oh my king, your command is the word of Heaven that is not to be altered.		(10-12) Kunshi-matum they [sent back?] to Shulgi, ⁴ to the fortress of Igi-hursanga, ⁵ and Aba-indasa [...] ⁶
(4) Your destiny like that of a god is granted to you.		[Break]
(5) The wall whose work my king has entrusted to me is accomplished.		(13') The letter of my king [...]
(6) The way ³ to the heartland has been barred to the enemy.		(14') Whatever the king commands I will surely do.
(7-8) They have carried the lofty name of my king from the lower land to the upper land,		(15') May my king know it!

¹ According to Michalowski (1980-83:52f.), the king in question is Shulgi of Ur, although Irmu only served as a high official under Shulgi's successors, and Shulgi appears in the third person in line 10.

² Irmu is the shorter form of the name Ir-Nanna and was borne by one of the highest officials of the Ur III empire who served in numerous capacities and was the virtual viceroy of the realm. See most recently Huber 2000.

³ Lit., foot.

⁴ According to other sources, both archival and monumental, Kunshi-matum, whose name means "submit, oh land!", was the daughter of Shu-Sin of Ur and affianced to a succession of rulers of distant Simanum; Michalowski 1975.

⁵ A great wall across the narrowest part of the valley between Tigris and Euphrates that was intended to keep the Amorites at bay.

⁶ An official known from two other royal letters.

REFERENCES

Text: PBS 10/4:8. Studies: Wilcke 1969:2f.; Michalowski 1975; 1976:177-182; 1980-83:52f.

3. A LETTER-ORDER (3.132)

William W. Hallo

Functional letters were chiefly of a simpler cast. Most often they were simply orders to furnish the bearer with specified materials out of the state stores on the authority of the letter-writer. Except for the fact that the payment was in kind rather than in cash (silver), they thus served much the same purpose as modern checks or bank-drafts. In the following unique case, the envelope enclosing the letter-order is preserved, and serves as a kind of receipt, sealed by the recipient. For comparable Hebrew "letter-orders," see *COS* 3.42F, 3.43A-H. For a possible Ugaritic parallel, see *COS* 3.45Q and n. 100.

(Tablet) Say to Hesa that he should give to Shu-Adad 95 bushels of barley in the temple of Shara. Let him not argue!		of barley from Irum-bani the temple-administrator, in the temple of Shara.
(Envelope) Shu-Adad the herdsman received 95 royal bushels		(Seal impression on envelope) Shu-Adad, the royal herdsman, son of Gamilum.

REFERENCES

Text and study: Owen 1971-72.

B. CONTRACTS

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1. SALE TRANSACTIONS

SLAVE SALE (3.133A)

Piotr Steinkeller

This text comes from Lagaš and dates to the Sargonic period (ca. 2250 BCE).

(lines 1-6) Gala, Geme-LIŠ (and) her two daughters — they are his wife and children (i.e., of Gala); Lu-TAR (and) Šadu — they are his brothers.	a Gen 10:10	brought them from Akkade ^a (and) made them “cross over the stick.” ¹
(lines 7-10) Lugal-ušumgal, the governor of Lagaš, bought them from Šu-ilišu, the judge.		(lines 17-28) Šuruš-kin, the policeman, Edenbiše, the scribe, Ilum-bani, the physician, Gudea, Nani, (and) Dada, the captains, Ipqum, son of Nani, the governor, Mesag, brother of Ur-mega, the captain, Dada, the [...], Ur-nigzu, son of [...] (— these are the witnesses).
(lines 11-16) Puzur-Adad, son of Dudu, brother of Šu-ilišu,		

¹ For this ritual action, symbolizing the transfer of the sold person from the seller to the buyer, see most recently Steinkeller 1989:34-42.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Thureau-Dangin 1903:44 no. 80; Edzard 1968:94-96 no. 46.

SLAVE SALE (3.133B)

Piotr Steinkeller

This text comes from Nippur and dates to the Ur III period (5th year of Ibši-Sin, the 10th month, ca 2024 BCE).

(lines 1-7) One woman — her name being Geme-Ezida; her price being 4 shekels of silver — Ur-Nuska, the NU-ÈŠ(<i>nešakku</i>) priest, bought from Zanka, her mother.	(lines 11-12) They swore by the name of the king not to contest one against the other.
(line 8) Ur-G[ula], the merchant, was the one who weighed out the silver.	(lines 13-17) Ur-sukal, Lu-balašaga, Lugal-nesage, (and) Ur-nigingar — these are the witnesses.
(lines 9-10) Lugal-namtare is the guarantor.	(lines 18-20) Month Ab-è, year that the king's daughter was married to the ruler of Zabšali. Seal: Zanka, daughter of Ur-dun.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Owen 1982 pl. 196, no. 903; Steinkeller 1989:225-226, no. 49.

REAL ESTATE TRANSACTION (3.133C)

Piotr Steinkeller

This text comes from Šuruppak and dates to the Fara period (ca. 2400 BCE).

(lines 1-2) 1 mina (i.e. a pound) of copper (is) the price of the field.	lers. ¹
(line 3) 1 sar (is the size of) the field.	(lines 16-35) Ur-Sud, the master (house-surveyor), Ur-Gula, the scribe, Ur-Sud, the gate keeper, Anene, the ..., Dugani, the oblate, Šu-abi, Lugal-uma, Muni-eš, the cup-bearer, Ezi, (member of the household) of Gula, Ur-Sud, the bailiff, and Kini-muzu — (these are) the witnesses.
(lines 4-5) 2 minas of copper (is) the additional payment.	(lines 36-38) Ur-Enlil, the chief constable, (is) the buyer. ²
(lines 6-7) 6 minas of copper (is) the gift.	(lines 39-40) (During) the term of office of Nammah.
(lines 8-11) 10 loaves of breads, 10 cakes, 2 PAB-measures of soup, (and) 2 PAB-measures of fish chowder (is the food offering).	(line 41) (The field is located in) 'X'.TUR.
(lines 12-15) Ur-ensahara, Urni, (and) Ku(g)-pad, (are) the sel-	

¹ Lit., "the ones who ate the price."

² Lit., "the one who bought the house."

REFERENCES

Text: Grégoire 1981 pl. 27, no. 86.

REAL ESTATE TRANSACTION (3.133D)

Piotr Steinkeller

This text comes from Umma and dates to the Ur III period (before Šulgi's 33rd year, ca. 2062 BCE).

(lines 1-14) 1½ sar of a house — 17⅙ shekels of silver being the price of the house; 1 mina of wool, 1 head-band, (and) 1 liter of oil being the gift for the house — Ur-nigingar, son of Girini, the chief constable, bought (this) house from Gugu, son of Ušmu, (and) Išagani, his wife, from both of them.	Lugal-sig, the scribe, Alla, son of Ur-du, the cattle-fattener, the son-in-law of Gugu, Inimanizi, son of Inna'a, (and) Arad, son of Lugal-TAR — these are the witnesses.
(line 15) He (i.e., Ur-nigingar) completed this transaction.	(lines 24-25) 200 table-breads (and) 60 bowls of beer (for) Inim-Šara, the master (house-surveyor).
(lines 16-23) Hana'a, the mason, Ur-E.MIR.ZA, the mason,	(line 26) When Ahu'a was the governor of Umma.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Steinkeller 1989:275-278, no. 88*, pl. 7.

2. MANUMISSIONS

THE MANUMISSION OF UMANIGAR (3.134A)

Piotr Steinkeller

This text comes from Nippur and dates to the Ur III period (the 6th year of Amar-Sin, ca. 2041 BCE).

(lines 1-5)

In the city-gate of Ninurta (named) "Lofty-city-gate-of-heaven-and earth,"¹ Atu, his father, manumitted² Umanigar, the slave of [PN], because of his being the (only) heir.³ ⁴

a Gen 15:3

(lines 10-19 + break)

Before Lugal-azida, the (chief) worker-recruiter⁴ of Nippur, (before) Ur-Ababa, the chief town-crier, (before) Un-daga, the gendarme, (before) Lugal-apin, (before) Šeš-kala, (before) Lugal-magure, (before) Lu-melam, (before) Lala, (before) Amar-šuba, (before) [Balala?]¹ [(before) X PN — these are the witnesses].

(line 1')

Year that king Amar-Sin destroyed Šašru.

(lines 6-9)

Lu-kirizal (and) Lu-dingira, brothers of Atu, swore by the name of the king that (in the future) they will not contest (the estate of Atu).

¹ Reading [K]Á.GAL-mah-ki-a[n-na] / "Nin-urta-k[a]. Cf. Steinkeller 1989:73 n. 209.

² Lit., "he established his freedom" (ama-ar-gi-ni ñ-gar).

³ Lit., "for / because of heirship (nam-ñ-gi-la-šè)." This clause suggests the existence of a legal provision (otherwise undocumented) by which debt slaves (as undoubtedly is the case in this transaction) were subject to automatic manumission upon their becoming the only heirs.

⁴ UGULA.URU (lit. "chief of the city") is probably to be read ZILULU. See Gelb, Steinkeller, and Whiting 1991:99.

REFERENCES

Text: Owen 1982 pl. 199, no. 920.

THE MANUMISSION OF ŠARAKAM AND UR-GUNA'A (3.134B)

Piotr Steinkeller

This text originates from Umma and dates to the Ur III period (5th year of Amar-Sin, 8th month, ca. 2042 BCE).

(lines 1-8)

Gudaga, their mother, manumitted¹ Šarakam (and) Ur-guna'a, both of them, from Mansum, for ½ mina (= 20 shekels) of silver.

(lines 9-11)

Mansum swore by the name of the king that (in the future) he will not raise claims regarding this silver.

(lines 12-17)

Before Lugal-e-banšag, before Lugal-e, before Dingir-sig, before Ur-gipar, son of X-TUR, before Nigingar-kidug, son of Dagu, before Lu-kinšaga (— these are the witnesses).

(lines 18-19)

Month É-iti-6; year that the EN priest of the great shrine of Inanna of Uruk was installed.

¹ Lit., "she freed/released them" (IN.ŠI.DU₂).

REFERENCES

Text: Fish 1932:132 no. 541; Gomi 1982:118 (collations).

3. MARRIAGE AGREEMENTS

THE MARRIAGE OF UR-NANŠE AND ŠAŠUNIGIN (3.135A)

Piotr Steinkeller

The text comes from Lagaš and dates to the Ur III period (6th year of Šu-Sin, ca. 2032 BCE).

(lines 1-4) A completed judgment: Ur-Nanše, son of Bašišara-gi, married Šašunigin, daughter of Uše-begin, the cowherd.	(lines 8-11) Lu-Šara, Ur-Ištaran, (and) Lu-dingira were the judges.
(lines 5-6) They swore by the name of the king before the judges.	(lines 12-14) Year that Šu-Sin, king of Ur, set up the great stela for Enlil (and) Ninlil.
(line 7) Ur-Igalim, son of Lumu, was the bailiff.	

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Crawford 1954:46; Falkenstein 1956:1-2 no. 1.

THE MARRIAGE OF PUZUR-HAYA AND UBARTUM (3.135B)

Piotr Steinkeller

This tablet and its envelope originate from Lagaš and date to the Ur III period (4th year of Ibbi-Sin, ca. 2025 BCE).

(lines 1-4) Puzur-Haya took Ubartum as his wife.	son of Ur-Dumuzi, the witnesses, before them, the oath by the name of the king was sworn.
(lines 5-11) Before Ur-Damu, son of Ur-meme, (before) Ur-Dumuzi, (before) Bulali, (and before) Alduga,	(line 12) Year that En-amgalana, the high-priest of Inanna, was installed.

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Çiğ, Kizilyay, and Falkenstein 1959:76-78, no. 17. Tablet and envelope.

4. LOAN TRANSACTIONS

A LOAN OF SILVER TO ŠU-AŠLI (3.136A)

Piotr Steinkeller

This tablet and its envelope come from Nippur and date to the Ur III period (5th year of Šu-Sin, 2nd? month, ca. 2033 BCE).

(lines 1-3) Šu-Ašli received 25 shekels of silver from A-zida (as an interest-free loan).	(lines 4-5) He is to return the capital of the silver to Nippur till the month Apin-du ₈ -a (= 8th month).
--	--

(lines 6-8)

If he does not return (this) silver (as specified), he will measure out 2 kor (= 600 liters) of barley for each (shekel of silver) after the harvest (as a penalty).

(lines 9-11)

Before Turam-ili, before An-daga, before Lugal-

ezen (— these are the witnesses).

(lines 12-13)

Month Elunum, [the year] after the Mardu-Wall was built.

Seal: Šu-Ašli, the silver-smith,¹ son of Šarrum-bani.

¹ Written KUG.DÉ (lit. "silver-caster"), replacing the usual KUG.DÍM (lit. "silver-fashioner").

REFERENCES

Text: Owen 1982 pl. 67, no. 266 (tablet and envelope).

A LOAN OF SILVER TO UR-GA (3.136B)

Piotr Steinkeller

This tablet and its envelope originate from Nippur and date to the Ur III period (2nd year of Amar-Sin, 7th month, 20th day, ca. 2045 BCE).

(lines 1-4)

Ur-ga received 10 shekels of silver from Adda'a as a loan; the yearly interest is 1 shekel for each 5 shekels.

(lines 5-6)

He is to restore it (any time) between the 20th day of the month DU₆.KUG (= 7th month) and the (next) month DU₆.KUG.

(lines 7-10)

Before Damu, (before) Puzur-Aššur, (and before) Lala, the scribe — these are the witnesses.

(lines 11-12)

Year that king Amar-Sin destroyed Urbilum.

Seal: Ur-[ga], son of Erra-ur[sag], the shepherd of Nin[urta].

REFERENCES

Text: Owen 1982 pl. 47, no. 168. Tablet and envelope.

A LOAN OF SHEEP FAT (3.136C)

Piotr Steinkeller

This text comes from Nippur. It dates to the Ur III period (9th year of Šu-Sin, 10th month, 23rd day, ca. 2029 BCE).

(lines 1-5)

Adda-kala and Pussa, his wife, received 20 *qū* (liters) of sheep fat from Adda-kala (as an interest-free loan).

(lines 6-7)

They are to return it till the 30th day of the month ZÍZ.DURU₅ (= 11th month).

(lines 8-13)

They swore by the name of the king that, if

they do not return it (as specified), they will substitute 20 liters of barley for each liter of sheep fat (as a penalty).

Lu-Enlila, A-kala, Lugal-magure, (and) Lugal-apin — these are the witnesses.

Month KUG.SU_x, 23rd day, the year king Šu-Sin built the temple of Šara in Umma.

Seal: Adda-kala, son of Muni-mah.

REFERENCES

Text: Owen 1982 pl. 25, no. 72.

A LOAN OF SILVER TO GINA AND MANI (3.136D)

Piotr Steinkeller

This text was found in Nippur¹ and dates to the Ur III period (3rd year of Ibbi-Sin, 12th month, ca. 2026 BCE).

(lines 1-5) Gina and Mani, (his mother), ² received 8 shekels of silver from Adda-kala (as an interest-free loan).	a penalty). ³
(line 6) They are to restore it by the month Nesag (= 4th month).	(lines 9-10) Before Ur-Šulpae (and) before Nabašag (— these are the witnesses).
(lines 7-8) They swore by the name of the king that, if they do not restore it (as specified), they will double it (as	(lines 11-12) Month Dumu-zi, the year Simurum was destroyed. Seal 1: Gina, son of A'addaga. Seal 2: Mani, wife of A'addaga.

¹ As is shown by the fact that the tablet uses Umma month names, the transaction had apparently taken place in Umma.

² See the seals.

³ Cf. Limet 1969.

REFERENCES

Text: Owen 1982 pl. 46, no. 164.

A LOAN OF SILVER TO ŠUNA (3.136E)

Piotr Steinkeller

This tablet and its envelope come from Nippur and date to the Ur III period (1st year of Ibbi-Sin, 6th month, ca. 2028 BCE). The transaction involves an antichretic arrangement, in which the interest on the loan is paid off by the labor of the pledged slave woman (see also the next two loans, 3.136F and 3.136G and above, 3.116).

(lines 1-6) Šuna received 7 shekels of silver from Šeš-dada (as a loan); in lieu of its interest he placed (for service) Uba'a, [his] slave [woman]). ¹	stops working.
(lines 7-10) He swore by the name of the king to measure out 5 liters (of barley) as (her) daily wages, if she	(lines 11-14) Lu-šaga, Ur-Tumal, and Lu-Sin — these are the witnesses. (line 15) Month Kin-Inanna, the year Ibbi-Sin (became) king.

¹ The reconstruction D[AM-NI], "his wife," is also possible.

REFERENCES

Text: Pohl 1937 pl. 9, no. 32. Tablet and envelope.

A LOAN OF SILVER TO UR-ENLILA (3.136F)

Piotr Steinkeller

The text may originate from Nippur and dates from the Ur III period (1st year of Šu-Sin). This is an antichretic loan transaction, in which the interest on the loan is covered by the produce of the pledged field (see 3.136D above and 3.136G below).

(lines 1-5)

Ur-Enlila, the farmer, received from Ga'akam 9 shekels of silver (as a loan); its interest (is) 2 shekels and 36 grains of silver.¹

(lines 6-7)

(In lieu of the interest) he (i.e., Ur-Enlila) gave to him 9 IKU of land for cultivation.

(lines 8-9)

He (i.e., Ur-Enlila) promised to give this silver (back) at the threshing floor.²

(lines 10-14)

He swore by the name of the king that, if he does not it return it (as specified), he will measure out 1 kor and 120 *qû* (= 420 liters) of barley for each shekel of silver (as a penalty).

(lines 15-18)

Before Ur-Haya, before Ur-Baba, the supervisor of oxen, before Lu-dingira, son of Dudu, and before Lu-dingira, the scribe (— these are the witnesses).

(line 19)

The year Šu-Sin (became) king.

¹ I.e., almost 25%.² I.e., at harvest time.

REFERENCES

Text, translation and studies: Çiğ, Kizilyay and Falkenstein 1959:86-88, no. 24.

A LOAN OF SILVER TO GIRINI (3.136G)

Piotr Steinkeller

This tablet and its envelope originate from Nippur and date to the Ur III period (6th year of Šu-Sin, 5th month, ca. 2032 BCE). It is an antichretic loan transaction. For similar transactions, see 3.136E and 3.136F above).

Girini borrows 6 shekels of silver from Ur-Nanibgal. At the same time, Ur-Nanibgal rents, for 5 years, Girini's house. The yearly rent of the house ($\frac{2}{3}$ shekel) will be deducted from the yearly interest on the loan ($1\frac{1}{5}$ shekel).

(lines 1-4)

Girini received 6 shekels of silver from Ur-Nanibgal as a loan; the interest for (each) 5 shekels (is) 1 shekel.¹

(lines 5-7)

The rent of the house (which Ur-Nanibgal agrees to rent from Girini), being $\frac{2}{3}$ shekel, will be deducted from the interest on his silver (loan); he (i.e., Ur-Nanibgal) gave his word (to reside in the house)

for 5 years.²

(lines 8-14)

Lu-Enlila, Šu-Kubum, Habaluke, Lu-kala, Nibalu'e, Lu-Ninšubur — these are the witnesses.

Month NE.NE-gar, the year the great stela was set up.

Seal: Girini, son of Ur-ga(?)-X-X.

¹ I.e., 20% (per annum), the typical interest for silver loans.² The envelope (read according to Oppenheim's transliteration) has instead: "He (i.e., Ur-Nanibgal) gave his word to live in the house for 5 years. Its rent, being $\frac{2}{3}$ shekel of silver, will be deducted from the interest on the silver (loan)."

REFERENCES

Text, translations and studies: Oppenheim 1948:133-134, S 3; Sauren 1978 pl. xci, no. 276. Tablet and envelope.

5. RENTAL AND HIRE TRANSACTIONS

A LEASE OF LAND (3.137A)

Piotr Steinkeller

The text originates from Nippur and dates to the Ur III period (7th year of Šu-Sin, 3rd month, ca. 2031 BCE).

(lines 1-10) Madake, Ur-gagi'a, Katar, (and) Lu-melam leased out ¹ 6 iku of land, (located in) the field Dalbana, ² to Ur-Sin, son of A-kala, for 3 years, (in exchange) for ⅓ (of its produce).	(lines 12-15) Lu-Inanna, Šeš-kala, (and) Ur-ganuna — these are the witnesses.
(line 11) They (i.e., the lessors) swore by the name of the king (not to contest the agreement).	(lines 16-17) Month Sig ₄ <-ga>, 13th day, the year king Šu-Sin <destroyed> the land of Zabšali.

¹ Lit., "gave."

² Lit., "in-between" (*birtu*).

REFERENCES

Text: Fish 1932:126 no. 40; Gomi 1982:95 (collations).

A RECORD OF HIRE (3.137B)

Piotr Steinkeller

The text originates from Nippur and dates to the Ur III period (8th year of Šu-Sin, 12th month, ca. 2030 BCE).

(lines 1-6) Geme-Nungal and Šu-Durul, her son, received from Lugal-azida 1 shekel of silver, the wages of Ur-Iškur. ¹	hegal, they swore by the name of the king to measure out 6 liters of barley (as his daily wages), if he (i.e., Ur-Iškur) stops working.
(lines 7-14) Before Ur-Iškur, before <PN>, son of Ur-Sin, before Lu-Iškur, (and) before Tulta, son of Lugal-	(lines 15-16) Month Še-KIN-kud; the year the great barge of Enlil was caulked. Seal: Šu-Durul, son of Geme-Nungal.

¹ Almost certainly, Ur-Iškur was Geme-Nungal's son. Note that, three years later, the same Lugal-azida hired Geme-Nungal's son Šu-Durul (see 3.137C below), here acting as a co-lessor.

REFERENCES

Text: Pohl 1937 pl. 7 no. 24.

ANOTHER RECORD OF HIRE (3.137C)

Piotr Steinkeller

The text comes from Nippur and dates to the Ur III period (2nd year of Ibbi-Sin, 6th month, ca. 2027 BCE).

(lines 1-6)

Geme-Nungal received from Lugal-azida 3 shekels of silver, the yearly wages of Šu-Durul, (her son).¹

(lines 7-11)

She swore by the name of the king to measure out 10 liters of barley (as his) daily (wages), if Šu-Durul stops working.

(lines 12-16)

Abinu'a, Lateniš, Lu-Sin, (and) Adda-kala — these are the witnesses.

(lines 17-18)

Month of Kin-⁴Inanna, the year the EN-priest of Inanna of Uruk was selected by an omen.

Seal: Hubatum, son of Bagina.²

¹ See 3.137B above.² Hubatum probably was a relative of Geme-Nungal.

REFERENCES

Text: Owen 1982 pl. 31, no. 98.

6. A MODEL CONTRACT (3.138)

William W. Hallo

Model contracts were part of the scribal curriculum, and may have been ultimately derived, like literary letters, from real archival copies, but they typically lack the witness list and date of archival contracts; cf. Veldhuis 1997:60f.; Bodine 2001.

(1-3)	In the street(s) of his city, he (the herald) sounded the horn.	<i>a</i> Exod 21:2-4; Deut 15:12-15; Jer 34	released his foot fetters, (and) he smashed his pot. ¹
(4-6)	They ordered his sealed tablet (of manumission) to be fired on his forehead.		(10-11) (Thus) he established his freedom.
(7-9)	(Thus the owner) cleared his forehead, he		(12-13) Moreover he left for him the sealed tablet of the fact that he had cleared him. ^a

¹ Three symbols of manumission; with the foot-fetters cf. the handcuffs, likewise made of wood (GIŠ-ŠU).

REFERENCES

Roth 1979:33.

7. A SHIPPING CONTRACT (3.139)

William W. Hallo

Functional contracts typically end with a witness list and a date. In the latter, note that the month name in the standard Babylonian calendar became the basis of the later Hebrew month names, replacing the Canaanite names of pre-exilic times. The present text also features a Persian Gulf seal, crucial for dating the civilization of the Persian Gulf.

(1-3)	4 talents of <i>halkikku</i> -wool, ¹ 2 bushels of wheat, 2 (bushels) of sesame	<i>a</i> 1 Kgs 6:1	(11)	He swore to this in the name of the king.
(4-7)	Hatin-Ibanum son of Apkallum (received) from Luma'a.		(12-13)	Before Ur-Shula'e the seer (and) before Erishti-ili the foreman of the fishermen.
(8-10)	(At) the safe conclusion of the journey, he will give (an oath of) clearance to Luma'a.		(14-15)	(In) the month Aiaru, ^a the 20th day, of the year (when King Gungunum) brought the two great emblems into the temple of Nanna. ²

¹ A better type of wool, perhaps that which embraces the neck. Cf. most recently MSL 13 (1971) 230:362.² This is the date formula for the tenth year of Gungunum of Larsa, or ca. 1923 BCE.

REFERENCES

Text and discussion: Hallo 1965. Studies: Buchanan 1965; Porada 1971.

C. COURTCASES

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1. MODEL COURTCASES

A TRIAL FOR ADULTERY (3.140)

William W. Hallo

No more than eight examples of Sumerian "model court cases" are known so far. They belong to the scribal school curriculum and are thus, strictly speaking, canonical texts. But they ultimately derive from genuine archival records, particularly of the early Isin I Dynasty, and were preserved because they were thought to illustrate some particularly interesting points of law. See in detail, Hallo in press.

(1-4)	Ishtar-ummi the daughter of Ili-asu was taken in marriage by Erra-malik.	^a Exod22:2f.	on top of her (sic!),
(5-6)	In the first place she broke into ¹ his granary. ^a		(19-20) set his (Erra-malik's) divorce-money at [... pounds of silver].
(7-10)	In the second place she opened his pots of sesame-oil and covered them with cloths.		(21) They shaved [half (of her head)] (and the place of) urine, (her) pudenda.
(11-14)	In the third place he caught her on top of a man; he bound her on the body of the man in the bed (and) carried her to the assembly.		(22-23) They pierced ² her nose with an arrow. ³
(15-18)	The assembly, because the man was caught		(24-26) For going around the city she was given over by the king.
			(27) It was a case accepted for trial by the king.
			(28) Ishme-Dagan-zimu was its bailiff.

¹ The verb used is the same as that in line 23, making the punishment fit the crime.

² See the previous note.

³ Lit., "a straight nail."

REFERENCES

Van Dijk 1963:70-77; Greengus 1969-70.

INHERITANCE (3.141)

William W. Hallo

(1-2)	Ur-Suena son of Enlil-mashsu and Anne-babdu his brother	(17-19)	The judges remanded Aabba-kalla to the gate of Ninurta for taking the oath.
(3)	by mutual agreement divided (their inheritance) by lot.	(20-21)	By the gate of Ninurta each man was made to go towards (accommodate) the other.
(4-5)	After Ur-Suena died — 10 years having passed —	(22-26)	By mutual agreement Aabba-kalla gave 4(?) shekels of silver to Anne-babdu.
(6-9)	Anne-babdu confronted the assembly of Nippur, appeared (in court) and declared:	(27-32)	8 rods of orchard within the field of ... in lieu of the respective inheritance shares not yet adjudicated according to the wish (lit. heart) of Mullil-mashsu ¹ Aabba-kalla and his two brothers, the heirs of Ur-Suena, gave to Anne-babdu.
(10-12)	"One-third pound (20 shekels) of silver, the price of 2 slave-girls, Ur-Suena my older brother in no wise whatever gave to me!"	(38)	Anne-babdu swore in the name of the king that he would henceforth not raise a claim against the heirs of Ur-Suena
(13-14)	Aabba-kalla son of Ur-Suena appeared (in court) and declared:		
(15-16)	"His heart was satisfied at that time with that money!"		

¹ The dialectal form of the name Enlil-mashsu.

(33)	for the office of anointing priest of Ninlil and its prebend field,	(36)	slave, or any (other) property of the patrimony whatsoever
(34)	or the office of "elder" or the office of gate-opener(?),	(37)	on the basis of an old document regarding the inheritance share of Aabba-kalla.
(35)	house, field, orchard, slave-girl, male		

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Hallo in press.

2. A FUNCTIONAL COURT CASE (3.142)

William W. Hallo

Functional court cases are well-attested for both Old Sumerian and neo-Sumerian periods. See in detail Edzard 1968 and Falkenstein 1956 respectively.

(1)	A completed judgment:	aGen 17:12f., 23, 27; Lev 22:11	Ba'u that Shesh-kalla the slave was born to Ur-Lamma ² ^a
(2-4)	Shesh-kalla the son of Ur-Lamma declared here: "I am not the slave of Ur-Sahar-Ba'u." ¹		(13-15) Lu-duga (and) Dudumu swore.
(5-9)	That Ur-Lamma the father of Shesh-kalla was given barley rations and wool rations from the hand of Shu-Alla the scribe in the house of Ur-Sahar-Ba'u the son of Namu in return for (his son's) slave-status		(16-17) The slave was confirmed to the heirs of Ur-Sahar-Ba'u.
(10-12)	and that it was in the place of Ur-Sahar-		(18) Ti-Emahta was the bailiff.
			(19) Lu-Shara was the judge.
			(20) Year that King Shu-Sin erected the great stele(s) of Enlil and Ninlil. ³

¹ Contesting their slave status in court was one of several techniques for securing their freedom that were available to slaves in the ancient Near East; see Falkenstein 1956 2:49-72. For others, see Snell 2001.

² He was thus "a slave for life," functionally equivalent to the Akk. (*wīlil bīim*, *ilitti bīim* and the Heb. *y'lid bayit*; see Hallo 1995:87f.

³ I.e. the sixth year of Shu-Sin, ca. 2031 BCE. Note the same stele(s) apparently being manufactured(?) in a text dated the previous year; cf. Sharlach 2000:135 and below, *COS* 3.145, n. 4.

REFERENCES

Falkenstein 1956 2:53f.

D. ACCOUNTS

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1. THE DEATH OF SHULGI (3.143)

William W. Hallo

Account texts are probably the single most abundantly attested genre in Sumerian, and certainly in neo-Sumerian. They reflect an economy largely managed by the state. But occasionally they reveal, if only incidentally, details of other aspects of daily life, including ritual belief and practice, as in the following text.

19 slave girls (working) full time (and) 2 slave girls (working) $\frac{2}{3}$ time, for seven days, ^a their (total) labor being the equivalent of 142 $\frac{1}{3}$ (wo)man-days, when the divine (king) Shulgi was taken up	^a Gen 7:4, 10; 50:10; Job 2:13	in(to) heaven as doorkeeper, ¹ were withdrawn from the account of Anana. Date: eleventh month of Shulgi's last year. ²
--	---	--

¹ Probably in the guise of Dumuzi, the deity whom the king represented in the sacred marriage; cf. COS 1.173. For other evidence of a seven-day mourning period, cf. Hallo 1991:158f.

² Ca. 2047 BCE. By this time the recently deceased king was already receiving funerary offerings according to other texts; cf. Hallo 1991a:180f.

REFERENCES

Text: Watson 1986 No. 132. Studies: Hallo 1991, 1991a.

2. A SUMERIAN AMPHICTYONY

William W. Hallo

In the neo-Sumerian period (21st century BCE), the sacrificial cult at the temples in the religious capital of Nippur were supported by the contributions, mostly in livestock, of the central provinces as forwarded by their governors.¹ Each took a turn (BALA) which was normally a month but could be up to three months for wealthy provinces and as little as ten days for poorer ones. The institution is here illustrated by (a) a calendar text identifying the turns of a given year and (b) a text for that year detailing some of the BALA-contributions for one month.^a

CALENDAR TEXT (3.144A) (HTS 138)²

(1-3) Month I, month II: turn of the governor of Girsu. ³	^a 1 Kgs 4:7-19	(break)
(4-5) Month III: turn of the governor of Adab.		(10') [Month XIII:] turn of the governor of Girsu. ⁴
(6-7) Month IV: turn of the governor of Marad.		(11') Year that Enmahgal-anna the high priestess of Nanna was installed. ⁵
(8-9) Month V: turn of the governor of Kazallu.		

¹ For some details and bibliography see above, Introduction, at nn. 32-36 and 44.

² The text was part of the collection of Hartford Theological Seminary (HTS) when first published; it is now part of the collection of the Horn Archaeological Museum of Andrews University, where it bears the accession number AUAM 73.3161; see L. T. Geraty *apud* Sigris 1984:vi.

³ The names of the months of the imperial calendar have been converted to Roman numerals in this translation.

⁴ The restoration of the last entry (after the break) is reasonably sure since the year in question is known from other sources as a leap year, and the intercalary month normally came at the end of the year.

⁵ This is the name of the fourth year of King Amar-Suen of Ur (ca. 2042 BCE).

THE BALA-CONTRIBUTIONS FOR ONE MONTH (3.144B)
(AUCT 1:209)

(1-2)	1 fatted ox (for) Ninsun, the evening of the first day of the month, ⁶				enteenth day of the month,
(3-5)	2 fatted oxen, the evening of the second day of the month, 1 fatted ox, the evening of the third day of the month, (for) Enki-nin-ul-il, ⁷		(9-10)	1 fatted ox (for) Ninhursag-nubanda, the evening of the twentieth day of the month:	
(6-8)	1 fatted ox, (for) Ulmashitum, 1 fatted ox (for) Annunitum, the evening of the sev-		(11-13)	turn (BALA) of Nanna-zishagal governor of Girsu, withdrawn from Ur-shugalamma.	
			(14-15)	Month I, year that Enmahgal-anna the high priestess of Nanna was installed.	

⁶ Lit., "one day had elapsed (from) the month."
⁷ A rare manifestation of Enki; his temple is mentioned in another Drehem account text dated two years later; cf. Sauren 1978:333.

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Texts and translations: COS 3.144A: Hallo 1960:93, 113; COS 3.144B: Sigrist 1984:209.

3. WEIGHTS AND MEASURES (3.145)

William W. Hallo

Babylonian weights and measures find some echo in biblical metrology; cf. Powell 1987-90; 1992.

(1)	3 vessels of one large <i>kor</i> ¹ ^a	a 1 Kgs 5:2 etc.	(7)	in the month of (Umma's) BALA-obligation. ³
(2)	1 second-quality vessel ²		(8)	Year after the year when the wall (against) the Amorites was built. ⁶
(3)	7 one- <i>seah</i> vessels ³ ^b	b 2 Kgs 7:1 etc.		
(4)	for the stele of Enlil ⁴			(Seal impression)
(5)	from Inim-[...]			Nig-urum the scribe, son of Lu-Shara.
(6)	receipted by Nig-urum			

¹ For the DUG.GUR.LAGAB₂, see Salonen 1966:59, 285f. and cf. Sigrist 1990:243:9(!).
² Cf. Salonen 1966:61.
³ Cf. Salonen 1966:285.
⁴ This is the stele for which the next year was named; cf. above, 3.142, n. 3.
⁵ Cf. above, 3.144, n. 1.
⁶ I.e. the fifth year of Shu-Sin, or ca. 2032 BCE. The wall is probably a remake of Shulgi's wall (above, 3.131, n. 5).

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ADDENDA

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1. THE DISPUTE BETWEEN A MAN AND HIS BA (3.146)

Nili Shupak

This work was probably written in either the First Intermediate Period or at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. The surviving papyrus — Berlin 3024 — dates to the Middle Kingdom. The beginning of the manuscript — which probably contained a narrative frame in prose similar to those appearing in other compositions belonging to the genre of speculative wisdom literature¹ — is lost. The existing text suffers from some lacunae and at times contains obscure passages. This difficult work has given rise to controversy in research, and various translations and interpretations have been given.²

The text is usually taken to be an account of a discussion between an individual and his *ba* (soul) weighing up the value of life against the merits of death. According to this view, one of the disputants, either the man or the *ba*, favors death over life.³ But this interpretation forces one to assume serious inconsistencies and contradictions in the text.⁴ Hence a preferable assumption would be that of a monologue reflecting the internal struggle of a despairing man.⁵ The man, weary of life as a result of private misfortune, wrestles with two opposing perspectives of life versus death. This being the inner psychological situation of the man, one should not look for systematic thought or a rational plot in the composition.

One of the important topics in the monologue is the futility of practices designed to bring about immortality. Another subject which occupies center stage is the relation of the *ba* to the body. The traditional belief that the dead man might not achieve resurrection unless his *ba* rejoins him in the world beyond, finds here its expression.⁶

"The Dispute" is composed in three main styles: prose, symmetrically structured speech, and lyric poetry.⁷ The climax of the whole composition lies in the poetical section which contains four poems presented by the man.⁸

The juxtaposition of the sufferings of our hero and the replies of his *ba* call to mind the figure of the tortured righteous man and the dispute between him and his friends in the Book of Job. The doubt about immortality and the summons to enjoy life while it lasts is reminiscent of the doctrine of Ecclesiastes as well as the reflections expressed in the Egyptian Harpers' Songs.

There is also a resemblance in form and content between this work and the following Mesopotamian wisdom texts: "Man and his God," "The Poem of the Righteous Sufferer," "The Babylonian Theodicy," and "The Dialogue between Master and Servant," as well as "The Epic of Gilgamesh."⁹

<i>The First Speech of the Ba</i> (1-3) ¹⁰	a Pss 103:1, 2, 22; 104:1, 35; Lam 3:24; Eccl 1:16; 2:1, 15; 3:17-18	what it had said. ¹²
[...] (1)[...] their tongue is not partial [...] payment their tongue is not partial. ¹¹		(5) This is too much for me today, My <i>ba</i> does not talk with me. It is too great for exaggeration, It is like ignoring me.
<i>The First Speech of the Man</i> (3-30)		
I opened my mouth to my <i>ba</i> that I might answer ^a		

¹ Cf. "The Eloquent Peasant," "The Complaints of Khakheperre-sonb," and "The Prophecies of Neferti." See COS 1.43-45.

² For a summary of the variety of interpretations see Williams 1962:49-52; Barta 1969:101-116; and lately Tobin 1991:341-343.

³ E.g. Wilson 1955:405; Erman 1966:86; Goedicke 1970 passim; Faulkner 1972:201; Lichtheim 1973:163; Griffith 1992:110.

⁴ See Faulkner 1956:31 n.11.

⁵ Žabkar 1968:122; Tobin 1991:341-363; Renaud 1991:52-53.

⁶ Herrmann 1957:69-71, 78-79; Žabkar 1968:122-123.

⁷ Cf. Lichtheim 1973:163; Renaud 1991:18-19.

⁸ The poems usually consist of three verses of uniform theme and structure: The first verse of every stanza belonging to the same poem is identical. This usage of identical opening formulas is common also in "The Admonitions" (COS 1.42) n. 2; and "The Eloquent Peasant" (COS 1.43); see Shupak 1989-1990:38-39, Table II.

⁹ See Beyerlin 1978:133-142. Cf. esp. "Man and his God" (COS 1.179) l. 35ff; and "The Poem of the Righteous Sufferer" (COS 1.153) Table I, ll. 48ff, 85-92 with "The Dispute" 103-104, 114-115, 117-118; "The Poem of the Righteous Sufferer" (COS 1.153) Table I, l. 53 with "The Dispute" 86ff.

¹⁰ *ba* "soul, personality."

¹¹ This passage probably concerns an appeal to the gods to intervene in the dispute and to pass judgement between the two litigants.

¹² For the usage and the meaning of the literary pattern of man speaking to his soul or to his heart in Eg. and Heb. speculative wisdom literature see "The Prophecies of Neferti" (COS 1.45) n. 9 and "The Complaints of Khakheperre-sonb" (COS 1.44) n. 13.

My *ba* shall not go,¹³
 It shall attend to me in this [...] [
 [...] in my body like a net of cord.¹⁴
 (10) It will not succeed in fleeing on the day of
 pain!
 Behold, my *ba* misleads me (but) I do not listen
 (12) to it;
 It drags me towards death, before I come to it,¹⁵
 And casts [me] on the fire until I am burned.
 ... (15) It shall approach me on the day of pain,
 And it shall stand on that side as does Nehepu.¹⁶
 It is that which goes out and brings itself.¹⁷
 My *ba* is too ignorant to subdue suffering in life,
 Leading¹⁸ me towards death before I come to it,
 Sweeten (20) the West for me! Is it difficult?
 Life is a transitory state: The trees they fall.¹⁹
 Trample on evil, put down my misery!
 May Thoth¹⁹ who appeases the gods, judge²⁰ me;
 May Khons (25) who writes truly, defend me;
 May Re who calms the sun-bark, hear my com-
 plaint;²¹
 May Isdes²² defend me in the Holy Chamber ...²³
 Because my suffering is too heavy a burden ...²⁴
 It will be pleasant that the gods defend the secrets
 of my body.

The Second Speech of the Ba (30-33)

What my *ba* said to me:²⁵
 "Are you not a man? Are you not alive?
 What do you gain when you worry about life like
 a possessor of wealth?"

The Second Speech of the Man (33-55)

I said:
 I did not go (even though) that is on the ground.²⁶

b Job 14:1-2,
 5

c Job 31:6

Surely, if you run away, nobody will (35) take care
 of you.²⁷
 Every criminal says: "I shall seize you."
 Although you are dead, your name lives;
 That place²⁸ of rest, the heart's goal,
 The West is a dwelling place, a voyage [...] (40)
 If my *ba* listens to me without malice,
 And its heart is in accord with me, it will be
 fortunate.
 I shall cause it to reach the West like him who is in
 his pyramid,
 Whose burial a survivor attends.
 I shall make a shelter (?)²⁹ over your corpse,
 So that you make envious another *ba* (45) which is
 weary.
 I shall make a shelter (?),²⁹ then it will not be cold,
 So that you will make envious another *ba* which is
 hot.
 I shall drink water at the pond, where I shall raise
 up a shade,
 So that you will make envious another *ba* which is
 hungry.
 If you lead (50) me towards³⁰ death in this manner,
 You will not find a place to rest in the West.
 Be tolerant, my *ba*, my brother,
 Until my heir comes, one who will make offerings,
 Who will stand at the tomb on the day of burial,
 And prepare (?) a bier (55) for the necropolis.

The Third Speech of the Ba (55-85)

My *ba* opened its mouth to me (56) that it might
 answer what I said:
 If you think of a burial it is a broken heart. It is a
 bringing of tears by saddening a man. It is

¹³ It seems that the passage refers to the *ba*'s threat to desert the man, thus bringing an end to his existence.

¹⁴ Obscure sentence. For the possibility that it may refer to the release of the *ba* and its departure from the body, see Williams 1962:53.

¹⁵ Here and in ll. 18, 49 the *ba* is described as "dragging" (*st*²) and "leading" (*ihm*) the man to death. It is even accused of being ready to take part in his death by fire. This negative behavior of the *ba* stands in contrast to the manner of the ideal *ba* as described in "The Instruction Addressed to Merikare" (COS 1.35) 51-53.

¹⁶ The man urges the *ba* to stay with him after his death "on that side," on the world beyond. *Nhpw* is an obscure word which according to some scholars should be connected with *nhp*, potter's wheel, i.e. a creator god who recreates the deceased in the world beyond. See Barta 1969:31, n. 17.

¹⁷ An obscure sentence which may describe the visits of the *ba* to the corpse after death.

¹⁸ Eg. *ihm*. The interpretation of this word, which recurs in l. 49, is crucial for understanding the text. The rendering "lead toward," "urge on," "drive" should be preferred to "hold back," "restrain" since *st*² "drag" used in l. 12 supports it.

¹⁹ The man appeals to the gods to judge and defend him. Cf. n. 11 above and "The Instruction Addressed to Merikare" (COS 1.35) 53-57. The mention of Thoth, the god of writing, and Re, the sun god, in this context is obvious: Thoth plays the role of a secretary in the Judgement of the Dead while Re is the creator of justice (*m²c²t*); cf. "The Eloquent Peasant" (COS 1.43) B1 268-269 and *ibid.* n. 48.

²⁰ Eg. *wq^c*; see "The Eloquent Peasant" (COS 1.43) n. 43.

²¹ Eg. *mdw* (*mdt*); see *ibid.*, n. 38.

²² A deity connected with funerary matters.

²³ The celestial Hall of Judgement.

²⁴ Cf. ll. 127-128 below and "The Eloquent Peasant" (COS 1.43) B1 275.

²⁵ In the following passage the *ba* urges the man to enjoy life and to forget worry.

²⁶ The man argues that although he has lost all his wealth (which is "on the ground") he has not died.

²⁷ In the following lines the unfortunate state of the *ba* which deserts its owner is contrasted with the advantages gained by the *ba* which is loyal to its owner and adheres to him.

²⁸ I.e. the world beyond.

²⁹ Eg. *nu²i* is obscure. For various explanations, see Goedicke 1970:117.

³⁰ See n. 18 above.

taking a man from his house, casting him on high ground.³¹ You will never go out to see (60) the sun!^{32 d}

They who built in blocks of granite, and constructed halls (?) in nice pyramids of fine work; the builders become gods,³³ yet their offering stones are destroyed, like the weary ones,³³ who are dead on the riverbank without a survivor (65). The flood takes its toll, and the sun likewise. The fishes of the water's banks talk to them.

Listen to me! Behold, it is good for people to listen.^{34 e} Follow the happy day and forget worry!^{35 f}

A commoner³⁶ plowed his plot. He loaded his harvest (70) into a boat. He towed the sail. When his feast day approached he saw coming the darkness of the north, for he was watching in the boat. As the sun set, he came out with his wife and children but they perished, on a lake infested (75) with crocodiles at night. When at last he sat down, he broke out saying: "I do not weep for that mother, for whom there is no return from the West for another (term) on earth. I grieve for her children broken in the egg, who have seen the face of the crocodile³⁷ (80) before they have lived."

A commoner asked for a meal and his wife said to him: "It is for supper." He went out to complain (?) for a while. When he came back to his house he was like another person. His wife reasoned with him and he did not listen to her

The Third Speech of the Man (85-147)

I opened my mouth to my *ba* that I might answer

d Job 10:21-22; 17:13; 18:18

e 1 Sam 15:22; Prov 1:8; 4:1, 10, 20; 5:7; 7:24; etc; Eccl 4:17

f Eccl 2:24; 3:12, 22; 5:17; 8:15; 9:7-9; 11:7-8

g Ps 31:12; Job 19:17

what it said:

First Poem (86-103)³⁸

Behold, my name is detested,^{39 g}

Behold, more than the smell of vultures,
On summer days when the sky is hot.

Behold, my name is detested,
Behold, [more than the smell of] a catch of fish,
(90) On a fishing⁴⁰ day when the sky is hot.

Behold, my name is detested,
Behold, more than the smell of ducks,
More than a reed-covert full of waterfowl.

Behold, my name is detested,
Behold, more than the smell of fishermen,
More than the (95) marsh-pools where they had fished.

Behold, my name is detested,
More than a smell of crocodiles,
More than sitting by banks full of crocodiles.

Behold, my name is detested,
More than a woman
About whom lies are told to a man.

Behold, my name is detested (100)
More than a sturdy child,
About whom it is said "He belongs to his (father's) hated one."⁴¹

Behold, my name is detested,
[More than] a monarch's (?) town,
That plots rebellion behind his back.⁴²

Second Poem (103-130)

To whom shall I speak today?⁴³

³¹ For a similar description to that appearing in the following lines, i.e. corpses abandoned on the ground or thrown into the river without a burial, see "The Admonitions" (COS 1.42) 2.6-2.7; 4.3-4.4 (|| 5.6-5.7 [not translated]); 6.13.

³² The image of the world beyond, as a dark place without light from where there is no return brings to mind the description of Sheol (the netherworld) in the Bible; see Scripture References d.

³³ The appellations "gods" and "weary ones" relate to the dead. The *ba* argues that the end of kings who build for themselves pyramids and expansive tombs is not better than the poor men whose corpses are scattered on the dyke and are damaged by the water and the sun.

³⁴ A citation of a wisdom saying, also appearing in "The Tale of Shipwrecked Sailor" (COS 1.39) 182. The demand to hear and to listen to the words of the parent-sage-teacher is common in Eg. and other ancient Near Eastern wisdom literature. Cf., e.g. "The Instruction of Ptahhotep" 534-562 (esp. 541); "The Instruction of Amenemope" (COS 1.47) 3.9ff.; "The Story of Ahiqar" 57 and Scripture References e. For more examples and further discussion, see Shupak 1993:51-57.

³⁵ The phrase "follow the happy day" meaning "make holiday" reflects ideology that regards a life of pleasure as essential and is the motto of the Harpers' Songs from the Middle and New Kingdom. These songs, which were sung at funeral banquets, contain as well a similar denial of the efficiency of the burial preparations. Cf. Lichtheim 1973:193-197. The declaration that pleasures are the very essence of living also appears in Ecclesiastes and in the Babylonian "Epic of Gilgamesh"; see Scripture References f and ANET 90; cf. also "The Admonitions" (COS 1.42) 8.5-7.

³⁶ The significance of the two following parables is debated. It seems that they are meant to convey to the man that there are misfortunes greater than his. Cf. Faulkner 1972:204 n.19. For different explanations see Hermann 1939:349 and Goedicke 1970:45-48, 130. For a summary of the various interpretations, see Barta 1969:116-121.

³⁷ See "The Eloquent Peasant" (COS 1.43) n. 24.

³⁸ The final argument of the man consists of four poems: The first poem concerns the man's private misfortune; the second poem contains a general social admonition; the third one is an eulogy of death while the last one describes the fortunate state of those who live in the world beyond.

³⁹ I.e. to have a bad reputation. Cf. "The Instruction of Ani" (COS 1.46) 3.17: "... lest your name stinks;" cf. also *ibid.*, 5.15 and the Akkadian wisdom text "The Poem of the Righteous Sufferer" (COS 1.153) Table 11. 53 (= Beyerlin 1978:138). For a similar description in the Bible, of a sufferer who becomes distasteful to his fellow-men, see Scripture References g.

⁴⁰ Lit. "catching".

⁴¹ I.e., the child is the offspring of his father's rival.

⁴² Lit. "While his back is seen."

⁴³ The content of the second poem calls to mind similar social admonitions appearing in other works belonging to the speculative wisdom

Brothers are evil, ^k The friends of today do not love. To whom shall I speak today? Hearts are greedy, Everyone robs his friend's property. ⁱ [To whom shall I speak today?] Kindness has perished, Violence has come to all men. ⁱ To whom shall I speak today? One is contented with evil, Goodness is cast to the ground everywhere. To whom shall I speak (110) today? He who should enrage a man with his evil deeds, He makes everyone laugh at his evil-doing. To whom shall I speak today? Men plunder, Everyone robs his friend. ⁱ To whom shall I speak today? ⁴⁴ The wrongdoer is as an intimate friend, The brother with whom one used to collaborate has become (115) an enemy. ^j To whom shall I speak today? Yesterday is not remembered, No one at this time acts for him who has acted. ⁴⁵ To whom shall I speak today? Brothers are evil, ^j One goes to strangers for affection. To whom shall I speak today? Faces are blank, Everyone turns his face from (120) his brothers. To whom shall I speak today? Hearts are greedy, There is no man's heart in which one can trust. To whom shall I speak today? There are no righteous ones, The land is left to wrongdoers. ^{46 k} To whom shall I speak today? There is no intimate friend, One brings an unknown man (125) to complain to him.	^k Ps 55:12-13; Job 19:13-14, 19 ⁱ Job 24:2-4, 13-17 ^j Ps 55:12-13; Job 19:13-14, 19 ^k Eccl 3:16; 5:7 ⁱ Job 3:11-13, 20-22; 10:18-19; 13:15; 14:13; 17:13-14	To whom shall I speak today? There is no contented man, He with whom one walked is no more. To whom shall I speak today? I am burdened with grief, ⁴⁷ For lack of an intimate friend. To whom shall I speak today? Sin roams the land, (130) There is no end to it. <i>Third Poem (130-142)</i> Death is before me today, ^{48 t} [Like] a sick man's recovery, Like going out-doors after detention. Death is before me today, Like the smell of myrrh, Like sitting under a sail on a windy day. Death is before me today, (135) Like the smell of lotuses, Like sitting on the shore of drunkenness. Death is before me today, Like a trodden way, Like a man coming home from a campaign. Death is before me today, Like the clearing of the sky, As when a man discovers (?) (140) what he knew not. Death is before me today, Like a man who desires to see his home, After he has spent many years in captivity. <i>Fourth Poem (142-147)</i> Truly, he who is there will be a living god, ⁴⁹ Punishing the evildoer's crime. Truly, he who is there will stand in the bark of the sun, Causing choice things to be given (145) therefrom to the temples. Truly, he who is there will be a sage, Who will not be prevented from appealing to Re when he speaks.
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literature: Cf. II. 103-104, 114-117 to "The Prophecies of Neferti" (COS 1.45) 44-45; 105-106 to *ibid.*, 47; 107-108 to "The Admonitions" (COS 1.42) 5.10; 114-115 to *ibid.*, 1.5, 5.10; 115-116 to *ibid.*, 2.2 (not translated), 5.12-5.13.

⁴⁴ The stylistic pattern of series of contrasts used in the following lines is characteristic to the speculative wisdom literature see: "The Eloquent Peasant" (COS 1.43) n. 32; "The Admonitions" (COS 1.42) n. 11; "The Prophecies of Neferti" (COS 1.45) n. 29; "The Complaints of Khakheperre-sonb" (COS 1.44) n. 16.

⁴⁵ I.e. kindness is not repaid in the present.

⁴⁶ The adjectives *m^wc^tyw* (righteous ones) and *irw isft* (wrongdoers) derive from the antonyms *m^wc^t* "justice" and *isft* "wrong" which are significant to the wisdom ideology; see: "The Eloquent Peasant" (COS 1.43) n. 27; "The Prophecies of Neferti" (COS 1.45) n. 39; "The Admonitions" (COS 1.42) n. 20; "The Complaints of Khakheperre-sonb" (COS 1.44) n. 16.

⁴⁷ See n. 24 above.

⁴⁸ The following eulogy to death calls to mind Job's longing for death; cf. Scripture References *k*. Similar utterances also appear in "The Admonitions" (COS 1.42) 4.2-4.3; cf. *ibid.* n. 16.

⁴⁹ The dead will share in the privileges of the gods in the world beyond.

The Fourth Speech of the Ba (147-154)

What my *ba* said to me:

"Throw complaints on the peg,⁵⁰ my comrade, my brother. Make offering on the brazier,⁵¹ (150) and cleave to life, as you have said; love me here, when you set aside the West. But when it is wished that you attain the West, that your body goes to

earth, I shall alight after you have become and then we shall dwell together.

Colophon (154-155)

It is finished (155) from the beginning till the end as it was found in writing.

⁵⁰ Eg. *h⁷*. The meaning of the word is unknown but the determinative indicates a wooden object.

⁵¹ The *ba* urges the man to make offerings to the gods and go on with normal life, promising him to stay with him till his natural death and dwell with him in the hereafter. Cf. Faulkner 1956:39 n. 113. For another opinion which assumes that the reference to offerings suggests funerary ceremonies and therefore the *ba* demands that the man choose between life and death, see e.g. Williams 1962:55-56; cf. also Brunner-Traut 1967:10.

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THE AKKADIAN ANZU STORY (3.147)

Marianna Vogelzang

The Akkadian Anzu story, known from its incipit as *bin shar dadme*, is an epic or at least narrative poem which describes how the monstrous and legendary bird Anzu steals the Tablet of Destinies from the supreme god Enlil, and in doing so misappropriates the sovereignty over the universe. The terrified gods meet in a formal assembly under the presidency of the god Anu, in order to select and nominate a champion who will have to defeat Anzu, kill him, retrieve the Tablet of Destinies and thus avert disaster. Their appeals to the gods Adad, Girra and Shara are in vain. The young hero Ninurta however, beseeched by his mother Belet-ili, accepts the order. With the tactical help of Ea, the god of wisdom, he defeats Anzu and thus earns for himself great fame and universal worship.¹

The most fully preserved version of the Anzu story is the Standard Babylonian (SB) one. It was apparently produced during the last half or quarter of the second millennium BCE and became the canonical version.² It differs from the Old Babylonian version in certain aspects, but the differences do not affect the story's basic plot or format. And despite revision of wording, the SB text and the OB text from Susa³ correspond to each other so closely that there may have been a genetic relationship, although this cannot be stated with certainty.⁴

STANDARD BABYLONIAN VERSION

(Tablet I)

Prologue (lines 1-14)

Of the son of the king of habitations, the illustrious, the beloved of Mami,
The Mighty One, I will ever chant, the divine child of Enlil.
Ninurta, the illustrious, the beloved of Mami,
The Mighty One, I will praise, the divine child of Enlil.
The offspring of the Ekur, foremost among the Anunnaki, the Eninnu's hope,
Who brings water to the fold, arbor, *slough*, country and town.
The floodwave of battles, the dancer with the sash, (so) brave.
Whose attack the tireless raging demons fear.
Hear the praise of his power, of the mighty one,
(10) Who in his fierceness conquered, captured the Mountain of Stones,
Who mastered winged Anzu with his weapon,
Who killed Kusarikkū⁵ in the midst of the sea.
The strong one, a killer with his weapon,
The mighty one, the fleet one, who knows how to handle battle and fight.

The Introduction of Anzu (lines 15-64)

Up till that time among the Igigi no daises had been built,
And the Igigi were gathered for the supremacy over them.
Fashioned were the rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates,
But the [sourc]es were not sending [their] waters to the land.
And the seas []
(20) The clouds were absent from the horizon [].
The [Igigi], being gathered from all parts,
To Enlil, their father, the war[r]ior []
His children bring [the news]:
"He[ed you well] the happy word!
On Mount Hihi a tree []
In her bosom the Anu[n]naki []
Anz[u] has been born.
A saw [his be]ak []
[six fragmentary lines]
At [his] scre[ech] []
The southwind []
The mighty []

¹ So it appears that the story contains the following main oppositions of persons: a. Anzu versus Enlil (demon :: supreme god); b. Ninurta versus Anzu (hero :: demon); c. Ninurta versus Enlil (son :: father). These three oppositions form the basis of the three major divisions of the story, and thus of the different actions: the theft of the Tablet of Destinies, the battle of the hero and the rebellious son. For those who are interested in universal literary themes and motives, see Thompson 1977.

² The SB mss. of the text span a period from Middle Assyrian till Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian times; at the latest then, the editing and rewriting that produced the Standard version occurred about 1200 BCE. But the copying of the OB text did not necessarily cease, as the mss. from Susa may show, nor did the copying of other traditional stories about Ninurta and Anzu.

³ Susa was the capital of Elam, situated on the Ulai river.

⁴ For a somewhat different opinion, see Reiner 1985:63-66; Bottero 1976.

⁵ Bison or bull-man; cf. Ellis 1989.

The mass []
 Duststorms []
 (40) They gathered together a[nd]
 The four-fold wind A[nzu?]
 The fa[ther of the gods] saw him,
 And thou[gh]t of what th[ey] had said.
 He studied Anzu closely []
 Deliberated wi[th Ea?]
 "Who bore []
 Why this []?"
 [Ea] answered the query of his heart,
 Ninshiku⁶ [addresses a word] to Enlil:
 (50) "Of course the waters of the flo[od?]
 The pure waters of the A[psu?]-gods []
 And the wide earth conceived him.
 It is he who [was born?] in the mountain-rocks.
 It is Anzu you have seen []
 Let him enter your service, don't let hi[m fly away
 from you!]
 In the sanctuary, to the cella-seat, let him ever bar
 the entrance!

[three fragmentary lines]

(60) To the ad[vice] he spoke to him the gods
 con[sented].
 The shrine he took for evermore []
 And the assignments he gave to all the gods.
 He repeated the decree and Anzu took [his place].
 With the entrance of the cella, which he had
 brought to completion, Enlil (had) charged him.

The Theft of the Tablet of Destinies (lines 65-87)
 He often bathed before him in the pure waters.
 His eyes often watched the tokens of the suprema-
 cy:
 His crown of sovereignty, his robe of divinity,
 The Tablet of Destinies which he controlled did
 Anzu often watch.
 He often watched the father of the gods, the god
 (of) Duranki⁷
 (70) And in his mind imagined removing the su-
 premacy.
 Anzu often watched the father of the gods, the god
 (of) Duranki,
 And in his heart imagined removing the supremacy:
 "I myself will take the gods' Tablet of Destinies
 And gather the assignments of all the gods.
 I will win the throne, be the master of the offices!
 I will give command to all the Igigi!"
 Thus his heart plotted rebellion,
 And at the entrance to the cella, where he used to
 gaze, he awaited the break of day.
 When Enlil was bathing in the pure waters,
 (80) Naked, while his crown lay on the throne,
 To the Tablet of Destinies his hands reached out.
 The supremacy he took — suspended are the

offices!
 Anzu flew off and to his mountain [made his way].
 Numbness spread about; si[lence] prevailed.
 The father, their counsellor Enlil, was speechless.
 The cella shed its awesome sheen!
 [In the up]perworld they milled about at the news.

*The assembly of the gods and the selection of the
 hero* (lines 88-209; Tablet II, lines 1-27)
 Anu opened his mouth to speak,
 Said to the gods, his children:
 (90) "Who shall slay Anzu and
 Thereby exalt his name in all habitations?"
 [The Canal-Inspec]tor they summoned, the son of
 Anu.
 Explaining to him the news, he addresses him.
 Adad, the Canal-Inspector they summoned, the son
 of Anu.
 Explaining to him the news, he addresses him:
 "Mighty Adad, ferocious Adad! Your attack must
 not turn back!
 Strike Anzu down with your weapon!
 Your name will be great in the assembly of the
 great gods.
 [Among the go]ds, your brothers, you shall have
 no rival.
 (100) Daises there shall be and be built.
 Place your shrines across the world.
 Your shrines shall reach into the Ekur.⁸
 Distinguish yourself before the gods and Mighty
 One shall be your name!"
 Adad answered the charge,
 Addresses the word to Anu, his father:
 ["My father], who would hasten off to the unacces-
 sible [mountain]?
 [Who] can Anzu's [conquer]or be among the gods,
 your children?
 To the [Tablet of Destini]es his hands reached out.
 [The suprema]cy he took, suspended are the offic-
 es.
 (110) [Anzu] flew off and to his mountain made his
 way.
 [The utterance] of his mouth [has become] like that
 of the god, the god (of) Duranki.
 [If he speaks, the one he curs]es shall turn to
 clay!"
 [At the utterance of hi]s [mouth], the gods [were
 dispirited].
 [He turned away, refused to go].
 [Girra they called, the son of Annunitu].
 [Explaining to him the news, he addresses him]:
 (Identical request and refusal; lines 117-125)
 [Shara they cal]led, the son of Ishtar.
 [Explaining to him the ne]ws, he addresses him:
 (Identical request and refusal; lines 128-156)

⁶ A manifestation of Enki/Ea.

⁷ A temple at Nippur; hence a name of Nippur as "bond of heaven and earth."

⁸ The temple of Enlil at Nippur.

The gods grew silent, abandoned counsel;
The Igigi, where they sat, were gloomy, in troubled mood.

[But] the lord of wisdom, who dwells in the Apsu,
the sagacious one,
(160) With the cunning of his mind, formed a plan.
The wise Ea formed (it) in his heart.
Whatever he had thought of in his mind, to Anu he tells:

"Let me speak and seek out a god,
And designate the conqueror of Anzu in the assembly!

Let me alone seek out a god,
And designate the conqueror of Anzu in the assembly!"

When the Igigi heard this word of his,
The Igigi, of burden free, ran to kiss his feet.
Ninshiku opened his mouth to speak,
(170) Telling the plan to Anu and Dagan:
"Let them summon Belet-ili,⁹ the sister of the gods,
The sagacious one, the counsellor of the gods,
[her] brothers.

Her supreme dignity let them proclaim in the assembly].

The gods must honor [her] in their assembly.
The plan that is in my heart, [I will tell] her!"
They called Belet-ili, the sister of [the gods],
The sagacious one, the counsellor of the gods, [her brothers].

Her supreme dignity they proclaimed [in the assembly].

The gods, in their assembly, honored her].
(180) With the cunning of his mind Ea revealed the plan.

"Previously [we would address you as] Mami,
Now Mistress of al[the gods shall be your name]!
Give (us) the Mighty One, the illustrious, [your beloved],

The Broad of Chest, who knows how to hand[le battle and combat!]

Give (us) the Mighty One, the illustrious, your beloved,

The Broad of Chest, who knows how to handle battle and combat!

Lord in the assembly of the gods []

Most glorious he shall be in []

In al[the dwellings he shall exalt his name?]

(190) A shrine []

Lord []

[]

In []."

[When she heard this speech of his],
[The most exalted Mistress of the gods agreed to it].

[After she had spoken, the Igigi rejoiced],
[From burden free, they ran to kiss her feet].

[From the assembly of the gods she summoned her son],

The beloved of her heart; instructing him she said to [him]:

(200) "[In the presence of Anu and Dagan]
The state of their offices they have discussed in the assembly].

[It is to all] the Igigi [that I gave birth].

I formed al[of them, each and everyone].

I formed the totality of the gre[at Anunnaki].

The supremacy [to my brother],

To Anu the kingship [of heaven I assigned].

The Tablet of Destinies, which in the assembly [] []

He took away from Enlil, [he has spurned your] fat[her].

The offices he has stolen, [gather]ed all of th[em]".

(Tablet II)

"Bar [the road], put an end to it!

For the gods whom I have created bring forth brightness!

Mobilize your entire battle-array!

Let your seven evil winds go against him!

Defeat the winged Anzu!

Calm the earth I created, disturb his abode!

Let terror thunder over him!

Let him tremble at your furious battle!

Let the entire whirlwind hem him in!

(10) Draw the bow, let the arrows carry poison!

Like a demon's let your countenance become!

Send out a fog, so that it discloses not your appearance!

Let your radiance go against him!

May your onslaught be majestic, an awesome glow be yours!

May the sun not shine above (him),

May the bright day turn into (the deepest) darkness for him!

Slit his throat, defeat Anzu!

Let the winds carry his wings as (good) tidings

To your father Enlil's house, the Ekur.

(20) Surge through the midst of the mountains, hurry and

Cut the throat of evil Anzu!

Let kingship (re-)enter the Ekur,

Let the offices return to the father who begot you!

Daises there shall be and shall be built!

Place your shrines across the world!

Your [shrines] shall reach into the Ekur!

Distinguish yourself before the gods and Mighty One shall be your name!"

Ninurta goes to battle, but fails (lines 28-69)

When the hero heard the speech of his mother,

He braced himself, trembled and went to his mountain.

(30) My lord harnessed the Seven-of-Battle.

⁹ "Mistress of the gods," a name of the mother goddess.

The hero harnessed the seven evil winds,
 Seven whirlwinds which stir up the dust.
 He mobilized raging battle, initiated combat.
 They rush into combat at his side.
 On the mountain-side Anzu and Ninurta saw one another
 And when he saw him, Anzu, he raged at him.
 He gnashed his teeth like an Umu-demon, his awe-inspiring glow covered the mountains.
 He roared like a lion, seized with anger!
 In the ire of his heart, he called to [the he]ro:
 (40) "I have carried off every single office,
 And the assignments of all the gods I direct!
 Who are you to come to fight with me? Reveal your intention!"
 He rushed against him and forth to him went the word of his mouth;
 The hero Ninurta [answered] Anzu:
 "I [am Ninurta, the ho]pe(?) of the god (of) Duran-ki!
 He who prese[rves the foundation of] the wide earth, Ea, king of destinies,
 According to his [destiny (for me)] I have come to fight with you, to crush you!"
 When Anzu heard the word of his mouth,
 He raged and let loose in the midst of the mountain his shriek.
 (50) It became dark, the face of the mountain was covered.
 Shamash, the light of the gods, became quite dark.
 With Anzu's scream, the attack roared forth.
 In the midst of the strife, the battle drew near, the turmoil thickened.
 The front of the armor is drenched with blood.
 The clouds of death sent rain, arrowheads flashed.
 It whizzed between them, the battle roared!
 The Mighty One, the illustrious, the son of Mami,
 The hope of Anu and Dagan, the beloved of Ninshiku,
 [Be]nt, knocked¹⁰ the bow with a reed-arrow.
 (60) From the breast of the bow he loosened the reed-arrow at him,
 But it did not approach Anzu: the reed-arrow turned back!
 For Anzu called to it:
 "O reed-arrow that has come to me, return to your canebrake!
 Frame of [the bow], to your forests!
 String, to the back of the sheep! Feathers, return to the birds!"
 As he raised the Tablet of Destinies of the gods with his hands,
 The darts, carried by the bowstring, could not approach his body.
 The battle stilled, the combat ceased.
 The weapons ceased functioning in the midst of the mountain; they did not vanquish Anzu!

Ninurta asks for help (lines 70-99)

(70) He called Adad, addressing the word to him:
 "Report to him, to Ea-Ninshiku, the event you have seen.
 'O lord, thus Ninurta: Anzu was encircled.
 Ninurta, covered with the dust of warfare,
 [Bent], knocked the bow with a reed-arrow;
 Drew the bow and loosened the reed-arrow at him.
 But it did not approach Anzu, the reed-arrow turned back!"
 For Anzu called to it:
 "O reed-arrow that has come to me, return to your canebrake!
 Frame of the bow, to your forest!
 String, to the back of the sheep! Feathers, return to the birds!"
 (80) As he raised the Tablet of Destinies of the gods with his hands,
 The darts, carried by the bowstring, could not approach his body.
 The battle stilled, the combat ceased.
 The weapons ceased functioning in the midst of the mountain;
 they did not vanquish Anzu!"
 (Prince) Adad bowed down, took the message.
 The news of the fight he brought to Ea-Ninshiku.
 Whatever the lord had said to him, he repeated to Ea:

(follows the identical message; lines 87-100)

The advice of Ea-Ninshiku (lines 101-144)

When [Ninshi]ku heard the word of his son,
 He called [Adad], addressing the word to him:
 "Report to your lord the burden of my message.
 Whatever I say, transmit safely to him:
 'Let battle not abate, prove your strength!
 Wear him out; at the onslaught of the stormwind make him droop his wings.
 Take the sword after (shooting?) your arrow.
 Cut off his wings, scatter (them) to the right and the left!
 Let him see his wings; this will rob him of speech.
 (110) "Wings to wings!" he will cry; fear him no (longer)!
 Bend your bow and from its breast let loose the reed-arrows like lightning!
 Let wings and pinions dance like bloody things!
 Slit his throat, defeat Anzu!
 Let the winds carry his wings as (good) tidings
 To your father Enlil's house, the Ekur.
 Surge through the midst of the mountains, hurry, and
 Cut the throat of evil Anzu!
 Let kingship (re-)enter the Ekur.
 Let the offices return to the father who begot

¹⁰ Lit. "filled"; cf. CAD M/1:185 j.

you.

(120) Daises there shall be and shall be built.
Place your shrines across the world.
Your shrines shall reach into the Ekur.
Distinguish yourself before the gods, and Mighty
One shall be your name!"

Adad bowed down, took the message,
Brought the news of the fight to Ninurta.
Whatever Ea had said, he repeated to him:

(The identical message follows; lines 127-145)

When the lord [heard this speech] of Ea-Ninshiku,
He braced himself, trembled and went to his
mountain.

[My] lord harnessed the Seven of Battle,
The hero harnessed the seven evil winds,
(150) Whirlwinds which stir up the dust of warfare!

Tablet III

Ninurta's second and final battle

[two lines fragmentary]

Armor []

Constantly striking one another []

The blaze, its glow []

To the four winds the stormwind []

The weapons — in dread protection — he struck
and struck.

Both were bathed in the sweat of battle.

Anzu grew tired — at the onslaught of the storm
wind he drooped his wings.

(10) The Lord took his arrows *towards the bottom*.
He cut off his pinions, scattered them both right
and left.

When he (Anzu) saw his wings, they took away the
formula of his mouth.

When he cried "Wings to wings" — the arrow flew
against him.

The shaft passed through the *casing* of his heart,
He made the dart pierce through pinion and wing.
The shaft pierced through his heart and lungs.
He flooded, brought violent action to the midst of
the mountains.

Flooded in his fury the wide world.

(20) Flooded the midst of the mountains, killed evil
Anzu!

The hero Ninurta took control of the Tablet of
Destinies of the gods.

As a sign of his good tidings

The wind bore Anzu's wings.

When he saw his sign, Dagan rejoiced.

He summoned all the gods, saying to them in joy:
"The Mighty One has *outroared* Anzu in his
mountain.

"He has regained control of Anu and Dagan's
weapons.

"Go to him, that he may come to us.

"Let him rejoice, let him dance, let him make
music,

(30) "Let him stand with the gods, his brothers,

that he may hear the secrets,

"[] the secrets of the gods.

"[] with the gods, his brothers, let [] bestow
on him the offices."

[Ea?] opened his mouth and spoke,

Saying [to] Dagan these words:

"[] he took the skin.

When he killed evil Anzu in the mountains,

The hero Ninurta regained the Tablet of Destinies
of the gods.

Send to him, let him come to you,

Let him place the Tablet of Destinies in your lap!"

(40) Enlil opened his mouth and spoke,

Saying to Nusku, his vizier, these words:

"Nusku, go outside,

"Bring Birdu before me!"

Nusku went outside,

Brought Birdu into Enlil's presence.

Enlil opened his mouth and spoke,

Saying to Birdu these words:

"Birdu, I will send you []

[gap of a few lines]

Ninurta's rebellion

Ninurta [opened] his mouth [and spoke,]

[Saying these words] to Birdu:

"Birdu, why did you come here so aggressively?"

Birdu op[ened his mouth and spoke,]

[Saying these words] to Ninurta, his lord:

"My lord [] to you.

"Your father Enlil sent me,

"To say: 'The gods have heard

'That [you killed] evil Anzu in the midst of the
mountain.'

"They were happy, glad and [].

"Before you []

"Go to him []

"Let him be hap[py]

[three lines fragmentary]

Ninurta [opened his mouth and spoke, saying to
Birdu:]

"Why [surrender] the para[phernalia of the suprem-
acy!]

"Like the coun[sellor of the gods has become the
utterance of my mouth!]

"The Tablet of Destinies I will not g[ive back !]"

[fragmentary lines, then breaks off]

Speech to Ninurta (lines 113-160)

"Let [] not be built,

"[] Anzu in the Ekur.

"[] the sign of the hero.

"Let him look upon evil Anzu [in] the greatness of
his might.

"Hero, in your might you could slay mountains.

"You captured Anzu, you could slay his might.

"You could slay the might of winged Anzu.

(120) "Because you were so brave and slew the

mountains.
 "You have made all enemies submit before your father Enlil.
 "O Ninurta, because you were so brave and slew the mountains!
 You have made all enemies submit before your father Enlil!
 "You have gained lordship, each and every divine authority,
 "Who was ever created like you, divine authority of the mountain!
 "Greatness has been given you at the daises of the gods of destinies.
 "Nisaba they called your purification rites.
 They called your name in the furrow Ningirsu.
 "They assigned to you the entire shepherdship of the people.
 (130) "Your name Guardian of the Throne they have given (the exercise of) kingship.
 "In Elam they gave (you) the name Hurabtil.
 "In Susa they speak of you as Inshushinak.
 "In Ibbi-Anum they gave you the name Lord of Mystery.
 "[] among the gods your brothers.
 "[] you father.
 "[] who marches in front (?).
 "They gave [(you) your name Pabilsag] in Egal-mah.
 "They [cal]led [your name] in Ur.
 "They gave [(you) your name] Ninazu in Ekur-

mah (?).
 (140) "[] you your birth(place?) Duranki.
 "[In Der?] they speak of you as Ishtaran.
 "[In] Zababa.
 "[] they call (as) his name.
 "Your heroism [] Enlil over all the gods.
 "[] to make surpassing your divinity.
 "[] I praise you!
 "In NL.SUR they gave[(you) your name] Lugal-banda.
 "In E-igi-kalama (?) they gave [(you) your name] Lugalmarada.
 "In E-sikilla they gave [(you) your name] Hero Tishpak.
 (150) "[] in Bube in Enimma-anku [].
 "In Kullab they called (you) by your name Hero of Uruk.
 "[] Belet-ili your mother.
 "[] Lord of the boundary.
 "[] Panigingarra.
 "[] they called.
 "[] Papsukkal who marches in front.
 "[] lord, your names are surpassing great among the gods.
 "[Lord] of understanding, capable, awesome one.
 "Your [counsellor?] Ninshiku, your father Anu.
 (160) "[] battle and conflict.
 [rest fragmentary]

THE OLD BABYLONIAN VERSION

(Tablet II)

After the theft of the Tablet of Destinies: the assembly of the gods and the selection of the hero (lines 1-72)

The supremacy he took away; suspended are the offices.

The father, their counsellor Enlil, was speechless.
 < Numbness > was spread about, silence prevailed.
 Confused were the Igigi, each and every one of them.

The cella shed its awesome sheen!

The gods of the land came together at the news.

Anu opened his mouth,

Said to the gods his children:

"Gods, who wants to kill Anzu?

(10) I will make his name great everywhere!"

The Canal-Inspector they summoned, the son of Anu;

explaining to him the news, he addresses him:

["O Adad] your attack, strike Anzu down with your weapon!

[Your name will be great] among the great gods.

[Among the gods, your brothers], you shall have no rival!

[Distinguish yourself before] the gods; Mighty One shall be your name!"

[The Canal-Inspector addr]es[ses the word to Anu, his father]:

["My father, who would hasten off to the inaccessible mountain!]

[Who can An]zu[']s conqueror be] among [your] children.

[To the Tablet of Destinies he reached out his hands]; he took of the god [his] su[premacy].

(20) [He flew off] to his mountain, has raised his head.

His command [has become] like that of the god (of) Duranki.

[If he speaks, the one he curs]es shall turn to clay!"

[When they heard] his [ans]wer, the gods became upset.

[He turned away], refused to go.

[Gibil they called, the son of Annunitum.

[Explaining to him the ne]ws, he spoke to him.

[Shara they called], the son of Ishtar.

[Explaining] to him the news, he spoke to him.

The gods grew silent, abandoned counsel.

(30) The Igigi, together, we[re gloomy], in troubled mood.
 Then the lord of wis[dom, who dwells in the Apsu], the sagacious [Ea],
 Told the word of his heart [to Anu], his [father]:
 "Let me make a spe[ech and] designate [the conqueror] of Anzu in the assembly!"
 When the go[ds of the land] heard [this] word of his,
 Of burden free, they ran [to kiss] his feet.
 And [he called] Dingirmah, the mi[stress of the de]crees; he pronounced her supreme dignity in the assembly.
 "[Give (us)] the Mighty One, the illustrious, your beloved,
 (40) The Broad of Chest, who knows how to handle the Seven of Battle.
 Ningirsu, the Mighty One, [the illustrious], your beloved.
 The Broad of Chest, who knows how to handle the Seven of Battle."
 When [she heard] this word of his, the most exalted Dingirmah agreed to it.
 After she had spoken, the gods of the lands rejoiced and from burden free ran to kiss her feet.
 From the assembly of the gods she summoned Her son, the beloved of her heart; instructing him, she said to him:
 "Before the authority of Anu and Dagan,
 The state of their offices they have discussed in the assembly.
 It is to all the [Igigi] that I gave birth.
 [I formed] the assembly of the gods, I Mami!
 I assigned [the supremacy t]o my brother and to Anu the kingship of heaven.
 (50) [He has confused the king]ship I assigned.
 He took away [the supremacy], he has spurned your father.
 [Bar the road], set a time limit!
 [For the gods whom] I have created bring forth brightness!
 Mobilize your [entire] battle-array!
 [Let your seven evil winds] go up to the mountain!
 Catch the [winged] Anzu!
 [Calm the earth I have cre]ated, disturb his abode!"
 [let him] tremble [].
 [three lines fragmentary]
 [Dr]aw the b[ow], let [the arrows] carry poison!
 May the curse you shout cast gl[oom] on him!
 May he move through darkness, become confused, his vision fail!
 Let him not fly away from you; in confrontation may his wings fall.
 Like a demon's let your face become; send out a fog so that it discloses not your appearance!

May the E[ver-ris]ing not rise up high; may the bright day become gloomy for him!
 Slit his throat, defeat Anzu!
 (70) Let the winds carry the wings as (good) tidings Towards the Ekur, to your father.
 Let the winds carry the wings as (good) tidings!"
Ninurta goes to battle (lines 73-80; Tablet III)
 When the hero heard the speech of his mother,
 The valiant in battle felt strong, [went] to his mountain.
 The hitched-up seven [evil winds],
 Seven whirlwinds which stir up the dust.
 [] the hitched-up seven *gulu*'s.
 [] his battle.
 [The seven] evil winds went up to the mountain.
 [On the si]de of Anzu's mountain the god met (him).
 And when he sa[w him], Anzu, he raged at him.
 He gnashed his teeth like an Umu-demon, his awe-inspiring glow wreathed the mountain.
 (Tablet III)¹¹
 [And when he saw him, Anz]u, he raged at him.
 [He gnashed his teeth like an Um]u-demon, his awe-inspiring glow wreathed the mountain.
 [He roared] like a lion, seized [with] anger.
 [In the ire] of his heart, he called to the hero:
 ["I have carried off] every single office!
 You are coming [to fight] with me? [Rev]eal your intention!"
 At his words, the hero N[ingirsu] answered Anzu:
 [" Duran]ki, who established Duranki, who fixes the decrees,
 I have come [to fight with you], as your crusher!"
 (10) [] [wh]irlwind as armor.
 [When he heard] him, he cried out in the midst of the mountains his fu[riou]s shriek.
 [] bathed in blood.
 [] the battle roared.
 [The son of M]ami, the hope of Anu and Dagan, the beloved of Ninshiku,
 He loosed [a reed-arrow] at him, but it did not approach Anzu!
 [For he called t]o it: "O arrow that has come to me, re[turn to your canebrake!]
 [] reed-arrow that has come to me, r[eturn to your canebrake!"]
 [Gap of about forty lines]
 ["] ri[ght and left].
 [the w]ord of [his] mouth [].
 [] do [not] fear him!
 [the ro]ad!
 [] his wings may dance!
 Surge through [the midst of the mountain], hurry
 And do [not] spare [Anzu's] life!

¹¹ What follows is largely from a ms. based on the so-called Mosul-fragment as published by Saggs 1986; also on the work of Foster 1993:481-485, and Moran 1988:24-28.

[] the Ekur, let the offices return to the father who begot you! (70) [] your daises shall be built! Place your shrines across the [world!"] [When the hero heard] the speech of his father, The valiant in battle felt strong, returned to [the mountain]. [in the mi]dst of the battle the fourfold winds	there. [] the earth shook, filled []. [The s]un [darkened], the skies were overcast, [his eyes] were ob[scured]. [Anz]u, at the onslaught of the stormwind, [drooped his] wings. [Tablet ends, continuation lost]
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GENERAL INDEX

The index aims to include all proper names and to identify their referents as follows:

CN	=	composition name
DN	=	divine name
DNf	=	divine name — feminine
EN	=	ethnic name, language name
GN	=	geographical name
GNm	=	geographical name — modern
MN	=	month name
PN	=	personal name
PNf	=	personal name — feminine
RN	=	royal name
RNf	=	royal name — feminine
TN	=	temple name

No attempt has been made to standardize transcriptions from all the languages represented, as follows:

Akk.	=	Akkadian
Aram.	=	Aramaic
Eg.	=	Egyptian
Heb.	=	Hebrew
Hitt.	=	Hittite
Sum.	=	Sumerian
Ug.	=	Ugaritic
WS	=	West Semitic

Diacritics are entered to the extent feasible. Vowel length is not marked, nor are h, ḥ and ḫ distinguished. Aspirated sibilants are indicated indifferently by sh or š.

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